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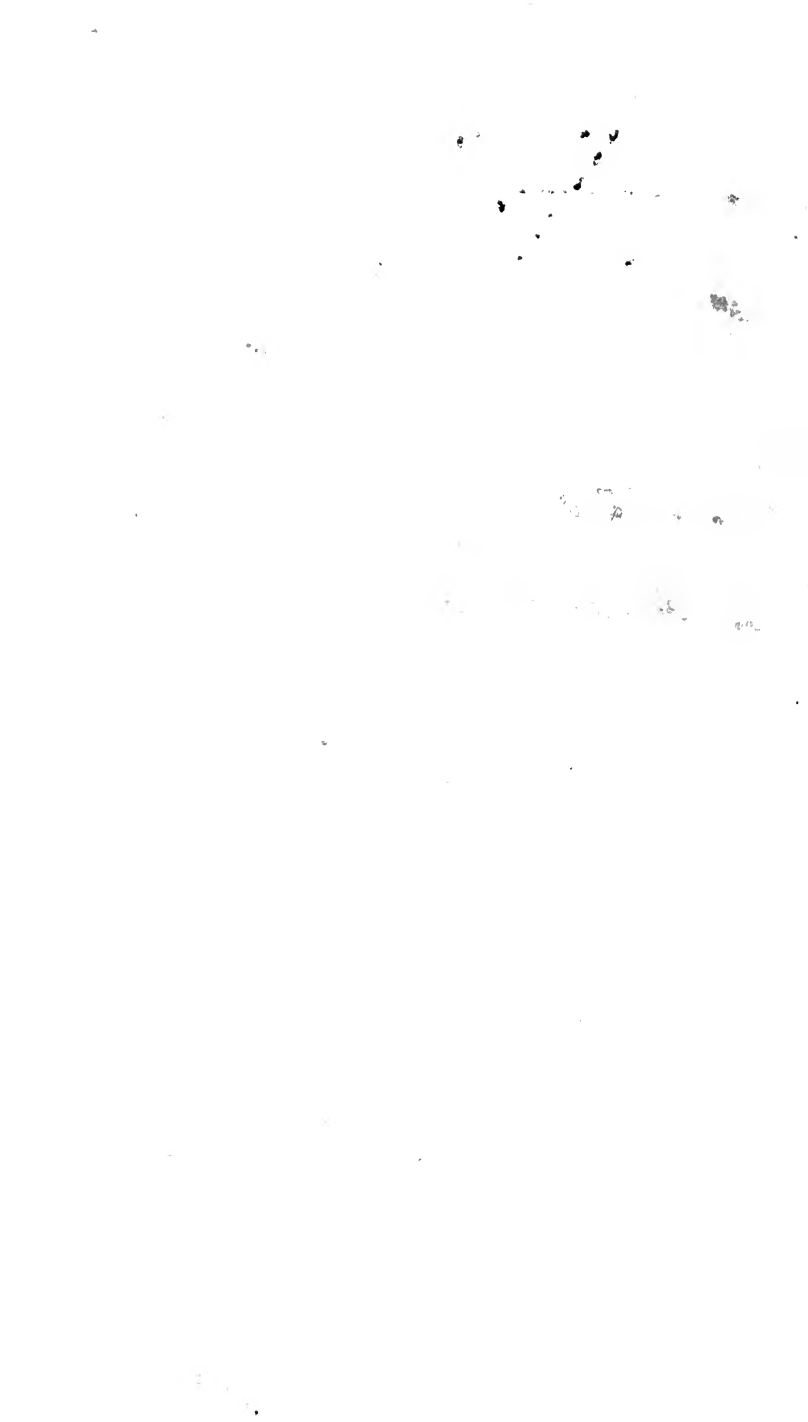
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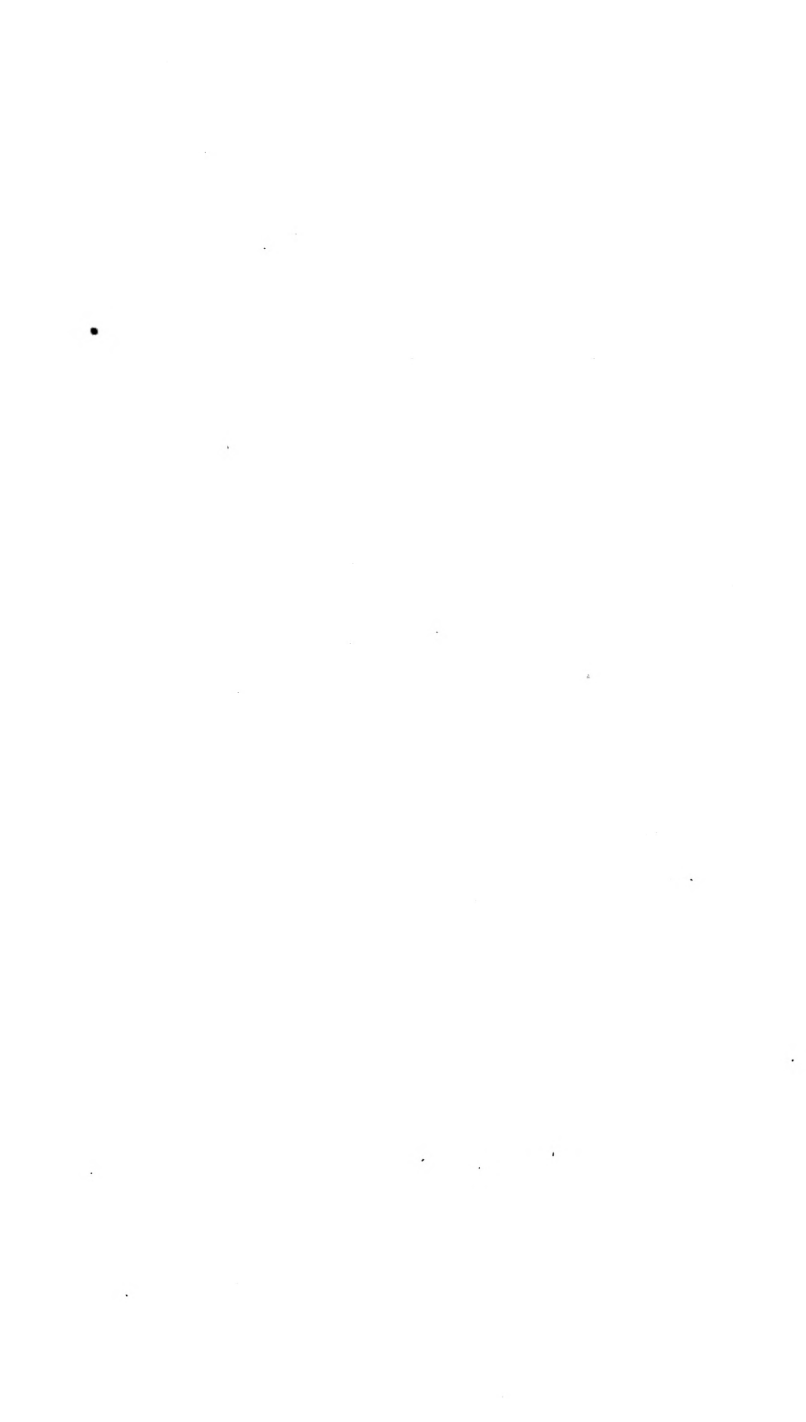
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INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

ON

DIVINITY.



IT is a very agreeable thing to see a number of young persons determined to apply themselves to the study of divinity. We must charitably hope that they are actuated by the noblest principles; that they are resolved to devote their life and talents to the service of Christ in the gospel. He is a good master; his service is liberty. They have not any flattering prospect of an illustrious or opulent state; but they may have in that office, the greatest inward consolation, and very commonly more serenity and peace, and as much of the real and desirable enjoyment of this life, as any class of men whatever.

It is altogether agreeable to the design of this institution, to have young men of piety and ability fitted for the public services of the churches. This was the very point in view with the worthy founders of this seminary, some of whom are yet alive; and as there was never, perhaps, any seminary, the support of which was more the effect of faith and dependance upon God, so it is to be hoped that he will honour many of the youth brought up in it, with employment in his vineyard and success in his service.

If I may be allowed to say any thing personal, I incline to add, that it is peculiarly agreeable to me. Nothing would give me a higher pleasure, than being instrumental in furnishing the minds and improving the talents of those who may hereafter be the ministers of the everlasting gospel. The hope of it is, indeed, the chief comfort in my present station. Notwithstanding the many encouraging circumstances that have happened since my arrival here, and the evident smiles of Providence upon the college, yet I confess I have often regretted the want of a pastoral charge. After having been for twenty three years constantly employed in preaching the gospel to a numerous, obedient, and affectionate people, to be employed in a way of life so considerably different, must have created some uneasiness. Just figure to yourselves, one that had been so long accustomed to preach to a crowded audience of from twelve to fifteen hundred souls every day, and all subject to my private oversight and discipline; now to have such a thin and negligent assembly, and mostly composed of those who think themselves under no obligation to attend, but when they please. In such a situation the sphere of usefulness seems to be greatly narrowed; but if I am made instrumental in sending out faithful labourers into the harvest, it will be an ample recompence; for as one of great zeal and discernment expressed himself to me in Britain: "You will be greatly mortified to see the difference between a small country society in America, and a large city congregation in Scotland; but if you be instrumental in sending out ministers of the New Testament, it will be a still more important station, for every gownsmen is a legion."

In this preliminary discourse, what I chiefly mean is to repeat, and endeavour to bring you to enter into, the great and leading view which you ought to have in your studies, and which I desire to have still before my eyes in teaching. This may be expressed in one sentence—to unite together piety and literature—to shew their relation to, and their influence one upon another—and to guard against any thing that may tend to separate them, and set them in opposition one to another. This is of more con-

sequence, and indeed, of more difficulty, than perhaps you will, as yet, be able to apprehend;—experience however, has taught me to view it in a most important light. Some persons truly, and perhaps eminently pious, from an inward conviction that religion is better than all the learning in the world; and perhaps observing, that ill-principled persons, the more learning they have are the more dangerous to the truth; have come to despise learning itself, as if the natural talent was to blame for the moral depravity. Of those who profess religion, some also, from a forward zeal, are impatient to begin the ministry before they are fitted for the charge: such persons are often quite insensible to the hurt they do to the interest of religion, and how much they injure the truths of God, by their manner of handling them. On the other hand, there are some, who promised very well in early life, but applying with vigor and success to their studies, became too much enamoured with human wisdom, and thought themselves such great scholars that they were too proud to be Christians. Intellectual pride is perhaps as dangerous a distemper as any we are liable to. I have often thought that great natural abilities, and great acquired knowledge, operate as a temptation, in a way similar to great wealth or external property—they are apt to intoxicate the mind—to produce self sufficiency and contempt of others, and to take away from that humility which is the greatest beauty, or if the expression be proper, the real glory of a Christian. I would therefore begin, by earnestly beseeching you to keep clear views of the importance both of piety and literature, and never suffer them to be divided. Piety, without literature, is but little profitable; and learning, without piety, is pernicious to others, and ruinous to the possessor. Religion is the grand concern to us all, as we are men;—whatever be our calling and profession, the salvation of our souls is the one thing needful. It is however, further and essentially necessary for a minister. I do not mean that it is necessary to the being of a minister in the visible church, or to the efficacy of the ordinances of the gospel to those who receive them. This is, properly speaking, a popish tenet, against which there is a question in

the shorter catechism expressly levelled. "How do the sacraments become effectual to salvation? The sacraments (and it must be equally true of every other ordinance) become effectual to salvation, &c." Some weak enthusiasts have gone into this mistake, and have said it is as impossible for an unconverted minister to convert a soul, as for a dead man to beget a living child. A similitude is no argument at all, properly speaking, but only an illustration, if the thing itself be just. In this case it is wholly misapplied, for it is neither the converted nor the unconverted minister that converts the soul, but the power of omnipotent grace, by any means that the God of grace sees proper to employ. But on the other hand, this takes nothing away from the necessity of religion in a minister, when properly understood. It is certainly necessary, in the most absolute sense, to the faithful discharge of a minister's trust; and for the same reason, it is of the greatest importance to his success. True religion seems to give a man that knowledge which is proper for a minister to direct and turn into its proper channel, the knowledge he may otherwise acquire. It seems necessary to make a minister active and diligent, upright and impartial, happy and successful.

On this subject, I must give you the following particular advices:

I. Do not content yourselves barely with sound principles, much less turn religion into controversy, but seek for inward vital comfort, to know in whom you have believed, and endeavour after the greatest strictness and tenderness of practice. When I desire you to look for inward vital comfort, I do not mean that you should wholly suspend your preparations for the ministry, or immediately lay aside thoughts of it, because you have not all that clearness and satisfaction concerning your own state, that you should both desire and endeavour to attain. There is hardly any principle so good, or any so clear, but it is within the reach of temptations, and capable of being perverted. Some being deeply convinced that it is a dreadful thing to preach an unknown Saviour, and not seeing reason to be wholly satisfied with themselves, have been thrown into doubts and embarrassed with scruples, and have given up

wholly that sacred office, to which they seemed both inclined, and called; this seems to be taking a very unhappy, and a very blameable course. If such fears had excited them to give all diligence to make their calling and election sure, they would have been properly improved. But laying aside the thoughts of the ministry only on this account, seems to carry in it a supposition, that they either do not intend, or do not hope, ever to be better. It is certainly to the public a much greater calamity, that there should be a bad minister, than a bad man of some other profession, but to the person himself, if he die in an unrenewed state, it will bring but little comfort. I would have you upon this subject to observe, that real Christians have very different degrees of comfort, and that if we examine the sacred oracles with care and accuracy, we shall find that what is termed assurance, is just the grace of hope in lively exercise. It is called the assurance of hope, Heb. vi. 2. as well as elsewhere, and as every real believer has some degree of hope, which makes him rest and rely on Christ alone for salvation as he is offered in the gospel, so perhaps there are not very many who have such a degree of steady and firm assurance, as to exclude all doubting. I know there are some that have taken it up as a principle, and make assurance, even in this reflex sense, the essence of faith; but when it comes to experience, except the phraseology itself, I do not find they differ much from others.

I mentioned to you particularly, strictness and tenderness of practice. This is of the utmost moment, as the fruit and evidence of real religion. All principles are valuable, but as they produce practice. But to explain strictness and tenderness of practice a little, observe, that the expression of tenderness, is borrowed from that passage of scripture, found in 2 Kings xxii. 19. 2 Chron. iii. 4. where of Josiah it is said, "because thine heart was tender," &c. it signifies a heart easily susceptible of conviction, and obedient to reproof. When this is applied to the carriage of one devoted to the service of the ministry, I think it implies, 1. the strictest watchfulness to discover sin and duty, and a disposition to obey the dictates of conscience with respect to both. 2. A concern to avoid, not only what is

in itself directly and certainly sinful, but whatever is but doubtful according to the apostolic doctrine, "he that doubteth," &c. 3. A willingness to abstain from lawful things, if liable to exception, or likely to be matter of offence.

II. A second advice I would give you upon this subject is, that you should remember the importance of the exercises of piety, and the duties of the closet. As there are no forms of prayer with us, the habit of closet devotion is necessary to give a minister fullness, propriety, and fervency in prayer. This for his own sake, also, he should attend to, for it is necessary to the preservation and improvement of the spiritual life. Pray without ceasing, says the apostle, intimating that the very spirit and temper of a believer, should be that of dependance upon God, and deriving by faith from him, every necessary supply. In order to recommend it particularly to you, I would observe, that it is peculiarly necessary to be begun in early life; perhaps there are few, if any instances of persons coming to a greater degree of fervour in devotion, or attention to the duty of it, in advanced years, than they had in youth. There are many particulars, in which an aged, if a real Christian, will insensibly improve: he will improve in meekness and humility, in prudence and judgment, in attention to Providence, in purity of principle, in submission to the divine will; but fervour in devotion must be begun early, while the passions are strong, and continued by the power of reason and habit. Perhaps you may think it of small moment, yet some very judicious and experienced Christians have given it as a rule upon this subject, to be strictly punctual and regular in point of time, and even place.

III. Early fix, and study under the influence of those principles, which should animate all your future labours, a concern for the glory of God, and love for the souls of men. If these are the principles of study, they will keep you from mistaking the way, and having taken early and deep root, they will bring forth fruit more abundantly in after life. Living by faith, is extremely proper for cultivating these principles. Keeping the whole system of revealed truth in view, will shew its moment; and particu-

larly what is revealed concerning the eternal condition of men, cannot fail to fill us with a concern for their welfare.

IV. Be diligent to acquire every necessary qualification ; and yet study self-denial in the use of them : this is one of the most important, and at the same time, one of the most difficult attainments. It is comparatively easy to avoid vain glory, if at the same time we indulge in sloth and negligence. But to meditate upon these things, to give ourselves wholly to them, for the glory of God and the good of souls, without having it in view to serve ourselves, this is real excellence, and here lies the greatest difficulty. Form yourselves to a true taste and real knowledge ; let your capacity want no improvement that it may be more useful, but beware of studying only to shine.

V. Lastly, guard against the temptation that is most incident to your state and situation, particularly, making the exercises of piety and the ordinances of the gospel matter of science and criticism, rather than the means of edification. When students begin to learn how things ought to be done, they are apt at all times to be passing their judgment of the manner, instead of improving the matter of public instruction ; not that it is possible to be wholly inattentive to this, but let it not carry you so much away, as to hinder your teaching others as humble Christians, as well as discoursing to them as able ministers.



LECTURE II.

LET us now consider learning as an important qualification of a minister. On this subject, after saying a few things on its moment, I shall endeavour to point out to you what branches of study it will be your interest to apply yourselves to, with greatest diligence. As to

the importance of learning, there being no reason for us in this age to expect immediate or supernatural revelation, the acquiring a proper measure of knowledge by study and application, is absolutely necessary. No parts or capacity are sufficient without this; nay, such is the wise order of Providence, that to improve a talent is to possess and secure it—to neglect it, is to lose it. There is scarce any thing that a man could once do ever so well, but if he lay aside the practice, he will lose the faculty. It is lamentable to think what a poor and contemptible figure some persons make in advanced life, who had good talents from nature, but suffered them to rust in sloth, or to be blunted by sensuality and self-indulgence. Learning is necessary to keep the sacred truths we are obliged to handle, from contempt. Great weakness and insufficiency expose the ministry to contempt, even amongst the meanest of the people; but it is especially a stumbling block to those who are themselves persons of literature and taste. It is extremely difficult for them to receive and relish things delivered in a mean, slovenly manner. Suppose, for example, one who is not so much as sensible of the grossest improprieties of stile, speaking in the hearing of persons of rank, or of real knowledge: and as even a good man is not always wholly free from vanity and affectation—suppose too that the speaker should swell his discourse with high and pompous phrases, or hard, and out of the way scientific terms—only think how great would be the temptation, to such persons as I have mentioned, ~~not~~ to neglect what is good, from its being mixed with what they so justly despise. Learning is also necessary to repel the attacks of adversaries. The gospel has never been without enemies from without, and from within; and as it is usually by means of human learning that they make the attack, it is necessary that some should be ready to meet them, and able to unravel the subtilty with which they lie in wait to receive. I have often thought that there was something very admirable in the choice our Saviour made of his first ministers, to assist us in adjusting our views upon this subject. for the more immediate

manifestation of divine power, when the wise and great in the world were united against his truths, he chose twelve illiterate fishermen, which should teach us not to over-rate the wisdom of the wise ; and lest in after ages we should be tempted to under-rate it, he chose one apostle, able and learned, and to him he gave the most signal success ; so that he laboured more abundantly than them all, and was honoured to be the penman of a very considerable part of the code of the New Testament.

But let me now proceed to consider what branches of study it will be your interest to apply to with the greatest diligence ; and if I am able to do this with propriety, I am persuaded you will find it of the most signal service. A traveller loses time upon his journey by going out of the road, as well as by standing still ; and if his direction is very wrong, the time is more than lost, for his distance is increased, and his strength is exhausted. On this subject be pleased to attend to the following remarks. There is no branch of literature without its use. If it were possible for a minister to be acquainted with every branch of science, he would be more fit for public usefulness. The understanding which God hath given us, and every object that he hath presented to it, may be improved to his glory. A truly good man does grow both in holiness and usefulness, by every new discovery that is made to him ; therefore learning in general is to be esteemed, acquired, and improved ; and perhaps I may also say, it were therefore good if a minister were a person of extensive knowledge. But our time and capacity are both limited, and we cannot do all that we could wish. On the subject of literature in general, observe, that reading a few books well chosen, and digesting them thoroughly, together with the frequent exercise of reflection, will make a knowing and intelligent man : but to make what the world calls a learned man, or a great scholar, requires a very general knowledge of authors, books and opinions of all kinds. A person of great discernment may perhaps observe a still nicer distinction, in the use of epithets in our own language. The phrase “ a man of learning,” according to its present acceptation in Europe, almost always supposes and in-

cludes, taste in the belles lettres. A great scholar, or a man of erudition, always carries in it the idea of much reading: the first always supposes genius, the other may consist with very moderate talents. A pretty large circle of the sciences is taught in our schools and colleges; and though many think it too extensive, yet something of the principles of the whole may be understood by a person of capacity and diligence: his knowledge may be true and just, though not minute. A man may not be a mathematician or an astronomer, and yet understand something of the true system of the universe. He may understand many sciences so far as to comprehend the reasoning of those more deeply skilled, who speak and write of them, and so as to speak with politeness and consistency within his own line, in every thing he says of them. But to excel in any particular branch of science, and to know every thing upon that branch that may be known, is the work of a life-time. Grammar, mathematics, astronomy, oratory, history, law, physic, poetry, painting, statuary, architecture, music; nay, the subordinate divisions of some of these sciences, such as, anatomy, botany, chymistry, are all of them sufficient to employ a life, to carry them to perfection. It is therefore plainly in itself improbable, that almost any man can attain a high degree of perfection in all, or indeed in many of these branches of study. There is even something more to be observed; the person who addict himself to any one of those studies, so as to be an adept, or really a complete master in it, cannot be a man of extensive knowledge; and it is but seldom that he can be a man of a liberal or noble turn of mind, because his time is consumed by the peculiarities, and his mind narrowed by attending to one particular art. He is likewise apt to esteem his favourite study so much as to confine all excellence, and even all capacity, to it. A profound botanist, smitten with the love of flowers and herbs, if he meets with a man that does not know one from another, and does not value a ranunculus or anemone more than a pile of common spear-grass, has a sovereign contempt of such an understanding. Dean Swift takes notice of a curious expression this way,

of a dancing-master, at whose school the famous Harley, Earl of Oxford, had been in his youth; when he was made secretary of state, he said, he wondered what the Queen could see in that man, for he was one of the greatest dunces he ever taught.

Hence you may observe, that all who are devoted to the particular study of one small branch, are generally considered as pedants; and indeed commonly are such as are understood by that expression. Their thoughts have taken such a course, and their ideas themselves taken such a tincture from their favourite study, that they see every thing through that medium, and are apt to introduce the expressions belonging to it, upon every subject and occasion. Mr. Addison in one of his *Spectators* observes, that every man whose knowledge is confined to one particular subject is a pedant, as a mere soldier, a mere actor, a mere merchant, &c. but that the learned pedant, though generally most laughed at, is of all others the most tolerable, because he has generally something to communicate that is worth hearing. But I observe, that the most reasonable pedants, and the least to be blamed, are those whose whole hearts are set upon what is their business for life. Therefore, though a schoolmaster can scarcely speak without citing Virgil or Horace, he is to be indulged; and though he may not make the most distinguished figure in public or polite life, yet he is useful in his generation, and fit for the discharge of his trust—Therefore, a minister that is a mere theologian, well acquainted with the scriptures, though with few other books, or books upon other subjects, and is master of the controversies that belong to divinity, properly so called, is certainly much more to be pardoned, than one ever so much skilled in any other science without this. But what shall we say of those, who mistake their duty so very much, as to be chiefly distinguished for that which they have least to do with. I have known a physician, who was a much greater connoisseur in music than in medicine; and a divine, much more famous for accounts and calculation, than for preaching. It is therefore, in my opinion, not any honor to a minister to be very famous in any branch that is wholly uncor-

needed with theology ; not that knowledge of any thing, properly speaking, is either a disadvantage or ground of reproach ; but for a man to show a deep knowledge of some particular subject, plainly discovers that he hath bestowed more time and pains upon it, than he had to spare from his necessary duty. It is also usual in all such cases, that the favourite pursuit infuses such a quantity of phrases and allusions into his language, as render it stiff and improper, and sometimes ridiculous.

Agreeably to these remarks I observe, that the assiduous studies to theology, are chiefly the following : 1. Languages. 2. Moral Philosophy. 3. History, sacred and profane. 4. Eloquence, including the belles lettres study in general.

I. Languages. These indeed, used to be reckoned essentially necessary to learning in general, immediately after the revival of learning in Europe : The Greek and Latin languages were studied universally, and with great care. All authors who expected their works should live any time, wrote in Latin ; but since the cultivation of the languages of Europe, this has been gradually discontinued, and except in some few scientific writings, have now wholly ceased. However, as the remains of the ancients are still the standard of taste, all literary persons should make themselves acquainted with the languages. It is to be lamented that many spend a great part of the time of their education in learning Latin and Greek, and yet few ever attain them to that perfection, which alone can make the learning of a language of great moment, so that they can read the authors with pleasure and profit, for the matter which they contain. This might be easily attained by almost any student after his grammar school and other education ; and reading over the classics with some of the best critics upon them, would be a very improving study. Books of history and entertainment also, in Greek and Latin, would have a happy effect this way. The Hebrew language also, is very proper and useful for a divine, being the language in which a great part of the scriptures were originally written, and not difficult to acquire, because we have but few writings in that language

at all, and the language itself is not copious : to these I only add the study of the French language; it is both useful and ornamental. There is hardly any such thing as a learned education in Britain, where the French language is omitted. It was the first polished of all the modern languages of Europe, having been at least fifty years before the English in this respect; and though there are some branches of writing in which there are English authors not inferior to any of the French that I am acquainted with; yet in general, there is to be found a greater purity, simplicity and precision, in the French authors, than in the English. But what indeed chiefly disposes me to recommend the French language to divines is on account of the sound, calvinistic, reformation divinity: there are many more able and elegant writers in that language, than in English; there are also some admirable practical treatises written by the popish divines in French, as well as by the Jansenists of the Roman catholic communion: Jansenists and Molinists in the church of Rome, are just the same as Calists and Arminians among protestants.

II. Moral Philosophy. The connexion of this with divinity will be easily seen. It is a very pleasant and improving study in itself, or a good handmaid to the christian morality; and the controversies upon that subject, which are all modern, stand in immediate connexion with the deistical controversies, which it is necessary for a divine to make himself master of. There are few of the ancient writers of much value upon that subject, excepting Plato among the Greeks, and Cicero among the Latins, especially the latter. The remains of Socrates (to be collected from the writers of his country, but chiefly from Xenophon,) the works of Epictetus, Marcus Antoninus, and Seneca, contain many moral sentiments, but little or nothing of the principles of morals. I think the most beautiful moral writer of the ancients, is the author of the *Tablature of Cebes*. As to any thing contained in the ancients, relative to the truth of Theology, it will be found almost universally collected in Cudworth's intellectual system.

III. History, sacred and profane. This is a study, easy, pleasant and profitable, and by a peculiar happiness of

this age, fashionable. As a clergyman should be a man of liberal knowledge, and fit for the conversation and society of men of rank and letters, it is necessary that he be well acquainted with history; if he is not, he will be often ready to betray his ignorance before persons who should be much his inferiors in point of study: besides you see a great part of the sacred writings, both of the Old Testament and the New, consists of history; and few things are more necessary to the just and critical study of the scriptures than an acquaintance with history, with the original state and gradual progress of human society; it adds greatly too, to a minister's knowledge of the human heart; in that respect it may be said to be the way to that knowledge of the world which may be obtained at least expence and with perfect safety.

IV. Lastly, Eloquence; that is to say, composition and criticism, including the whole of what is commonly called the belles lettres study. Nothing is more plain than the necessity of this science: public speaking is to be the chief, or one of the chief parts, of a minister's business for life. I shall not enlarge on this, having occasion to speak on it at great length in another department, which you have had, or may have, an opportunity to hear. I should have made more mention of books, but as I have written, at the particular desire of some of the last year's scholars, a list of the principal and most valuable writers in every branch of science, it will be more complete, for any that desire it, to have copies of that list.

LECTURE III.

THE subject on which we are now to enter, is the truth of the Christian religion. I am sensible that every good man has a conviction of the truth of the gospel from its power and efficacy upon his own heart, distinct from, and superior to, all speculative reasoning. That deep and

heart-felt sense of the corruption and weakness of our nature, and of the power of indwelling sin, which is inseparable from the reality of religion, and the perception of the admirable fitness of redemption by the cross to abase the pride of man, and to exalt the grace of God; to give consolation to the sinner, while it changes the heart; is highly satisfying to a considerate, if at the same time, a serious person; so that for his own sake, he would pay but little regard to all the foolish cavils of men of corrupt minds: nay, there is something more; the whole system of the gospel, as depending upon, and having constant reference to the cross, is so contrary to the taste of a carnal mind, and so far from carrying in it any of the marks of human wisdom that it is impossible to suppose it a cunningly devised fable, and therefore we may cordially embrace and rely upon it, as the power of God into salvation. One thing more I would say, by way of introduction; that the custom of some ministers, of constantly entertaining their hearers with a refutation of infidel objections upon every subject, is not much to be commended. This seems to proceed upon a supposition, that a great part of their audience is inclined to infidelity. There are times and places when that is proper I admit; but there are many others in which it is either quite unnecessary, or even hurtful, as tending to bring people acquainted with what would perhaps never otherwise have fallen in their way. It is however certain, that since in modern times especially, this controversy has been greatly agitated, and indeed of late almost all other controversies have been dropped on account of it, or lost in it; a student of divinity should be well informed upon it. I will therefore endeavour to state it to you with as much distinctness as I am able, and as much brevity as its nature will admit. The subject must be taken up a little differently, as we suppose we have to do with different adversaries—atheists and theists.

The controversy with the first, perhaps it is unnecessary to treat with much length, because it is not difficult, and because there are but few that plead the cause of infidelity upon this footing, yet some of the latest infidel writers,

particularly David Hume, has raised such objections, as seem chiefly to point this way. The boundless scepticism he has endeavoured to introduce, would weaken the belief we have in the Deity, as much as in the gospel; and indeed, as he seldom attacks particulars, (except in the case of miracles) his enmity seems to be against religion in general, and not against the gospel: the same thing may be said of Voltaire, Helvetius, and other foreigners; though Voltaire deals very much in particular cavils, and of the most silly kind.

In the deistical controversy, what commonly leads the way, is the necessity of revelation in general. This is to be proved from the state of the heathen world, before the coming of Christ. The chief circumstances to be taken notice of, are, 1. Their gross ignorance. 2. Their absurd notions of God, as of human shape, with many passions, and the worst of vices. 3. Their impious and shocking rites, particularly human sacrifices. 4. Their polytheism, and multiplicity of gods. 5. Their great immorality. It is to be particularly observed, that these things were not confined to the barbarous nations, but if there was any difference, it was rather more eminently the case with those who were thought the most improved and civilized, the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. The first infidel writers in Europe, were chiefly employed in shewing the sufficiency of reason as a guide to man in his conduct, of whom Lord Herbert, of Cherburg, was one of the most early, and one of the most eminent. Their way of arguing is very fallacious; for they avail themselves of that very improvement of reason, which they owe to revelation, in order to shew revelation to be unnecessary. The sublime and noble conceptions of God, as the father of spirits, which after they are discovered, can easily be shewn to be rational, are boasted of as the productions of unbiassed reason; but the fair way of deciding the question is to apply to those nations that wanted revelation, that is to say, the Jewish and Christian revelation, and there we shall see what reason, in the course of many ages, was able to do in fact. There is likewise more here than is commonly attended to; for there is the greatest probability

that the small measure of truth which was mixed with the heathen fables, was not the discovery of reason, but handed down by traditions. It is well known that the Egyptian theology, and their literature, whatever it was, was kept a secret, and was handed down from one to another by their priests, and it is as certain that the earliest Grecian philosophers never expected that they could, nor pretended that they had, discovered any of their opinions by reason, but they travelled to Egypt, and the Eastern countries, and brought it home, as information which they had received from the sages of those countries. This was the case of Thales in particular, and after him of Pythagoras. Several ingenious writers have endeavoured to shew that the heathen mythology contains, in many respects, a partial and adulterated view of the scripture history : see on this subject, Abbe Banier's mythology of the ancients, with regard to the Greeks and Romans, and Abbe Pluche's history of the heavens, with regard to the Egyptians.

But with regard to the necessity of revelation in general, what seems particularly decisive is, that by a fair examination of the matter, and the universal consent of all nations, men in a state of nature are chargeable with guilt. Whatever may be said either of original sin, or inherent pollution, it cannot be denied that there is much moral evil in the world. So true is this, that the history of the world is little else than the history of human guilt. They that would evade this, by saying men are only imperfect, do not observe that they are guilty of such crimes as are strongly condemned by their own reason and conscience. Now, whether there is any forgiveness of sin and place for repentance ; and if at all, upon what terms, can never be determined but by an express revelation. This is implied in the nature of guilt. Guilt is a liableness to just punishment : now, whether God will remit a punishment which he may inflict with justice, must rest ultimately with himself, and no reasoning can decide upon it. Try it who will, every argument brought in favour of the remission, will militate against the justice of the punishment. This appears from the very language of persons disposed to such sentiments, for they cannot help saying,

and indeed they have nothing else to say, but that it is probable, for it would be *hard* to suppose that every transgression should be punished with divine vengeance : but pray let us consider this way of speaking ; where is the hardship ? Is justice hard ? On the contrary, it is glorious and amiable. I confess it is difficult for us sinful creatures to confess, and still more difficult from the heart to believe, that every sin deserves God's wrath and curse, both in this life and that which is to come ; it is however the necessary consequence, not of one, but of the whole system of scripture truths. There you have in every page, the highest encomiums upon the mercy and compassion of God. 'These are all without meaning, and contrary to truth, if it would have been the least impeachment of the righteousness of God to have suffered the penalty to take place. Pardon, if the word is understood, must be free. Benignity and goodness to the innocent, is a part of the character of the Deity in natural religion : but mercy to the guilty, belongs wholly to revelation. Accordingly, it is upon this point, that all the heathen religions have turned. Expiation seems to have been the great purpose of all religion, whether true or false. " Wherewith shall I come before the Lord ? " &c. The necessity of revelation was acknowledged by many of the heathens in their writings. Of these, the saying of Socrates to Alcibiades was a remarkable example, that it was reasonable to expect God would send one into the world to deliver men from ignorance and error, and bring them to the knowledge of himself.

LECTURE IV.

On the Truth of the Christian Religion.

HAVING endeavoured to establish the truth of revelation in general, we come to the truth of the Christian religion in particular. The proofs of this are so many, and laid down so differently, according as the adversaries of the truth have shifted their ground, that it is impossible to enumerate them, and indeed not easy to class them. There is one introductory way of reasoning, which may be called comparative—to reflect on the infinite difference between the Christian, and all other pretended revelations. If the necessity of revelation has been properly and fully established, then comparisons between the several pretences to it seem to be just, and even conclusive. Now I think it does not admit of hesitation, that with respect to purity, consistency, sublimity, dignity, and every excellence which a manifestation of the true God must be supposed to have, the Christian religion is superior to every other. The heathen superstitions have not now so much as an advocate. Infidels do not now plead for Jupiter, Juno, Mars, and Apollo, but for the sufficiency of human reason: and indeed, an age or two after the publication of the gospel, that whole corrupt system which had been supported so long by ignorance and credulity, fell to the ground.

Passing from this detached and preliminary consideration, the proofs of the Christian religion are very commonly divided into evidence *internal* and *external*. By the first of these we are to understand the excellency of the doctrine, as agreeable to the dictates of reason and conscience, and having a tendency to produce the happiest effects. Under this head also comes the character of the founder of the Christian faith, and every thing connected with this or the former particular. By the external evi-

dence, we are to understand the miracles wrought in attestation of the truth of the doctrine ; the nature and subject of these miracles, the credibility of the witnesses, and every thing necessary to support this testimony. It is difficult however, to collect the evidence under those heads, without often intermixing the one with the other. I have therefore thought the evidences of the truth of the Christian religion, might be as well divided in a different way. First, into two heads under the following titles ; 1. Collateral, and 2. Direct and positive proof. And again to divide the collateral into two parts, and take the one of them before, and the other after the direct evidence, under the titles of *presumptive* and *consequential*.

I. Let us consider the presumptive evidences of the truth of the Christian religion, or those circumstances that recommend it to our esteem and love, and are of the nature of strong probabilities in its favour. These we may, for order sake, divide into such as relate, 1. To the doctrine taught. 2. The person who is the author and subject of it. 3. The circumstances attending its publication, and other probabilities.

1. The doctrine taught. When this is considered in the way of an argument for its actual truth, it rests upon this principle, that every doctrine that comes from God must be excellent ; that therefore, if the doctrine did not appear of itself to be excellent, it would be rejected without further examination, because not worthy of God ; and on the contrary, that if it appears excellent, amiable, useful, it is some presumption that the claim of a divine original, is just. It is a just reflection on Christ's doctrine, never man spake like this man, as well as the following, no man can do the miracles that thou dost, except God be with him. Under this great head of excellence, or a doctrine worthy of God, may be considered separately—
1. Its Sublimity. 2. Purity. 3. Efficacy. 4. Plainness. 5. Consistency.

1. Sublimity. The doctrines contained in scripture concerning God, his works, and creatures, and his relation to them, is what must necessarily have the approbation of unprejudiced reason, and indeed is the most noble that

can be conceived. His spiritual nature infinitely removed from inactive matter, incapable of grossness, and of sensual indulgence. The unity of God, so contrary to the prevailing sentiments under heathenish darkness, yet how manifestly rational. Strange, indeed, that the whole world should have been in a mistake on this subject, and the Jews, a despised nation, in an obscure corner of Palestine, should alone have discovered and embraced it. The immensity of God filling heaven and earth with his presence. His omnipotence in creating all things by his word. His holiness, justice, goodness and truth : to these we may add the constant influence of his providence, as the Lord of nature, the witness and the judge of all. Very beautifully the prophet says, " can any of the vanities of the Gentiles cause rain ;" so the apostle Paul, " nevertheless he left not himself without a witness," &c. The moral government of God, as taught in scripture, is exceedingly rational and satisfying, representing his great patience and long-suffering, to be followed by a time of holy and righteous retribution. The mixture of good and evil that is plainly to be observed, is by this means clearly explained, and fully accounted for. On the sublimity of the scripture doctrines, some are fond of dwelling upon the majesty of God, and the sublimity of the scriptures in sentiment and language, as well as matter. Upon this part of the subject, things have been said, and the controversy taken up, on different footings. We have one adversary to religion, Lord Shaftsbury, who has been at much pains to vilify the scriptures on the subject of style and composition, and to pretend, that if it were the work of inspired writers, it would be evidently, in its manner, superior to every human production. In answer to this pretence, there was a book written, Blackwall's Sacred Classics, comparing the scriptures with the ancient writers, and shewing that there is not any blemish in writing to be found in the scriptures, but may be justified by similar expressions in the most approved classics, and that there is no beauty in the classic authors, in which they are not outdone by the sacred penmen. This book I think is well worth reading by every scholar or di-

vine. Dr. Warburton has been pleased to condemn this way of justifying the scriptures, and even to affirm, that taste is a thing so local and variable, that it was a thing impossible to have any book designed for all mankind, to answer such an idea as Lord Shaftsbury seems to have formed; nay, he seems to deny that there is any such thing in nature as a permanent standard of taste and propriety in writing; but that there is one manner for the Oriental, and another for the Western writers, and that such have their excellencies, and no comparison can take place between them. I would not choose to join wholly with either of these. It is I think plain, that it was not the design of the scriptures to be a standard for eloquence, nor does it appear any way connected with the end of revealing divine truth; on the contrary, it seems to be the purpose of God, to bring us from glorying in human excellence. On the other hand, as I am persuaded there is a permanent standard of propriety and taste, so I am fully convinced there are many examples of sublimity and majesty in the scriptures, superior to any uninspired writings whatsoever.

2. The next thing to be observed of the doctrine, is its purity; that is to say, having an evident tendency to promote holiness in all who believe and embrace it. That this is the design and tendency of the Christian doctrine, is very plain. It is its express purpose, to set sin and immorality in the most odious light, and not barely to recommend, but to shew the absolute necessity of holiness, in all manner of conversation. It is pretended by some infidel writers, that gravity and apparent sanctity, is the essence of impostors, and that all impostors do deliver a system of good morals. But there is not only one excellence in the Christian morals, but a manifest superiority in them, to those which are derived from any other source, and that in three respects: 1. That they are free from mixture, not only many things good, but nothing of a contrary kind. 2. That there are precepts in the Christian morality, and those of the most excellent kind, very little, if any thing resembling which, is to be found in uninspired moralists. The love of God—humility of mind—the forgiveness of injuries—and the love of our enemies.

The love of God may be inferred consequentially, from many of the heathen writers; but it is no where stated with that propriety and fullness as the first obligation on the creature, as it is in the sacred scriptures. Humility of mind, as represented in the gospel, is wholly peculiar to it. It is observed by some, that there is no word, neither in the Greek nor Latin languages, to signify it. *Humilitas* in Latin, from whence the English is derived, has a different meaning, and signifies low and base. *Mansuetudo animi* in Latin, and *Præotes* in Greek, are the nearest to it, but are far from being that; even the forgiveness of injuries and the love of our enemies, are rather contrary to the heathen virtue; and modern infidels have expressly pretended that the Christian religion, by its precepts of humility and meekness and passive submission to injury, has banished that heroism and magnanimity which gives such an air of dignity to the histories of Greece and Rome. The third particular, in which the Christian morals exceed all others, is the excellence of the principle from which they ought to flow. The law of God is not contracted into governing the outward conduct, but reaches to the very heart, and requires further that our obedience should flow, not principally from a regard to our own happiness, far less to our own honour, but from a principle of subjection in the creature to the Creator, and a single eye to the glory of God.

III. The excellence of the scripture doctrine appears from its *efficacy*. By this I mean the power it hath over the mind, and its actual influence in producing that holiness it recommends; there are several things that deserve consideration on the efficacy of the scripture doctrine. 1. It contains the greatest and most powerful motives to duty, and the fittest to work on our hopes and fears. These, I confess, are much the same in general that always have been proposed as inducements to a moral conduct, yet they are opened with a fullness and force in the scripture no where else to be found. Eternity there makes a very awful appearance. Particularly with respect to the gospel and the New Testament discoveries, we are told that life and immortality are brought to light by them.

2. It carries the greatest authority with it ; the principles of duty are more clearly and fully enforced by the proper authority, than any where else ; the right of God, from creation, to the obedience and submission of his creatures, his additional title from continual beneficence, to which ought to be added, by Christians, the right acquired by redemption ; to all which is further to be added, the divine nature itself, as our pattern. 3. The effectual assistance, provided in the scripture doctrine, to deliver us from the bondage of corruption and bring us to the glorious liberty of the children of God ; this is of more consequence than is commonly apprehended ; despair of success breaks the powers of the mind, and takes away at once the will to attempt and the power to perform, whereas effectual aid has just the opposite effect. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit, taking it singly in this view, is most happily calculated to animate men to diligence, and inspire them with courage and resolution, and seems generally to shew the efficacy of the Christian doctrine.

IV. Another excellence of the Christian doctrine is plainness ; it is level to all capacities, well fitted for all ranks, rich and poor, wise and unwise. It is given as one of the marks of the Messiah's coming, and is one of the glories of the gospel, that it is preached to the poor. Religion was plainly designed for all mankind, their interest in it is the same ; therefore it must be plain and simple ; whatever is otherwise, whatever system is built upon abstract reasoning, and is evidently above the comprehension of the vulgar, is, for that very reason, unfit for their service, and carries a mark of falsehood upon itself. There is even something more in the simplicity of the gospel, than barely the plainness of its truths and duties. It is from first to last founded upon facts still plainer. A great part of the inspired writings is history ; the Old Testament is founded upon the fall of man, and is filled up with the history of Providence, or God's conduct to his chosen people ; and the New Testament contains the birth, life, and death, the resurrection and ascension of Christ. So material a part of the doctrine do these things comprise, that the character of the apostles is just that of being witnesses

of Christ's resurrection. 5. The last excellence to be taken notice of in the Christian doctrine, is its consistency. This consistency may be viewed to advantage in two different lights; first, its consistency with itself. It is remarkable that the Christian revelation is not a single system that was, or might be supposed to be, the occasional production of one man. It extends from the creation, downwards, to the present moment, or rather, taking in the prophecies, to the last day and consummation of all things. It consists of several different revelations, and particularly, two grand different dispensations of providence and grace. The one of these is perfectly consistent with, and suited to the other. It is not easy to suppose an impostor either willing to perform, or able to execute, any thing of that kind. But when we consider the creation, and the fall of the Old Testament dispensation, and the prophets of the different and distant ages, conspiring to forward one great design, and the appearance of the long promised Saviour, at the fullness of time, so exactly corresponding to it, it takes away the possibility of a concert, and therefore the suspicions of an impostor. It is also consistent with the actual state of the world, in which we find two things very remarkable. 1. A great depravity, and wickedness. Men may speak and write what they please, upon the beauty, excellence, and dignity of human nature, taking their ideas from the dictates of conscience, as to what we ought to be. But it is beyond all controversy, that if we take mankind from the faithful records of history, and examine what they have been, we shall have no great reason to admire the beauty of the picture. What is the fame of the greatest heroes of antiquity? Is it not that either of conquerors or law-givers? Conquerors give clear testimony to the wickedness of man, by filling the earth with blood, and shewing us what havock has been made in all ages, of man by man. And what is it that law-givers have done, but distinguished themselves by the best means of repelling violence and restraining the ungoverned lusts and appetites of men. Now the Christian religion is the only one that gives a clear and consistent account of human depravity, and traces it to its very

original source. This consistency of the doctrines of religion with the actual state of the world, and present condition of the nature of man, is very convincing in the way of collateral or presumptive proof. The other particular remarkable in the state of the world, is, the universal prevalence of the offering of sacrifices, a thing found among all nations, and which continued till the coming of Christ. These sacrifices were a confession of guilt, for they were always considered as an expiation. But besides this, it does not appear how they could have occurred, even in that view, unless they had been at first a matter of revelation, and handed down to mankind by tradition, and carried with them in their dispersion over the whole world. It does not appear how any body could have imagined, that taking away the life of a beast should be any atonement for the sin of a man; much less does it appear how every body should have agreed in imagining that same thing. But if you take it in conjunction with the truths of the gospel, its agreement appears manifest, and its universal prevalence is easily accounted for. These sacrifices were instituted and ordained of God, as typical of the great propitiatory sacrifice to be offered in the fullness of time, by Christ upon the cross.

LECTURE V.

2. **W**E proceed now to the second branch of this head, to consider the presumptive proof of the truth of the Christian religion, arising from the person who is the founder of it. He is indeed not only the founder of it, but the subject of it: for the whole may be said to relate to his person and undertaking. For order sake, let us here consider separately, 1. His character. 2. His situation and hopes. 3. The spirit of his religion. 4. The measures he took to promote it,

I. His character.—This as painted in the gospels, in their simple, unaffected, and therefore probably genuine narratives, is truly admirable—the most meek and gentle, the most tender-hearted, the most truly benevolent, and active without ostentation, and the whole crowned and illustrated by fortitude and patience, and the most unconditional subjection to divine Providence. It is unnecessary to go through, at length the various excellencies that adorned the man Christ Jesus. Those who are acquainted with the gospel history, will see the beauty and propriety of the apostle John's expression, 1st chapter of his gospel, and 14th verse, "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." It is not improper to adduce here, the evangelists' authorities because they were his disciples and may be supposed interested parties. For they are the only witnesses from whom we can expect a testimony upon this subject; and considering them as employed in giving a full account of his character and life, however they might be supposed to disguise or add, they could not wholly conceal a character fundamentally wrong: and as there are more of them than one, it would have been impossible for them to have avoided inconsistencies and clashing, if they had not kept to the truth in point of fact, at least, if not of character; and indeed their whole histories are facts without any laboured encomiums, which carry the most internal marks of sincerity of any histories extant among men.

There seems not only no design to embellish their master's character, but none to conceal the defects of their own. It is from the partizans of Mahomet only, and what they have recited of his history, including his own writings, that we learn his avarice, pride, and lust. Add to this, that indifferent writers among the heathens have spoken to the praise of Jesus. I am sensible however, and think it best to inform you, that several of the writings taken notice of by some of the ancient fathers, are probably spurious, as the letters from Agbarus King of Edessa to Christ, and the letter in answer to it from Christ to him. Eusebius tells the story of Agbarus having heard of Christ's fame, and sending to him to come and cure him.

Eusebius in this case seems really to have given credit to it, on the memorials presented to him by the church of Edessa—But the language given to Agbarus is too like that of a Christian, and the answer of Jesus Christ is misquoting, as well as misinterpreting scripture. See Dupin's Ecclesiastical History. The letters said to be from the Virgin Mary, are evident forgeries of a late date. The letter said to be from Pilate to Tiberius, is not so universally acknowledged to be false. Bishop Pearson has largely and learnedly defended it, and it is very possible there might be some account sent from Pilate to Rome at the time of Christ's crucifixion, even though the letter now to be seen should not be genuine. There is also a passage of Josephus, and in all the manuscripts of that author, very favorable to the character of Christ. However without going further into these, the very silence of Josephus, who is known to have been an enemy to the Christian faith, is an evidence that he had nothing to object against the character of Christ, as he certainly would have done it willingly, and in the history of the Jews had so fair an opportunity.—The character then of Christ was not only blameless, but amiable. This is certainly a considerable presumption in his favor. His credentials deserve to be considered with care, and his pretensions to be weighed with impartiality; nor ought it to be forgotten here, that his own sincerity was proven in the most unquestionable manner. He sealed his testimony with his blood. That he was tried, condemned, and crucified for his pretensions, is absolutely certain. This is one of the most important facts in the history of the gospel, and it does not admit of any doubt, for his enemies reproach him with it, and his friends affirm and glory in it. We may depend upon it therefore that he was sincere. He would never forfeit all that could be dear on earth, and suffer an ignominious death, for what he knew to be false.

II. Let us next consider his situation and hopes. In any great and hazardous undertaking, especially in an impostor, there must be some possible or probable way of accounting for the motives of the deceiver. In this case there is nothing that can lead us to suppose, or that can

well admit the supposition, of his contriving a cunningly devised fable. He was of that rank in life which could not readily inspire that resolution; he was of that sort of education that could not fit him for carrying it into practice, or give the least probable hopes of success, if he should attempt it. When his enemies, as they all did at first, called him the carpenter and the carpenter's son, they did not observe the force of that, when impartially considered. One of no higher capacity and instruction, could neither be supposed fit to conceive or execute so noble a design. Could he, supposing him a mere man, in that sphere of life, have the least expectation of prevailing over the power and wisdom of the world combined against him? Whoever weighs this with impartiality, will find it very satisfying and convincing to the mind.

III. It receives, however, great additional force from the next particular, viz. the spirit of his religion, and that scheme of doctrine and system of duty, which he promulgated and supported. It was directly opposed (in the first place) to the prejudices of the Jews. Could we even suppose, which is otherwise so difficult, that all the preparatory dispensations, and the whole concordant succession of Jewish Prophets, and the general persuasion of the Jews and the Eastern part of the world, (testified by the Heathen Historians) that a great prince was to come from that country and lay the foundation of a lasting dominion, happened by chance.—Could we next suppose, that a cunning impostor, finding things in this situation, was willing to take the advantage of it, and pass himself upon the world for the expected prince, he would no doubt have formed his plan upon the views which the Jews had; and must have founded his hope of success entirely upon this circumstance. They expected a temporal prince, and he came an humble teacher, and suffering Saviour. —By this means he had not only the disposition of the corrupt, but the prejudices of the best part of his countrymen, to oppose. What a strange scheme of human contrivance! he had no reason to think he could convince men, and he taught that it was unlawful to force them! This reasoning is supported by experience. In fact, during the

period from Christ's death to the destruction of Jerusalem, there were many impostors who made their appearance, and they every one took the measures I have described above. The Jews expected a mighty Conqueror, and they always appeared at the head of a band of fighting men. Every impostor would act the same part in a similar case.—Again, as his plan was opposed to the prejudices of the Jews, so indeed it was opposed to the prejudices of human nature. The cross of Christ was foolishness to the Greeks, as well as a stumbling-block to the Jews. The humility and self-denial of the gospel and the precepts of passive submission, as well as the distinct account our Saviour gives to his disciples of the opposition and suffering they must expect, had nothing in them alluring to the world in general, and did not seem at all calculated to draw away disciples after him. When I say this, I am very sensible that moral precepts, in some degree, must sanctify even an imposture itself. If any man were to pretend a divine mission, and teach gross immorality, he would be despised and disbelieved, even by immoral men. But a contrived religion, that the contriver wishes to proceed, must be accommodated to human taste.—Whereas, like the religion of Christ, true religion has been, is, and always will be, contrary to the spirit of the world.—I shall just add that the founder of the Christian faith did not contrive his religion, supposing it ever so successful, in such a way as to bring honor or profit to himself, or those who should be afterwards concerned in the administration of it. Instead of preaching up form and ceremony, stately temples, and costly sacrifices, he preached them down, and shewed that they were vain, when considered in themselves, and only valuable as types and shadows; so that they were to cease after his appearance. Instead of exalting his priests and ministers, he makes them servants of all: This reflection upon pure religion and undefiled, as delivered by our Saviour himself, will appear to have great force, if you consider, that it is from this very quarter that all the corruptions of Christianity in the following ages took their rise; they proceeded from

that love of pomp and power, and the influence of that worldly spirit which he took so much pains to restrain.

IV. Let us consider what measures he fell upon to procure a favourable reception to his doctrine. He called and employed twelve poor illiterate fishermen, no way qualified for such an undertaking.

On this part of the subject it has been often shewn with great force of reason, that if the gospel were a fable, the apostles who bore so great a part in its first publication, must have been impostors or enthusiasts, deceivers, or deceived; both these points have been labored by several eminent writers, and it has been shewn that they could not be either the one or the other. Not deceivers, because they had not the least temptation to it. There was not only nothing to gain by it, but they were obliged to suffer the loss of all things for their adherence to the Saviour. Poverty they must and did suffer, during his life-time; and though, during a great part of his personal ministry, they had the favour of the people, yet about the time, and ever after his crucifixion, when the apostles came to appear upon the scene, continual reproach and universal scorn was their portion; the truth is, they seem to have been forced into the service, for a mixture of fear and unbelief made them all forsake him and fly, when he came to his last conflict. Neither could they be enthusiasts, and themselves under the power of delusion, for many reasons. Their master was well known to them, living with them in a state of the most intimate familiarity. It was not to a single fact that they bore testimony, but to a whole character and life. His miracles also were all plain and public, and of such a nature as that the deceit must have been easily perceived. But there is another circumstance more powerful than any other, he professed to endow these his disciples with a power of working miracles themselves. Now certainly in this they could not be deceived. A man may, by great flight and address, make me believe he does a thing that he cannot do; but to make me believe that I myself, through my whole life, and at a distance from him, and even after his death, can, and do perform many things, which yet I do not,

is plainly more than improbable; it is literally impossible. So just are these remarks, that in fact, even the disciples of Christ themselves, appear so far from having laid any scheme of delusion, that they appear plainly, at first, to have been under the same prejudices with the rest of the Jews. They seem evidently to have expected him to appear as a temporal prince and conqueror; and probably their hopes of honor and offices in the kingdom which he was to establish, contributed at first, in part, to their yielding to the evidence of his divine power. This seems to have been the import of the request of the mother of James and John, "Lord grant that these my two sons may sit," &c. as also it seems to have been the meaning of this question, put to him by his disciples in general, Acts. 1. 6. Lord wilt thou at this time restore "the kingdom to Israel?" If this was the case, can any person believe they were deceived? would not the disappointment of their carnal expectations have provoked them to forsake him, if they had not been brought under the power of inward conviction, from what they saw and heard?

It is proper to remark here upon the measures he took to procure reception to his doctrine, that he framed his religion totally different in kind, and in principle, from all the heathen religions.

They differed from one another in the objects of their worship, and in their several rites, but they were all supposed to be consistent. There were, in different countries and even cities, different gods and different ways of worship; perhaps also different families had various household gods in one city; but they were not supposed to be destructive of each others divinity; so that it was easy to introduce the worship of a deity into any place in which it had not been before. It was remarked of Athens by an ancient writer, because of its readiness to adopt the worship of every divinity, that it was hospitable to the gods. But Christ on the contrary, in his religion equally opposed them all, declaring that the gods made with hands which the Gentiles worshipped, were no gods. This was highly consonant to reason, because no lie is of the truth; yet

it would have been highly impolitic in an impostor, and indeed would not readily have occurred to an impostor. It is remarkable that Lord Shaftsbury has attacked the Christian religion on this very head: he commends the heathen religion as of a sociable nature, whereas the Christian is abhorrent from all others. This shews how much the greatest men may be made silly by prejudices; for nothing can be plainer, than that whatever is according to truth, must be opposite to every falsehood.—When we put all these things together, with the enlargements of which they are capable, and which will probably occur to most of you in hearing, they seem to take away all possibility of supposing the gospel to be the product of an impostor.

III. The third general head of presumptive evidence, contains the circumstances attending the publication of the gospel. Many of these are worthy of observation, and we shall find that, taking them singly or collectively, they are in general such as, supposing the gospel to be true, greatly illustrate the wisdom of God in the choice of them; but on the other supposition, they were the most unfavorable for procuring a reception, and causing success to an impostor.—The time of Christ's appearance is called in scripture the fulness of time. This indeed may be understood as only meaning the appointed time—that which had been fixed by the ancient prophecies. There are however many other respects, in which it may be called the fulness of time. The ignorance and wickedness of the world had come to a full height. The remains of tradition for many ages continued to have some effect, but were by this time wholly obliterated by the inventions of men.

There had also been full time to try every other method of reformation; so that the intervention of divine providence, according to the testimony of several heathen writers, was become necessary. Whoever will look into the reasoning of Cicero, "*De natura Deorum*," and his other moral, or theological disputations, will have a very clear and full conviction, how much men of the finest genius and greatest penetration, were bewildered upon the subject

of religion. This very thing indeed has been recommended by some judicious persons for a man to satisfy himself of the necessity of revelation in general, and if this is fully done, the acceptance of the Christian religion follows as a speedy consequence.

We may also take notice, that the world in general at the time of Christ's appearance, was fitted in a manner it never had been before, for spreading the knowledge of the truth with the greatest facility and speed. The Roman Empire, which had risen gradually, was then extended in a manner over the whole known world. Before that time, the immense number of small, independent, and commonly hostile states, rendered mutual access and intercourse far more difficult. It is true, before this, the Assyrian and Persian monarchies were of considerable extent, but neither comparable to this, nor of any long duration. But now the nations being united under one head, it was easy to carry the tidings of salvation to the most distant corners. Add to this the favorable circumstance, that there was peace over all the world at the time of Christ's birth; a fit emblem of his character who was the Prince of Peace. It was also designed for another purpose, that there might be easy access and opportunity to the Apostles, to fulfil their commissions, Mark xvi. 15. "Go ye into all the world," &c. The event fully corresponded to this preparation for it in providence; for it is incredible to think with what rapidity the apostles carried the name of Christ through the world, and how early the gospel was preached to the most distant nations. It is also observable that when this purpose had been served by it, the power and greatness of the Romans came to an end. As soon as the church was planted in different corners of the Roman Empire, that vast body, which had long been growing to such an enormous bulk, was first rent into two parts, and then broken into innumerable smaller divisions. Take it therefore as a great design of Providence—the time and circumstances appear admirably to illustrate it. But on the other hand, what probability could there be, that a handful of illiterate mechanics should be able to overthrow the whole system of Heathen

theology, that had continued so long and spread so wide ; —that they should think of doing this, in opposition to the power of princes, the learning of philosophers, the interested policy of priests, and the rage, and enthusiasm of a deluded people ! Strange indeed, that these successful agents, should come even from an obscure corner, and from a nation that was of all others, not merely despised, but execrated and abhorred. That they should, notwithstanding, succeed by preaching the divinity of a crucified man, a fact that carried in it the highest idea of baseness and ignominy. Finally, that they should do this without the parade or form of worship to engage attention ; without secrets or mysteries to excite veneration : but by the simplicity of that truth, which the worldly man despises, and the strictness of that law which the sinner hates.

LECTURE VI.

WE now come to the principal and direct evidences for the truth of the christian religion. This is of such a nature, as to be in itself full and conclusive ; so that if the facts alluded to be true, the consequence is necessary and unavoidable. Presumptive evidence is sometimes of such a nature, and carried so far by the concurrence of circumstances, as to produce even a clear and full conviction ; yet it differs in its kind from the direct conclusive proof.—A few circumstances of probability do but little, they gradually rise in strength by an addition to their number, but a direct proof, though single, if just, satisfies the mind. In this view, the proof of the truth of the Christian religion is the working of miracles. A supernatural power is the seal, or sanction of a supernatural commission. Perhaps, however, as the Christian religion is the completion of one great system, which began to

take place from the very fall of man, was gradually opened in succeeding ages, and perfected by the incarnation of the Son of God, we may divide even this single proof into two parts, the one consisting of the fulfilling the prophecies of the Old Testament, and the other of the miracles performed by our Lord in the days of his flesh.—These ultimately rest upon the same principle, for the foreseeing, and the foretelling of events future and distant, is as real a miracle, and perhaps as fully satisfying to the mind, as any other whatever. But before entering upon these two separate branches, it will be best to begin with what is common to both, and consider, 1. What is a miracle. 2. What is its proper import in confirmation of a doctrine, and the force of the proof.

I. Then let us consider the question, what is a miracle? Some say it is a reversing, altering, or suspending the course of nature, or its ordinary or general laws. Some say it is doing what is above the power of a creature or a finite being—And some, that it is doing what is demonstrably above the power of the immediate agent.—As to the first of these I would observe, that reversing, altering, or suspending the course of nature, is certainly a miracle; but the definition is not sufficiently comprehensive, because every miracle is not of that kind. The predicting the recovery of a person in sickness with special circumstances, as in the case of Hezekiah, or discovering a knowledge of things distant, as in the case of what our Saviour said to Nathaniel, are as clearly and evidently miracles, as any dominion over nature; besides it is not always in our power to say whether there is any controul or alteration of the laws of nature or not, as when our Saviour spoke to the winds and the sea, and immediately there was a great calm; a sudden calm might have happened in the course of things, and yet its following at that instant carried such a conviction with it, that the beholders immediately and justly said, “Behold what manner of man is this,” &c.

Against miracles, under this view of controuling the course of nature, Lord Shaftsbury, with his usual vivacity, and at the same time with his usual prejudice and partial-

ity, has objected thus; "strange," says he, "to make the altering the course of nature a mark of the Divinity, when this is not so convincing and satisfying a proof of the being and perfections of God, as the order and regularity of the course of nature." But nothing can be more equivocal, and indeed disingenuous, than this manner of speaking; for as the first constitution, and constant preservation of the frame of nature, is a proof of the wisdom and power of its Maker, so an express visible interposition in his own work, at his own time, and for his own great purposes, is certainly a most convincing proof of his power and presence. I shew my power in my family, by altering, as well as giving my commands; and my property in my ground, by cutting down a tree, when I have use for it in other service, as well as by planting it, or pruning it.

The second definition of a miracle is, that it is doing what is above the power of any finite being, and therefore shews itself to be the finger of God. This, though very often adopted by writers, I think is liable to great exceptions. We certainly can hardly be thought capable of defining what is above the power of the finite creature, and what not. Creation is justly reckoned an incommunicable power, though this is only a consequence from revelation, and particularly from worship being founded upon creation, and from this circumstance joined with it, that God will not give his glory to another; but what powers God may communicate to creatures, other than this, we cannot say, such as knowing the thoughts—perceiving things at a distance—making a man to do so by private intimation or expression—controuling the elements, and many others that might be mentioned;—therefore I apprehend it is the third that we must rest upon as the true and genuine definition of a miracle, &c. when it is evidently above the natural power of the visible agent, the person at whose command, at whose desire, or in attestation of whose claim, it is wrought. This is the point upon which we can most easily satisfy ourselves; and it is as sure an evidence of divine authority, as if we could certainly tell whether the thing produced, could, or could not,

be effected by a finite power. It was from this that the Jews concluded that our Saviour had the presence and assistance of God; "For no man can do the miracles that thou dost, except God be with him."

We are now to consider what is the import of a miracle, and of its effect in confirmation of a doctrine. Prodiges, and wonderful things, properly prove nothing at all, except when they are professedly wrought in attestation of some truth, or of some claim of the person who does them. They rest upon this supposition, that such a power is an evidence of a divine commission, and they are naturally expected as the credentials of those who pretend a divine commission. The Jews, you see, made the demand of our Saviour, John, vi. 30. "What sign shewest thou," &c. and though he sometimes refused to gratify their malicious petulance or obstinate incredulity, yet in general he appealed to his works, as the just and proper testimonies of his divine commission, John x. 25. "The works that I do," &c. John xv. 24. "If I had not done among them," &c. There are some who tell us that a miracle in attestation of the truth of a doctrine, must be considered as a sanction to it, only if this doctrine is in itself credible, consonant to reason, and worthy of belief. Those who reason in this manner, say, that some doctrines are so contrary or so shocking to reason, that no evidence can be more plain, even when a miracle is wrought, than the evidence of such doctrines being contrary to the nature and perfections of God. But I look upon this manner of reasoning to be very unjust and inconclusive. It tends in the result to set the reasonings of men, independent of revelation, above the testimony of God, and revelation itself.—This seems to be the darling theme, not only of infidels, but of pretended friends to revealed religion, who are worse if possible than infidels themselves. It is easy to see that if this is the case, there can be no benefit received by revelation.—Miracles are the only sanction that can be given to a revelation—Yet before these will be admitted, or suffered to be heard, these reasoners tell us, that we must consider the doctrine itself, whether it is worthy of God; and if they shall be pleased to judge that it is not, the miracles, and any other evidence that can

be given, are set at nought as of no value, and the matter not even brought to a trial.—This I apprehend to be really the case with many in the present age : but it seems to me very plain, that such is our blindness and ignorance in the things of God, that we know very little about them, till they are made known by God himself ; and if we were to make our own reason the previous standard of what was admissible or not in quality of revelation, it would make mad work indeed. I shall care very little what men of vain and carnal minds say of my sentiments ; but I have been many years of opinion, that as revelation was necessary, and revelation is given us, we act the most wise and truly rational part, if we take all our theological opinions immediately, and without challenge, from the oracles of truth. I confess it is agreeable to me to shew, that the truths of the everlasting gospel are agreeable to sound reason, and founded upon the state of human nature ; and I have made it my business through my whole life to illustrate this remark. Yet to begin by making the suggestion of our own reason the standard of what is to be heard or examined as a matter of revelation, I look upon to be highly dangerous, manifestly unjust, and inconsistent with the foundation-stone of all revealed religion, viz. that reason, without it, is insufficient to bring us to the knowledge of God and our duty ; and therefore as Socrates said to Alcibiades, “ It is reasonable to think that God will come down into the world, to teach us his will.” I am not insensible how far it would be just to carry the principle on which our adversaries ground their sentiments. Any new principles or doctrines, seemingly absurd in themselves, and unholy in their effects, would not, with judicious persons, be rashly or suddenly admitted ; and the more suspicious the principles are in themselves, no doubt we must examine the pretensions to miracles the more carefully.—This is the part of prudence ; but to carry it further, and say, we will receive no evidence that God has taught any thing different from what we ourselves think reasonable, is just weakening the truth before admitted, that revelation immediately from himself is evidently necessary.

It will be said by some, that sometimes pretensions not only to revelation, but to miracles, are contradictory and destructive of each other. I admit there may be such a supposition made, but I look upon it as a necessary consequence of the wisdom of the divine government, that he will not suffer any of these things to be, without sufficient marks whereby an impartial enquirer may discover the difference. This was the case of Moses and the magicians in Egypt, they were suffered to perform many things similar to his miracles, but still the great superiority was to be seen in his; and perhaps by the comparisons made between them and the other, there was the more evident demonstration of the finger of God. On this whole subject, and particularly the import of miracles as the proof of a doctrine, see Bishop Fleetwood's works.—These two preliminary points being discussed, what remains may be stated with the greater brevity, and to the greater advantage. The miracles in behalf of the truth of the gospel may be divided, as hinted above, into two parts, the fulfilling the prophecies of the Old Testament, and the miracles during Christ's personal ministry.—As to the first of these, nothing is more plain than the faith of believers being pointed from the earliest ages to a Saviour to come. From the first promise that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, through all the after discoveries of the divine will, this was manifest, and indeed more and more manifest, as it drew nearer to the fulness of time. Their foreknowledge and foretelling of future events is one of the most satisfying kind of miracles, and least liable to deceit. Christ was therefore the promised seed—The desire of all nations—The hope of Israel—The prophet that should come into the world. That he appeared at the time fixed in the ancient prophecies—that he answered all the characters or descriptions of the ancient prophets, that he did this in a way so peculiar that he plainly fulfilled them, although not in the way the mistakes of the latter Jews made them expect from him, is clearly apparent; and as I have stated, under the head of presumptive proof, their having departed from the genuine spirit of the promises, and his appearing in a

way contrary to their expectations, only seems to destroy every suspicion of fraud and imposture. Imposture could not have been continued and handed down through so many ages. Nothing like this is to be seen, or has ever been heard of, in the history of mankind, and therefore Christ, as the Messiah of the Jews, must give the most favourable reception to Christ as the Saviour of the world.* Here too we might particularly consider the miracles Christ performed in the days of his flesh. Then he appealed to as the evidences of his divine mission. But after the remarks that have been made above, on the subject absolutely considered, it will not be necessary to extend this part of it, I only remark that his miracles were upon the plainest subjects—the winds—healing the sick—feeding the multitude—raising the dead. The Pharisees foolishly asked a sign from heaven. It had been much easier to have dazzled their eyes with the appearance of some extraordinary meteor in the airy regions, than to have given them the proofs which he actually did.—I do not stay to illustrate the tender and benevolent subject of many of his miracles.

LECTURE VII.

WE now proceed to the consequential proofs of the truth of the Christian religion, that is to say, the circumstances that have arisen since the coming of Christ in the flesh, and his crucifixion on Mount Calvary. These I shall divide into the following branches. 1. Its incredible progress by the most unlikely means—great ex-

* See Redder's demonstration of the Messiah,

tent—and long continuance. 2. The great and valuable effects produced by it. 3. The visible fulfilment of scripture prophecies.

I. Let us consider its incredible progress. Immediately after Christ's ascension his disciples went into different parts of the world, and spread the truth with a success altogether astonishing. It is agreed, I believe, that in less than fifty years the gospel was preached and embraced throughout the vast extent of the Roman Empire.—This argument does not appear in its full force, unless we consider by what means the effect was produced. The apparent instruments were only a few fishermen of Galilee, without either power or learning. One would think it quite incredible that any of them should ever think of forming the design, still more so, that they should agree in it; for they were many and without a head; and that, though agreed, they should carry it into execution. That Minos in Crete, and Numa, at Rome, professed lawgivers and heads of their petty inconsiderable tribes, should pretend intercourse with the gods, and procure reverence for their decrees, or that they should succeed in their little dominions for a very short time, is not wonderful. But that such persons as Matthew the Publican and his companions, should form a design of subverting the whole of the old religion, and introducing the new, and succeed in it, is altogether astonishing. The wonder increases when we consider that these men were not united under any system of government among themselves, further than their principles of obedience to their Master, who had left the world. There was not any of them who claimed, or possessed superiority over the rest. They were separated from one another without any prospect of ever meeting again on earth.—Yet that they should agree in their doctrine, and propagate one religion, and that their separate writings should be the harmonious and concordant sum and standard of that religion, is not to be accounted for without the power and influence of that Providence which is over all the earth. It is not to be omitted here, that they obtained this success by preaching the divinity of a man who had been crucified, the most odious and contemptible idea

that could be presented to the human mind. One would have thought that as soon as Christ was crucified, it would at once have put an end to all further respect and attention to him. This it is most likely his enemies, the high-priests and Pharisees, thought themselves quite certain of, which made them so intent upon his crucifixion. I cannot help observing, that some judicious commentators have imagined that the Devil, the great enemy of mankind, supposed the same thing. He, though acquainted in general with the end of the Saviour's mission, yet certainly was not acquainted with every part of the design of infinite wisdom, and thought, if he prevailed to have Christ rejected by the Jews, judged, condemned and crucified by the Romans, he should entirely defeat the design. They suppose this to be the meaning of his triumphing over principalities and powers, making a shew of them on his cross, and by death destroying them that had the power of death, that is the Devil. I must further observe, that the whole doctrine of Christ is most directly opposed to human pride ; so much so indeed, that after it is embraced, and there is a general profession of it in any place, a worldly spirit is never at ease endeavoring to corrupt and alter it. I shall add but one circumstance more. The gospel was then successful, notwithstanding the greatest and most violent opposition made to it from every quarter. The heathen religions, as observed formerly, were not supposed to be mutually repugnant, and did not contend with one another ; but they all contended with the gospel, which was indeed their common enemy. The most violent persecutions were raised against the Christians throughout all the Roman empire. The philosophers and learned men, who had never contended with the popular religion, all united their force against the Christian religion. Yet the divine wisdom defeated the counsel of the wise, and brought to nought the understanding of the prudent ; that no flesh might glory in his presence. I must more particularly observe that Julian the apostate, who was not only the most inveterate, but also the most wise and able enemy that ever set himself in opposition to the Christian faith, tried to assault it in every way that could be thought of,

he found that cruelty and violence would not do ; then he tried reproach and public shame. He encouraged the philosophers by his kindness, and assisted them by his writings, and indeed he carried on his opposition with so much zeal that he even attempted the reformation of the pagan religion, by insisting on the heathen priests imitating the Christians in their mortified carriage, and the charitable care of the poor. But all would not do, and he himself by the circumstances of his death, proved one of the greatest means of spreading the triumphs of the gospel. When all these circumstances, with the enlargements of which they are capable, are taken together, the success of the gospel is a very powerful evidence of its divine original, so that we may well say, as the apostle did, “ so mightily grew the word of God and prevailed.”

II. The second thing to be considered is the great and valuable effects produced by the gospel. There is the greater reason to insist upon this part of the subject that enemies have shewed a great inclination to deny or misrepresent them. I am however persuaded that on a fair and candid examination, the effects of the gospel will appear to be truly great, and truly extensive. The effects of the gospel may be considered in two views, as producing knowledge and practice. Now did not the gospel introduce some knowledge in religion ? whoever will compare the system of religious belief which prevailed before, with that which took place after the publication of the gospel, will see the great excellence and virtue of that dispensation. Such was the power of divine light that it actually in a short time banished the absurd polytheism and idolatry of the heathen nations. So compleat was the victory that it never has again dared to lift up its head. The enemies of religion are not now to be stripped of Venus and Bacchus and the whole catalogue of those fictitious deities, the worship of whom, while it claimed to be religion, was nothing but a discipline of ignorance, vice and impurity. The only knowledge of religion which was of value among the ancients was the remains of tradition from the patriarchial age, and whatever now deserves that

name is borrowed from the gospel. It was an early remark of the Christian apologists, that the gospel had put to silence the heathen oracles.

On this head it is particularly remarkable, that the knowledge of religion which is the fruit of the gospel, is the acquisition of the multitude. There was something of this mentioned formerly in another view. It deserves however repeated notice, that the gospel was preached to the poor and brought light, not to particular men, but to mankind in general. A mechanic or peasant, instructed in the oracles of truth, has now more just and consistent notions of God, his perfections, his laws, his Providence, than the most renowned philosophers of ancient times.

It is observed by some when on this subject, that the gospel has introduced the greatest improvements of human as well as divine knowledge; not but that those arts which depend entirely upon the exertion of human talents and powers, were carried to as great perfection before, as since the coming of Christ, in the heathen as in the Christian world, such as poetry, painting, statuary, &c. But natural knowledge, or the knowledge of the constitution and course of nature, began with, and increased by religious light; all the theories of the ancients, as to the formation and preservation of the earth and heavens were childish and trifling. From revelation we learn the simple account of the creation of all things out of nothing, by the omnipotence of God; and perhaps there are few things more delightful, than to observe that the latest discoveries in philosophy, have never shewn us any thing but what is perfectly consistent with the scripture doctrine and history. There is one modern class or sect of divines, who affirm that all human science is to be found in the Bible—natural philosophy, astronomy, chronology.—This I am afraid is going too far; but I think it had not been possible for any writer or writers in the age of the sacred penmen, to have wrote so much on the creation of the world, and its history since that, without being guilty of absurdities and contradictions; unless they had been under the direction of an infallible guide.

The next branch of this head is, to consider the effects of the gospel, as to practice. Here I think, the first thing is to consider the manifest tendency and professed aim of the gospel itself, and its effects on those who truly believe it, and live according to it. The temper and character of such will appear to be truly admirable, and the more so upon a very strict and critical examination, if we consider the nobleness of their principles, the strictness, regularity, and universality of their practice, the usefulness and happy effects of their conversation.—A Christian's heart is possessed by the love of God, and his will subjected to the order of his providence. Moderation and self-denial is his rule with respect to himself, and unfeigned good-will, proved by active beneficence, with regard to others. Nor is this at all matter of mere theory—it is certainly matter of experience; nay, its influence hath been, as it ought to be, powerful in gaining the assent of others to the truth of the doctrine. The visible and eminent piety of the first ministers of the New Testament, and the earliest converts, had the greatest effect in procuring reception to the principle that produced them. The general integrity of their lives, and the eminent appearance in some of them of the illustrious virtues, charity, fortitude and patience, was what subdued all opposition.

The heathens sometimes reproached one another by the comparison, saying, see how these Christians love one another; how honorable was it, when one of the apologists (Lactantius) was able to say, give me a man who is wrathful, malicious, revengeful, and with a few words of God I will make him calm as a lamb: give me one that is a covetous, niggardly miser, and I will give you him again, liberal, bountiful, and dealing out of his money by handsful: give me one that is fearful of pain and of death, and immediately, he shall despise racks, and crosses, and the most dreadful punishments you can invent.

If we were to make a comparison between particulars, I apprehend the advantage would appear very just; but it is usual to state the comparison, not with regard to those that are truly religious, but to take it from the general conduct of those who profess the gospel. I am not sure that

any comparison is just but between real believers and others. However, we may make it both ways, and see how it will turn out. Compare the piety, humility, charity, and active zeal of a real Christian, with the most striking characters of ancient times, and the great superiority of the first will appear. Not only sottish idolatry, but lust, pride, ostentation, will appear to tarnish many of the last in a remarkable degree. But even with regard to mere profession, there is reason to say, that the manners of men are greatly improved, even where they are not sanctified.

He who will consider with attention the manners of ancient nations, will see great reason to abate of that veneration which his reading their exploits, as recorded by writers of eminence, may sometimes lead him into. There are persons to be found of such barbarity—in many instances prevailing through a nation—the custom of exposing their children—and in the case of some, there was such ferocity and cruelty, either plundering their enemies, or selling them for slaves—in sacking cities—as would make a person of any humanity, shudder in reading them. Rollin's character of the ancient Spartans, and President Goguet's account of the manners in general of the ancient ages, may give some conception of this matter.

LECTURE VIII.

THE third branch of this head, is the fulfilling of scripture prophecies. This is an argument very satisfying to the mind, and which might be illustrated by a great variety of examples. The Old Testament prophecies I have had occasion to consider in a former part of the subject, and shall not now resume, further than by making this observation, that there are some prophecies here, which not only had their completion in Christ, but continue to be fulfilled in the present state of the world.

Some entertaining peculiarities of this kind may be seen in several writers upon the partition of the earth, and the manner of its being peopled. In Delany's *Revelation* examined with candor, there are some things well worthy of the attention of a judicious and critical reader. Take one example, he mentions the prophecy of Ishmael. "His hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him, and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren." He says that this prophecy is fulfilling at this time as well as formerly; that the posterity of Ishmael, who settled in Arabia, are the wild Arabs, a people that are in a state of opposition to all the neighboring nations; that they never were subdued by any of the different princes that obtained dominion in different ages in those countries, and continue unconnected and unsubdued to this day.

But one of the chiefest instances we have to take notice of, on the subject of scripture prophecies, is the history and present state of the Jewish Nation. The destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, was prophesied of by our Saviour, in a manner so distinct and so particular, that it is not easy to imagine any thing to exceed it. With regard to the temple in particular, he said that there should not remain one stone upon another that should not be thrown down. He describes the extreme misery of the people when Jerusalem should be compassed about with armies, and he fixes the time in the most precise manner, that that generation should not pass away till all was fulfilled; and finally, he warns his own disciples, when certain signs appeared, to fly for safety. The reality of those prophecies, from the time in which they happened and the facts with which they were connected, is so well established, as not to be easily capable of contradiction. And when we compare the event with them it is truly astonishing; as the guilt of that people was very great, so the judgments on them were the most signal, terrible, and lasting, that were ever inflicted on any nation.

Their own Historian (Josephus) gives such an account of the miseries of the siege, as is painful and shocking to read; at the same time the contentions within the walls,

and the unrelenting fury with which they were animated one against another, makes it impossible to consider them in any other light, than as a blinded and deserted people. Another circumstance also well worthy of attention is, that as they had crucified the Saviour, and were particularly desirous to have that punishment, which was not a Jewish but a Roman one, inflicted upon him; so in the course of that siege they were crucified round their own walls, in such vast numbers that they wanted wood to make crosses to hang them on; all this too was done under the command of Titus Vespasian, one of the mildest men that ever commanded an army—so that the supreme order of Providence seemed to be forcing into its own service, every apparent instrument. It is well known that Titus, far from intending the destruction of the temple, had the utmost solicitude to have preserved it, but all was to no purpose, for God had said it should be destroyed. To add no more upon this head, the Christians in general, by attending to their master's predictions and following his advice, were preserved from the calamity.

Beside the destruction of the polite city and temple of Jerusalem, the Jews themselves, as a nation, continue a standing proof of the Scripture prophecies. Their continuing a separate people, notwithstanding their dispersion through all the earth for above 1700 years, and not mixing with other nations, is an event quite singular, that never happened in any other case; so that it appears quite supernatural, as if they were prepared by the providence of God to prove the truth of the Messiah, and to wait till their conversion shall crown the work, and be, as the scripture says, "life from the dead."

The other prophecies in the New Testament, in their accomplishment in the course of Providence, do also afford much entertainment and instruction to a serious mind. They are principally contained in the Revelations of St. John the Divine. I shall only now take notice of one, viz. anti-christ, or the man of sin, described in 2d Thes. 2, 3. "Who opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God," &c. The protestant writers, very gene-

rally suppose that the Pope and Roman Catholic system of superstition are the anti-christ prophesied of, and indeed they seem very much to quadrate with the description.— The setting in the temple of God, and shewing himself that he is God, corresponds surprisngly with the extravagant pretensions to infallibility in that church, and the excessive secular power and profit which it is intended to bring to the priest-hood. The account in the Revelation of kings and princes, giving their power and honor to the Beast, and no man being allowed to buy and sell, but those who had the mark of the Beast, corresponds exactly to the arrangements made by the Popish states for many ages, to the usurped dominion, and to that tyranny over conscience, which was every where exercised. The description of mystical Babylon, in the 17th of the Revelations, seems in all respects to quadrate with the city of Rome. The seven heads are said to be seven mountains on which the woman sitteth, and in the close of the chapter, it is said “and the woman whom thou sawest, is that great city, “that reigneth over the kings of the earth.” To all this you may add that part of the description, that she was drunken with the blood of the Saints, which was so eminently fulfilled in the dreadful persecutions for conscience sake, which were dictated by the anti-christian spirit, and carried on in the anti-christian states. To finish this parallel, the two witnesses who prophesied in sack-cloth, are supposed to be those, who never received the Romish superstitions, the Waldenses and the Albigenes in the Piedmontese vallies; by the history of whom it appears, that their faith and worship had been the same that it was from the beginning, and the same that was received and embraced at the reformation. This remarkable period is supposed to be painted in the deadly wound given to the beast, notwithstanding which it did live, and in the ten horns, which should hate the whore and make her desolate, and eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.

After this account, I must observe that there are some protestant writers, who have not fallen in with the scheme of making the Pope to be the anti-christ described in the New Testament; and as the apostle says, there are many anti-

christ, so these persons say there is an anti-christian spirit in every church, or the corrupt part constantly in opposition to the sound—truth striving with error, and pride with the meekness of the gospel. If this is admitted, the Roman Catholic church may still be considered as the scene of anti-christian usurpation, and it should put all others upon their guard, lest they in any degree partake of the sin, and so expose themselves to the judgment of the great whore. I shall only add, that there is a late opinion advanced by Mr. Glas and S——, which, so far as I know, was never thought of before these, viz. that an established church is anti-christ, that whatever has the approbation and authority of the civil government in any state interposed in its behalf, not only may, but must be contrary to the gospel. This is certainly carrying matters to excess, as is usual with interested persons, incensed with what they suppose to be injurious treatment. Mr. Glas being cast out of the established church of Scotland, and perhaps by an unnecessary stretch of power, fell into this resentful opinion; so that I do not see how this sentiment can be supported, either from scripture or reason, as it would seem to make it impossible for the kingdoms of this world to become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ: or for kings to become nursing fathers, and queens nursing mothers to the church; but so far I shall readily admit, that an intolerant establishment, and all tyranny over the conscience, partakes of an anti-christian spirit.

It will now be time to consider a little, the objections against the Christian religion. It is easy to see, that there must be in every infidel writer, particular cavils and exceptions, which are so numerous, and so various, that it would be in vain to attempt to mention them; but there are some general exceptions, which are to be found in all their writings, and on which they insist most that it will be proper to take notice of. Two of these have indeed already been taken notice of, as they fell in the way, viz. That reason is a sufficient guide to truth and happiness and therefore revelation is unnecessary; and that miracles are im-

possible, and incredible. Those I pass with what has been said on them above.

A 3d. Objection which used to be very much insisted upon, is the want of universality. If the Christian revelation was necessary, why was it not given in its full extent, from the beginning of the world, and spread through all nations? why was the world in general, so long left in darkness? and at this time, why are there such vast regions, and such multitudes of people, that are without the light of the gospel? Many different answers have been given to this objection; some shewing the extent to which the gospel has been carried; some shewing that the mercy of God through Christ will extend to all nations, in proportion to the improvement of the measure of light afforded them: But I apprehend there is a much more easy and satisfying answer to be given to it, which is this, that the objection proceeds from a groundless presumption that we are to judge of all the divine proceedings, and find fault with them, because they do not exactly follow the rules which we should have prescribed.—It militates equally against natural and revealed religion.—It may as well be asked, why is not every reptile a man, and every man an angel? why is not every creature as happy as he possibly could have been made? Nature and Providence is full of instructive analogy upon this subject. Why was not the earth peopled as early and as fully as possible? Why were the vast tracts of fruitful land in America, suffered for so many ages to be a wild forest, inhabited by wolves and tigers, and a few men almost as fierce as they? Nay, we may go much further, and ask, why was not the world, which appears to be only near 6000 years old, created millions of years before that period? The true and proper answer to every such question is, to resolve it into the sovereignty of God—he hath a right to bestow his mercies, in the time, manner and measure, that seem good unto himself. With regard to the difficulty about creation, some have attempted to assume a necessity, that every thing is necessary to the good of the whole; and so a worm in its place is as necessary as an angel; and one writer has attempted to prove, that the world could not

have been created any sooner; because, though it were now a million of years old, instead of 6000, the question would still remain: but this is only wading beyond our depth, and using words to which if we affix any precise, it must be allowed, we have not a complete or adequate idea. With respect to the time of the publication, and the extent of the progress of gospel light, or even the numbers that are benefitted by it, I would say, "even so Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight;" and I would particularly observe, that stating this as an objection against the truth of the gospel, is forgetting the great and fundamental doctrine of the gospel, that all men are under sin, and liable to the divine wrath; and that sending Christ into the world, is an act of free and sovereign grace. If therefore, it be really mercy to those that are saved, no objection can be brought against it from the number of circumstances of those that perish.

4th. Another great objection against Christianity is, that it introduced into the world persecution for conscience sake, which was before unknown. This is an argument on which infidels delight to enlarge. The fierce contests that have been upon the subject of religion, and the many who have died in the field, and been brought to a scaffold or stake, on religious accounts, have been set forth in all the force of language. There is no argument used by infidels that I think may be more easily refuted, or rather indeed, be effectually turned against themselves than this. In the first place it is a plain accomplishment of our Saviour's prediction, "think not I am come to send peace on the earth." Now if this never happened before upon a religious account, which the argument supposes, by what means should he foresee it, but by a preternatural knowledge? But after we have gone thus far, we are still to observe, that the Christian religion in no other way introduced persecution for conscience sake, than by suffering, not inflicting it. It was persecuted by Jews and Gentiles with unrelenting fury, for 300 years after the coming of Christ in the flesh. Is there any body that opens the Bible, that does not see that persecution is not taught there? It will be said that in after ages, Christ

tians persecuted Christians, with as much rage as the Heathen ever did. I answer if that matter be carefully looked into, it will be found, that it was the spirit of the world that persecuted the meek believers in Christ, in every age. There is a remark of a certain writer that the persecution carried on against the Protestants in France, was not by bigots and those under the power of superstition ; but by those who were low in their principles, and had no religion of any kind. But this is not so great a rarity as he imagined, for it is but seldom that persons who are much in earnest about religion themselves, are concerned in opposing others ; at any rate, it is manifest that none can rashly judge, much less persecute others, if they attend to the doctrine of the gospel.

LECTURE IX.

Of the Doctrine of the Trinity.

IT seems highly necessary, that Students of Divinity, should give particular attention to this subject, as it relates to the very nature of the true God who is the object of our worship and trust. Indeed, as it is so nearly connected with the doctrine of redemption, its importance is apparent. We cannot form just notions, and indeed hardly any, of the satisfaction of Christ, without being explicit upon this head. Let us first endeavor to state, briefly and clearly as possible, what the scriptures teach us to believe on the subject, as summed up in the Protestant confession, distinguishing it from opposite errors, and afterwards give a succinct view of the proofs. The doctrine may be

briefly summed in two branches (1) first the unity of the divine nature (2) the trinity of person in the divine essence.

First, The unity of the divine nature.—That there is but one God, infinite, eternal, unchangeable, indivisible. The unity of the God-head is greatly insisted on in scripture. It seems to have been the capital article of revealed truth under the Old Testament Dispensation, in opposition to the vanities of the gentiles. The first commandment of the decalogue is, “Thou shalt have no other gods before me,” and again Deut. vi. 4. “Hear O Israel the Lord our God, is one Lord.” The glory of God is particularly asserted upon this subject, that he will not give his glory to another nor his praise to graven images. The unity of God seems to be the grand article of natural religion, clearly supported by reason from the impossibility of supposing infinite perfection to reside in more than one subject, as well as from the harmony and unity of the design that appears in the universal system. This part of the subject suffers no difficulty which arises from the addition of the other particular from revelation, viz. (2) that in this unity of the divine nature, and in a perfect consistency with it, there is a threefold distinction. In other words, there is the most perfect simplicity and unity of nature, and yet in the mode of existence a plurality. We call it in English three persons in the Godhead. The ancient fathers used to call it in greek *treis upostaseis*. It would be wrong to contend that either of these gives a full and adequate idea of it, because indeed it is incomprehensible. For in the language of inspiration, it is said to be the Father, the Word or the Son, and the Holy Ghost or Spirit. As soon as men began to dispute upon the subject, and exercise their reason, imagination, or invention upon a matter of mere revelation (as was soon done, by the mixture of platonic philosophy with the study of the scriptures) they fell into various opposite errors, which however were all of them constantly condemned and opposed by the consent of orthodox writers. Some said there was no distinction at all, in the divine being, only he was represented in different lights, and made known by different

names, as standing in different relations to us. Sabellius, I believe was the first author of this doctrine, and they were afterwards called from him Sabellians, and sometimes Patropassians, from the consequence of that doctrine, that the Father as much as the Son, must have suffered upon the cross. Others went to the opposite extreme, and supposed there are three wholly distinct and independent, but concordant beings : neither of these have ever been the general sentiments of Christian divines ; nor do I think any of them is at all agreeable to scripture or reason. We find in scripture most clear and positive assertions of the unity of God on the one hand, and on the other, a real plurality, in some respects. There is a common, peculiar and reciprocal, but distinct agency. The Father is said to beget the Son—to send the Son—and the Son to pray to the Father, to promise and to send the Spirit, which is said to proceed from the Father—and the solemn benediction, is in the name and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Ghost.

Some time before the council of Nice, Arius, set on foot his notions of the inferiority of the Son and Spirit, calling them, either properly or improperly, creatures. I use the word improperly, because there were some, especially in latter times, called refined Arians, who respected the Son as dependant in the order of nature ; but at the same time, as an eternal effect, from an eternal cause.—In opposition to Arius, the council of Nice asserted the Son to be truly and properly God, of one substance with the Father, self-existent and independent. Last of all came the Pelagians, and the Socinians, who denied the divine nature of Christ altogether, and asserted that he was only a man. These opinions, as doing the utmost violence to scripture, and over-throwing the whole doctrine of redemption, deserved to be treated with the utmost abhorrence. Nor indeed are Arians at bottom much better, because the difference between the most exalted creature and the meanest, vanishes altogether, when compared with the difference between the mightiest order of created beings, and the true God.

The whole œconomy of our salvation teaches us the necessity of attending to and believing this doctrine; but I see neither necessity nor propriety in endeavoring to dip into the mode of it, and attempting to explain it. If it be a mystery and above our comprehension, every attempt to explain it must be, if not criminal, yet unsuccessful. And indeed this is the case with almost every thing that relates to God, or is connected with the Divine perfection. The wisest way for us, with regard to all revealed truth, is to receive it as revealed, not presuming to be wise above what is written.

I do not mean by this to condemn the Council of Nice, for though there may not be a great deal in some of the expressions used by them, their only meaning was to express their disapprobation of the opinion of Arius, which was certainly subversive of the proper divinity of Christ. But I apprehend we ought to condemn the making emblems of this truth, such as a triangle inscribed in a circle. This at least is of no use, or more probably it is always pernicious; and indeed I should think it a direct breach of the second commandment: nay, I think attempting to explain it by the powers of created intelligences is no way safe or proper, although done by some very worthy men. For an example, when the trinity is supposed to correspond with power, intellect and will, in the human nature.

It is not the usual way, on most subjects, to introduce or answer objections, before proposing the proof; yet I believe it will be the most proper method, on the subject we are now treating. The difficulty here does not arise from the weakness, uncertainty, or obscurity of the proof; but from the power of prejudice. In order therefore to prevent or destroy prejudice, it will be best to consider what objections lie in the way of the doctrine. The rather indeed, that all objections to the doctrine itself are reducible to one—that it is contrary to reason, absurd, inconceivable, or impossible. It is surprising to think with what insolence and triumph some have pretended to treat this sentiment, saying it is a contradiction that God should

be both one and three, at the same time. But notwithstanding the great confidence with which enemies to the truth talk upon this subject, I am sincerely of opinion, that their confidence never could be more misplaced. Let us examine the matter coolly and impartially. When men speak of a thing as against reason, and yet pretend to believe in Revelation, the meaning must be, that it is so manifestly absurd and self-contradictory that no proof can support a revelation which contains it. But in order to this it must be a thing altogether within the compass of our reason and judgment; if otherwise, the first unexperienced dictate of reason, is nothing at all; neither for, nor against it. The state of nature and experimental philosophy did scarcely ever shew things to be what men imagined them before; neither is it at all wonderful that revelation should inform us of what we could not have suspected. The use of revelation indeed implies this. Therefore the common distinction of systematical divines, is far from being either obscure or improper, that things may be above reason, and yet not contradictory to it.

By this expression above reason, may be understood two things—beyond the power of reason to discover, and above the reach of reason to comprehend. In the first sense, it would be absurd to controvert it, and even in the other, if it was carefully attended to, and prejudice laid aside, there would be little difficulty. The enemies of the truth always put more in the idea than is intended, or ought to be contained in it. The just statement of it is precisely this, we believe a fact which is fully proved and authenticated, although there are some circumstances, as to its cause and consequences, that we do not understand. There are many things in theological, moral, and natural knowledge in which the case is the very same. I believe that God is a spirit, and that there are also created spirits different from God, wholly unembodied, and yet I have very obscure and indistinct ideas, if any idea properly at all, of what a spirit is, and the manner of its operation. Cartesians believe that a spirit has no extension, and that a hundred thousand of

them may be in the same place ; which by the bye is an example of the absurdity with which men talk upon subjects which they do not understand ; for according to them, place is a relation incompetent to a spirit, and therefore it is as absurd to say that a spirit is in a place, as that three are in the same place. The whole matter is above our comprehension, and no man can make me understand either how distinct substances can occupy the same place, or even the Newtonian opinion, that a substance, simple and indivisible, can be in every place. From which it is demonstrable that there may be many circumstances relating to things of great moment and certainty, that are to us totally incomprehensible. In natural things I believe that the seed rotting in the ground, is the mean of producing the blade of the future stalk ; but if you ask me how this is done, or how the moist earth can have any influence either on the mortification or the growth, I know nothing at all about it.

Therefore though we say that the trinity in unity is incomprehensible, or above reason, we say nothing that is absurd or contrary to reason ; so far from it, I may say rather it is consonant to reason and the analogy of nature that there should be many things in the divine nature that we cannot fully comprehend. There are many such things in his providence, and surely much more in his essence.

But when our adversaries are pressed upon this subject, they say sometimes it is not an incomprehensible mystery we find fault with, but an apparent contradiction that God should be three and one. We know very well what numbers are, and we know perfectly, whatever is three, cannot be one, or one three. But this is owing to great inattention, or great obstinacy. We do not say there are three Gods and yet one God ; three persons and yet one person ; or that the Divine Being is three in the same sense and respect that he is one ; but only that there is a distinction, consistent with perfect unity of nature. I apprehend great reserve and self-denial is our duty on this subject. It has sometimes been said, why should we doubt whether there can be three persons in one nature,

when we ourselves are an example of an incomprehensible union of this nature in our persons. If this be used merely as an illustration, and to shew that the thing is possible and credible, I have no objection to it ; but if it be carried farther, it is improper and dangerous.

Upon the whole, we ought to consider the objection against this doctrine as altogether ill founded, and be ready to receive with all humility the Revelation of God upon this subject just as he has been pleased to communicate it.

The second thing to be attended to is the proof of the doctrine, as contained in the Holy Scriptures. On this I will just, very shortly, consider the scripture proof of the Trinity in general, and then, at some more length, point out the proofs of the proper Deity of Christ the Son ; upon which last, as is natural to suppose, the controversy hath always chiefly turned.

The proofs of the Trinity in general may be taken (1) From the form of baptism ; we are commanded to baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

As baptism is the initiating profession taken from all converts, it seems evidently to point at the great object of worship and obedience. Neither do I see at all how it can be accounted for, that the Son and Holy Ghost should be classed and put upon the same footing with the Father—but upon the supposition of this truth. And indeed their very designation leads us to an equality of rank, it is not said in the name of God, and the name of Jesus of Nazareth, or his human name, but in the name of the Father and the Son. Those who will consider this matter attentively will find more in it than perhaps at first sight appeared. Baptism is certainly the badge of Christianity, the seal of God's covenant. With whom then is a covenant made ? Doubtless with those in whose name we were baptised, and therefore our covenant God, is most fully described by Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. To this you may add, that the Apostle Paul seemed plainly in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, to consider baptism as pointing at something very different from any relation

that a minister could sustain. 1 Cor. i, 13, 14, 15. "Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you?" &c.

2d. The proof of the Trinity in general may be taken from the form of solemn benediction, the love of God the Father, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. As in the former instance, the three are taken in as the object of worship and obedience, here they are plainly conjoined as the source of blessedness.

3d. The proof of the Trinity in general may be taken from an express passage of scripture, 1 John, v, 7. "there are three that bear record in heaven," &c.



LECTURE X.

WE come now to prove the doctrine of the Trinity from the proofs of the proper Deity of the Son and Spirit. On this the controversy has chiefly turned, and especially the first, the divinity of the Son; because if this was admitted, it would be to very little purpose to object against the other; for this reason we find that ever since the first starting of the controversy it has been litigated with great zeal and warmth on both sides; this was to be expected, as it must evidently appear an article of the utmost moment to both. I must observe, however, that the controversy has been chiefly managed by Arians till of late years. Now it seems to me there are but very few proper Arians, the greater number of the opposers of the truth are Socinians.

You are not to expect that I should go through the whole of this controversy, which has been carried to so great a length; the passages of scripture adduced on both sides are more numerous than we would suppose; and the criticisms, objections and answers, are exceedingly voluminous. You will say then, the controversy must

needs be difficult and obscure.—The consequence is not just, for whenever there is a strong bias and inclination one way, it is easy for ingenious men to perplex and lengthen out a dispute. The great matter is the objection I mentioned in the preceding discourse. If men be once fully satisfied that this thing is not impossible or incredible, and be willing to assent to the account of the nature of God without prejudice, as it stands in his own word, I do not think there is any uncertainty in it at all. I shall state to you the chief heads of any importance that have been used.

1. The name of God, and his titles—the most transcendent and peculiar—are given to Christ. Through the Old Testament, the name of Jehovah or Lord, but particularly the first, is given to one who is often called an angel, and the angel of the covenant; and by this manner of speaking in several passages, must be distinguished from God the Father, as in the 110th psalm, the Lord said unto my Lord.—This therefore must be understood of Christ. The angel who appeared to Hagar, Gen. xvi, and that appeared to Jacob at Bethel, Gen. xiii, are both called God.—In Exodus, chap. iii, an angel is said to have appeared to Moses, at the bush, and yet this angel says, I am the God of your father, the God of Israel, who delivered the law on mount Sinai, and yet Stephen says, Acts vii. 38, that it was an angel that spoke unto Moses, upon mount Sinai, and was with the fathers: but what serves to apply many of these passages in the most precise manner, is comparing Numb. xxi. 8. with 1 Cor. x. 9. in the first it is said, that the Israelites tempted God, and spake against God, and that therefore he sent among them fiery serpents.—In the other passage the apostle Paul affirmeth, that this was Christ. “Let us not tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents.” See farther, Psalm ii. 12. “Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.” Psal. xlv. 7. “Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,” &c. which passage the apostle Paul applies to Christ. 1 Heb. i. 8. “But unto the Son he saith, thy throne O God, is for ever and ever,” &c. Another proof may be taken from Prov. viii. 22. The description of wisdom—again, in Isa. vi.

from the beginning, "In the year that king Uzziah died," &c. This passage is expressly applied to Christ, by the apostle John xii. 41, when, having cited the passage, he says, "these things said Isaiah," &c. the truth is, there is hardly any writing in the Old Testament, but by comparing it with the New, we may draw a proof of the divinity of Christ.

2. The thing itself—the proposition that Jesus Christ is God, is contained in the most explicit terms, not in one, but in many places of scripture—not in figure, but in plain simple language, John i. 1. "In the beginning was the word," &c. Phil. ii. 6. "Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God," &c. John x. 30. "I and my Father are one." 1 John v. 20. "this is the true God, and eternal life." It would be endless to mention all fetches and imaginations of men under the power of prejudice, to evade these texts: but I only call to your mind what was before mentioned—Cleave to either side of the question, and say, Whether or not the scriptures have plainly affirmed Christ's divinity?—It is not only the affixations, but the reasoning upon some of them, that fixes the sense, as in the Philippians. And in that affirmation, I and my Father are one, it is undeniable that the Jews understood him in that sense, for it is added, "they immediately took up stones to stone him," &c. It has been often said by reasoners upon this subject, supposing it was the design of the scripture to affirm the divinity of Christ, it does not appear what plainer or stronger words could have been used.

3d. The most distinguishing and essential attributes of the true God are given to Christ. I shall mention only his eternity, immutability, omniscience, omnipresence and omnipotence. It is not easy to conceive any attribute incommunicable if these are not. Eternity seems plainly to be ascribed to him, Prov. viii. 22. Rev. i. 8. &c. and in the famous passage, Mic. v. 2. "Whose goings forth have been of old from (1) everlasting." Indeed I reckon the frequent appellation of Jehovah is a sufficient proof of this; the word is derived from what signifies existence—Exod. iii. 14. John viii. 38. (2) Immutability, Heb. i. 10. Heb. xviii.

8. "Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to day, and for ever."

(3) Omniscience. John xvi. 30. "Now we are sure that thou knowest all things;" and again, John xxi. 17. "Lord thou knowest all things," &c. It is remarkable, that the knowledge of the heart is asserted in several passages, to distinguish the true God, 1 Kings, viii. 39. "Therein thou only knowest the hearts of the children of men."—and John xvii. 10. "I the Lord, search the hearts, and try the reins," &c. yet this very perfection our Lord claims to himself, Rev. ii. 23. and the apostle John testifies that he knew all men, John ii. 24.—and knew what was in man, John ii. 25.—this is further confirmed, iv. 12, 13. "The word of God," &c.

(4) Omnipresence. Matth. xviii. 20. "Where two or three are gathered together in my name," &c. Matth. xxviii. 20. "Lo, I am with you always," &c.

(5) Omnipotence. Col. i. 17. "By him all things consist." Creation is ascribed to Christ, John i. 3. "All things were made by him," &c. and in the same chapter, verse 10, "and the world was made by him." Heb. i. 2. "by whom also he made the world," Col. i. 15, 16, 17. "who is the image of the invisible God," &c. The argument from creation, is very strong.—It is the first and great relation we stand under to God, nor can we conceive any thing that more properly, or in a more distinguishing manner it characterizes the true God, who pleads it so often, to distinguish himself from the vanities of the Gentiles, Psal. xix. 1. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy word."

5. The fifth and last proof of the divinity of Christ, may be taken from divine worship being commanded to be given to him, and being accepted by him without reproof, when it is expressly rejected by the inferior ministers of Providence. It is commanded to be given to him, John iii. 22, 23. "The Father himself judgeth no man." Phil. ii. 5. "Wherefore, God, hath highly exalted him," &c. It is actually given him by the wise men, Matth. ii. 11. By the rulers of the Synagogue, Matth. v. 8. By women of Canaan, Matth. xv. 25. By the disciples in general, Matth. xx. 5. And you see that worship is rejected by an angel, Rev. xxii. 8, 4.

LECTURE XI.

I PROCEED now shortly to consider the proofs of the divinity of the Holy Spirit. The first thing necessary here, is to establish the personality of the Spirit.—That he is properly a person or substance, and not merely a power, gift or qualification. The name of spirit, in all languages signifies a wind or breath.—It is supposed this word is chosen to represent divine things, or the divine nature, because it bears some resemblance to what is unseen, and yet infinitely powerful. The wind is made use of to represent the Holy Ghost, and to signify angels and the souls of men, and also the gifts and graces of the Spirit.—That when the Holy Ghost is spoken of, a person or substance is meant, as distinguished from any grace or qualification he may possess or bestow, may be easily made to appear from many passages of scripture, John xiv. 16. “And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive.” John xvi. 13. “When he the Spirit of truth is come,” &c. 1 Cor. xii. 4. “There are diversity of gifts, but the same Spirit,” &c. The form of baptism also proves the same thing, as well as all those passages that speak of giving the Spirit—resisting the Spirit, &c.

That the Holy Ghost is truly and properly God, I think appears with great evidence from the form of baptism, now that we have fully proved the divinity of Christ, whose personality we cannot doubt. The Holy Ghost being joined with the Father and the Son, carries the strongest conviction with it that he is of the same nature with both. The same thing may be said of the form of solemn benediction.

The divinity of the Holy Ghost seems to be established in Acts, v. 3. where Peter says to Ananias and Sapphira, "Why hath Satan filled thine heart," &c. We might also from several passages shew the divine attributes given to the Spirit, as omnipotence, Psalm 119. "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit," &c. Omniscience, Cor. ii. 10. "The Spirit searcheth all things even the deep things of God," nay, creation seems to be ascribed to him as well as the Son, Gen. i. 2. It is said "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," and Job xxxiii. 4. "The spirit of the Lord hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life."

There were in the ancient churches considerable controversies about the expression of the articles of faith upon this subject. The very words of scripture, John xv. 26. are, that the Spirit proceedeth from the Father. He is also called the Spirit of the Son, and the Spirit of Christ, Rom. viii. 9. Gal. xiv. 6. Phil. i. 14. 1 Pet. i. 11. both the Father and the Son are said to send the Spirit, John xv. 26. John xvi. 7. Gal. iv. 6. Luke xxiv. 49.

Therefore the usual way of speaking, and that in all the ancient symbols and confessions is, that the Son is begotten of the Father, and the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son. If any one should presume to enquire farther into the meaning, or ask the difference between being begotten and proceeding, I should willingly and chearfully confess my ignorance, and that I believe all others are equally ignorant, and that every attempt to say more than is actually contained in scripture is not only impossible but hurtful. There was a very violent dispute between the Latin and Greek churches whether it was proper to say the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and Son, or from the Father only. The whole current of antiquity, and the whole Latin churches are for the former, as well as the Protestants in general; but it is not a modern controversy.

I proceed to consider some of the objections against the reasoning above, and unless I enter into the criticisms or particular texts, they may be all reduced to the reasoning on the titles and attributes. They object that some

of the highest titles were not given to the Son, as—the highest or most high—the Almighty or Supreme over all—one God and Father of all—one God of whom *are* all things. But it is easy to answer that none of these titles are greater or more distinguishing than, as has been shewn, do really belong to Christ, and that some of those mentioned are also ascribed to Christ; such as the Almighty, and God over all. So that they are obliged to have recourse to the meanest quibbles, to interpret away these texts. As for the expression one God, and the title one God, the Father, of whom are all things—they are plainly used in a distribution of personal acts or prerogatives, one God the Father, *of* whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ *by* whom are all things.

The other objection is, that such titles are ascribed to him in a lower sense than to the Father. Nothing could suggest such an objection as this except the power of prejudice. They must first take for granted their own sentiments, before they can perceive any such thing; besides many of them are such as do not admit of a proportion in this way—such as creation—omniscience—omnipotence.



LECTURE XII.

Of the Decrees of God.

WE have this strong assertion in scripture, “can any “by searching find out the Almighty,” &c. If the nature of God has something in it altogether unsearchable to us, so must also his decrees. It is certainly proper and necessary for divines to know all that can be known on this subject, and therefore the study of a whole life would be well bestowed on it, if it were sure of success. Yet I apprehend a caution is not unnecessary while we are entering upon it. Our

great wisdom consists in receiving, admitting, remembering and applying, whatever is clearly revealed in scripture, with regard both to the nature and government of God; at the same time, we ought to restrain an impatient curiosity, and guard against unnecessary, inexplicable and hurtful questions, on these subjects. The scriptures do not contain any thing that is unfit for us to know. If it seemed necessary to God to reveal the universality of his providence and the certainty of his purpose, we ought without doubt to believe and improve it. On the other hand, let us not presume to go any farther than he hath pointed out to us the way. Whatever he hath covered with a veil it would be both rashness and impiety to attempt to penetrate. It is therefore my design to state this matter to you in as precise and scriptural a manner as I am able, although I must necessarily use several of the theological systematical phrases, because without them the various opinions could neither be sifted nor explained.

The expression itself “the decrees of God” is in a great measure, if not wholly, technical. In the Old Testament, indeed, there are several expressions particularly relating to the frame and constitution of nature, which are translated in the English Bible decrees, as in the Prov. viii. 29. “When he gave to the sea his decree,” &c. and in the second Psalm, speaking of the raising Messiah to his throne—“I will declare the decree.” In all of these I believe (for I have consulted most of them) it is the same word that is frequently or usually translated—*statute*, and to be sure has a meaning somewhat similar to that of the word used in theology, that is, it signifies the order or purpose of God in nature and providence. In the New Testament there is no expression on this subject that has been translated decree, though some of the *phrases* might have been so translated. The expressions in the New Testament are *council*, *purpose*, *determinate council*, *foreknowledge*; and when it relates to the state of man, *choosing*, *ordaining*, *predestinating*. I enter upon the criticism of the Greek words, because I think it is manifest they are not only translated well into English, but that they are mostly, if not wholly, of the same import that they are usually un-

derstood to possess. I shall now shew you a sample of the Socinian criticism on Acts xiii. 48. It is said *osoí esan tetagmenoi eis zoeen aionion*, which they translate, "as many as were set in order, or well prepared for eternal life, believed." They observe that *tetagmenoi* means, set in order like a disciplined army. But it is manifest that the word here means *particularly appointed and ordained*. By comparing together the several expressions used, the meaning that we must assign to the whole is, that the plan of Providence and grace, as well as the system of nature, must be supposed to be fixed and determined, and not loose and uncertain, till the event, or till one thing be ascertained or determined by another.—That things are not to God as they are to us, to whom things future have no certainty or stability, but that as far back as we can carry our ideas they were known, and therefore certainly ordained. Or as some express it, that every thing that comes to have a transient existence in time, had as it were an original eternal pre-existence, in the divine mind. Yet after all, you see there is something in the expression *decrees* or *purposes*, which seems to take its rise only from our own situations and imperfections.

Men are obliged to meditate, concert and digest their plans of future conduct, before they begin to act, and then it is called their purpose, resolution, or design, as distinct from the actual execution. From this we seem by analogy to borrow the divine decrees. Yet every thing that implies, or arises from ignorance, uncertainty, weakness, or imperfection, must be as much as is in our power, separated and abstracted, when we speak of the decrees of God.

This leads us to observe, that it has often been remarked by divines, that we are not to consider the divine decrees, in so far as they are acts of the divine will, as being any thing different or distinct from the divine nature. There are some who have used the expression immanent decrees, a phrase which I confess I do not in the least degree understand the meaning of, and therefore I can nei-

ther affirm nor contradict it; without doubt we are to separate every thing belonging to created weakness. We are not to suppose that God needs forethought to discover, or time to digest his plans, or that by any act of his will he seeks information, or seeks or receives gratification from any thing without him—If by calling the decrees of God immanent acts, it is meant to deny these, it is so far just. But when it is affirmed that the acts of the divine will, are the same with the divine nature, as if this explained the difference between divine and human volitions, this I confess is to me quite incomprehensible.

In what shall be further offered on this subject, I shall follow this method:—

1. Speak a little of the object of the divine decrees.
2. Of the order of the decrees.
3. Of the character, quality, or attributes of the decrees as given in scripture.
4. Of their uses.

I. Let us consider the object of the decrees, and of this but a little, because it will occur again where it is of moment to examine it; yet it will throw some light upon some parts of the doctrine, to observe,

(1.) That the objects of the divine decrees, are strictly and properly universal; so much so indeed, as not to admit of any exception, or shadow of exception—all creatures, and all their actions, and all events. Let us vary it as we please, still it relates to every action, and every mode of the action, and every quality that can be attributed to it—whatsoever comes to pass. The reason of this is plain—whatever we shall think fit to say upon the connexion or influence of one creature or thing upon another, from which all the difficulty and confusion arises, yet every such thing, and that connexion itself, as much as the things to which it relates, is the object to which the divine foreknowledge, and the divine purpose extended. One would think that men should be agreed on this point; and probably they are so, if they understood one another; all but those extravagant persons, as they may well be called, who finding themselves hard pressed by the arguments drawn from the di-

vine prescience, have thought it best to deny the foreknowledge of God altogether, or affirm that nothing that is future can possibly be certainly, or any more than conjecturally known, till it happens.—But this sentiment is so repugnant to scripture, and indeed to the common sense and reason of mankind, that few have strictly and sincerely defended it, though some have occasionally and hypocritically advanced it.

(2.) With respect to the object of the divine decrees, it must be admitted, that there is some difference between the light in which some events and actions are to be considered, and others—The great difficulty indeed, and that which will speedily set bounds to our enquiry on the subject, is to shew wherein the difference consists; yet it is equally certain, from revelation and reason, that natural good and evil, and moral good and evil, are to be considered as not in the same sense, the object of divine appointment. This leads us to the

II. General head, which was to consider the order of the decrees. Many things may be, and many things have been said upon this subject—Divines who have published systems, have generally exercised their ingenuity in giving what they call an order of the decrees. The chief thing such writers have in view, is to form a conception for themselves and others, with regard to, and to account for, the divine purposes, with regard to the final state of man. The orders which have been laid down by different writers, are so very numerous, that they all seem to me to labor under, and equally to labor under, this prodigious weakness, that they represent the Supreme Being as varying and marshalling his views, and comparing as men do, which yet is acknowledged to be wrong.—They also seem to carry in them the supposition of successive duration; yet successive duration we have generally agreed not to ascribe to God, although, of any other kind of existence, we have not the least conception. It is impossible for me to go through all the different arrangements that have been made by particular authors: I shall therefore only give you a succinct view of the chief differences of divines of different classes—Calvinists, Arminians, Socinians.

Calvinists are divided upon this subject into two sorts; commonly called Supralapsarians and Sublapsarians. The reason of the names are, from one being of opinion that God in ordaining the elect and reprobate considered man as before the fall, and the other as fallen and in a state of guilt.

The first say that in laying down a plan, what is last in the execution is first in the intention, that God purposed to glorify his mercy and justice in the everlasting felicity of some, called vessels of mercy; and in the everlasting perdition of others, called vessels of wrath. That to accomplish this purpose he resolved to create the world, to put man in a condition in which he would certainly fall; to send the Redeemer in the fullness of time to carry on the whole plan of salvation, as we now find it in the oracles of truth.

The Sublapsarians say, that the order of purposing should be the same as the order of execution. That the decrees of God being eternal, there can no order of time be applied to them, but that which takes place in the execution. Therefore they say that God proposed to make man innocent and holy, with powers to preserve his innocence, but liable to fall; that he foresaw the fall, and permitted it, and from the corrupted mass freely chose some as the objects of mercy, and left others to perish in the ruins of their apostacy, and that to accomplish this purpose he resolved to send the Saviour, &c.

It is easy to say something very plausible on each side of the question between the two: it seems very strong what Sublapsarians, say that the idea of time and order belongs only to the execution: but why do they also speak of order, when it is certain that as far as we can clearly speak of design or purpose at all, the means seem to be designed for the end, and not the end for the means. The Supralapsarians have also this evident advantage of all the rest that they have the sovereignty of God *directly*, for what all the rest are obliged to come to *at last*. It must be observed that the strongest Supralapsarians do constantly assert the holiness and justice of the divine providence. If you ask them how they reconcile the divine justice with the ab-

folute and certain event they confefs they cannot explain it ; but they affirm that all that the others fay to this is perfectly trifling, and lefs reasonable than their confeffion of ignorance.

The Arminians fay that God decreed to create man innocent ; and that after he had fallen he refolved for fatisfaction to juftice, to appoint a Saviour ; that he decreed to fave thofe that fhould believe and repent ; to give to all fufficient grace for that purpofe ; and finally to fave and reward thofe who fhould endure to the end. It is plain that whatever reafon they may offer with great plaufiblenefs for feveral things, when taken in a feparate and detached view, nothing can be weaker than the Arminian fcheme, confidered as a fyftem of the divine purpofe, becaufe they leave out or fufpend the purpofe at every ftage.

As to the Socinians they do generally deny the reality of the decrees altogether, and fay that the event is wholly uncertain, and fufpended upon the will of the creature—as many of them as maintain or admit the foreknowledge of God, do it contrary to their other principles.

If I were to fay any thing upon this fubject (I mean the order of the decrees) I would fay nearly as Pulit, in his fyftem as contained in the notes upon Rulet, has faid, which is in fubftance this, that God refolved from all eternity to manifefit his own glory, and illuftrate his moral excellence, wifdom, power, holinefs, juftice, goodnefs and truth, in the produktion and government of a created fyftem. That for this purpofe the whole fyftem, and all the fafts of which it confifts and their dependance one upon another, and the order itfelf in which they were to take place, were ordained. If the whole, then certainly every particular part as fully as the whole, is the object of one abfolute decree. In this view they are all upon a footing ; at the fame time we do not pretend to difpute that things are ordained with confiderable difference ; but this difference it is hard or impoffible for us to explain. There is certainly a difference between the ordination of things natural, and thofe which are finful or holy. The very finful difpofition, confidered as becoming a part of the general plan, is certainly as

holy an ordination as any other, yet the scripture teaches us to consider this as a thing quite different from God's determining to send his Son into the world to save sinners. It seems to be a matter insisted on in the strongest manner in scripture, that the evil or guilt of every creature is to be ascribed to the creature, as to its proper and adequate cause : at the same time it seems fully as plain that whatever connexion there may be between one evil and another, the choice of the vessels of mercy is free and unconditional, and that the rejection of others is imputed to the sovereignty of God, Luke x. 21. John xii. 39. That the choice of the vessels of mercy is free and sovereign, appears from the words of scripture ; from their universal state—dead in trespasses and sins ; from their visible character, and from the means of their recovery—I mean the omnipotence of divine grace.



LECTURE XIII.

I NOW proceed to the third thing upon this subject, which was to consider the character, qualities and attributes of the decrees of God, as they are given to them in scripture in express terms, or manifestly founded upon scripture truths, and particularly upon such truths as relate to the decrees. Of this the chief are what follow.

(1) Eternity. We have express mention made, Eph. iii. 11. of God's eternal purpose : and believers are said to be chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world. The last expression is of the same import with the first ; for whatever is before the beginning of time is to be considered as eternal. This indeed is essential to the divine purpose, inseparable from the very meaning of the word decree ; and if I am not mistaken one of the chief things we are to be taught by it is, that whatsoever comes to pass, in revolving years, is not loose, but was fixed in the divine

mind before time itself began. It is exceeding difficult however, at once to restrain an improper curiosity, and to speak with precision on the subject, and with safety.—Some have raised a question, whether there is not a necessity of supposing the existence and the nature of God, as previous to his decrees. To which it is commonly said, that there is a priority of order, though not of time; a priority like that of the cause to its inseparable effect; as the sun is the cause of light, yet the creation of the sun would not be before or antecedent to the light; they are inseparable and necessarily existent. One would think there was nothing amiss in this way of speaking, or of saying in consequence of it, that the decrees are to God's nature as an eternal effect to an eternal cause; and yet I am afraid there is here what we find in many subjects of theology, a mixture of repugnant ideas intricate and difficult, eternity, and time—beginning, and no beginning. When we speak of an effect of a cause, we cannot do otherwise than think of something produced, some alteration, or something that was not before. This is the case with all the similitudes brought to illustrate it, as the creation of the sun and the co existence of light, or another made use of by some of the refined Arians, who meant to say the Son is produced by the Father, as an eternal effect of an eternal cause—as the print of a man's foot in the sand is caused by his setting down his foot, but not posterior in point of time. But all this is truly absurd when speaking of God, because it includes some definite idea of what might and did begin to take place. I should be apt to think that one of the chief reasons why any thing is revealed to us concerning the decrees of God, is to give us an awful impression of his infinite majesty, his supreme dominion, and the absolute dependance of every creature upon him; so that it is enough for us to say, that his purpose is before all worlds, antecedent to all time or the idea of succession, being indeed entirely inseparable from the idea of his existence.

(2.) The next thing to be considered is the liberty of God in his decrees. They are according to the council of his own will. Almost all the systems say that God did

most wisely, most justly, and most freely, decree whatsoever comes to pass.

The chief objection to this arises from what used to be called many years ago the Belisarian scheme, of which, whatever chance traces may be seen in former authors, Leibnitz is the proper author. Of this scheme it is the leading part, or rather the foundation of the whole, to say that God, infinitely wise and good, must necessarily choose the best in every thing. That therefore of all possible systems this which he has chosen, because it has taken place, must necessarily be the best, and he could not choose any other; so that from the unalterable rectitude of his nature, he is as invariably determined by his necessity as any of his creatures. This boasted demonstration would be defensible perhaps, were it not that its very foundations are good for nothing. Its ideas are not applicable to the divine Being; better and best are definite terms, and actual comparisons. We say a thing is better when it is preferable to some others, and best when it is a thing absolutely preferable to all others. Now with what propriety can it be said that in the plans that were possible to infinite wisdom and power there is one best. Have we comprehension sufficient to see this, and therefore to say it? It seems to me that a demonstration might be given to the contrary. The whole system of creation is either finite and temporal, or infinite and eternal. If it be finite, it seems absurd to say that it would not be made better by being made larger and similar; and if it was not from eternity it might have been made many thousands of years sooner. If on the contrary it be infinite and eternal, the possible combinations of an infinite system are truly infinite, and there cannot be a best. The patrons of this scheme when pressed with these difficulties have recourse to what they should have begun with, the incomprehensibleness of time and space, and say that we cannot apply any of the ideas of sooner or later to eternity, or larger or lesser to space. The impossibility of uniting infinite to definite qualities should have prevented them from saying that of all possible systems infinite wisdom must choose the best; but when we speak of time

and space, nothing is more clear, than that if at any time a thing has existed ten years, I can suppose that it existed twenty years; and that if any thing be of finite extent, I can suppose it enlarged as well as diminished. So great is the obstinacy of people in adhering to their systems, that Dr. Clark reduces an antagonist to the absurdity of affirming, that though the universe were moved ten millions of leagues in any direction, it would still be in the same place; and another writer of some note, says, either that the thing is impossible that the world could have been created sooner than it was, or that if it had been created 5000 years sooner, yet it would have been created at the same time. Besides this scheme seems to me to labor under two great and obvious difficulties—that the infinite God should set limits to himself, by the production of a created system—It brings creation a great deal too near the Creator to say it is the alternative of Omnipotence. The other difficulty is, that it seems to make something which I do not know how to express otherwise, than by the ancient stoical fate, antecedent and superior even to God himself; I would therefore think it best to say, with the current of orthodox divines, that God was perfectly free in his purpose and providence, and that there is no reason to be sought for the one or the other beyond himself.

Let us consider the wisdom and sovereignty of his decrees; I put these together, not that they are the same, but that they seem, though not opposite, to limit each other in their exercise, and the one of which is often to be resolved into the other. Wisdom is ascribed to the decrees of God; or rather, wisdom indeed is particularly ascribed to God himself, as one of his essential perfections, and therefore by necessary consequence, it must belong to his providence in time, and his purposes from eternity.—The meaning of this as far as we can conceive, when used by us, is, that the best and noblest ends are designed, and the best and most suitable means in accomplishing these ends. And indeed all the wisdom that appears in the works and ways of God when carried into effect, must be supposed in the original purpose. But how shall we join the sovereignty with this? Sovereignty seems to resolve the whole

into mere will, and therefore to stand opposed to the wisdom of the proceeding; accordingly there are some who in speaking of the decrees, rest them entirely and totally on the sovereignty of God, and say that not only the reasons are not made known and unsearchable to us, but that there is no reason at all of the preference of one thing to another, but the divine will. There have been some writers who have founded the very nature of virtue and vice upon the divine will. Those who think otherwise, usually say, it is making the decrees not absolute only, but arbitrary—not only unsearchable, but unreasonable: and indeed the founding every thing upon mere will, seems to take away the moral character of the Deity, and to leave us no meaning when we say God is infinitely wise and holy, just and good. I am however inclined to think that those who have gone the furthest upon the sovereignty of God, only meant that we could not, or ought not, to dive into the reason of the Divine Providence, that his will ought to bound all our enquiries, and be a full and satisfactory answer to all our difficulties; and if it be taken in this way, it will not be easy to overthrow it.

If we look into the scripture doctrine upon this subject, we shall, if I mistake not, see both the wisdom and sovereignty of God asserted in the strongest terms, united together and founded upon one another, Job ix. 4, “he is wise in heart,”—he is said to be God only wise, Rev. xvi. 27. 1 Tim. i. 15. Jude 25. Eph. iii. 10. and Rom. xi. 38. speaking expressly of the decrees, “O the depth,” &c. at the same time, the sovereignty of God is asserted, and events resolved into it, Luke x. 21. “In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit,” &c. I would here call your attention to two passages, very remarkable; one in the Old Testament, the other in the New. The book of Job it is agreed by interpreters, was composed expressly upon the difficulty of Providence, arising from the afflictions of good men, and the prosperity of the wicked; but in that book, after the reasoning of Job and his friends, when God himself is brought in speaking out of the whirlwind, in the 38th and 39th chapters, he says not one word, either of the wisdom or justice of his proceedings; but in language

infinitely majestic, displays and dwells upon the greatness of his power.—It is true indeed, the beautiful poetical display of the order of creation, may be said to imply in it wisdom as well as power ; but if so, all that is there advanced, is to illustrate the power and wisdom of the Creator, and by that means to impose silence on the rash challenges of the creature.

The other example is from the New Testament, where the Apostle, after introducing an objection against the divine purpose as to the state of man, does not offer any other reason, but has recourse to the sovereignty of God, Rom. vii. 18, 19, 20. “ Therefore it is not of him that “ willeth,” &c.

It will be perhaps hard or impossible for you to enter into this at once, as I confess it was to me in early life ; but I now see more of the necessity of subjecting ourselves to the Divine Sovereignty, and making use of it to restrain and repress our rash and curious enquiries. It is finely imagined in Milton, that he makes a part of the damned in hell to torment themselves with unsearchable questions about fixed fate, foreknowledge absolute. It is certain that we cannot now fathom those subjects— if we ever shall to eternity. As I hinted formerly, it is of considerable use to observe the analogy there is between the course of nature, providence and grace. There are a vast number of things in which we must needs resolve the last question, so to speak, into the sovereignty of God. Why did God see it fit to people this world so very thinly ? Why does the improvement of human arts proceed so very imperfectly ? Why is the chief blessing that God ever bestowed yet unknown to a vast number of the human race ? The state of a savage tribe and of a cultivated society, how do they differ in the same climate ? Why was so great a part of this vast continent for so many ages a howling wilderness—a dwelling for wild beasts, and a few human creatures little less savage than they ?— Why is one person born into the world a slave, and another a monarch ? Even with regard to morals, which are the source of the highest dignity and the highest happiness—I could suppose one born in a great, but profligate

family, supplied with all the means of indulgence, solicited by the worst examples, and beset by interested flatterers; and I could suppose another born of pious parents, with the most amiable example, the most careful instruction, the most regular government—why are there so vast advantages given to the one, and so hard a trial imposed on the other? must we not say, “even so Father,” &c. In temporal and spiritual, natural and personal circumstances, there is every where to be seen much of the sovereignty of God.

IV. The next character of God’s decrees is that they are just, and that they are holy. He is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works; and it is the union of righteousness and holiness with the most unfathomable depth of wisdom that gives occasion to the adoration, Rev. xiii. 8. “Great and marvellous,” &c. Nothing can be more manifest than that all the calamities which God in his Providence inflicts on earth, and the future judgments which he will inflict on the ungodly, are represented as acts of justice. The only difficulty or objection that lies in the way of this, arises from the next particular, to which we will therefore proceed, viz.

V. That the decrees of God are fixed, absolute and unchangeable; that which he hath ordained shall certainly come to pass, and nothing can oppose it, subvert it, or take its place. Here then the difficulty arises full upon us, how shall we reconcile this with the free agency of the creature, with the guilt of sin, or the righteousness of the punishment of sin? yet this is affirmed by all sound divines, as in the confession of faith, chap. iii. sect. 1. “God from all eternity did by the most holy and wise counsel of his own will freely and unchangeably ordain whatever comes to pass; yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creature; nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established.” This subject has exercised the reason of men in all ages, so far as it has been proposed to them, but particularly that of divines. The subject is dark and intricate as any body may easily perceive.

It is remarkable what weak things sometimes men of sense will say upon such subjects, when it seems necessary to them to say something in favor of their own hypothesis. One writer proposes to himself to reconcile this difference, and says, God foresees and predetermines actions in different ways, and each according to its own nature ; that he foresees necessary actions as necessary, free actions as free, and contingent events as contingent. This is just saying nothing at all, and it had been better to have said nothing than to have said it. Every body knows that as far as these different kinds of actions and events take place in the system, they are so ordained of God ; But it behoved this author to shew how any action could be free, or any event contingent, upon the supposition of the Divine Providence or decree.

Others have attempted to solve the difficulty by founding the decrees upon foreknowledge, and this upon God's distinct and perfect view of every person's disposition, and how men will determine in every circumstance in which they can be placed. But this is liable to two objections (1) that foreknowledge makes no difference as to decrees, for whether God considered the thing as a consequence of another or not, if he foresaw the consequence, he admitted and ordained that event as a part of the general system. The other objection is, that it takes for granted the system of what is called moral necessity, which brings back the same difficulty with re-doubled force. It is remarkable that the advocates for necessity have adopted a distinction made use of for other purposes, and forced it into their service ; I mean moral and natural necessity—they say natural or physical necessity takes away liberty, but moral necessity does not—at the same time they explain moral necessity so as to make it truly physical or natural. That is physical necessity which is the invincible effect of the law of nature, and it is neither less natural nor less unsurmountable if it is from the laws of spirit, than it would be if it were from the laws of matter. To see how some people are lost upon these subjects, you may observe that the great argument that men are determined by the strongest motives, is a mere equivocation, and what logici-

ans call *petitio principii*. It is impossible even to produce any medium of proof that it is the strongest motive, except that it has prevailed. It is not the greatest in itself, nor does it seem to be in all respects strongest to the agent; but you say it appears strongest in the mean time—why? Because you were determined by it: alas you promised to prove that I was determined by the *strongest motive*, and you have only shown that I had a *motive* when I acted. But what has determined you then? can any effect be without a cause? I answer—supposing my self-determining power to exist, it is as real a cause of its proper and distinguishing effect, as your moral necessity; so that the matter just comes to a stand, and is but one and the same thing on one side and on the other.

But even suppose the system of necessity true, the difficulty of reconciling it with the guilt of sin, and the righteousness of God's judgment, is as great as upon any supposition whatever. Others have made use of a metaphysical argument to reconcile foreknowledge with liberty. They say, when any thing is done in time, it only shews the futurity of the action, as the school men say. It was a true proposition from all eternity that such a thing would be done, and every truth being the object of the divine knowledge, God's foreseeing it was no more the cause of it, than a man's seeing another do a thing at a distance is the cause of its being done. But even this does not satisfy the mind, as the difficulty arises from the certainty of the event itself, as being inconsistent with the freedom of the agent, not the way in which it comes to be known.

It deserves particular notice that several able writers have shewn, that with respect to the most difficult part of the decrees of God, all the several sects of Christians at bottom say the same thing, except that class of Socinians who deny the omniscience and foreknowledge of God altogether, and they are so directly opposite to the letter of scripture that they deserve no regard.—The Arminians say, that God has decreed that all that he foresaw would believe and repent, should be saved—for which purpose all have sufficient grace given them. But could not omnipotence have given them effectual grace to overcome

their obstinacy? Yes without doubt; and are there not some, that had as obstinate and profligate natures as those that perish, overcome by Divine power?—Yes it is not easy to deny this—that he did not give the effectual grace to some, and gave it to others. So that they must at last say, “even so Father,” &c.

It is more easy to shew that the Supralapsarians and Sublapsarians are at bottom of the same principle. All then have this difficulty before them—to account for the divine purpose consistently with the guilt of sin.

But I would go a little farther and say the difficulty is the same in natural as it is in revealed religion, and the same in the course of nature as in both. The certainty of events makes as much against common diligence in the affairs of life, as against diligence in religion. The fates which the stoics of old held, was called the *ignava ratio* of the stoics.

For my own part I freely own, that I could never see any thing satisfactory in the attempts of divines or Metaphysicians to reconcile these two things; but it does not appear difficult to me to believe precisely in the form of our confession of faith—to believe both the certainty of God’s purpose and the free agency of the creature. Nor does my being unable to explain these doctrines form an objection against one or the other.



LECTURE XIV.

OF the covenant of works and the fall of man—This seems to be the next thing in order.—That I may treat of it as concisely as possible, I will make the following observations.

1. It is justly and properly by divines, considered as a covenant. The word *covenant* is not indeed made use of by Moses in giving the history of the fall, for which ma-

ny reasons may be assigned. The scripture does not so much limit the phrase as fix the thing itself, which we now express by it. The word covenant is used with latitude in scripture. Thus, Jer. xxxiii. 20, 25. "Thus saith the Lord if you can break my covenant." &c. It may be observed that there must of necessity be some impropriety in calling any transaction between God and man a covenant, because it must differ considerably from an engagement of persons equal and free. But as far as there can be a covenant relation between God and man, it evidently took place here. The giving a special command, with a threatening annexed, does evidently imply in it such a covenant.

2. It seems just and proper to suppose that merely abstaining from the tree of knowledge of good and evil was not the only duty prescribed and demanded by God, but that the demand extended to universal obedience.

The Jewish Rabbies say, that God gave Adam six precepts; (1) to worship God; (2) to do justice; (3) not to shed human blood; (4) not to make use of idols or images; (5) not to commit rapine and fraud; (6) to avoid incest. But all this is without the least proof.

3. We may consider the choice of the command for trial, not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This may give occasion to many conjectures, and likewise to many solid remarks. It is conjectured by many that the tree had in it a noisome quality that made the body liable to corruption, as God often orders his commands so that obedience to them is of itself happiness, and disobedience is misery. If we suppose the eating this tree had nothing in itself either good or evil, and it is asked why God thought fit to suspend the fate of the human race on a positive precept?—It may be answered, first as an act of sovereignty, to which we have no right to object. (2) It might also be more proper for the trial of obedience, as the mere authority of God would be the sanction. (3) It was a just and natural acknowledgment that the creature held all created comforts of God. (4) There were then so few relations that there could be no trial upon the precepts of the second table.

4. It appears that Adam, in the covenants of works, was to be considered as the federal head and representative of the human race, as he was then the natural head. By the manner in which the human race was to descend from him, the punishment inflicted upon him, must of course descend to them. If we suppose that God might justly create an order of beings like to what man is, to descend from one another, and to propagate the nature which he had, the matter could not have fallen out otherwise, in case of sin, than it did.

5. Let us consider the import of the threatening. In "the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die:" That temporal death was to be understood by it, and all the sufferings preparatory to death, must necessarily be admitted. That it supposes also spiritual death, or the separation of the soul from God, is a necessary circumstance in the whole of this matter. The expression, Gen. iii. 22, "Behold the man is become like one of us," &c. is by no means to be taken as if God was afraid they would eat of the tree of life, and thereby become immortal. The greatest part of interpreters consider these words as spoken by way of derision, and as it is also probable that this tree had much in it of a health-giving quality, it was not proper that men devoted to so many sufferings should be permitted the use of it. And as a sacrament, it was to be refused to those who had broken the covenant, and were therefore unworthy of the sign.

Of the Fall.

Before we speak farther of the fall of man by the breach of the Covenant of works, it may be expected that we should consider a little the introduction of sin or moral evil in general. Why did God permit sin and the train of evils that follow it? This has been a question that has exercised enquirers from the beginning, and especially under the gospel. I have treated a little upon this in the discourse upon the decrees, and shall only further drop a few hints. Some say that it was a necessary consequence of creating free agents; but there are many objections to

this. It is neither certain that it was a necessary consequence, nor that there is any such worth in the free agency of the creature as to deserve to be preserved, at the price of this evil and its train. Some have said that the evil, natural and moral, was necessary to the perfection of the whole, as the shade of a picture to the beauty of the whole piece. This is the substance of the Belshazzarian scheme, the foundation of which I mentioned before with the objections against it. I shall now only add, that upon this system it is necessary to suppose that all the good, natural and moral, that the universe could possibly admit, is to be found in it. This is exceedingly difficult to believe from appearances, and it is impossible to support it without laying God himself under the chains of necessity. It is certainly infinitely preferable to take scripture truths just as they stand, that God is infinitely holy—has testified his abhorrence to sin—and therefore cannot be the author of it—that he has notwithstanding most justly permitted it—and that he will illustrate his own glory by it—but that the disposition of his providence and grace is to us unsearchable.

There is mention made in scripture of the angels that sinned; from which it appears that sin was introduced among them. The scriptures have not informed us of many circumstances on this subject, which as usual, men of fertile inventions have endeavored to supply by conjectures, or to determine from very slender evidence. Some have even presumed to determine the number of the fallen angels, or at least their proportion to those that stood, from Rev. xii. 3, 4. “And there appeared another “wonder in heaven, and behold a great red Dragon having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon “his heads, and his tail drew the third part of the stars of “heaven, and did cast them to the earth.” But this is a misapplication of the passage in that prophecy, which belongs to the visible church on earth. Some have said the sin of the angels was envy—some impiety or lust; but the greater number pride; and this last seems to have the most truth in it, not because we know any thing certain of the circumstances of their rebellion, but be-

cause pride or self-sufficiency seems to be the essence or ruling part of all our sin.

We do not know the time of their fall, nor indeed with much certainty the time of their creation. We only know that their fall was before that of man —and that God passed by the angels that sinned—and that they are reserved in chains under darkness to the judgment of the great day.

Some have exercised themselves in conjecturing how long our first parents continued in the state of innocence. Some suppose they fell upon the first day of their creation —others that they continued in innocence some years. There is nothing said in the book of Genesis that can determine this point with certainty, nor is it of much moment, could it be determined.

Eve is said to have been tempted by the serpent, and by many passages of scripture it is put beyond a doubt, that it was by the Devil or Prince of the fallen angels. It ought not to be understood allegorically. Probably he made use of this creature as the fittest form in which he could appear. Many have supposed it was one of the bright fiery serpents that are seen in Arabia (and some parts of the east) and that he appeared to Eve as an angel, which would the more easily account for the deception. If this opinion is embraced, we must however suppose that the serpent was more glorious before the fall than since, in his appearance ; and indeed it is probable that most, or all the creatures, were more excellent in their kind, before than after the fall.

But what we are chiefly to attend to, is the consequence of the fall upon Adam and his posterity. As to themselves, they lost a great part of the image of God, in which they were created. They became the objects of divine displeasure ; their eyes were opened, and they felt shame for their nakedness ; were struck with the alarm of an evil conscience ; were driven from the terrestrial paradise ; exposed to many sufferings which were to end in death ; and obliged to labor on the accursed ground. Some few of the ancients have believed that our first parents perished eternally ; but that has been far from the general belief,

which has been, that as the first promise was made to them they understood and improved it, and received consolation by it.

As to the effect of Adam's sin upon his posterity, it seems very plain that the state of corruption and wickedness which men are now in, is stated in scripture as being the effect and punishment of Adam's first sin, upon which it will be sufficient to read the epistle to the Romans, chapter 5, from the 12th verse and onward. And indeed when we consider the universality of the effects of the fall, it is not to be accounted for any other way, than from Adam's being the federal head of the human race, and they sinning in him, and falling with him, in his first transgression.

The first and chief of these effects is the corruption of our nature—that man now comes into the world in a state of impurity or moral defilement. We will first consider the scripture proof of original sin, and then say, as far as we have warrant from scripture, what it is and the manner of its communication.

I shall first mention the following passages of scripture, Gen. v. 6, and 21. "And God saw," &c. Psalm xxxvii. 5. "Behold I was shapen in iniquity," &c. John iii. 6. "That which is born," &c. Rom. viii. 7, 8. Eph. ii. 3. "And were by nature the children of wrath, even as others."

After considering the above passages, let me observe to you that in this, as in most subjects, the general strain of the scripture is fully as convincing as particular passages. The universal command of making atonement—Children receiving the badge of the covenant—the tenor of the promises, "I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh"—the force of the Psalmist David's prayer, "create within me a clean heart,"—and many others of the same import; but above all this doctrine of our Saviour John iii. 3. "Verily, verily," &c. To all this you may add experience. The universal and early corruption of men in practice is a standing evidence of the impurity of their original.

What is the history of the world but the history of human guilt? and do not children from the first dawn of reason shew that they are wise to do evil; but to do good they have no knowledge!

As to the nature of original sin and the transmission of it, I think a few words may suffice. We certainly discover in mankind, not only a disposition without restraint to commit errors of a gross nature, but in general an attachment to, and love of the creature, more than the Creator. It may not be improper here to consider the question, whether the whole nature is corrupt, so that whatever we do is sin. It will be, I think very easy to settle this point, if the meaning of the enquiry be clearly understood. If the supreme desire of the mind, and leading principle be wrong, then every thing that is directed by it must have the nature of sin.

Those who represent it in this light, do by no means assert that every act in every part of it is evil. Such as to speak truth—to do justice—to shew mercy, which certainly an unholy man may do. Nay I suppose even the greatest sinner that ever was, speaks twenty true words, where he speaks one that is false. But what is meant to be asserted is, that every action of an unregenerate man is essentially defective as a moral duty, because flowing from a wrong principle, and tending to a wrong end,—Let us suppose a man inflexibly sober and temperate from a concern for his health, or a covetous desire of sparing his money, and one should say there is no true virtue in this. It would be ridiculous to say that we affirmed that sobriety was not a virtue, or that the person concerned sinned in being sober. This will appear by expressing the sentiment in another form. Every body would understand and approve it, if we should say, there is no virtue at all in that miser who starves his belly, or clothes himself with rags, only to fill his purse.

As to the transmission of original sin, the question is to be sure difficult, and we ought to be reserved upon the subject. St. Augustine said it was of more consequence to know how we are delivered from sin by Christ, than

how we derive it from Adam. Yet we shall say a few words on this topic. It seems to be agreed by the greatest part that the soul is not derived from our parents by natural generation, and yet it seems not reasonable to suppose that the soul is created impure. Therefore it should follow that a general corruption is communicated by the body, and that there is so close a union between the soul and body that the impressions conveyed to us through the bodily organs, do tend to attach the affections of the soul to things earthly and sensual. If it should be said, that the soul, on this supposition, must be united to the body as an act of punishment or severity; I would answer, that the soul is united to the body in consequence of an act of government, by which the Creator decreed, that men should be propagated by way of natural generation. And many have supposed that the souls of all men that ever shall be, were created at the beginning of the world, and gradually came to the exercise of their powers, as the bodies came into existence, to which they belong.



LECTURE XV.

Of Sin in general and its demerit; and of actual sin, and its several divisions.

OF sin in general, and moral evil, we may observe, that the scripture uniformly represents it to us in the most odious light. Of God it is said, "he is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity." It is said to be that which his soul hates. To grieve him—to dishonor him—and to provoke his wrath. And though we must exclude from our minds, every thing, in these frequent expressions, that belong to human passions or weakness, the just and

legitimate inference to be drawn from it is, the great and unspeakable evil of sin.

As the evil of sin appears from every page of the sacred oracles; so it also appears in the clearest manner from its effects, and the misery that follows it. All natural evils are the fruits of sin—all the sufferings in the valley of terror shoot from it. And if we lay down the righteousness of Providence as a principle, Dr. Butler has shewn in his analogy, that the punishment, and therefore the guilt of sin is very great—that sometimes very great and lasting sufferings are the consequence of acts, one would think not the most atrocious. The contagion of sin—The rage of violent passion—And the terror of conscience in some instances, all tend to prove the evil of sin.

One can scarcely have a clearer idea of the evil of sin, than by comparing the effects of piety and virtue, so far as our own experience has enabled us to form an idea of them, with the effects of universal corruption and depravity in any society.

Here perhaps it may be proper just to mention the question, whether it is proper to say there is an infinite evil in sin? I would answer it thus, there is not a single argument against it, only this, that the actions done in time by a finite creature cannot have in them an infinite evil; but this is not the thing denied: for all the systems with one voice say, that it is not infinite in all respects, otherwise all sins would be equal, which indeed it is said that the stoics anciently have held. But as far as there can be meaning to us in the expression, it must be proper to say the evil of sin is infinite: not only because when we consider the several particulars that illustrate the evil of it, we see no end to them, but because sin is properly an opposition to the nature, and a transgression of the law of God. Now his nature being infinitely excellent, and the obligation on us arising from his infinite perfections in himself, his full property in, and absolute dominion over us being inconceivably great, I reckon that there must be the very same justice and propriety in saying that there is an infinite evil in sin, as an infinite goodness in God,

Sin is explained in general in our Catechism, to be a want of conformity unto, or transgression of the law of God. In this definition of sin it is divided into sins of omission or of commission. The law of God is a perfect rule, and every deviation from it is sin, whether in the matter of the duty, or principle from which it ought to flow. An action to be truly good, must be compleat in all respects. Hence some observe that actions truly good are equally good, because they are perfect, they compleatly fulfil the law, and are performed at the very time when it was required. But sins are not equally evil, some are very much aggravated in comparison of others from many circumstances easy to imagine—Let one just consider the distinction of sins, with a remark or two upon each. (1.) Sins of omission and commission. We are not to suppose that sins of omission are constantly, and by their nature, less heinous than sins of commission. There are some duties so important, and the obligation to which are so strong and manifest, that the omission of them is an offence as much aggravated as any that can be named, and much more so than some sins of commission. A total and habitual neglect of God's worship, is certainly much more criminal than some rash injurious expressions, which are sins of commission. (2.) Sins voluntary and involuntary. All sins may be said to be in some sense voluntary, as lying properly in the disposition of the heart and will. Some are of opinion that original sin itself is voluntary, the corrupt bias from the corrupted frame not taking away the liberty necessary to moral action, and the sin lying in the consent given to the solicitation. It is however certain that all actual sin should be considered as voluntary, being so in its nature. But some sins are said to be involuntary, when they are from inattention, and sometimes when they are the effect of long habit, so that they are done without deliberation and without reflection. These are not any way excuseable on that account; because that want of attention is a very great sin, and the power of habit has been contracted by acts of wickedness.

3. There are some sins of ignorance, some against light—light in general is an aggravation of sin. Ignorance total and invincible, takes away all sin—But ig-

ignorance may often be easily prevented ; and sometimes ignorance may be so circumstanced as to aggravate sin, as when it arises from an aversion and hatred to the light. This is nearly connected with the opinion of the innocence of error. There are great numbers who will needs have it, that error in judgment cannot be criminal, if the person is sincerely of that opinion which he professes or avows. This is called by bishop Warburton, the master prejudice of this age. But it is plain that error must just be considered as ignorance. To say that a person mistakes his duty with perfect innocence, is to suppose God has not given sufficient means of discovering and distinguishing truth from falsehood.

There are several other divisions of sins that may be introduced ; such as sins in thought, in word, and in deed. Filthiness of the flesh and of the spirit ; occasional and reigning sins : but as they have little difficulty in them, so the explanation of them is no way necessary to the explaining of evangelical truth ; for which reason I will not discuss them.

There are some maxims in estimating the morality of actions, that, though generally admitted, carry some difficulty in them, when applied universally ; as for example—that a sin is the more highly aggravated when it is committed with little temptation ; and that a virtuous action is more laudable, when it overcomes the greatest temptations. If we extend this to inward, as well as outward temptation, which is commonly done, it seems to take much from the merit of true holiness in eminent saints, and to annihilate altogether the excellency of the Divine holiness. The maxim must therefore, either be a mistake, or misapplied. One of the contraries that flows from it, is certainly true, viz. that an action is not praise-worthy, in proportion as the contrary is vicious. It is one of the highest degrees of vice to be without natural affection, and to neglect the common care of family and relations : not to take care of them, has but very little that is praise-worthy in it. Whenever we find difficulty in these things, it is but reasoning them up to the question of liberty and necessity, the dependance and activity of the creature.

we should always stop short, as being above our comprehension.

There is one thing very remarkable, that in the scriptures, the sin of our nature is always adduced as an aggravation of our guilt ; but loose persons in principle and in practice, are apt to produce it as an extenuation of the actual transgression which proceeds from it. Nor, I believe, is there any way by which men can be taken off from such views, but by a thorough work of conviction, and the power of divine grace. Therefore a minister of great piety and judgment once said to me, “ No man will cordially believe the doctrine of salvation by grace, contained in our Catechism and confession, unless he is born of God. I can shew by reason that the fall of man, and the corruption of our nature is contained in the scripture. I can shew that it is entirely correspondent with the course of nature and the system of Providence. But we need hardly expect that it will be received and approved till the pride of the heart is brought down, and the sinner laid at the foot-stool of divine mercy.”

Another remark I shall make, and this also borrowed from a friend, that every error or departure from the truth might be traced back to a want of conviction, and not having a due sense, of the evil of sin. Notwithstanding all the boast of concern for moral virtue, and the repeated objection that the doctrine of salvation by grace leads to licentiousness and favors immorality, it is an unhumiliated spirit that makes such persons oppose the truth. Self-righteousness is easily traced back to this—all the merit of works may be reduced to it—had such persons a proper sense of the extent and spirituality of the law of God, they would never think of trusting in themselves that they are righteous : and did they feel the obligation upon every intelligent creature, supremely to honor the living and true God, they would see the evil of refusing it ; but would never think of pleading any merit from an imperfect performance of that which is so perfectly due.

In the last place, as to the inability of man to recover himself by his own power, though I would never attempt to establish a metaphysical system of necessity, of which

infidels avail themselves in opposition to all religion nor presume to explain the influence of the Creator on the creature ; yet nothing is more plain from scripture or better supported by daily experience, than that man by nature is in fact incapable of recovery without the power of God specially interposed. I will not call it a necessity arising from the irresistible laws of nature. I see it is not a necessity of the same kind as constraint ; but I see it an impossibility such as the sinner never does overcome. A late author in Scotland thinks he has discovered the great wheel that connects the human system with the universal kingdom of God : that this race of creatures were suffered or ordained to come into existence, to be a standing monument to all other intelligences through the universe, that a rational creature once departing from his allegiance to his Creator, never could again recover it, but by his own Almighty power and sovereign grace.



LECTURE XVI.

Of the Covenant of Grace.

WE come now to speak of the Covenant of Grace. This, taking it in a large sense, may be said to comprehend the whole plan of salvation through Jesus Christ. I am not to mention every thing that belongs to this subject ; but before entering directly into the constitution of the covenant of grace, it will be proper to speak a little of the doctrine of satisfaction for the guilt of a creature.

As to the first of these—Was satisfaction or some atonement necessary ? would it have been inconsistent with divine justice to have pardoned sinners without it ? might not the sovereignty and mercy of God have dispensed with the punishment of sin, both in the sinner and in the sure-

ty? The agitation of this question, and the zeal that is shewn by some upon it, I cannot help saying, seems to arise from an inward aversion to the truth itself of the satisfaction, and the consequences that follow from it. What does it signify, though any one should admit that God by his sovereignty might have dispensed with demanding satisfaction, if notwithstanding it appears in fact that he has demanded and exacted it? "that without shedding of blood there is no remission," and "that there is no other name," &c. Whether it has been so ordained, because to have done otherwise would have been inconsistent with the divine perfections, or because so it seemed good unto God, seems at least an unnecessary if not an indecent question. We have an infinite concern in what God has done, but none at all in what he might have done. On what is really difficult upon this subject, we may however make the few following remarks.

(1) From its actually taking place as the will of God, we have good reason to say it was the wisest and best; the rather that we find many of the highest encomiums on the Divine perfections, as shewing in this great dispensation his power, wisdom, mercy and justice. His wisdom in a particular manner is often celebrated, Eph. iii. 10. Rom. xi. 33. At the same time it is proper to observe the harmony of the divine attributes; that the justice of God appears more awful in the sufferings of Christ than if the whole human race had been devoted to perdition; and his mercy more astonishing and more amiable in the gift of his Son, than it could have been in the total remission of all sin without any satisfaction, had it been possible.

(2.) There is a particular proof of the necessity of satisfaction that arises from the death of Christ, considered as intimately united with the Divine nature, which it has been already proved that he possessed. Can we suppose that such a measure would have been taken, if it had not been necessary? Can we suppose that the eternal Son of God would have humbled himself thus, and been exposed to such a degree of temptation, and such amazing sufferings, if it had not been necessary?

3. All the accounts given us in scripture of the nature of God, his perfections and government, confirm this supposition. The infinite justice and holiness of his nature are often mentioned in scripture; that he hates sin, and cannot look upon it but with abhorrence, and particularly that he will by no means spare the guilty. It is sometimes objected here, that justice differs from other attributes; and that its claims may be remitted, being due only to the person offended. But this which applies in part to man, cannot at all be applied to God. I say it applies in part to man, because a matter of private right, independent of the public good, he may easily pass by. But it is not so with magistrates or public persons, nor even with private persons, when they take in the consideration of the whole. Besides, when we consider the controversy about the justice of God and what it implies, we shall see the greatest reason to suppose what is called his vindictive justice, viz. a disposition to punish sin because it truly merits it even independently of any consequence of the punishment, either for the reformation of the person, or as an example to others. The idea of justice and guilt carries this in it, and if it did not there would be an apparent iniquity in punishing any person for a purpose different from his own good.

II. The second question upon the satisfaction is, whether it was just and proper to admit the substitution of an innocent person in the room of the guilty. This is what the Socinians combat with all their might. They say it is contrary to justice to punish an innocent person; that God must always treat things as they really are, and therefore can never reckon it any proper atonement for sin to punish one that never committed any sin. Before I state the reasoning in support of this fundamental doctrine of the gospel, I will first briefly point out the qualifications necessary in such a substitution. (1) The security undertaking must be willing; it would certainly be contrary to justice to lay a punishment upon an innocent person without his consent. (2) He must be free and independent having a right over his own life, so that he is not accountable to any other for the disposal of it. (3) The person having

the demand must be satisfied and contented with the substitution, instead of personal punishment. (4) That the surety be truly able to make satisfaction in full. (5) That it be in all respects as useful, and that the sufferer be not lost to the public. (6) some add that he be related to and of the same nature with the guilty. This is generally added from the constitution of Christ's person, and in that instance surely has a great degree of suitability, but does not seem to me to be so necessary as the other particulars for establishing the general principle.

Now supposing all these circumstances, vicarious satisfaction for sin seems to me easily and perfectly justifiable: to make this appear, attend to the three following observations.

(1) There is nothing in it at all contrary to justice. If any innocent person were punished against his will, or laid under a necessity of suffering for the cause of another, it would evidently be repugnant to the idea of justice. But when it is done, as by the supposition, willingly and freely, injustice is wholly excluded. If we could indeed suppose ignorance and rashness in the undertaking, so that he consented to what he did not understand, there would be injustice, but this also is wholly excluded in the case before us.

(2) There is nothing in it contrary to utility, because it has precisely the same effect in demonstrating the evil of sin in the one case as in the other. In any human government it certainly serves as much to ratify the law, and in many cases the exacting the debt with rigor of a surety is a more awful sanction to the law, than even the satisfaction of the offending party. We have not in all history I think, an instance of this kind so striking as the lawgiver of the Lorrians, who had made a law that adultery should be punished with the loss of both the eyes. His own son was shortly after convicted of the crime; and to fulfil the law, he suffered one of his own eyes to be put out, and one of his Son's. Every body must perceive that such an example was a greater terror to others, than if the law had been literally inflicted on the offender. After having mentioned these two particulars, I

observe that the thing is in a most precise and exact manner laid down in scripture. It is impossible to invent expressions, that are either more strong or more definite than are there to be found. It is an observation of some of the Socinian writers that the word satisfaction is not to be found in scripture, and in this they often triumph: but nothing can be more ridiculous, for satisfaction is a modern term of art, and unknown in that sense to antiquity. But can there be any thing more plain, than that it is intended to express the very meaning so fully and so variously expressed, both in the scriptures and the heathen writers? The word in the Old Testament most frequently used is, atoning, making atonement for sin, or for the soul. What could be more plain than not only the great day of atonement, but the daily sacrifice in which certain men were appointed to represent the people of Israel, and lay their hands on the head of the devoted beast and confess the sins of the people, which had not any other intelligible meaning than the transferring the guilt from the sinner to the victim. The sprinkling the blood in the Old Testament upon the horns of the altar, whence by allusion the blood of Christ is called the blood of sprinkling, carries this truth in it, in the plainest manner—and the prophecies of Isaiah, chap. liii. 5, “he was wounded “for our transgression,” &c. “When he shall give his soul an offering for sin,” &c. But were there the least obscurity in the type, the truth as stated in the New Testament, would put the matter out of all doubt. The expressions are so many that we cannot, and we need not enumerate them all—“redeemed—bought with a price—redeemed not with corruptible things, as silver or gold, but with the precious blood of Christ—This is my blood shed for many, for the remission of sins—he gave himself a ransom for all—unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood.”

I would just add here, that as by the constitution of our nature, and our being made to descend in a certain succession by natural generation, there is a communication of guilt and impurity from Adam; so we have in human society, and indeed inseparable from it, the idea of com-

munication by natural relation of honor and shame, happiness and misery, as well as the clearest notion of voluntary substitution. We see that the worth and eminent qualities of any person, give lustre and dignity to his posterity; and wickedness or baseness does just the contrary. We see that men may easily, and do necessarily, receive much pleasure from the happiness of their relations, and misery in sympathy with their sufferings. And as to voluntary substitution, it is as familiar to us as any transaction in social life. It is true there are not many instances of men's being bound in their life for one another; for which several good reasons may be assigned. There are not many men of such exalted generosity as to be willing to forfeit life for life; it is rarely that this would be a proper or adequate satisfaction to the law; and it would not be the interest of human society, commonly to receive it. Yet the thing is far from being inhuman or unpractised—There are some instances in ancient times, in which men have procured liberty for their friends, by being confined in their room. And both in ancient and modern times, hostages delivered by nations, or public societies, are obliged to abide the punishment due to their constituents.

(3.) The third question on the subject of satisfaction is, Whether it was necessary that the redeemer or mediator should be a divine person? It may be asked, whether an angel of the highest order, who was perfectly innocent, might not have made satisfaction for the sins of men? Perhaps this is one of the many questions in theology, that are unnecessary or improper. It is sufficient to say that it appears either to have been necessary or best, that one truly divine should make satisfaction for sin, since it has been ordained of God, who does nothing unnecessary.

But besides this, it seems to be consonant to other parts of revealed religion, particularly the infinite evil of sin as committed against God, for which no finite being seems sufficient to atone. To which we may add, that all finite, dependant, created beings are under such obligations themselves, that it is not easy to see what they can do in obedience to the will of God, which can have any merit in it, or which they would not be obliged to do for the purpose

of his glory at any time ; neither does any created being seem so much his own master, as to enter into any such undertaking.

There is an objection made to this doctrine, sometimes to the following purpose.—How could the second person of the ever blessed Trinity be said to make satisfaction ? Was he not equally offended with the other ? Could he make satisfaction to himself ? But this objection is easily solved, for not to mention that we cannot transfer with safety every thing human to God, the thing in question is by no means unknown in human affairs. Though for the payment of a debt on which the creditor insists, it would be ridiculous to say he might pay himself ; yet in the character of a magistrate sitting to judge a criminal where he represents the public, it is no way unsuitable for him to put off the public person, and satisfy the demands of justice, and preserve the honor of the law.

Here I would conclude by just observing, that there is no necessity of a surety's doing just the same thing in kind that the guilty person was bound to do. The character and dignity of the surety may operate so far as to produce the legal effect, and make the satisfaction proper for giving its due honour to the law. Thus in the sufferings of Christ, the infinite value of the sufferer's person, makes the sufferings to be considered as a just equivalent to the eternal sufferings of a finite creature.

LECTURE XVII.

LET us proceed to the constitution of the covenant ; and you may observe that there is some difference among orthodox divines as to the way of stating the parties and the terms of the covenant of grace. There seems to be mention made in scripture of a covenant or agreement between the Father and the Son. This the ge-

nerality of Calvinist divines consider as a separate or preparatory contract, and call it the covenant of redemption. Some however, especially those who have been termed Antinomians, consider this as properly the covenant of grace, made with Christ the second Adam as representing his spiritual seed, and the covenant said to be made with believers to be only the execution or administration of that covenant, and therefore called a testament, being the fruits of Christ's death, or ratified by the death of the testator. According to the different ways of viewing this matter, they express themselves differently. The first saying that the condition of the covenant of grace is faith in Jesus Christ; and the other saying it is the righteousness of Christ. I do not apprehend there need be any difference between those now mentioned, and I observe Mr. Willison in his catechism takes it both ways. I shall first very shortly shew you from scripture that there is plainly mention made of a covenant, or a transaction between the Father and the Son, which, if distinct from the covenant of grace, may be properly enough called the covenant of redemption.

There are many promises made directly to the mediator respecting this matter, Ps. ii. 6. "I declare the decree," &c. Isa. v. 3, 10. "When he shall make his soul," &c. Isa. xlii. 1, 6, 7. "Behold my servant whom I uphold; mine elect in whom my soul delighteth, I have put my spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. I the Lord have called thee in righteousness and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles, Zech. vi. 13. "And the council of peace shall be between them both." I only further mention Ps. xl. 6, 7, 8, "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire," &c. The truth is, that not only the Socinians who are enemies to the satisfaction of Christ, but even the Arminians decline the admission of this truth, and attempt to explain away the above texts; yet something equivalent to it is necessarily consequent upon Christ's undertaking. When he was constituted mediator by the Divine decree, he must have assented to it, and freely undertaken the im-

portant charge. It is also evidently the spirit of the New Testament dispensation that the hope and strength of believers are in Christ. He is said to have ascended up on high and received gifts for men, and of his fulness, we are said by the apostle John, to receive grace for grace.

But the covenant of grace is said to be more frequently made with men, with the house of Israel, with the chosen of God, with his people. It is a compact or agreement between God and elect sinners to give freely and of mere mercy Christ to die for them, and with him a pardon of sin and a right to everlasting life, together with the Spirit of sanctification to make them meet for it; all which the believer receives and accepts in the manner in which it is offered and rests his eternal state upon it. This transaction has many different titles given it in scripture. It is called the *covenant of grace*, which is properly the Theological phrase—a *covenant*, because it is often called so in the Old Testament and in the New, and *of grace* because it is so often repeated in both that salvation is of grace, and particularly in order to state the opposition between it and the covenant of works. It is also called a covenant of peace, and that with a double view; to distinguish it from the covenant of works, and from the covenant on Sinai at the giving the law. It is called likewise an everlasting covenant, to distinguish it from any temporary covenant—It is also called the *promise*, and the promise made of GOD unto our fathers.

In what I shall further offer upon it, it is my design (1.) To consider the constitution of the covenant in its promises and conditions. (2.) The various dispensations of it and their relations to one another. (3.) In what manner the gospel is to be preached agreeably to it, and what views of things are contrary to it.

As to the constitution of the covenant, you see the first and leading idea of it is, free and unmerited mercy—that sinners had deserved to perish—that divine justice pronounced their condemnation. This must lie at the foundation of the whole.—It was for this reason that a mediator was provided, and the Saviour is offered by God himself, as the fruit of his love, John iii. 16. “God so loved

“the world,” &c. The freeness of salvation in the gospel is largely insisted on, and proved by the apostle in his epistle to the Romans, and particularly chap. iv. 16. speaking of the covenant under the title of the law of faith, he says, “therefore it is of faith, that it might be of grace.” This covenant is established by a mediator, for every blessing comes to believers through Christ and for his sake, who is made unto us wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption. The promises of the covenant of grace, may be taken in either view, more generally or more particularly.—In general, it procures deliverance from the wrath of God, and from every part of the curse of a broken law. Some also distinguish the promises generally, into grace and glory,—peace with God, holiness on earth, and the enjoyment of God at last. But that I may state them in the way most proper for preaching the gospel and carrying the message of peace, I shall enumerate them in the following order:—

(1) The covenant promises Christ the mediator to make satisfaction to divine justice by his sufferings and death. He was the promise made of God unto the fathers, and under the obscurity of the ancient dispensation he was the hope of Israel, and the desire of all nations; and when he was come into the world, he was called the Lord’s Christ, and the salvation of God. So Simeon expressed himself, “Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace,” &c. And as the Redeemer appeared first as the object of faith to the ancient patriarchs, so to convinced sinners under the gospel, a saviour is the first ground of consolation.

(2) The covenant promises the full and free pardon of all sin through Christ, John i. 16. Isa. lv. 1. The forgiveness of sins is the doctrine which Christ commanded his disciples to preach to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem, 1 Tim. i. 15. “This is a faithful saying,” &c. The universality of the offer of mercy, is what particularly distinguishes it, Matth. xi. 28. “Come unto me—and him that cometh, I will in no wise cast out.” &c. This seems to be indeed the preliminary mercy, that opens the way to every other, and it was in this view that the gospel was

preached to the humbled and needy, Luke iv. 18. "The spirit of the Lord is upon me," &c.

(3.) The covenant promises the spirit of sanctification to renew our nature, and form us for the service of God, Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. Jer. xxxii. 40. "And I will make an everlasting covenant with them," &c. Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26, 27. "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you," &c. It is with a view to this, that we are told, Acts v. 31, "That Christ was exalted," &c. I need not multiply passages to this purpose, for it is the constant testimony of the scriptures, that any gracious disposition in believers is the work of God's holy Spirit, and therefore are they called the fruit of the Spirit. It is not only the bringing sinners again to God by repentance that is considered as the work of God's Spirit, but the continuance and increase of sanctification is attributed to their being an habitation of God through the Spirit; "I will live in them and walk in them," &c.

(4.) The covenant promises the favor of God, and all its happy fruits, while in this life, 2 Cor. xvii. 18. "Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord," &c. I need not here mention the particulars that fall under this head—deliverance from temptations—support under sufferings—the sanctified use of sufferings; because we are in one word assured that "all things shall work together for good to them that love God," and 1 Cor. iii. 22. "For all things are yours, whether Paul or Apollos," &c.

(5.) In the last place, the covenant promises eternal life. We cannot say what would have been the fullness of that life which belonged to the first covenant; but it seems to be generally agreed, that the promise of a glorious immortality, contained in the gospel, is much greater and more valuable, than that which was lost by the fall. Life and immortality are said to be brought to light by the gospel; and our Saviour is said to have entered into the holiest of all, as the first fruits of them that slept, and to have gone to prepare a place for them, that where he is, there they may be also.

Let us now speak of the conditions of the covenant of grace. As I hinted before, those who make the covenant of grace and covenant of redemption the same thing, say, the condition is Christ's perfect merit and obedience. Neither indeed is there any thing else that can be called the meritorious condition. Those who say that the covenant of grace was made with man, say that the condition is faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. And it is undoubtedly true, that faith interests us in Christ, and brings us really within the bond of the covenant. Faith alone brings us to it; for any thing else that might be considered as a condition, is only a promise of what God will do for his people. But to state this matter as clearly as I am able, whether there are conditions or not, or what are the conditions of the covenant of grace, depends entirely on the sense in which we take the word condition. If we take it as implying proper merit, or the plea or claim in justice for obtaining the promises, nothing can be plainer, than that there is not, and cannot be of this kind, any condition, but the voluntary, perfect, meritorious obedience of the Lord Jesus Christ. If we take it as signifying any particular duty or performance, as the term on which the promise is suspended, as in the first covenant abstaining from the tree of knowledge of good and evil, it can scarcely be said with propriety, that it has a condition; for the tenor of the covenant, in its promising part, is such, that every thing of this kind is promised as the work of God. Therefore many divines have asserted, that the gospel, strictly so called, has no condition, but consists wholly of free and gracious promises. (See this matter well stated in Witsius' *Economy of the Covenants*.) It is for this reason, that it is often called a testament, even where we have it translated covenant.

But if condition is taken to signify a character, qualification, or what is necessary to fit us for everlasting life, then faith, repentance, new obedience, and final perseverance, are all conditions, but very improperly so called. Indeed in this sense the covenant of grace has as many conditions as the law has duties. Yet even in this view we are carefully to observe, that there is a difference in the constitution of the covenant of grace, between faith

in the blood of the atonement, and its fruits, the various graces of the christian life. For as the promises of the covenant contain not only the free pardon of sin for Christ's sake, but also the spirit of sanctification, faith is the immediate instrument for receiving or laying hold of this mercy. If there is to man (properly speaking) a condition of the covenant, it must be faith, because this, renouncing all self-dependance, accepts and closes with the promise of recovery and salvation, just in the manner in which it is offered freely, without money and without price. It is plainly stated in this manner in the Epistle to the Romans. "Therefore it is by faith, that it may be by grace." "To him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt; but to him that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness." Faith indeed is highly proper for receiving the righteousness of Christ, because it gives the glory only to God. To suppose faith has any merit in it is just as absurd as to suppose that a person, being wholly needy and helpless, his accepting the bounty of another, is an evidence of his having abundance of his own.

As to the fruits of faith, or works of righteousness, no person can deny that they are the proper evidence of our relation to God:—That they are the expressions of our love to him:—That they are necessary to form us for his service and fit us for his presence: But being the work of his holy Spirit, and the accomplishment of his faithful promise, it is impossible that they should be in any respect conditions of the covenant of grace,

The promises of the covenant of grace are ranged in a certain order—they introduce and lead to one another, and they are to be received and applied precisely in the same order—Christ the Saviour—the free pardon of sin—a new nature as the work of his spirit—increase of grace—a sanctified Providence—victory over death—and the possession of everlasting life.—These must take place just in the order I have mentioned them. If the order is inverted, the system is destroyed.

2. The second thing to be considered is the various dispensations of the covenant, and their relation to one another. The covenant of grace in every dispensation differs from the covenant of works. The covenant of works required perfect obedience, and one sin rendered it void. In the covenant of grace there is provision made, not only for reconciling the sinner, but for daily pardon to the believer. In the covenant of works every thing depends upon the personal conduct of the interested party; in the covenant of grace there is a Mediator who lays his hands upon them both.

As to the dispensations of the covenant of grace we may consider them as appearing before the law, under the law, and from the coming of Christ.

(1.) Before giving the law we see the promise is made in the following terms—"The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head,"—And to Abraham—"In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." I think the promise, if not the covenant, was substantially made the same then as now. The apostle to the Galatians, iii. 17, thought the same thing, that the promise to Abraham was the New Testament promise, and that whatever the law had peculiar to itself was posterior to the promise, "and this I say that the covenant which was confirmed before of God in Christ," &c. The promise at that time, as now, was eternal life, as the Apostle to the Hebrews plainly proves, Heb. xi. 13. "These all died in faith," &c.—It is also plain I think, that as the promise to the faith of the ancient patriarchs was in substance the same with ours, so their faith itself was also the same. It was a reliance on the mercy of God. It was that faith which is the evidence of things not seen, and the substance of things hoped for.

(2.) Under the law the covenant also was the same in substance, as appears by the arguments just now hinted at. The only thing particular, is to consider what was the import of the Sinai covenant, or the design of giving the law of Moses. Some, seeing that the Levitical law consists chiefly of temporal promises, are for supposing that

dispensation quite distinct from the covenant of grace. They have even called the ten commandments given upon Mount Sinai, a republication of the law of nature, and of the covenant of works. A late celebrated writer, Dr. Warburton, attempted to shew that Moses did not in the law give them any reason to expect eternal life, but confined both the promises and threatenings entirely to things temporal. Even to this author probably many have imputed more than he intended to affirm. Yet he certainly carries his arguments too far, in supposing that in none of the inspired writers of the Old Testament is eternal life proposed as the object of faith. This may be easily refuted; and indeed is in the book of Job so strongly refuted, that the author is forced into the extraordinary supposition of that book being as late as the Babylonish captivity, in order to rid himself of it. However, I think that it must be admitted that temporal promises and threatenings make the most distinguished appearance in the Levitical law. This took place because it was designed as a typical dispensation, and to be a shadow of good things to come. It is plain however, that the law of Moses did not provide an atonement for every crime, and supposed many sins which could not be expiated by the blood of bulls or of goats, for which the only remedy was reliance on the mere mercy of God, in the exercise of true repentance, see Isa. i. 16. &c. the same prophet, chap. lv. 1. "Ho! every one that thirsteth," &c.

The New Testament expressly tells us, that the law was a school-master to bring us to Christ, and the innumerable persons, and things, and ordinances, that were typical in it, need not be mentioned. The land of Canaan itself, and all the temporal promises preparatory to it or in consequence of the possession of it, had a reference to the spiritual promises under the gospel, and doubtless the acceptance and salvation of them under the law, are upon the footing of the everlasting covenant, which began to be delivered before the law was given, and will continue till the final consummation of all things.

The moral law published upon Mount Sinai must not be considered as a republication of the covenant of works,

but a publication or fummary of that immutable law of righteoufnefs, which is the duty of creatures, and muft accompany the adminiftration of every covenant which God makes with man.

(3.) Since the coming of Chrift, the covenant of grace is adminiftered in a manner more full, clear and efficacious than in any of the former ftates. It was formerly adminiftered in the name of, and by a promifed Saviour; It is now adminiftered in the name of, and by a rifen Redeemer, who once fuffered and now reigns in glory. The harmony of all the divine perfections in the great falvation, is more apparent now than formerly, and the preaching of the glad tidings of peace to finners is more explicit and more univerfal. What falls chiefly to be confidered is, how far the former difpenfations are fufpended or abrogated by the coming of Chrift in the flefh. The covenant ratified by the death of Chrift is called a new covenant, in oppofition to that which is old and vanifhed away. Certainly the covenant is called new, in oppofition to the covenant of works, which as the way of falvation was abrogated from the date of the firft promife, and both in the Epiftles to the Romans, Galatians and Hebrews, efpecially the two former, the gofpel or law of grace, is oppofed to the law of works, meaning the firft covenant. And that I may fatisfy you of this without entering into the endlefs criticifms upon particular paffages, obferve that thofe who would by the law, underftand the law of Mofes, exclusive of the covenant of works, may be eafily confuted, for the Apoftle fays, “ that it is by faith, that it may be by grace.” —That if juftification was by works, Abraham might have whereof to glory; and that the defign of this conftitution was that no flefh might glory in God’s prefence. The ceremonial law is undoubtedly abrogated both from the exprefs declaration of fcripture, and from the nature and reafon of things—Chrift is now the end of the law for righteoufnefs to every one that believeth. And as the whole fyftem of the Mofaic law was intended to typify the gofpel difpenfation when Chrift was actually come in the flefh, it muft fall of itfelf as unnecessary or hurtful,

There has been much controversy whether it was proper to say that the moral law was abrogated, or to apply to that law what is said of believers not being under the law but under grace. This matter, one would think, might be easily reconciled, for doubtless the moral law as a covenant of works, carrying a sentence of condemnation against every transgression, is abrogated. But the moral law as the unalterable rule of duty to creatures is antecedent to all covenants, and cannot be affected by them. The moral law as it requires obedience to the will, and conformity to the nature of God, was binding on the Angels before the creation of the world; and will be the duty of holy angels and redeemed sinners after the resurrection. But there is also another view of this subject—that the moral law is a part of the covenant of grace, in the hand of the Mediator. It is the promise of the covenant that the law shall be written in our hearts, an unfeigned faith implies the acceptance of this as well as other promises, so that the believer not only remains under his original unchangeable obligation to keep the law, but comes under a new and peculiar obligation which is to be discharged in his Redeemer's strength: so that to take the thing properly, there is more obedience in the covenant of grace, than in the covenant of works. The covenant of grace requires unfeigned subjection to every part of the same law, with this mortifying addition, that the believer receives it wholly as a condition of his acceptance, and ascribes it entirely to the riches of divine grace.

There is sometimes mention made of the political law of Moses, and it is demanded whether this is of perpetual obligation? The answer seems to be easy. It contains an excellent system of laws suited to the settlement of the Jews in Canaan, and many principles of equity, that may be of great use to other legislators; but as the civil laws in general have only in view temporal property and convenience, they certainly are not unalterable, because they must be suited to the state of society—and other circumstances which may be very various.—Sundry of the precepts also in the political law seem to have an allegorical meaning, and to have been made either with a

view of suggesting or strengthening moral principles, or to be typical of gospel times—as the precept, thou shalt “not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn,” “thou shalt not see the kid in its mother’s milk.”—But we may observe that the principles laid down in the criminal law are founded upon so much wisdom, that it is a question whether the departure from them in punishing of crimes has ever been attended with advantage. As for example, in regard to violence—the law of retaliation—an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth—in theft and fraud—restitution—and the punishment of adultery with death.

What remains upon this subject is only to point out in what manner the gospel is to be preached agreeably to it, and what views of things are contrary to it. To set this matter before you with as much distinctness and propriety as I am able, observe, that this gracious dispensation must be opened and pressed just as it is suited to the various conditions of those to whom it is addressed—these I shall divide into three great classes. (1.) Secure or self-righteous persons. (2.) Convinced sinners. (3.) Professing believers.

1. Secure or self-righteous persons, who do not seem to have ever laid their eternal concerns to heart, or are building on some false foundation, as a form of godliness, or the merit of good works, or the comparative smallness of the sins of which they are guilty. To these it is necessary to preach the law in all its extent, and in all the force of its obligation. It is necessary to point out the evil of sin, the lost state of man by nature; and the absolute necessity of pardon through the blood of Christ and renovation by his spirit. It may be very proper for them and all others, to shew them the guilt and folly of particular sins, such as swearing, drunkenness, uncleanness. But if something more is not done, the evil is not searched to the bottom, for we ought to shew them that these are but the fruits of an unrenewed nature.—That restraining, moderating, or even reforming a particular sin is not enough, nor any evidence of a change from sin unto God. It is particularly proper in such cases to point out the extent and spirituality of the law, as reaching to the

thoughts of the heart, so as if possible to shew them that they are guilty and helpless, and that there is no salvation in any but in Christ. This leads us to say,

2. That with regard to convinced sinners, it is very particularly necessary to set before them the all-sufficiency of Christ, the fulness and freeness of that salvation which he purchased upon the cross, and offers in his word. To shew them that he has finished his work, and done every thing necessary to render it perfectly consistent with the justice and holiness of God to forgive even the chief of sinners. But this will be best illustrated by pointing out some sentiments and views contrary to the freeness of salvation, and the plan of the gospel.

(1) It is contrary to the freeness of salvation and to the covenant of grace to extenuate sin, to have hard thoughts of God, of the strictness of his law, or the severity of its sanction. This arises from imperfect conviction of sin which sometimes makes the sinner use some efforts to obtain salvation; but still he is apt to think he would have very hard measures if he was rejected. Imperfect convictions lead sinners to seek their comfort from the extenuation of sin, but true faith incites the sinner to give full force to the accusation, and to plead the benefit of the remission.

(2) It is contrary to the freeness of salvation and to the tenor of the covenant of grace, to think that the greatness or atrociousness of sin should hinder our returning to God for obtaining mercy. This is one of the first reflections of a sinner under conviction, that he has sinned more than any other, and that another can sooner expect forgiveness than he. While this only serves to increase humiliation, and rase to the foundation every degree of self-confidence, its operation is salutary. But sometimes this arises from too rooted an adherence to some degree of human merit as necessary to find favor with God, and then instead of compelling the sinner to rest in the infinite compassion of God, it makes him fall upon some scheme of purchasing salvation for himself; or if he finds this impracticable, perhaps he is plunged into the gulph of despair. In opposition to this, the new and well ordered covenant sends him

to the infinite fulness of Christ for a free and complete pardon, and for deliverance from the power of his corruptions.

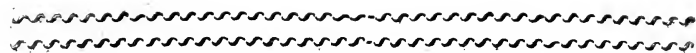
3. It is contrary to the freeness of salvation and the covenant of grace, to have any dependence on one's being comparatively less wicked than another. If the sinner's hope arises much from his having been free from this or that sin, he is resting on a legal foundation. This was a rock of perdition to the Pharisees—See how the Saviour has opposed this character to the other, Luke xviii. 11. "The Pharisees stood and prayed," &c. Not that God would represent it as a less safe state to attend to the exercise of religion than to be an adulterer. But when men rest their dependance on their comparative goodness in themselves, it only serves to lead them away from an esteem and acceptance of divine mercy. On this account our Saviour says to the Pharisees, Matth. xxi. 31. "Verily I say unto you, the Publicans," &c. The sight of a great profligate deadens the sense of sin in the minds of many worldly persons, but in an humble penitent it only excites him to reflect upon the great principles of all sin in his own heart, and what he might have been, had not a restraining Providence and recovering grace been his preservation.

4. It is contrary to the freeness of salvation and the covenant of grace, to suppose that we may not, or must not, lay hold of divine mercy till we have done something ourselves in the way of duty and performance; till our penitential tears or purposes of obedience, or begun reformation, entitle us to call it ours. No doubt self-denial and experience of the treachery of our own hearts should fill us with humility and jealousy of ourselves; but the true way to reconcile the heart to duty, and to break the power of sin is to rest our hope upon Divine Mercy for pardon, and on the promise in the covenant of the Holy Spirit to sanctify us wholly. Many retard their reformation as well as obstruct their comfort by yielding to a spirit of bondage and slavish fear. We should rather pray in the words of Zechariah, Luke i. 74. "That we being delivered," &c.

5. It is contrary to the freeness of salvation and the covenant of grace to boast of our own righteousness, or in any degree to trust in our own strength. The motto of a Christian should be in the words of the Prophet Isa. xlv. 24. "Surely shall one say," &c. It is not merely the pardon of sin, but the sanctification of the nature and strength for daily obedience that is promised in the covenant; and both must be received from the Mediator's hand and ascribed to him as their proper source. It is an admirable expression of the Apostle Paul, who says, "I obtained mercy to be faithful," accounting that a subject of gratitude and a mercy received, which others would have reckoned an occasion of boasting. Nothing is more contrary to the spirit of the gospel than self dependance, and indeed the whole substance of this dispensation has been designed to abase the pride of man, and to exalt the grace of God.

To professing believers, the whole duties of the law of God are to be preached, for believers are not without law to God, but under the law to Christ. The laws of the gospel are to be inculcated as the fruits of faith, and the evidence of a saving change. There is a great difference between considering duties as going before, and as following faith and reconciliation; the first is legal, the last evangelical. You need not be afraid but that duties may be preached as strictly in the last way as in the first, and it will certainly be done with much greater safety.

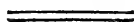




LETTERS

ON

EDUCATION.



LETTER I.



AFTER so long a delay, I now set myself to fulfil my promise of writing to you a few thoughts on the education of children.—Though I cannot wholly purge myself of the crimes of laziness and procrastination, yet I do assure you, what contributed not a little to its being hitherto not done, was, that I considered it not as an ordinary letter, but what deserved to be carefully meditated on, and thoroughly digested. The concern you show on this subject, is highly commendable: for there is no part of your duty, as a Christian, or a citizen, which will be of greater service to the public, or a source of greater comfort to yourself.

The consequence of my thinking so long upon it, before committing my thoughts to paper, will probably be the taking the thing in a greater compass than either of us at first intended, and writing a series of letters, instead of one. With this view I begin with a preliminary to the successful education of children, viz. that husband and wife ought to be entirely one upon this subject, not only agreed as to

the end, but as to the means to be used, and the plan to be followed, in order to attain it. It ought to encourage you to proceed in your design, that I am persuaded you will not only meet with no opposition to a rational and serious education of your children, but great assistance from Mrs. S. ————— * * * * *

The erased lines contained a compliment, written with great sincerity : but recollecting that there are no rules yet settled for distinguishing true compliment from flattery, I have blotted them out : on which, perhaps, you will say to yourself, “ he is fulfilling the character which his enemies give him, who say, it is the nature of the man “ to deal much more in satire, than in panegyric.” However, I content myself with repeating, that certainly husband and wife ought to conspire and co operate in every thing relating to the education of their children ; and if their opinions happen, in any particular, to be different, they ought to examine and settle the matter privately by themselves, that not the least opposition may appear either to children or servants. When this is the case, every thing is enforced by a double authority, and recommended by a double example : but when it is otherwise, the pains taken are commonly more than lost, not being able to do any good, and certainly producing very much evil.

Be pleased to remember, that this is by no means intended against those unhappy couples, who, being essentially different in principles and character, live in a state of continual war. It is of little advantage to speak either to, or of such persons. But even differences incomparably smaller, are of very bad consequence : when one, for example, thinks a child may be carried out, and the other thinks it is wrong ; when one thinks a way of speaking is dangerous, and the other is positive there is nothing in it. The things themselves may indeed be of little moment ; but the want of concurrence in the parents, or the want of mutual esteem and deference, easily observed even by very young children, is of the greatest importance.

As you and I have chiefly in view the religious education of children, I take it to be an excellent preliminary that parental affection should be purified by the principles

and controled or directed by the precepts of religion. A parent should rejoice in his children, as they are the gift of a gracious God ; should put his trust in the care of an indulgent Providence for the preservation of his offspring, as well as himself ; should be supremely desirous that they may be, in due time, the heirs of eternal life ; and, as he knows the absolute dependance of every creature upon the will of God, should be ready to resign them at what time his Creator shall see proper to demand them. This happy qualification of parental tenderness, will have a powerful influence in preventing mistakes in the conduct of education. It will be the most powerful of all incitements to duty and at the same time a restraint upon that natural fondness and indulgence, which, by a sort of fascination of fatality, makes parents often do or permit what their judgment condemns, and then excuse themselves by saying that no doubt it is wrong, but truly they cannot help it.

Another preliminary to the proper education of children, is a firm persuasion of the benefit of it, and the probable, at least, if not certain success of it, when faithfully and prudently conducted. This puts an edge upon the spirit, and enables the christian not only to make some attempts, but to persevere with patience and diligence. I know not a common saying either more false or pernicious, than “ that the children of good men are as bad as others.” This saying carries in it a supposition, that whereas the force of education is confessed with respect to every other human character and accomplishment, it is of no consequence at all as to religion. This, I think, is contrary to daily experience. Where do we expect to find young persons piously disposed but in pious families ? the exceptions, or rather appearances to the contrary, are easily accounted for, in more ways than one. Many persons appear to be religious, while they are not so in reality, but are chiefly governed by the applause of men. Hence their visible conduct may be specious, or their public performances applauded, and yet their families be neglected.

It must also be acknowledged that some truly well disposed persons are extremely defective or imprudent in this part of their duty, and therefore it is no wonder that it should not succeed. This was plainly the case with

Eli, whose sons we are told, made themselves vile, and he restrained them not. However, I must observe, if we allow such to be truly good men, we must at the same time confess that this was a great drawback upon their character; and that they differed very much from the father of the faithful, who had this honorable testimony given him by God, I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, that they serve me. To this we may add, that the child of a good man, who is seen to follow dissolute courses, draws the attention of mankind more upon him, and is much more talked of, than any other person of the same character. Upon the whole, it is certainly of moment, that one who desires to educate his children in the fear of God, should do it in a humble persuasion, that if he was not defective in his own duty, he will not be denied the blessing of success. I could tell you some remarkable instances of parents who seemed to labor in vain for a long time, and yet were so happy as to see a change at last; and of some children in whom even after the death of the parents, the seed which was early sown, and seemed to have been entirely smothered, has at last produced fruit. And indeed no less seems to follow from the promise, annexed to the command, train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.

Having laid down these preliminaries, I shall say a few things upon the preservation of the health of children. Perhaps you will think this belongs only to the physician: but though a physician ought to be employed to apply remedies in dangerous cases, any man, with a little reflection, may be allowed to form some judgment as to the ordinary means of their preservation; nay, I cannot help being of opinion, than any other man is fitter than a physician for this purpose. His thoughts are so constantly taken up with the rules of his art, that it is an hundred to one he will prescribe more methods and medicines than can be used with safety.

The fundamental rules for preserving the health of children, are cleanliness, liberty, and free air. By cleanliness, I do not mean keeping the outside of their clothes

in a proper condition to be seen before company, nor hindering them from fouling their hands and feet, when they are capable of going abroad, but keeping them dry in the night time, when young, and frequently washing their bodies with cold water, and other things of the same nature and tendency. The second rule is liberty. All persons young and old, love liberty : and as far as it does them no harm, it will certainly do them good. Many a free born subject is kept a slave for the first ten years of his life ; and is so much handled and carried about by women in his infancy, that the limbs and other parts of his body, are frequently mishapen, and the whole very much weakened ; besides, the spirits, when under confinement, are generally in a dull and languishing state. The best exercise in the world for children, is to let them romp and jump about as soon as they are able, according to their own fancy. This in the country is best done in the fields ; in a city a well aired room is better than being sent into the streets under the care of a servant, very few of whom are able so far to curb their own inclinations, as to let the children follow theirs, even where they may do it with safety. As to free air, there is nothing more essentially necessary to the strength and growth of animals and plants. If a few plants of any kind are sown in a close confined place, they commonly grow up tall, small, and very weak. I have seen a bed of beans in a garden, under the shade of a hedge or tree, very long and slender, which brought to my mind a young family of quality, trained up in a delicate manner, who if they grow at all, grow to length, but never to thickness. So universal is this, that I believe the body of a sturdy or well built make, is reckoned among them a coarse and vulgar thing.

There is one thing with regard to servants, that I would particularly recommend to your attention. All children are liable to accidents ; these may happen unavoidably ; but do generally arise from the carelessness of servants, and to this they are almost always attributed by parents. This disposes all servants, good or bad, to conceal them from the parents, when they can possibly do it. By this means

children often receive hurts in falls or otherwise, which if known in time, might be easily remedied, but not being known either prove fatal, or make them lame or deformed. A near relation of mine has a high shoulder and a distorted waist, from this very cause. To prevent such accidents, it is necessary to take all pains possible to acquire the confidence of servants, to convince them of the necessity of concealing nothing. There are two dispositions in parents, which hinder the servants from making discoveries; the first is when they are very passionate, and apt to storm and rage against their servants, for every real or supposed neglect. Such persons can never expect a confession, which must be followed by such terrible vengeance. The other is, when they are tender-hearted or timorous to excess, which makes them show themselves deeply affected or greatly terrified upon any little accident that befalls their children. In this case, the very best servants are unwilling to tell them through fear of making them miserable. In such cases, therefore, I would advise parents, whatever may be their real opinions, to discover them as little as possible to their servants. Let them still inculcate this maxim, that there should be no secrets concerning children, kept from those most nearly interested in them. And that there may be no temptation to such conduct, let them always appear as cool and composed as possible, when any discovery is made, and be ready to forgive a real fault, in return for a candid acknowledgment.

LETTER II.

IF I mistake not, my last letter was concluded by some remarks on the means of trying servants to be careful of the safety of children, and ready to discover early and honestly any accidents that might happen to befall them. I must make some farther remarks upon servants. It is a subject of great importance, and inseparably connected with what I have undertaken. You will find it extremely

difficult to educate children properly, if the servants of the family do not conspire in it; and impossible, if they are inclined to hinder it. In such a case, the orders issued, or the method laid down, will be neglected, where that is possible and safe; where neglect is unsafe, they will be unsuccessfully or improperly executed, and many times, in the hearing of the children, they will be either laughed at, or complained of and disapproved. The certain consequence of this is, that children will insensibly come to look upon the directions and cautions of their parents, as unnecessary or unreasonable restraints. It is a known and very common way for servants, to insinuate themselves into the affections of children, by granting them such indulgences as would be refused them by their parents, as well as concealing the faults which ought to be punished by parents, and they are often very successful in training them up to a most dangerous fidelity in keeping the secret.

Such is the evil to be feared, which ought to have been more largely described: let us now come to the remedy. The foundation, to be sure, is to be very nice and careful in the choice of servants. This is commonly thought to be an extremely difficult matter, and we read frequently in public papers the heaviest complaints of bad servants. I am, however, one of those who think the fault is at least as often in the masters. Good servants may certainly be had, and do generally incline of themselves to be in good families, and when they find that they are so, do often continue very long in the same, without desiring to remove. You ought, therefore, to be exceedingly scrupulous, and not without an evident necessity, to hire any servant but who seems to be sober and pious. Indeed, I flatter myself, that a pious family is such, as none but one who is either a saint or a hypocrite will be supposed to continue in. If any symptoms of the last character appears, you need not be told what you ought to do.

The next thing, after the choice of servants, is to make conscience of doing your duty to them, by example, instruction, admonition and prayer. Your fidelity to them will naturally produce in them fidelity to you and yours,

and that upon the very best principles. It will excite in them a deep sense of gratitude, and at the same time fill them with sentiments of the highest and most unfeigned esteem. I could tell you of instances (you will however probably recollect some yourself) of servants who from their living comfortably, and receiving benefits in pious families, have preserved such a regard and attachment to their masters, as have been little short of idolatry. I shall just mention one—a worthy woman in this place, formerly servant to one of my predecessors, and married many years since to a thriving tradesman, continues to have such an undiminished regard to her master's memory, that she cannot speak of him without delight; keeps by her to this hour the newspaper which gives an account of his death and character, and, I believe, would not exchange it for a bill or bond, for a very considerable sum.

But the third and finishing direction with regard to servants, is to convince them, in a cool and dispassionate manner, of the reasonableness of your method of proceeding, that as it is dictated by conscience, it is conducted with prudence. Thence it is easy to represent to them that it is their duty, instead of hindering its success by opposition or negligence, to co-operate with it to the utmost of their power. It is not below any man to reason in some cases with his servants. There is a way of speaking to them on such subjects, by which you will lose nothing of your dignity, but even corroborate your authority. While you manifest your firm resolution, never to depart from your right and title to command: you may, notwithstanding, at proper seasons, and by way of condescension, give such general reasons for your conduct, as to show that you are not acting by mere caprice or humor. Nay, even while you sometimes insist, that your command of itself shall be a law, and that you will not suffer it to be disputed, nor be obliged to give a reason for it, you may easily show them that this also is reasonable. They may be told that you have the greatest interest in the welfare of your children, the best opportunity of being apprised as to the means of prosecuting it, and that there

may be many reasons for your orders, which it is unnecessary or improper for them to know.

Do not think that all this is excessive refinement, chimerical or impossible. Servants are reasonable creatures, and are best governed by a mixture of authority and reason. They are generally delighted to find themselves treated as reasonable, and will sometimes discover a pride in showing that they understand, as well as find a pleasure in entering into your views. When they find, as they will every day by experience, the success and benefit of a proper method of education, it will give them a high opinion of, and confidence in your judgment; they will frequently consult you in their own affairs, as well as implicitly follow your directions in the management of yours. After all, the very highest instance of true greatness of mind, and the best support of your authority, when you see necessary to interpose it, is not to be opinionative or obstinate, but willing to acknowledge or remit a real mistake, if it is discreetly pointed out, even by those in the lowest stations. The application of these reflections will occur in several of the following branches of this subject.

The next thing I shall mention as necessary, in order to the education of children, is, to establish as soon as possible, an entire and absolute authority over them. This is a part of the subject which requires to be treated with great judgment and delicacy. I wish I may be able to do so. Opinions, like modes and fashions, change continually upon every point; neither is it easy to keep the just middle, without verging to one or other of the extremes. On this, in particular, we have gone in this nation in general, from one extreme to the very utmost limits of the other. In the former age, both public and private, learned and religious education was carried on by mere dint of authority. This, to be sure, was a savage and barbarous method, and was in many instances terrible and disgusting to the youth. Now, on the other hand, not only severity, but authority, is often decried; persuasion, and every soft and gentle method, is recommended, on such terms as plainly lead to a relaxation. I hope you

will be convinced that the middle way is best, when you find it is recommended by the spirit of God in his word, Prov. xiii. 24. xix. 18. xxii. 15. You will also find a caution against excess in this matter, Col. ii. 21.

I have said above, that you should "establish as soon as possible an entire and absolute authority." I would have it early, that it may be absolute, and absolute that it may not be severe. If parents are too long in beginning to exert their authority, they will find the task very difficult. Children, habituated to indulgence for a few of their first years, are exceedingly impatient of restraint, and if they happen to be of stiff or obstinate tempers, can hardly be brought to an entire, at least to a quiet and placid submission; whereas, if they are taken in time, there is hardly any temper but what may be made to yield, and by early habit the subjection becomes quite easy to themselves.

The authority ought also to be absolute, that it may not be severe. The more complete and uniform a parent's authority is, the offences will be more rare, punishment will be less needed, and the more gentle kind of correction will be abundantly sufficient. We see every where about us examples of this. A parent that has once obtained, and knows how to preserve authority, will do more by a look of displeasure, than another by the most passionate words and even blows. It holds universally in families and schools, and even the greater bodies of men, the army and navy, that those who keep the strictest discipline, give the fewest strokes. I have frequently remarked that parents, even of the softest tempers, and who are famed for the greatest indulgence to their children, do, notwithstanding, correct them more frequently, and even more severely, though to very little purpose, than those who keep up their authority. The reason is plain. Children, by foolish indulgence, become often so froward and petulant in their tempers, that they provoke their easy parents past all endurance; so that they are obliged, if not to strike, at least to scold them, in a manner as little to their own credit, as their children's profit.

There is not a more disgusting sight than the impotent rage of a parent who has no authority. Among the lower ranks of people, who are under no restraint from decency, you may sometimes see a father or mother running out into the street after a child who is fled from them, with looks of fury and words of execration ; and they are often stupid enough to imagine that neighbors or passengers will approve them in this conduct, though in fact it fills every beholder with horror. There is a degree of the same fault to be seen in persons of better rank, though expressing itself somewhat differently. Ill words and altercations will often fall out between parents and children before company ; a sure sign that there is defect of government at home or in private. The parent stung with shame at the misbehavior or indiscretion of the child, desires to persuade the observers that it is not his fault, and thereby effectually convinces every person of reflection that it *is*.

I would therefore recommend to every parent to begin the establishment of authority much more early than is commonly supposed to be possible : that is to say, from about the age of eight or nine months. You will perhaps smile at this : but I do assure you from experience, that by setting about it with prudence, deliberation, and attention, it may be in a manner completed by the age of twelve or fourteen months. Do not imagine I mean to bid you use the rod at that age ; on the contrary, I mean to prevent the use of it in a great measure, and to point out a way by which children of sweet and easy tempers may be brought to such a habit of compliance, as never to need correction at all ; and whatever their temper may be, so much less of this is sufficient, than upon any other supposition. This is one of my favourite schemes ; let me try to explain and recommend it.

Habits in general may be very early formed in children. An association of ideas is, as it were, the parent of habit. If then, you can accustom your children to perceive that your will must always prevail over theirs, when they are opposed, the thing is done, and they will submit to it without difficulty or regret. To bring this about, as soon as they begin to show their inclination by desire or aversion, let single instances be chosen now and then (not

too frequently) to contradict them. For example, if a child shows a desire to have any thing in his hand that he sees, or has any thing in his hand with which he is delighted, let the parent take it from him, and when he does so, let no consideration whatever make him restore it at that time. Then at a considerable interval, perhaps a whole day is little enough, especially at first, let the same thing be repeated. In the mean time, it must be carefully observed, that no attempt should be made to contradict the child in the intervals. Not the least appearance of opposition, if possible, should be found between the will of the parent and that of the child, except in those chosen cases when the parent must always prevail.

I think it necessary that those attempts should always be made and repeated at proper intervals by the same person. It is also better it should be by the father than the mother or any female attendant, because they will be necessarily obliged in many cases to do things displeasing to the child, as in dressing, washing, &c. which spoil the operation; neither is it necessary that they should interpose, for when once a full authority is established in one person, it can easily be communicated to others, as far as is proper. Remember, however, that mother or nurse should never presume to condole with the child, or show any signs of displeasure at his being crossed; but on the contrary, give every mark of approbation, and of their own submission, to the same person.

This experiment frequently repeated will in a little time so perfectly habituate the child to yield to the parent whenever he interposes, that he will make no opposition. I can assure you from experience, having literally practised this method myself, that I never had a child of twelve months old, but who would suffer me to take any thing from him or her, without the least mark of anger or dissatisfaction; while they would not suffer any other to do so without the bitterest complaints. You will easily perceive how this is to be extended gradually and universally, from one thing to another, from contradicting to commanding them. But this, and several other remarks upon establishing and preserving authority, must be referred to another letter.

L E T T E R III.

DEAR SIR.

THE theory laid down in my last letter, for establishing an early and absolute authority over children, is of much greater moment than, perhaps, you will immediately apprehend. There is a great diversity in the temper and disposition of children; and no less in the penetration, prudence and resolution of parents. From all these circumstances, difficulties arise, which increase very fast as the work is delayed. Some children have naturally very stiff and obstinate tempers, and some have a certain pride, or if you please, greatness of mind, which makes them think it a mean thing to yield. This disposition is often greatly strengthened in those of high birth, by the ideas of their own dignity and importance, instilled into them from their mother's milk. I have known a boy not six years of age, who made it a point of honor not to cry when he was beat, even by his parents. Other children have so strong passions, or so great sensibility, that if they receive correction, they will cry immoderately, and either be, or seem to be, affected to such a degree, as to endanger their health or life. Neither is it uncommon for the parents in such a case to give up the point, and if they do not ask pardon, at least they give very genuine marks of repentance and sorrow for what they have done.

I have said this is not uncommon, but I may rather ask you whether you know any parents at all, who have so much prudence and firmness as not to be discouraged in the one case, or to relent in the other? At the same time it must always be remembered, that the correction is wholly lost which does not produce absolute submission. Perhaps I may say it is more than lost, because it will irritate instead of reforming them, and will instruct or perfect them in the art of overcoming their parents, which they will not fail to manifest on a future opportunity. It is sur-

prising to think how early children will discover the weak side of their parents, and what ingenuity they will show in obtaining their favor or avoiding their displeasure. I think I have observed a child in treaty or expostulation with a parent, discover more consummate policy at seven years of age, than the parent himself, even when attempting to cajole him with artful evasions and specious promises. On all these accounts, it must be a vast advantage that a habit of submission should be brought on so early, that even memory itself shall not be able to reach back to its beginning. Unless this is done, there are many cases in which, after the best management, the authority will be imperfect; and some in which any thing that deserves that name will be impossible. There are some families, not contemptible either in station or character, in which the parents are literally and properly obedient to their children, are forced to do things against their will, and chidden if they discover the least backwardness to comply. If you know none such, I am sure I do.

Let us now proceed to the best means of preserving authority, and the way in which it ought to be daily exercised. I will trace this to its very source. Whatever authority you exercise over either children or servants, or as a magistrate over other citizens, it ought to be dictated by conscience, and directed by a sense of duty. Passion or resentment ought to have as little place as possible; or rather, to speak properly, though few can boast of having arrived at full perfection, it ought to have no place at all. Reproof or correction given in a rage, is always considered by him to whom it is administered, as the effect of weakness in you, and therefore the demerit of the offence will be either wholly denied or soon forgotten. I have heard some parents often say, that they cannot correct their children unless they are angry; to whom I have usually answered, then you ought not to correct them at all. Every one would be sensible, that for a magistrate to discover an intemperate rage in pronouncing sentence against a criminal, would be highly indecent. Ought not parents to punish their children in the same dispassionate manner? Ought they not to be at least equally con-

cerned to discharge their duty in the best manner, one case as in the other ?

He who would preserve his authority over his children, should be particularly watchful of his own conduct. You may as well pretend to force people to love what is not amiable, as to reverence what is not respectable. A decency of conduct, therefore, and dignity of deportment, is highly serviceable for the purpose we have now in view. Lest this, however, should be mistaken, I must put in a caution, that I do not mean to recommend keeping children at too great a distance by a uniform sternness and severity of carriage. This, I think, is not necessary, even when they are young ; and it may, to children of some tempers, be very hurtful when they are old. By and by you shall receive from me a quite contrary direction. But by dignity of carriage, I mean parents showing themselves always cool and reasonable in their own conduct ; prudent and cautious in their conversation with regard to the rest of mankind ; not fretful or impatient, or passionately fond of their own peculiarities ; and though gentle and affectionate to their children, yet avoiding levity in their presence. This probably is the meaning of the precept of the ancients, *maxima debetur pueris reverentia*. I would have them chearful, yet serene. In short, I would have their familiarity to be evidently an act of condescension. Believe it, my dear sir, that which begets esteem, will not fail to produce subjection.

That this may not be carried too far, I would recommend every expression of affection and kindness to children when it is safe, that is to say, when their behaviour is such as to deserve it. There is no opposition at all between parental tenderness and parental authority. They are the best supports to each other. It is not only lawful, but will be of service, that parents should discover the greatest fondness for children in infancy, and make them perceive distinctly with how much pleasure they gratify all their innocent inclinations. This, however, must always be done when they are quiet, gentle, and submissive in their carriage. Some have found fault with giving them, for doing well, little rewards of sweet-meats and

play-things, as tending to make them mercenary, and leading them to look upon the indulgence of appetite as the chief good. This I apprehend, is rather refining too much: the great point is, that they be rewarded for doing good, and not for doing evil. When they are cross and froward, I would never buy peace, but force it. Nothing can be more weak and foolish, or more destructive of authority, than when children are noisy and in an ill humor, to give them or promise them something to appease them. When the Roman emperors began to give pensions and subsidies to the Northern nations to keep them quiet, a man might have foreseen without the spirit of prophecy, who would be master in a little time. The case is exactly the same with children. They will soon avail themselves of this easiness in their parents, command favors instead of begging them, and be insolent when they should be grateful.

The same conduct ought to be uniformly preserved as children advance in years and understanding. Let parents try to convince them how much they have their real interest at heart. Sometimes children will make a request, and receive a hasty or froward denial: yet upon reflection the thing appears not to be unreasonable, and finally it is granted; and whether it be right or wrong, sometimes by the force of importunity, it is extorted. If parents expect either gratitude or submission for favors so ungraciously bestowed, they will find themselves egregiously mistaken. It is their duty to prosecute, and it ought to be their comfort to see, the happiness of their children; and therefore they ought to lay it down as a rule, never to give a sudden or hasty refusal; but when any thing is proposed to them, consider deliberately and fully whether it is proper—and after that, either grant it cheerfully, or deny it firmly.

It is a noble support of authority, when it is really and visibly directed to the most important end. My meaning in this, I hope, is not obscure. The end I consider as most important is, the glory of God in the eternal happiness and salvation of children. Whoever believes in a future state, whoever has a just sense of the importance of eternity to himself, cannot fail to have a like concern

for his offspring. This should be his end both in instruction and government ; and when it visibly appears that he is under the constraint of conscience, and that either reproof or correction are the fruit of sanctified love, it will give them irresistible force. I will tell you here, with all the simplicity necessary in such a situation, what I have often said in my course of pastoral visitation in families, where there is in many cases, through want of judgment, as well as want of principle, a great neglect of authority. “ Use your authority for God, and he will support it.— Let it always be seen that you are more displeased at sin than at folly. What a shame is it, that if a child shall, through the inattention and levity of youth, break a dish or a pane of the window, by which you may lose the value of a few pence, you should storm and rage at him with the utmost fury, or perhaps beat him with unmerciful severity ; but if he tells a lie, or takes the name of God in vain, or quarrels with his neighbors, he shall easily obtain pardon : or perhaps, if he is reproved by others, you will justify him, and take his part.”

You cannot easily believe the weight that it gives to family authority, when it appears visibly to proceed from a sense of duty, and to be itself an act of obedience to God. This will produce coolness and composure in the manner, it will direct and enable a parent to mix every expression of heart felt tenderness, with the most severe and needful reproofs. It will make it quite consistent to affirm, that the rod itself is an evidence of love, and that it is true of every pious parent on earth, what is said of our Father in heaven : “ Whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons : for what son is he whom the Father chasteneth not ? But if ye are without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then ye are bastards and not sons.” With this maxim in your eye, I would recommend, that solemnity take the place of, and be substituted for severity. When a child, for example, discovers a very depraved disposition, instead of multiplying stripes in proportion to the reiterated provocations, every circumstance should be introduced, whe-

ther in reproof or punishment, that can either discover the seriousness of your mind, or make an impression of awe and reverence upon his. The time may be fixed before hand—at some distance—The Lord's day—his own birthday—with many other circumstances that may be so special that it is impossible to enumerate them. I shall just repeat what you have heard often from me in conversation, that several pious persons made it an invariable custom, as soon as their children could read, never to correct them, but after they had read over all the passages of scripture which command it, and generally accompanied it with prayer to God for his blessing. I know well with what ridicule this would be treated by many, if publicly mentioned; but that does not shake my judgment in the least, being fully convinced it is a most excellent method, and that it is impossible to blot from the minds of children, while they live upon earth, the impressions that are made by these means, or to abate the veneration they will retain for the parents who acted such a part.

Suffer me here to observe to you, that such a plan as the above requires judgment, reflection, and great attention in your whole conduct. Take heed that there be nothing admitted in the intervals, that counteract it. Nothing is more destructive of authority, than frequent disputes and chiding upon small matters. This is often more irksome to children than parents are aware of. It weakens their influence insensibly, and in time makes their opinion and judgment of little weight, if not wholly contemptible. As before I recommended dignity in your general conduct, so in a particular manner, let the utmost care be taken not to render authority cheap, by too often interposing it. There is really too great a risk to be run in every such instance. If parents will be deciding directly, and censuring every moment, it is to be supposed they will be sometimes wrong, and when this evidently appears, it will take away from the credit of their opinion, and weaken their influence, even where it ought to prevail.

Upon the whole, to encourage you to choose a wise plan, and to adhere to it with firmness, I can venture to assure

you, that there is no doubt of your success. To subdue a youth after he has been long accustomed to indulgence, I take to be in all cases difficult, and in many impossible ; but while the body is tender, to bring the mind to submission, to train up a child in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, I know is not impossible : and he who hath given the command, can scarcely fail to follow it with his blessing.

L E T T E R IV.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING now finished what I proposed to say on the means of establishing and preserving authority, I shall proceed to another very important branch of the subject, and beg your very particular attention to it, viz. example. Do not, however, suppose that I mean to enter on that most beaten of all topics, the influence of example in general, or to write a dissertation on the common saying, that " example teaches better than precept." An able writer, doubtless might set even this in some new lights, and make it a strong argument with every good man to pay the strictest attention to his visible conduct. What we see every day has a constant and powerful influence on our temper and carriage. Hence arise national characters, and national manners, and every characteristic distinction of age and place. But of this I have already said enough.

Neither is it my purpose to put you in mind of the importance of example to enforce instruction, or of the shamefulness of a man's pretending to teach others what he despises himself. This ought in the strongest manner to be laid before pastors and other public persons, who often defeat habitually by their lives, what they attempt to do occasionally in the execution of their office. If there remains the least suspicion of your being of that character, these letters would have been quite in another strain. I believe there are some persons of very irregular lives,

who have so much natural light in their consciences, that they would be grieved or perhaps offended, if their children should tread exactly in their own steps: but even these, and much less others, who are more hardened, can never be expected to undertake or carry on the system of education, we are now endeavoring to illustrate. Suffer me, however, before I proceed, to make one remark: when I have heard of parents who have been watched by their own children, when drunk, and taken care of, lest they should meet with injury or hurtful accidents—or whose intemperate rage and horrid blasphemies, have, without scruple, been exposed both to children and servants—or who, as has sometimes been the case, were scarcely at the pains to conceal their criminal amours, even from their own offspring—I have often reflected on the degree of impiety of principle, or fearedness of conscience, or both united, necessary to support them in such circumstances. Let us leave all such with a mixture of pity and disdain.

By mentioning example, therefore, as an important and necessary branch of the education of children, I have chiefly in view a great number of particulars, which, separately taken, are, or at least are supposed to be, of little moment; yet by their union or frequent repetition, produce important and lasting effects. I have also in view to include all that class of actions, in which there is, or may be, a coincidence between the duties of piety and politeness, and by means of which, the one is incorporated with the other. These are to be introduced under the head of example, because they will appear there to best advantage. and because many of them can hardly be taught or understood in any other way.

This, I apprehend, you will readily approve of, because, though you justly consider religion as the most essentially necessary qualification, you mean at the same time that your children should be fitted for an appearance becoming their station in the world. It is also the more necessary, as many are apt to disjoin wholly the ideas of piety and politeness, and to suppose them not only distinct, but incompatible. This is a dangerous snare to many parents, who think there is no medium between

the grossest rusticity, and giving way to all the vanity and extravagance of a dissipated life. Persons truly pious have often by their conduct given countenance to this mistake: By a certain narrowness of sentiment and behavior they have become themselves, and rendered their children unfit for a general intercourse with mankind, or the public duties of an active life.

You know, Sir, as much as any man, how contrary my opinion and conduct have been upon this subject. I cannot help thinking that true religion is not only consistent with, but necessary to the perfection of true politeness. There is a noble sentiment to this purpose illustrated at considerable length in the Port-royal essays, viz. "That
"worldly politeness is no more than an imitation or imperfect copy of christian charity, being the pretence or
"outward appearance, of that deference to the judgment, and attention to the interest of others, which a true
"christian has as the rule of his life, and the disposition of his heart."* I have at present in my mind the idea of certain persons, whom you will easily guess at, of the first quality; one or two of the male, and twice that number at least of the female sex, in whom piety and high station are united. What a sweetness and complacency of countenance, what a condescension and gentleness of manners, arising from the humility of the gospel being joined to the refined elegance inseparable from their circumstances in life!

Be pleased to follow me to the other extreme of human society. Let us go to the remotest cottage of the wildest country, and visit the family that inhabits it. If they are pious, there is a certain humanity and good will attending their simplicity, which makes it highly agreeable. There is also a decency in their sentiments, which, slow-

* The authors of these essays, commonly called by writers who make mention of them, the gentlemen of Port-Royal, were a society of Jansenists in France, who used to meet at that place; all of whom were eminent for literature, and many of them of high rank, as will be evident by mentioning the names of Pascal, Arnaud, and the prince of Conti. The last was the author of the essay from which the above remark is taken.

ing from the dictates of conscience, is as pleasing in all respects, as the restraint imposed by the rules of good-breeding, with which the persons here in view have little opportunity of being acquainted. On the contrary, un-bred country people, when without principle, have generally a savageness and brutality in their carriage, as contrary to good manners as to piety itself. No one has a better opportunity of making observations of this kind, than I have from my office and situation, and I can assure you, that religion is the great polisher of the common people. It even enlarges their understanding as to other things. Having been accustomed to exercise their judgment and reflection on religious subjects, they are capable of talking more sensibly on agriculture, politics, or any common topic of indifferent conversation.

Let me not forget to speak of the middle ranks of life. Here, also, I scruple not to affirm, that whatever sphere a man has been bred in, or attained to, religion is not an injury, but an addition to the politeness of his carriage. They seem indeed to confess their relation to one another, by their reciprocal influence. In promiscuous conversation, as true religion contributes to make men decent or courteous, so true politeness guards them effectually from any outrage against piety or purity. If I were unhappily thrown into mixed or dangerous company, I should not apprehend any thing improper for me to hear from the most wicked man, but from the greatest clown. I have known gentlemen who were infidels in principle, and whose lives, I had reason to believe, were privately very bad, yet in conversation they were guarded, decent and improving; whereas if there come into company a rough, unpolished country gentleman, no man can promise that he will not break out into some profane exclamation or obscene allusion, which it would be wrong to attribute to impiety, so much as to rudeness and want of reflection.

I have been already too long in the introduction, and in giving the reasons for what I propose shall make a part of this branch of the subject, and yet I must make another preliminary remark: there is the greater necessity for uniting piety and politeness in the system of family example,

that as piety is by that means inculcated with the greatest advantage, so politeness can scarcely be attained in any other way. It is very rare that persons reach a higher degree of politeness, than what they have been formed to in the families of their parents and other near relations. True politeness does not consist in dress, or a few motions of the body, but in a habit of sentiment and conversation: the first may be learned from a master, and in a little time; the last only by a long and constant intercourse with those who possess, and are therefore able to impart it. As the difficulty is certainly greatest with the female sex, because they have fewer opportunities of being abroad in the world, I shall take an example from among them.

Suppose a man of low birth, living in the country, by industry and parsimony has become wealthy, and has a daughter to whom he desires to give a genteel education. He sends her to your city to a boarding school, for the other which is nearer me, you are pleased not to think sufficient for that purpose. She will speedily learn to buy expensive and fashionable clothes, and most probably be in the very height and extravagance of the fashion, one of the surest signs of a vulgar taste. She may also, if her capacity is tolerable, get rid of her rustic air and carriage; and if it be better than ordinary, learn to discourse upon whatever topic is then in vogue, and comes in immediately after the weather, which is the beginning of all conversation. But as her residence is only for a time, she returns home, where she can see or hear nothing but as before. Must she not relapse speedily into the same vulgarity of sentiment, and perhaps the same provincial dialect, to which she had been accustomed from her youth? Neither is it impossible that she may just retain as much of the city ceremonial, as by the incongruous mixture, will render her ridiculous. There is but one single way of escape, which we have seen some young women of merit and capacity take, which is to contract an intimacy with persons of liberal sentiments and higher breeding, and be as little among their relations as possible. I have given this description to convince you that it is in their father's house, and by the conversation and manners, to which

they are there accustomed, that children must be formed to politeness, as well as to virtue. I carry this matter so far, that I think it a disadvantage to be bred too high, as well as too low. I do not desire, and have always declined any opportunities given me of having my children reside long in families of high rank. I was afraid they would contract an air and manner unfuitable to what was to be their condition for the remainder of their lives. I would wish to give my children as just, as noble, and as elegant sentiments as possible, to fit them for rational conversation, but a dress and carriage suited to their station, and not inconsistent with the meekness of the gospel.

Though the length of this digression, or explanatory introduction, has made it impossible to say much in this letter on forming children's character and manners by example, before I conclude I will give one direction which is pretty comprehensive. Give the utmost attention to the manner of receiving and entertaining strangers in your family, as well as to your sentiments and expressions with regard to them when they are gone. I am fully persuaded that the plainest and shortest road to real politeness of carriage, and the most amiable sort of hospitality, is to think of others just as a christian ought, and to express these thoughts with modesty and candor. This will keep you at an equal distance from a surly and morose carriage on the one hand, and a fawning cringing obsequiousness, or unnecessary compliment and ceremony, on the other. As these are circumstances to which children in early life are very attentive, and which occur constantly in their presence, it is of much moment what sentiments they imbibe from the behavior of their parents. I do not mean only their learning from them an ease and dignity of carriage, or the contrary; but also, some moral or immoral habits of the last consequence. If they perceive you happy and lifted up with the visit or countenance of persons of high rank, solicitous to entertain them properly, submissive and flattering in your manner of speaking to them, vain and apt to boast of your connexion with them: and if, on the contrary, they perceive you hardly civil to persons of inferior stations, or narrow circumstances, impatient of

their company, and immediately seizing the opportunity of their departure to despise or expose them ; will not this naturally lead the young mind to consider riches and high station as the great sources of earthly happiness ? Will it not give a strong bias to their whole desires and studies, as well as visibly affect their behavior to others in social life. Do not think that this is too nice and refined : the first impressions upon young persons, though inconsiderable in themselves, have often a great as well as lasting effect.

I remember to have read many years ago, in the archbishop of Cambray's education of a daughter, an advice to parents to let their children perceive that they esteem others, not according to their station or outward splendor, but their virtue and real worth. It must be acknowledged that there are some marks of respect due to men, according to their place in civil life, which a good man would not fail to give them, even for conscience sake. But it is an easy matter, in perfect consistency with this, by more frequent voluntary intercourse, as well as by our usual manner of speaking, to pay that homage which is due to piety, to express our contempt or indignation at vice, or meanness of every kind. I think it no inconsiderable addition to this remark, that we should be as cautious of estimating *happiness* as *virtue*, by outward station ; and keep at the same distance from envying as from flattering the great.

But what I must particularly recommend to you, is to avoid that common but detestable custom of receiving persons with courtesy, and all the marks of real friendship in your house ; and the moment they are gone, falling upon their character and conduct with unmerciful severity. I am sensible there are some cases, though they are not numerous, in which it may be lawful to say of others behind their back, what it would be at least imprudent or unsafe to say in their own presence. Neither would I exclude parents from the advantage of pointing out to their children the mistakes and vices of others, as a warning or lesson of instruction to themselves. Yet as detraction in general is to be avoided at all times ; so of all others the most improper season to speak to any man's prejudice, is,

after you have just received and treated him in an hospitable manner, as a friend. There is something mean in it, and something so nearly allied to hypocrisy and dissimulation, that I would not choose to act such a part even to those whom I would take another opportunity of pointing out to my children, as persons whose conversation they should avoid, and whose conduct they should abhor.

In every station, and among all ranks, this rule is often transgressed; but there is one point in which it is more frequently and more universally transgressed than in any other, and that is by turning the absent into ridicule, for any thing odd or awkward in their behavior. I am sorry to say that this is an indecorum that prevails in several families of high rank. A man of inferior station, for some particular reason, is admitted to their company. He is perhaps not well acquainted with the rules of politeness, and the presence of his superiors, to which he is unaccustomed, increases his embarrassment. Immediately on his departure, a petulant boy or giddy girl will set about mimicking his motions, and repeating his phrases, to the great entertainment of the company, who apparently derive much self-satisfaction from a circumstance in which there is no merit at all. If any person renders himself justly ridiculous, by affecting a character which he is unable to sustain, let him be treated with the contempt he deserves. But there is something very ungenerous in people treating their inferiors with disdain, merely because the same Providence that made their ancestors great, left the others in a low sphere.

It has often given me great indignation to see a gentleman or his wife, of real worth, good understanding, but simple manners, despised and ridiculed for a defect which they could not remedy, and that often by persons the most insignificant and frivolous, who never uttered a sentence in their lives that deserved to be remembered or repeated. But if this conduct is ungenerous in the great, how diverting is it to see the same disposition carried down through all the inferior ranks, and showing itself in a silly triumph of every class over those who are supposed to be below them? I have known many persons, whose station

was not superior to mine, take great pleasure in expressing their contempt of *vulgar ideas* and *low life*; and even a tradesman's wife in a city, glorying over the unpolished manners of her country acquaintance.

Upon the whole, as there is no disposition to which young persons are more prone than derision, or, as the author I cited above, Mr. Fenelon, expresses it, *un esprit moqueur et malin*—and few that parents are more apt to cherish—under the idea of its being a sign of sprightliness and vivacity—there is none which a pious and prudent parent should take greater care to restrain by admonition, and destroy by a contrary example.

LETTER V.

DEAR SIR,

LET us now proceed to consider more fully what it is to form children to piety by example. This is a subject of great extent, and perhaps, of difficulty. The difficulty, however, does not consist either in the abstruseness of the arguments, or uncertainty of the facts upon which they are founded, but in the minuteness or trifling nature of the circumstances, taken separately, which makes them often either wholly unnoticed or greatly undervalued. It is a subject, which, if I mistake not, is much more easily conceived than explained. If you have it constantly in your mind, that your whole visible deportment will powerfully, though insensibly, influence the opinions and future conduct of your children, it will give a form or colour, if I may speak so, to every thing you say or do. There are numberless and nameless instances in which this reflection will make you speak, or refrain from speaking, act, or abstain from some circumstances of action, in what you are engaged in; nor will this be accompanied with any reluctance in the one case, or constraint in the other,

But I must not content myself with this. My profession gives me many opportunities of observing, that the impression made by general truths, however justly stated or fully proved, is seldom strong or lasting. Let me, therefore descend to practice, and illustrate what I have said by examples. Here again a difficulty occurs. If I give a particular instance, it will perhaps operate no farther than recommending a like conduct in circumstances the same, or perhaps perfectly similar. For example, I might say, in speaking to the disadvantage of absent persons, I beseech you never fail to add the reason why you take such liberty, and indeed never take that liberty at all, but when it can be justified upon the principles of prudence, candor and charity. A thing may be right in itself, but children should be made to see why it is right. This is one instance of exemplary caution, but if I were to add a dozen more to it, they would only be detached precepts; whereas I am anxious to take in the whole extent of edifying example. In order to this, let me range or divide what I have to say, under distinct heads. A parent who wishes that his example should be a speaking lesson to his children, should order it so as to convince them, that he considers religion as necessary, respectable, amiable, profitable, and delightful. I am sensible that some of these characters may seem so nearly allied, as scarcely to admit of a distinction. Many parts of a virtuous conduct fall under more than one of these denominations. Some actions perhaps deserve all the epithets here mentioned, without exception and without prejudice one of another. But the distinctions seem to me very useful, for there is certainly a class of actions which may be said to belong peculiarly, or at least eminently, to each of these different heads. By taking them separately, therefore, it will serve to point out more fully the extent of your duty, and to suggest it when it would not otherwise occur, as well as to set the obligation to it in the stronger light.

I. You should, in your general deportment, make your children perceive that you look upon religion as absolutely necessary. I place this first, because it appears to me first both in point of order and force. I am far from being

against taking all pains to show that religion is rational and honorable in itself, and vice the contrary ; but I despise the foolish refinement of those, who, through fear of making children mercenary, are for being very sparing of the mention of heaven or hell. Such conduct is apt to make them conceive, that a neglect of their duty is only falling short of a degree of honor and advantage, which, for the gratification of their passions, they are very willing to relinquish. Many parents are much more ready to tell their children such or such a thing is mean, and not like a gentleman, than to warn them that they will thereby incur the displeasure of their Maker. But when the practices are really and deeply criminal, as in swearing and lying, it is quite improper to rest the matter there. I admit that they are both mean, and that justice ought to be done to them in this respect, but I contend that it should only be a secondary consideration.

Let not human reasonings be put in the balance with divine wisdom. The care of our souls is represented in scripture as the one thing needful. He makes a miserable bargain, who gains the whole world and loses his own soul. It is not the native beauty of virtue, or the outward credit of it, or the inward satisfaction arising from it, or even all these combined together, that will be sufficient to change our natures and govern our conduct ; but a deep conviction, that unless we are reconciled to God, we shall without doubt perish everlastingly.

You will say, this is very true and very fit for a pulpit—but what is that class of actions that should impress it habitually on the minds of children ? perhaps you will even say, what one action will any good man be guilty of—much more habitual conduct—that can tend to weaken their belief of it ! This is the very point which I mean to explain. It is certainly possible that a man may at stated times give out that he looks upon religion to be absolutely necessary and yet his conduct in many particulars may have no tendency to impress this on the minds of his children. If he suffers particular religious duties to be easily displaced, to be shortened, postponed or omitted, upon the most trifling accounts, depend upon it, this will make

religion in general seem less necessary, to those who observe it. If an unpleasant day will keep a man from public worship, when perhaps a hurricane will not keep him from an election meeting—if he chooses to take physic, or give it to his children on the Lord's day, when it could be done with equal ease on the day before or after—if he will more readily allow his servants to pay a visit to their friends on that day than any other, though he has reason to believe they will spend it in junketing and idleness—it will not be easy to avoid suspecting that worldly advantage is what determines his choice.

Take an example or two more on this head. Supposing a man usually to worship God in his family; if he sometimes omits it—if he allow every little business to interfere with it—if company will make him dispense with it, or shift it from its proper season—believe me, the idea of religion being every man's first and great concern, it is in a good measure weakened, if not wholly lost. It is a very nice thing in religion to know the real connexion between, and the proper mixture of spirit and form. The form without the spirit is good for nothing; but on the other hand, the spirit without the form, never yet existed. I am of opinion, that punctual and even scrupulous regularity in all those duties that occur periodically, is the way to make them easy and pleasant to those who attend them. They also become, like all other habits, in some degree necessary; so that those who have been long accustomed to them, feel an uneasiness in families where they are generally or frequently neglected. I cannot help also mentioning to you, the great danger of paying and receiving visits on the Lord's day, unless when it is absolutely necessary. It is a matter not merely difficult, but wholly impracticable, in such cases, to guard effectually against improper subjects of conversation. Nor is this all, for let the conversation be what it will, I contend that the duties of the family and the closet are fully sufficient to employ the whole time; which must therefore be wasted or misapplied by the intercourse of strangers.

I only further observe, that I know no circumstance from which your opinion of the necessity of religion will

appear with the greater clearness, or carry it in greater force, than your behaviour towards and treatment of your children in time of dangerous sickness. Certainly there is no time in their whole lives when the necessity appears more urgent, or the opportunity more favourable, for impressing their minds with a sense of the things that belong to their peace. What shall we say then of those parents, who, through fear of alarming their minds, and augmenting their disorder, will not suffer any mention to be made to them of the approach of death, or the importance of eternity? I will relate to you an example of this. A young gentleman of estate in my parish, was taken ill of a dangerous fever in a friend's house at a distance. I went to see him in his illness, and his mother, a widow lady, intreated me not to say any thing alarming to him, and not to pray with him, but to go to prayer in another room, wherein she wisely observed, it would have the same effect. The young man himself soon found that I did not act as he had expected, and was so impatient that it became necessary to give him the true reason. On this he insisted in the most positive manner, that all restriction should be taken off, which was done. What was the consequence? He was exceedingly pleased and composed; and if this circumstance did not hasten, it certainly neither hindered nor retarded his recovery.

Be pleased to remark, that the young gentleman here spoken of, neither was at that time, nor is yet, so far as I am able to judge, truly religious; and therefore I have formed a fixed opinion, that in this, as in many other instances, the wisdom of man disappoints itself. Pious advice and consolation, if but tolerably administered in sickness, are not only useful to the soul, but serve particularly to calm an agitated mind, to bring the animal spirits to an easy flow, and the whole frame into such a state as will best favor the operation of medicine, or the efforts of the constitution, to throw off or conquer the disease.

Suffer me to wander a little from my subject, by observing to you, that as I do not think the great are to be much envied for any thing, so they are truly and heartily to be pitied for the deception that is usually put upon them by

flattery and false tenderness. Many of them are brought up with so much delicacy, that they are never suffered to see any miserable or afflicting object, nor, so far as can be hindered, to hear any affecting story of distress. If they themselves are sick, how many absurd and palpable lies are told them by their friends? and as for physicians I may safely say, few of them are much conscience bound in this matter. Now, let the success of these measures be what it will, the only fruit to be reaped from them is to make a poor dying sinner mistake his or her condition, and vainly dream of earthly happiness, while hastening to the pit of perdition. But, as I said before, men are often taken in their own craftiness. It oftentimes happens that such persons, by an ignorant servant, or officious neighbor, or some unlucky accident, make a sudden discovery of their true situation, and the shock frequently proves fatal.—O! how much more desirable is it—how much more like the reason of men, as well as the faith of christians—to consider and prepare for what must inevitably come to pass? I cannot easily conceive any thing more truly noble, than for a person in health and vigor, in honor and opulence, by voluntary reflection to sympathize with others in distress; and by a well founded confidence in divine mercy, to obtain the victory over the fear of death.

2. You ought to live so as to make religion appear respectable. Religion is a venerable thing in itself, and it spreads an air of dignity over a person's whole deportment. I have seen a common tradesman, merely because he was a man of true piety and undeniable worth, treated by his children, apprentices and servants, with a much greater degree of deference and submission, than is commonly given to men of superior station, without that character. Many of the same meannesses are avoided, by a gentleman from a principle of honor, and by a good man from a principle of conscience. The first keeps out of the company of common people, because they are below him—the last is cautious of mixing with them, because of that levity and profanity that is to be expected from them. If, then, religion is really venerable when sincere, a re-

respectable conduct ought to be maintained, as a proof of your own integrity, as well as to recommend it to your children. To this add, if you please, that as reverence is the peculiar duty of children to their parents, any thing that tends to lessen it is more deeply felt by them than by others who observe it. When I have seen a parent, in the presence of his child, meanly wrangling with his servant, telling extravagant stories, or otherwise exposing his vanity, credulity or folly, I have felt just the same proportion of sympathy and tenderness for the one, that I did of contempt or indignation at the other.

What has been said, will, in part, explain the errors which a parent ought to shun, and what circumstances he ought to attend to, that religion may appear respectable. All meannesses, whether of sentiment, conversation, dress, manners, or employment, are carefully to be avoided. You will apply this properly to yourself. I may, however, just mention, that there is a considerable difference in all these particulars, according to men's different stations. The same actions are mean in one station, that are not so in another. The thing itself, however, still remains; as there is an order and cleanliness at the table of tradesmen, that is different from the elegance of a gentleman's, or the sumptuousness of a prince's or nobleman's. But to make the matter still plainer by particular examples. I look upon talkativeness and vanity to be among the greatest enemies to dignity. It is needless to say how much vanity is contrary to true religion; and as to the other, which may seem rather an infirmity than a sin, we are expressly cautioned against it, and commanded to be swift to hear, and slow to speak. Sudden anger, too, and loud clamorous scolding, are at once contrary to piety and dignity. Parents should, therefore, acquire as much as possible, a composure of spirit, and meekness of language; nor are there many circumstances that will more recommend religion to children, when they see that this self command is the effect of principle, and a sense of duty.

There is a weakness I have observed in many parents, to show a partial fondness for some of their children, to the neglect, and in many cases approaching to a jealousy

or hatred of others. Sometimes we see a mother discover an excessive partiality to a handsome daughter, in comparison of those that are more homely in their figure. This is a barbarity, which would be truly incredible, did not experience prove that it really exists. One would think they should rather be excited by natural affection, to give all possible encouragement to those who labor under a disadvantage, and bestow every attainable accomplishment to balance the defects of outward form. At other times we see a partiality which cannot be accounted for at all, where the most ugly, peevish, froward child of the whole family, is the favorite of both parents. Reason ought to counteract these errors; but piety ought to extirpate them entirely. I do not stay to mention the bad effects that flow from them, my purpose being only to show the excellence of that character which is exempted from them.

The real dignity of religion will also appear in the conduct of a good man towards his servants. It will point out the true and proper distinction between condescension and meanness. Humility is the very spirit of the gospel. Therefore, hear your servants with patience, examine their conduct with candor, treat them with all the humanity and gentleness that is consistent with unremitted authority: when they are sick, visit them in person, provide remedies for them, sympathize with them, and show them that you do so; take care of their interests; assist them with your counsel and influence to obtain what is their right. But, on the other hand, never make yourself their proper companion: do not seem to taste their society; do not hear their jokes, or ask their news, or tell them yours. Believe me, this will never make you either beloved or esteemed by your servants themselves; and it will greatly derogate from the dignity of true religion in the eyes of your children. Suffer me also to caution you against that most unjust and illiberal practice, of exercising your wit in humorous strokes upon your servants, before company, or while they wait at table. I do not know any thing so evidently mean, that is at the same time so common. It is I think, just such a cowardly thing as to beat a man who is bound; because the servant, however happy

a repartee might occur to him, is not at liberty to answer, but at the risk of having his bones broken. In this as in many other particulars, reason, refinement, and liberal manners, teach exactly the same thing with religion, and I am happy in being able to add, that religion is generally the most powerful, as well as the most uniform principle of decent conduct.

I shall have done with this particular, when I have observed, that those who are engaged in public, or what I may call political life, have an excellent opportunity of making religion appear truly respectable. What I mean is, by showing themselves firm and incorruptible, in supporting those measures that appear best calculated for promoting the interest of religion, and the good of mankind. In all these cases, I admire that man who has principles, whose principles are known, and whom every body despairs of being able to seduce, or bring over to the opposite interest. I do not commend furious and intemperate zeal. Steadiness is a much better, and quite a different thing. I would contend with any man who should speak most calmly, but I would also contend with him who should act most firmly. As for your placebo's your prudent, courtly, compliant gentlemen, whose vote in assembly will tell you where they dined the day before, I hold them very cheap indeed, as you very well know. I do not enter further into this argument, but conclude at this time, by observing, that public measures are always embraced under pretence of principle; and therefore an uniform uncorrupted public character is one of the best evidences of real principle. The free thinking gentry tell us, upon this subject, that "every man has his price." It lies out of my way to attempt refuting them at present, but it is to be hoped there are many whose price is far above their reach. If some of my near relations, who took so much pains to attach me to the interest of evangelical truth, had been governed by court influence in their political conduct, it had not been in my power to have esteemed their character, or perhaps to have adhered to their instructions. But as things now stand, I have done both from the beginning, and I hope God will enable me by his grace, to continue to do so to the end of life.



LETTERS

O N

MARRIAGE.

LETTER I.

I OFFER, with some hesitation, a few reflections upon the married state. I express myself thus, because the subject has been so often and so fully treated, and by writers of the first class; that it may be thought nothing now remains to be said that can merit attention. My only apology is, that what I offer is the fruit of real observation and personal reflection. It is not a copy of any man's writings, but of my own thoughts; and therefore if the sentiments should not be in themselves wholly new, they may possibly appear in a light not altogether common. I shall give you them in the way of aphorisms or observations; and subjoin to each a few thoughts by way of proof or illustration.

1. Nothing can be more contrary to reason or public utility, than the conversation and writings of those who turn matrimony into ridicule; yet it is in many cases, as weakly defended, as it is unjustly attacked.

Those who treat marriage with ridicule, act in direct and deliberate opposition to the order of providence, and

to the constitution of the society of which they are members. The true reason why they are borne with so patiently, is, that the Author of our nature has implanted in us instinctive propensities, which are by much too strong for their feeble attacks.—But if we are to estimate the malignity of a man's conduct or sentiments, not from their effect, but from their native tendency, and his inward disposition, it is not easy to imagine any thing more criminal, than an attempt to bring marriage into disesteem. It is plainly an effort not only to destroy the happiness, but to prevent the existence of human nature. A man who continues through life in a single state, ought, in justice to endeavor to satisfy the public that his case is singular, and that he has some insuperable obstacle to plead in his excuse. If, instead of this, he reasons in defence of his own conduct, and takes upon him to condemn that of others, it is at once incredible and absurd: That is to say, he can scarcely be believed to be sincere. And whether he be sincere or not, he deserves to be detested.

In support of the last part of my remark, let it be observed, that those who write in defence of marriage, usually give such sublime and exalted descriptions, as are not realized in one case of a thousand; and therefore cannot be a just motive to a considerate man. Instead of insisting on the absolute necessity of marriage for the service of the state, and the solid advantages that arise from it, in ordinary cases; they give us a certain refined idea of felicity, which hardly exists any where but in the writer's imagination. Even the Spectator, than whom there is hardly in our language a more just and rational writer, after saying many excellent things in defence of marriage, scarcely ever fails to draw the character of a lady in such terms, that I may safely say not above one that answers the description is to be found in a parish, or perhaps a country. Now, is it not much better to leave the matter to the force of nature, than to urge it by such arguments as these? Is the manner of thinking induced by such writings, likely to hasten or postpone a man's entering into the marriage state?

There is also a fault I think to be found in almost every writer who speaks in favor of the female sex, that they over-rate the charms of the outward form. This is the case in all romances—a class of writings to which the world is very little indebted.—The same thing may be said of plays, where the heroine for certain, and often all the ladies that are introduced, are represented as inimitably beautiful. Even Mr. Addison himself in his admirable description of Martia, which he puts in the mouth of Juba, though it begins with,

'Tis not a set of features or complexion, &c.

yet could not help inserting

True she is fair ; oh, how divinely fair !

Now, I apprehend this is directly contrary to what should be the design of every moral writer. Men are naturally too apt to be carried away with the admiration of a beautiful face. Must it not, therefore, confirm them in this error, when beauty is made an essential part of every amiable character? The preference such writers pretend to give to the mental qualities, goes but a little way to remedy the evil. If they are never separated in the description, wherever men find the one, they will presume upon the other. But is this according to truth, or agreeable to experience? What vast numbers of the most valuable women are to be found, who are by no means “divinely fair?” Are these all to be neglected then? Or is it not certain, from experience, that there is not a single quality, on which matrimonial happiness depends so little, as outward form? Every other quality that is good, will go a certain length to atone for what is bad; as, for example, if a woman is active and industrious in her family, it will make a husband bear with more patience a little anxiety of countenance, or fretfulness of temper, though in themselves disagreeable. But (always supposing the honey-moon to be over) I do not think that beauty atones in the least degree for any bad quality whatsoever; it is, on the contrary, an aggravation of them, being considered as a breach of faith, or deception, by holding out a false signal,

2. In the married state in general, there is not so much happiness as young lovers dream of; nor is there by far so much unhappiness, as loose authors universally suppose.

The first part of this aphorism will probably be easily admitted. Before mentioning, however, the little I mean to say upon it, I beg leave to observe, that it would be quite wrong to blame the tenderness and fervency of affection, by which the sexes are drawn to one another, and that generous devotedness of hearts which is often to be seen on one, and sometimes on both sides. This is nature itself; and when under the restraint of reason, and government of prudence, may be greatly subservient to the future happiness of life. But there is certainly an extravagance of sentiment and language on this subject, that is at once ridiculous in itself, and the proper cause, in due time, of wretchedness and disappointment.

Let any man, who has outlived these sensations himself, and has leisure to be amused, dip a little into the love songs that have been composed and published from Anacreon to the present day, and what a fund of entertainment will he find provided for him! The heathen gods and goddesses are the standing and lawful means of celebrating the praises of a mistress before whom, no doubt, Venus for beauty, and Minerva for wisdom, must go for nothing. Every image in nature has been called up to heighten our idea of female charms—the paleness of the lily, the freshness of the rose, the blush of the violet, and the vermillion of the peach. This is even still nothing. One of the most approved topics of a love-sick writer is, that all nature fades and mourns at the absence of his fair, and puts on a new bloom at her approach. All this, we know well, has place only in his imagination; for nature proceeds quietly in her course, without minding him and his charmer in the least. But we are not yet done. The glory of the heavenly orbs, the lustre of the sun himself, and even the joys of heaven, are frequently and familiarly introduced, to express a lover's happiness or hopes. Flames, darts, arrows, and lightning from a female eye, have been expressions as old at least as the art of writing, and are still in full vogue.

Some of these we can find no other fault with than that they are a little *outré* as the French express it ; but I confess I have sometimes been surpris'd at the choice of lightning, because it is capable of a double application, and may put us in mind that some wives have lightning in their eyes sufficient to terrify a husband, as well as the maids have to consume a lover.

Does not all this plainly shew, that young persons are apt to indulge themselves with romantic expectations of a delight, both extatic and permanent, such as never did and never can exist ? And does it not at the same time expose matrimony to the scoffs of libertines, who, knowing that these raptures must soon come to an end, think it sufficient to disparage the state itself, that some inconsiderate persons have not met with in it, what it was never intended to bestow ?

I proceed, therefore, to observe that there is not by far so much unhappiness in the married state in general, as loose authors universally suppose. I choose to state the argument in this manner, because it is much more satisfying than drawing pictures of the extremes on either hand. It signifies very little, on the one hand, to describe the state of a few persons distinguished for understanding, successful in life, respected by the public, and dear to one another ; or on the other, those hateful brawls which by and by produce an advertisement in the newspapers, “Whereas Sarah the wife of the subscriber, has eloped from his bed and board,” &c. If we would treat of this matter with propriety, we must consider how it stands among the bulk of mankind. The proposition, then, I mean to establish, is, that there is much less unhappiness in the matrimonial state than is often apprehended, and indeed as much real comfort as there is any ground to expect.

To support this truth, I observe, that taking mankind throughout, we find much more satisfaction and chearfulness in the married than in the single. In proportion to their numbers, I think of those that are grown up to maturer years, or past the meridian of life, there is a much greater degree of peevishness and discontent, whimsical-

ness and peculiarity, in the last than in the first. The prospect of continuing single to the end of life, narrows the mind and closes the heart. I knew an instance of a gentleman of good estate, who lived single till he was past forty, and he was esteemed by all his neighbors not only frugal, but mean in some parts of his conduct. This same person afterwards marrying and having children, every body observed that he became liberal and open-hearted on the change, when one would have thought he had a stronger motive than before, to save and hoard up. On this a neighbor of his made a remark, as a philosopher, that every ultimate passion is stronger than an intermediate one ; that a single person loves wealth immediately, and on its own account ; whereas a parent can scarcely help preferring his children before it, and valuing it only for their sakes.

This leads me to observe, that marriage must be the source of happiness, as being the immediate cause of many other relations, the most interesting and delightful. I cannot easily figure to myself any man who does not look upon it as the first of earthly blessings, to have children, to be the objects of attachment and care when they are young, and to inherit his name and substance, when he himself must, in the course of nature, go off the stage. Does not this very circumstance give unspeakable dignity to each parent in the other's eye, and serve to increase and confirm that union, which youthful passion, and less durable motives, first occasioned to take place ? I rather choose to mention this argument, because neither exalted understandings, nor elegance of manners, are necessary to give it force. It is felt by the peasant as well as by the prince ; and, if we believe some observers on human life, its influence is not less, but greater in the lower than in the higher ranks.

Before I proceed to any further remarks, I must say a few words, to prevent or remove a deception, which very probable leads many into error on this subject. It is no other than a man's supposing what would not give him happiness, cannot give it to another. Because, perhaps, there are few married women, whose persons, conversation,

manners, and conduct, are altogether to his taste, he takes upon him to conclude, that the husbands, in these numerous instances, must lead a miserable life. Is it needful to say any thing to show the fallacy of this? The tastes and dispositions of men are as various as their faces; and therefore what is displeasing to one, may be, not barely tolerable, but agreeable to another. I have known a husband delighted with his wife's fluency and poignancy of speech in scolding her servants, and another who was not able to bear the least noise of the kind with patience.

Having obviated this mistake, it will be proper to observe, that through all the lower and middle ranks of life, there is generally a good measure of matrimonial or domestic comfort, when their circumstances are easy, or their estate growing. This is easily accounted for, not only from their being free from one of the most usual causes of peevishness and discontent, but because the affairs of a family are very seldom in a thriving state, unless both contribute their share of diligence; so that they have not only a common happiness to share, but a joint merit in procuring it. Men may talk in raptures of youth and beauty, wit and sprightliness, and a hundred other shining qualities; but after seven years cohabitation, not one of them is to be compared to good family management, which is seen at every meal, and felt every hour in the husband's purse. To this, however, I must apply the caution given above.—Such a wife may not appear quite killing to a stranger on a visit. There are a few distinguished examples of women of the first rate understandings, who have all the elegance of court breeding in the parlour, and all the frugality and activity of a farmer's wife in the kitchen; but I have not found this to be the case in general. I learned from a certain author many years ago, that “a great care of household affairs generally spoils the free, careless air of a fine lady;” and I have seen no reason to disbelieve it since.

Once more, so far as I have been able to form a judgment, wherever there is a great and confessed superiority of understanding on one side, with some good nature on the other, there is domestic peace. It is of little conse-

quence whether the superiority be on the side of the man or woman, provided the ground of it be manifest. The fiercest contentions are generally where the just title to command is not quite clear. I am sensible I may bring a little ridicule upon myself here. It will be alledged that I have clearly established the right of female authority over that species of husbands, known by the name of hen-peckt. But I beg that the nature of my position may be attentively considered. I have said, "Wherever there is a great and confessed superiority of understanding. Should not a man comply with reason, when offered by his wife, as well as any body else? Or ought he to be against reason, because his wife is for it? I therefore take the liberty of rescuing from the number of hen-peckt, those who ask the advice, and follow the direction of their wives in most cases, because they are really better than any they could give themselves—reserving those only under the old denomination, who, through fear, are subject, not to reason, but to passion and ill-humor. I shall conclude this observation with saying, for the honour of the female sex, that I have known a great number of instances of just and amiable conduct, in case of a great inequality of judgment, when the advantage was on the side of the woman, than when it was on the side of the man. I have known many women of judgment and prudence, who carried it with the highest respect and decency, to weak and capricious husbands: But not many men of distinguished abilities, who did not betray, if not contempt, at least great indifference, towards weak or trifling wives.

Some other things I had intended to offer upon this subject, but as the letter has been drawn out to a greater length than I expected, and they will come in with at least equal propriety under other maxims, I conclude at present.

L E T T E R II.

3. **I**T is by far the safest and most promising way to marry with a person nearly equal in rank, and perhaps in age; but if there is to be a difference, the risk is much greater when a man marries below his rank, than when a woman descends from hers.

The first part of this maxim has been in substance advanced by many writers, and therefore little will need to be said upon it. I must, however, explain its meaning, which is not always clearly comprehended. By equality in rank, must be understood equality not in fortune, but in education, taste and habits of life. I do not call it inequality, when a gentleman of estate marries a lady who has been from the beginning brought up in the same class of society with himself, and is in every respect as elegant in her sentiments and manners, but by some incidents, that perhaps have lately happened, is unequal to him in point of fortune. I know that from the corrupt and selfish views which prevail so generally in the world, a marriage of this kind is often considered as unequal, and an act of great condescension on the part of the man; but the sentiment is illiberal and unjust. In the same manner, when a lady marries a gentleman of character and capacity, and is in every respect suitable to her, but that his estate is not equal to what she might expect, I do not call it unequal. It is true, parents too frequently prefer circumstances to character, and the female friends of a lady at her own disposal, may say in such a case, that she has made a poor bargain. But taking it still for granted that the fortune only is unequal, I affirm there is nothing in this circumstance that forebodes future dissension, but rather the contrary. An act of generosity never produced a fretful disposition in the person who did it, nor is it reasonable to suppose it will often have that effect on the one who receives it.

The importance, therefore, of equality, arises singly from this circumstance—that there is a great probability,

that the turn, taste, employments, amusements, and general carriage of the persons so intimately joined, and so frequently together will be mutually agreeable.

The occasion or motive of first entering into the marriage contract, is not of so much consequence to the felicity of the parties, as what they find after they are fairly engaged, and cannot return back. When I visit a new country, my judgment of it may be influenced a little, but neither much nor long, by flattering hopes or hideous apprehensions, entertained before actual trial. It has often been said that dissensions between married people, generally take their rise from very inconsiderable circumstances; to which I will add, that this is most commonly the case among persons of some station, sense, and breeding. This may seem odd, but the difficulty is easily solved. Persons of this character have a delicacy on the subject of so close an union, and expect a sweetness and compliance in matters that would not be minded by the vulgar; so that the smallness of the circumstance appears in their eye an aggravation of the offence. I have known a gentleman of rank and his lady part for life, by a difference arising from a thing said at supper, that was not so much as observed to be an impropriety by three fourths of the company.

This, then, is what I apprehend occasions the importance of equality in rank. Without this equality, they do not understand one another sufficiently for continual intercourse.—Many causes of difference will arise, not only sudden and unexpected, but impossible to be foreseen, and therefore not provided against. I must also observe, that an explication or expostulation, in the cases here in view, is more tedious and difficult than any other—perhaps more dangerous and uncertain in the issue. How shall the one attempt to convince the other of an incongruity of behaviour, in what all their former ideas have taught them to believe as innocent or decent, sometimes even laudable? The attempt is often considered as an insult on their former station, and instead of producing concord, lays the foundation of continual solicitude, or increasing aversion. A man may be guilty of speaking

very unadvisedly through intemperate rage, or may perhaps come home flustered with liquor, and his wife, if prudent, may find a season for mentioning them, when the admonition will be received with calmness, and followed by reformation ; but if she discovers her displeasure at rusticity of carriage, or meanness of sentiment, I think there is little hope that it will have any effect that is good. The habit cannot be mended ; yet he may have sagacity enough to see that the wife of his bosom has despised him in her heart.

I am going to put a case. Suppose that the late ———, who acquired so vast an estate, had married a lady of the first rank, education, and taste, and that she had learned a few anecdotes of his public speeches—that he spoke of *this here* report of *that there* committee—or of a man's being *drowned* on the coast of the *Island* of Pennsylvania. Now, I desire to know how she could help pouting, and being a little out of humor, especially if he came home full of inward satisfaction, and was honestly of opinion that he spoke *equally as well* as any other in the house ? That things may be fairly balanced, I will put another case. Suppose a gentleman of rank, literature, and taste, has married a tradesman's daughter for the sake of fortune, or from desire, which he calls love, kindled by an accidental glance of a fresh-colored young woman : Suppose her never to have had the opportunity of being in what the world calls good company, and in consequence to be wholly ignorant of the modes that prevail there ; Suppose, at the same time, that her understanding has never been enlarged by reading, or conversation. In such a case, how soon must passion be sated, and what innumerable causes of shame and mortification must every day produce ? I am not certain whether the difficulty will be greater, if she continues the manners of her former, or attempts to put on those of her present station. If any man thinks that he can easily preserve the esteem and attention due to a wife in such circumstances, he will probably be mistaken, and no less so if he expects to communicate refinement by a few lessons, or prevent misbehavior by fretfulness, or peevish and satirical remarks.

But let me come now to the latter part of the maxim, which I do not remember to have ever met with in any author—that there is a much greater risk when a man marries below his rank, than when a woman marries below her's. As to the matter of fact, it depends entirely on the justness and accuracy of my observations, of which every reader must be left to judge for himself. I must, however, take notice, that when I speak of a woman marrying below her station, I have no view at all to include what there have been some examples of—a gentleman's daughter running away with her father's footman, or a lady of quality with a player, this is, in every instance, an act of pure lasciviousness, and is, without any exception that ever I heard of followed by immediate shame and future beggary.—It has not, however, any more connexion with marriage, than the transactions of a brothel, or the memoirs of a kept mistress. The truth is, elopements in general are things of an eccentric nature : And when I hear of one, I seldom make any further enquiry after the felicity of the parties. But when marriages are contracted with any degree of deliberation, if there be a difference in point of rank, I think it is much better the advantage should be on the woman's side than on the man's : that is to say, marriages of the first kind are usually more happy than the other.

Supposing, therefore, the fact to be as now stated, what remains for me is, to investigate a little the causes of it, and pointed out those circumstances in human tempers and characters, or in the state of society, which give us reason to expect that it will, in most cases turn out so. Whenever any effect is general, in the moral as well as natural world, there must be some permanent cause, or causes, sufficient to account for it. Shall we assign as one reason for it, that there is, taking them complexly, more of real virtue and commanding principle in the female sex than in the male, which makes them, upon the whole, act a better part in the married relation ? I will not undertake to prove this opinion to be true, and far less will I attempt to refute it, or show it to be false. Many authors of great penetration have affirmed it ;

and doubtless taking virtue to be the same thing with sound faith and good morals, much may be said in its favor. But there does not appear to me so great a superiority in this respect, as fully to account for the effect in question. Besides, the advantages which men have in point of knowledge, from the usual course of education, may perhaps balance the superiority of women, in point of virtue; for none surely can deny, that matrimonial discord may not arise from ignorance and folly, as well as vice. Allowing, therefore, as much influence to this cause, as every one from his experience and observation may think its due, I beg leave to suggest some other things which certainly do co-operate with it, and augment its force.

I. It is much easier, in most cases, for a man to improve or rise after marriage to a more elegant taste in life than a woman. I do not attribute this in the least to superior natural talents, but to the more frequent opportunities he has of seeing the world, and conversing with persons of different ranks. There is no instance in which the sphere of business and conversation is not more extensive to the husband than the wife; and therefore if a man is married to one of taste superior to his own, he may draw gradually nearer to her, though she descend very little. I think I can recollect more instances than one of a man in business married at first to his equal, and, on a second marriage, to one of higher breeding, when not only the house and family, but the man himself, was speedily in a very different style. I can also recollect instances in which married persons rose together to an opulent estate from almost nothing, and the man improved considerably in politeness, or fitness for public life, but the woman not at all. The old gossips and the old conversation continued to the very last. It is not even without example, that a plain woman, raised by the success of her husband, becomes impatient of the society forced upon her, takes refuge in the kitchen, and spends most of her agreeable hours with her servants, from whom, indeed, she differs nothing but in name. A certain person in a trading city in Great-Britain, from being merely a

mechanic, turned dealer, and in a course of years acquired an immense fortune. He had a strong desire that his family should make a figure, and spared no expence in purchasing velvets, silks, laces, &c. but at last he found that it was lost labor, and said very truly, that all the money in Great-Britain would not make his wife and his daughters *ladies*.

2. When a woman marries below her rank, I think it is, generally speaking, upon better motives than when a man marries below his, and therefore no wonder that it should be attended with greater comfort. I find it asserted in several papers of the Spectator, and I think it must be admitted by every impartial observer, that women are not half so much governed, in their love attachments, by beauty, or outward form, as men. A man of a very mean figure, if he has any talents, joined to a tolerable power of speech, will often make him acceptable to a very lovely woman. It is also generally thought that a woman rates a man pretty much according to the esteem he is held in by his own sex: if this is the case, it is to be presumed that when a man succeeds in his addresses to a lady of higher breeding than his own, he is not altogether void of merit, and therefore will not in the issue disgrace her choice.— This will be confirmed by reflecting that many such marriages must be with persons of the learned professions, it is past a doubt that literature refines as well as enlarges the mind, and generally renders a man capable of appearing with tolerable dignity, whatever have been the place or circumstances of his birth. It is easy to see that the reverse of all this must happen upon the other supposition: When a man marries below his rank, the very best motive to which it can be attributed, is an admiration of her beauty. Good sense, and other more valuable qualities are not easily seen under the disguise of low breeding, and when they are seen, have seldom justice done them. Now as beauty is much more fading than life, and fades sooner in a husband's eye than any other, in a little time nothing will remain but what tends to create uneasiness and disgust.

3. The possession of the graces, or taste and elegance of manners, is a much more important part of a female than

a male character. Nature has given a much greater degree of beauty and sweetness to the outward form of women than of men, and has by that means pointed out wherein their several excellencies should consist. From this, in conjunction with the former observation, it is manifest, that the man who finds in his wife a remarkable defect in point of politeness, or the art of pleasing, will be much more disappointed than the woman who finds a like defect in her husband. Many do not form any expectation of refinement in their husbands, even before marriage: not a few, if I am not much mistaken, are rather pleased than otherwise, to think that any who enters the house, perceives the difference between the elegance of the wife, and the plainness, not to say the awkwardness of the husband. I have observed this, even down to the lowest rank. A tradesman or country farmer's wife will sometimes abuse and scold her husband for want of order or cleanliness, and there is no mark of inward malice or ill-humor in that scolding, because she is sensible it is her proper province to be accurate in that matter. I think also, that the husband in such cases is often gratified instead of being offended, because it pleases him to think that he has a wife that does just as she ought to do. But take the thing the other way, and there is no rank of life, from the prince to the peasant, in which the husband can take pleasure in a wife more awkward or more slovenly than himself.

To sum up the whole, if some conformity or similarity of manners is of the utmost consequence to matrimonial comfort—if taste and elegance are of more consequence to the wife than the husband, according to their station:—and, if it is more difficult for her to acquire it after marriage, if she does not possess it before—I humbly conceive I have fully supported my proposition, that there is a much greater risk in a man's marrying below his station, than a woman's descending from her's.

 LETTER III.

I HAVE not yet done with the maxims on matrimonial happiness; therefore observe,

4. That it is not by far of so much consequence, what are the talents, temper, turn of mind, character, or circumstances of both or either of the parties, as that there be a certain suitableness or correspondence of those of the one to those of the other.

Those essay writers, who have taken human nature and life as their great general subject, have many remarks on the causes of infelicity in the marriage union, as well as many beautiful and striking pictures of what would be just, generous, prudent, and dutiful conduct, or their contraries, in particular circumstances. Great pains have been taken also to point out what ought to be the motives of choice to both parties, if they expect happiness. Without entering into a full detail of what has been said upon this subject, I think the two chief competitors for preference, have generally been—good nature and good sense. The advocates for the first say, that as the happiness of married people must arise from a continual interchange of kind offices, and from a number of small circumstances, that occur every hour, a gentle and easy disposition—a temper that is happy in itself—must be the cause of happiness to another. The advocates for good sense say, that the sweetness of good nature is only for the honey-moon; that it will either change its nature, and become sour by long-standing, or become wholly insipid; so that if it do not generate hatred, it will at least incur indifference or contempt; whereas good sense is a sterling quality, which cannot fail to produce and preserve esteem—the true foundation of rational love.

If I may, as I believe most people do, take the prevailing sentiments within the compass of my own reading and conversation, for the general opinion, I think it is in favour of good sense. And if we must determine between these two, and decide which of them is of the

most importance when separated from the other, I have very little to say against the public judgment. But in this, as in many other cases, it is only imperfect and general, and often ill understood and falsely applied. There is hardly a more noted saying than that a man of sense will never use a woman ill, which is true or false according to the meaning that is put upon the phrase, *using a woman ill*. If it be meant, that he will not so probably beat his wife, as a fool; that he will not scold or curse her, or treat her with ill manners before company, or indeed that he will not so probably keep a continual wrangling, either in public or private, I admit that it is true. Good sense is the best security against indecours of every kind. But if it be meant, that a man will not make his wife in any case truly miserable, I utterly deny it. On the contrary, there are many instances in which men make use of their sense itself, their judgment, penetration, and knowledge of human life, to make their wives more exquisitely unhappy. What shall we say of those, who can sting them with reflections so artfully guarded that it is impossible not to feel them, and yet almost as impossible with propriety to complain of them?

I must also observe, that a high degree of delicacy in sentiment, although this is the prevailing ingredient when men attempt to paint refined felicity in the married state, is one of the most dangerous qualities that can be mentioned. It is like certain medicines that are powerful in their operation, but at the same time require the utmost caution and prudence, as to the time and manner of their being applied.—A man or woman of extreme delicacy is a delightful companion for a visit or a day. But there are many characters which I would greatly prefer in a partner, or a child, or other near relation, in whose permanent happiness I felt myself deeply concerned. I hope no-body will think me so clownish as to exclude sentiment altogether. I have declared my opinion upon this subject, and also my desire that the woman should be the more refined of the two. But I adhere to it, that carrying this matter to an extreme is of the most dangerous consequence. Your high sentimentalists form expectations

which it is impossible to gratify. The gallantry of courtship, and the *bienveillance* of general conversation in the *beau monde*, seem to promise what the downright reality of matrimony cannot afford.

I will here relate a case that fell within my observation. A person of noble birth had been some years married to a merchant's daughter of immense fortune, by which his estate had been saved from ruin. Her education had been as good as money could make it, from her infancy : so that she knew every mode of high life as well as he. They were upon a visit to a family of equal rank, intimately connected with the author of this letter. The manner of the man was distinguished and exemplary. His behavior to his lady was with the most perfect delicacy. He spoke to her as often as to any other, and treated her not only with the same complacency, but with the same decency and reserve, that he did other ladies. To this he added the most tender solicitude about her not taking cold, about her place in the chamber, and her covering when going abroad, &c. &c. After their departure, the whole family they had left excepting one, were two or three days expatiating on the beauty of his behavior. One lady in particular said at last, "Oh ! how happy a married woman have I seen." The single dissenter, who was an elderly woman, then said, "Well ; you may be right ; but I am of a different opinion, I do not like so perfect and finished a ceremonial between persons who have been married five or six years at least. I observed that he did every thing that he ought to have done, and likewise that she received his civilities with much dignity and good manners, but with great gravity. I would rather have seen him less punctual and her more cheerful. If, therefore, that lady is as happy in her heart, as you suppose I am mistaken ; that is all. But if I were to make a bet upon it, I would bet as much up the tradesman and his wife, according to the common description, walking to church, the one three or four yards before the other, and never looking back." What did time discover ? That nobleman and his lady parted within two years, and never reunited.

Let me now establish my maxim, that it is not the fine qualities of both or either party that will insure happiness, but that the one be suitable to the other. By their being suitable, is not to be understood their being both of the same turn ; but that the defects of the one be supplied or submitted to by some correspondent quality of the other. I think I have seen many instances, in which gravity, severity, and even moroseness in a husband, where there has been virtue at bottom, has been so tempered with meekness, gentleness and compliance in the wife, as has produced real and lasting comfort to both. I have also seen some instances, in which sourness, and want of female softness in a woman, has been so happily compensated by easiness and good humor in a husband, that no appearance of wrangling or hatred was to be seen in a whole life. I have seen multitudes of instances, in which vulgarity, and even liberal freedom, not far from brutality in a husband, has been borne with perfect patience and serenity by a wife, who, by long custom, had become, as it were, insensible of the impropriety, and yet never inattentive to her own behavior.

As a farther illustration, I will relate two or three cases from real life, which have appeared to me the most singular in my experience. I spent some time, many years ago, in the neighborhood of, and frequent intercourse with, a husband and his wife in the following state. She was not handsome, and at the same time was valetudinary, fretful and peevish—constantly talking of her ailments, dissatisfied with every thing about her, and, what appeared most surprising, she vented these complaints most when her husband was present. He, on the other hand, was most affectionate and sympathizing, constantly upon the watch for any thing that could gratify her desires, or alleviate her distresses. The appearance for a while surprized me, and I thought he led the life of a slave. But at last I discovered that there are two ways of complaining, not suddenly distinguishable to common observers : The one is an expression of confidence, and the other of discontent. When a woman opens all her complaints to her husband, in full confidence that he will sympathize with her, and

seeking the relief which such sympathy affords, taking care to keep to the proportion which experience hath taught her will not be disagreeable to him, it frequently increases instead of extinguishing affection.

Take another case as follows : Syrisca was a young woman the reverse of beauty. She got her living in a trading city, by keeping a small shop, not of the millinary kind, which is nearly allied to elegance and high life, but of common grocery goods, so that the poor were her chief customers.

By the death of a brother in the East-Indies, she came suddenly and unexpectedly to a fortune of many thousand pounds. The moment this was known, a knight's lady in the neighborhood destined Syrisca as a prize for Horatio, her own brother, of the military profession, on half pay, and rather past the middle of life. For this purpose she made her a visit, carried her to her house, assisted, no doubt, in bringing home and properly securing her fortune ; and in as short a time as could well be expected, completed her purpose. They lived together on an estate in the country, often visited by the great relations of the husband. Syrisca was good natured and talkative, and therefore often betrayed the meanness of her birth and education, but was not sensible of it. Good-will supplied the place of good breeding with her, and she did not know the difference. Horatio had generosity and good sense, treated her with the greatest tenderness, and having a great fund of facetiousness and good humor, acquired a happy talent of giving a lively or sprightly turn to every thing said by his wife, or diverting the attention of the company to other subjects. The reader will probably say, he took the way that was pointed out by reason and was most conducive to his own comfort. I say so too ; but at the same time affirm, that there are multitudes who could not, or would not have followed his example.

I give one piece of history more, but with some fear, that nice readers will be offended, and call it a caricature. However, let it go. Agrestis was a gentleman of an ancient family, but the estate was almost gone ; little more of it remained but what he farmed himself, and indeed

his habitation did not differ from that of a farmer, but by having an old tower and battlements. He had either received no education, or had been incapable of profiting by it, for he was the most illiterate person I ever knew, who kept any company. His conversation did not rise even to politics, for he found such insuperable difficulty in pronouncing the names of generals, admirals, countries, and cities, constantly occurring in the newspapers, that he was obliged to give them up altogether. Of ploughs, waggons, cows, and horses, he knew as much as most men : What related to these, with the prices of grain, and the news of births and marriages in the parish and neighborhood, completed the circle of his conversation.

About the age of forty he married Lenia, a young woman of a family equal to him in rank, but somewhat superior in wealth. She knew a little more of the strain of fashionable conversation, and not a whit more of any thing else. She was a flattern in her person, and of consequence there was neither cleanliness nor order in the family. They had many children ; she bore him twins twice—a circumstance of which he was very proud, and frequently boasted of it in a manner not over delicate to those who had not been so fortunate in that particular. They were both good natured and hospitable ; if a stranger came he was made heartily welcome, though sometimes a little incommoded by an uproar among the children and the dogs, when striving about the fire in a cold day ; the noise was, however, little less dissonant than the clamors of Agrestis himself, when rebuking the one, or chastening the other, out of complaisance to his guests. The couple lived many years in the most perfect amity by their being perfectly suitable the one to the other, and I am confident not a woman envied the wife, nor a man the husband, while the union lasted,

It is very easy to see from these examples, the vast importance of the temper and manner of the one, being truly suitable to those of the other. If I had not given histories enough already, I could mention some in which each party I think could have made some other man or woman perfectly happy, and yet they never could arrive at hap-

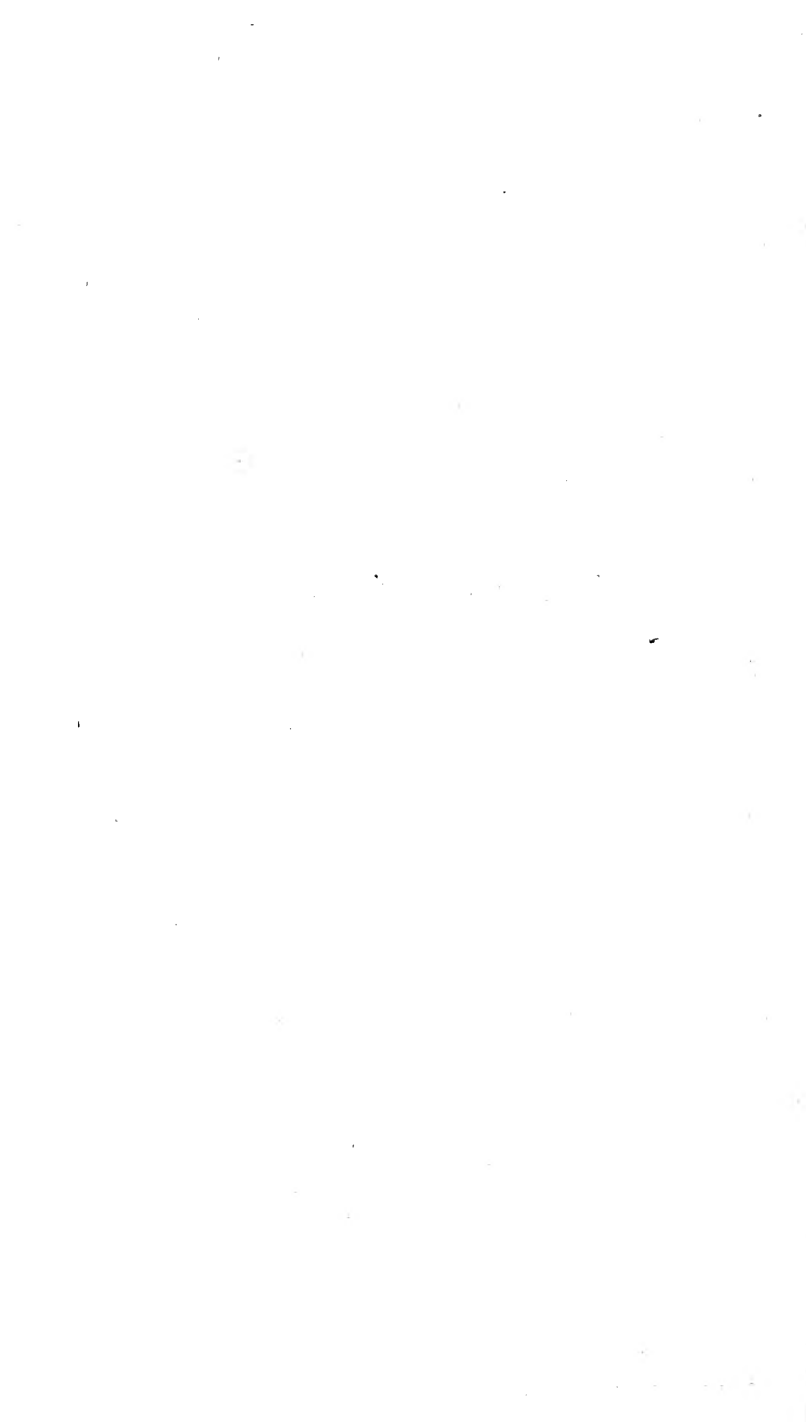
piness, or indeed be at peace with one another. Certainly, therefore, this should be an object particularly attended to in courtships, or while marriage is on the *tapis*, as politicians say.

If I look out for a wife, I ought to consider, not whether a lady has fine qualities for which she ought to be esteemed or admired, or whether she has such a deportment as I will take particular delight in, and such a taste as gives reason to think she will take delight in me; I may pitch too high, as well as too low, and the issue may be equally unfortunate. Perhaps I shall be told there lies the great difficulty. How shall we make this discovery? In time of youth and courtship, there is so much studied attention to please, from interested views, and so much restraint from fashion and the observation of others, that it is hard to judge how they will turn out afterwards.

This I confess to be a considerable difficulty, and at the same time greatest upon the man's side. The man being generally the eldest, his character, temper and habits may be more certainly known.—Whereas there are sometimes great disappointments on the other side, and that happily both ways. I am able just now to recollect one or two instances of giddy and foolish, nay, of idle, lazy, drowsy girls, who, after marriage, felt themselves interested, and became as spirited and active heads of families, as any whatever, and also some of the most elegant and exemplary, who, after marriage, fell into a languid stupidity, and contracted habits of the most odious and disgusting kind. These instances, however are rare, and those who will take the pains to examine, may in general obtain satisfaction. It is also proper to observe, that if a man finds it difficult to judge of the temper and character of a woman, he has a great advantage on his side, that the right of selection belongs to him. He may ask any woman he pleases, after the most mature deliberation, and need ask no other; whereas a woman must make the best choice she can, of those only who do or probably will ask her. But with these reflections in our view, what shall we say of the inconceivable folly of those, who, in time of courtship, are every now and then taking things in high dudgeon, and sometimes very great submissions are necessary

to make up the breaches? If such persons marry, and do not agree, shall we pity them? I think not. After the most serene courtship, there may possibly be a rough enough passage through life; but after a courtship of storms, to expect a marriage of calm weather, is certainly more than common presumption; therefore they ought to take the consequences.

On the whole, I think that the calamities of the married state are generally to be imputed to the persons themselves in the following proportion:—Three-fourths to the man, for want of care and judgment in the choice, and one-fourth to the woman on the same score. Suppose a man had bought a farm, and after a year or two, should, in conversation with his neighbor, make heavy complaints how much he had been disappointed, I imagine his friend might say to him, did you not see this land before you bought it? O yes, I saw it often. Do you not understand soils? I think I do tolerably. Did you not examine it with care? Not so much as I should have done; standing at a certain place, it looked admirably well; the fences too were new, and looked exceedingly neat; the house had been just painted a stone colour, with pannelling; the windows were large and elegant; but I neglected entirely to examine the sufficiency of the materials, or the disposition of the apartments. There were in the month of April two beautiful springs, but since I have lived here they have been dry every year before the middle of June. Did you not inquire of those who had lived on the place of the permanency of the springs? No, indeed, I omitted it. Had you the full measure you were promised? Yes, every acre.—Was the right complete and valid? Yes, yes, perfectly good: no man in America can take it from me. Were you obliged to take it up in part of a bad debt? No, nothing like it. I took such a fancy for it all at once, that I pestered the man from week to week to let me have it. Why really then, says his friend, I think you had better keep your complaints to yourself. Cursing and fretfulness will never turn stones into earth, or sand into loam; but I can assure you, that frugality, industry, and good culture, will make a bad farm very tolerable and an indifferent one truly good.



A D D R E S S

TO THE

*Inhabitants of Jamaica, and other West-India Islands,
in behalf of the College of New-Jersey.*

GENTLEMEN,

IT is unnecessary to begin this address by a labored encomium on learning in general, or the importance of public seminaries for the instruction of youth. Their use in every country ; their necessity in a new or rising country ; and, particularly the influence of Science, in giving a proper direction and full force to industry or enterprize, are indeed so manifest, that they are either admitted by all, or the exceptions are so few as to be wholly unworthy of regard.

In a more private view, the importance of education is little less evident. It promotes virtue and happiness, as well as arts and industry. On this, as on the former, it is unnecessary to enlarge ; only suffer me to make a remark, not quite so common, that, if there is any just comparison on this subject, the children of persons in the higher ranks of life, and, especially, of those who by their own activity and diligence rise to opulence, have of all others the greatest need of an early, prudent, and well-conducted education. The wealth to which they are born becomes often a dangerous temptation, and the station in which they enter upon life requires such duties, as those of the

finest talents can scarcely be supposed capable of, unless they have been improved and cultivated with the utmost care. Experience shews the use of a liberal education in both these views. It is generally a preservative from vices of a certain class, by giving easy access to more refined pleasures, and inspiring the mind with an abhorrence of low riot, and contempt for brutal conversation. It is also of acknowledged necessity to those who do not wish to live for themselves alone, but would apply their talents to the service of the public and the good of mankind. Education is therefore of equal importance in order either to enjoy life with dignity and elegance, or employ it to the benefit of society in offices of power or trust.

But leaving these general topics, or rather, taking it for granted that every thing of this kind is by intelligent persons, especially parents, both believed and felt; I proceed to inform the public that it is intended to solicit benefactions from the wealthy and generous, in behalf of a College of considerable standing, founded at NASSAU-HALL, in *Princeton, New-Jersey*. In order to this it is necessary for me—1. To shew the great advantage it will be to the inhabitants of the West-Indies, to have it in their power to send their children to approved places of education on the continent of America, instead of being obliged to send them over, for the very elements of science, to South or North Britain. 2. To point out the situation and advantages of the College of New-Jersey in particular. And as I was never a lover either of florid discourse, or ostentatious promises, I shall endeavor to handle these two points with all possible simplicity, and with that reserve and decency which are so necessary, where comparison in some respects cannot be avoided.

On the first of these points, let it be observed,

That places of education on the continent of America are much nearer to the West-Indies than those in Great-Britain; and yet sufficiently distant to remove the temptation of running home and lurking in idleness. This is a circumstance, which, other things being supposed equal, is by no means inconsiderable. Parents may hear much oftener from and of their children, and may even visit

them, as is known to have been the case here, with no great loss of time for business, and to the advantage of their own health. They may also much more speedily and certainly be informed, whether they are profiting and have justice done them or not, and remove or continue them at pleasure. The distance indeed is, if I mistake not, well proportioned in all respects. It is such as to allow of the advantages just now mentioned, and yet so great as to favor the behaviour and instruction of the youth. I have observed in the course of four years experience, that those who came from the greatest distance have, in general, behaved with most regularity. Being removed from their relations, it becomes necessary for them to support a character, as they find themselves treated by their companions, teachers, and indeed all other persons, according to their behavior. This is so true, that if parents are obliged to place their children out of their own families, an hundred miles distance is better than twenty, and so of every other proportion till we come to the hurtful extreme.

Let it be further observed, that the climate of the continent of North-America is certainly much more healthy in itself, and probably also more suited to the constitutions of those who have been born in the West-Indies, than that of Great-Britain. Health is the foundation of every earthly blessing, and absolutely necessary both to the receiving instruction in youth, and being able in riper years to apply it to its proper use. Parental tenderness will make every one feel the importance of this to his own children. And whether the observation itself is just or not, I leave to be decided by the judgment of all who have been in both countries, and the information they will readily give to those who have not.

Having touched on these circumstances, let us try to make the comparison as to the substance of the education itself. Here, I am sensible it behoves me to write with the utmost circumspection to avoid giving offence, and that to some this will appear, at first sight, altogether impossible. I am however not without the greatest hopes, that I shall be able fully to prove the proposition I have

laid down, without giving any just ground of offence to persons of reflection and candor. No man can have a higher opinion of, and not many have a more thorough acquaintance with, the means of Education, at present, in Great Britain, than the author of this address, who was born in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, educated in it, and spent the greatest part of his after-life in constant intercourse and great intimacy with the members of the University of Glasgow. He therefore says it, both with pleasure and gratitude, that any young gentleman, who is strictly sober in his behavior, and who applies with steadiness and diligence, has all possible advantages, particularly in North-Britain, with which he is best acquainted, for improving himself in classic literature, in every branch of science, and especially in the justly valued knowledge of the force and propriety of the English language, and in true taste, including all that is usually comprehended under the general expression of the *Belles Lettres*. Nay, further, he admits and affirms, that any gentleman of fortune, who would give the last and highest polish to the education of a young man of promising parts, would do well to send him, after his principles are fixed, and his judgment a little matured, for a year or two, to some of the Universities of Great-Britain. But notwithstanding these concessions, if they may be so called, it is hoped it will appear, that it would be much more to the advantage of the gentlemen of the West-Indies to give their children their grammar-school and college education, at least to their first degree in the arts, in an American seminary, if conducted by persons of ability and integrity, than to send them to Great Britain; and that for two important reasons; first, the better to secure their instruction, and secondly, for the preservation of their morals.

I. For the greater security of their instruction. The colleges in Britain have by no means that forcible motive that we have, not only to teach those who are willing to learn, but to see that every one be obliged to study, and actually learn, in proportion to his capacity. These old foundations have stood so many ages, have had their character so long established, and are indeed, so well known

to be filled with men of the greatest ability, that they do not so much as feel any injury, in point of reputation, from one or more coming out of college almost as ignorant as they went in. The truth is, I do not think they ought to lose any character by it. Every one knows, that it is owing to the idleness or profligacy of the boy, and not the insufficiency of the master. When the numbers of one class are from an hundred to an hundred and thirty, or perhaps more, and when they do not live in College, how is it possible the master can keep them to their private studies, or even with any certainty discern whether they study diligently or not. A good professor is easily and speedily distinguished by his own performances, by the esteem, attachment, and progress of the diligent, but very little, if at all, hurt by the ignorance of the negligent. I write these things to vast numbers who know them as well as I do; and I could easily produce gentlemen in America, who have freely and generously confessed themselves to be unhappy proofs of their truth. Let not any body say I reflect upon the teachers for not using discipline to oblige them to apply. The numbers are so great, that to try and judge every neglect, would take more time than they have for their whole work. To this may be added, that it may very often happen that the persons to whose charge boys in early life are sent from the West-Indies, either are not themselves judges, or, from their situation and business, have few opportunities of knowing whether they profit or not.

On the other hand, the young seminaries in America have their character constantly at stake for their diligence, as one or two untaught coming out from us, affects us in the most sensible manner. As to the College of New-Jersey in particular, we have seen the importance of this in so strong a light, that whereas before we had half-yearly, we now have quarterly examinations, carried on with the utmost strictness, when all who are found deficient are degraded to the inferior class. So impartially have these trials been conducted, that nothing is more usual than for those who suspect themselves, especially, if their relations are near, to pretend sickness and avoid the examination,

that they may afterwards fall back without the dishonor of a sentence. Further, all the scholars with us, as soon as they put on the gown, are obliged to lodge in college, and must of necessity be in their chamber in study-hours : nor is it in the least difficult to discover whether they apply carefully or not. The teachers also live in college, so that they have every possible advantage ; not only for assisting the diligent but stimulating the slothful.

2. The second reason for preferring an American education is, that their morals may be more effectually preserved. This, by all virtuous and judicious parents, will be held a point of the last consequence. The danger they run of contracting vicious habits by being sent to Britain, has been often complained of, and therefore, I suppose, is matter of experience. If so, it will not be difficult to assign the causes of it, which may be safely mentioned, because they carry no imputation upon the schools or colleges to which they are sent. They generally are, and are always supposed to be, of great wealth. The very name of a West-Indian, has come to imply in it great opulence. Now it is well known that, in all the great towns in Britain, a set of profligate boys, and sometimes artful persons farther advanced in life, attach themselves to such as are well supplied with money, impose upon their youth and simplicity, gratify them in every irregular desire, and lead them both into idleness and vice. There are also in every considerable place in Great Britain, but especially the principal cities where the colleges are fixed, a constant succession and variety of intoxicating diversions, such as balls, concerts, plays, races, and others. These, whatever may be pleaded for some of them in a certain measure for those further advanced, every body must acknowledge, are highly pernicious to youth in the first stages of their education. The temptation becomes so much the stronger, and indeed almost irresistible, when an acquaintance with these things is considered as fashionable life, and necessary to the accomplishment of a man of breeding. Is it to be supposed that young persons of great fortune, when they can be immediate partakers, will wait with patience for the proper time when they may be permitted to view with

caution such scenes of dissipation? On the contrary it may be expected, that they will give into them with all the impetuosity and rashness of youth; and, when their parents expect them to return well stored with classic learning and philosophy, they may find them only well acquainted with the laws of the turf or gaming-table, and expert in the use of the reigning phrases of those honorable arts.

What provision is made for preserving and improving the morals of the scholars with us, I leave till I come to speak of the constitution and situation of the College of New-Jersey. But before I dismiss this part of the subject I must just repeat, that the two reasons I have given against a British education do, and were intended only to conclude against sending boys in early life. At that time they are incapable of reaping the advantages chiefly to be valued in a British education. These are not only hearing and being able to judge of the public performances of men of letters, in the pulpit, at the bar, and in parliament; but being introduced to the acquaintance and enjoying the conversation of men of eminence. This is a favor that would not be granted to boys, and if granted could be of no service, but contributes in the highest degree to the delight and instruction of those of riper years. Experience seems greatly to confirm this, for, as many boys have left some of the best schools in Britain with little classic knowledge, though supported at great expence, so those who received their first education in this country, and went home to finish it, have seldom returned without great and real improvement.

In addition to these arguments in behalf of American colleges, drawn from the instruction and morals of the youth who are sent to them, I cannot help mentioning one other which must have great weight in a view somewhat different. These colleges must necessarily, in time, produce a number of young men proper to undertake the office of private tutors in gentlemen's families. There are some who prefer a private to a public education at any rate, especially in the very first stages, and some find it necessary, as not being able to support the expence of

sending their children so early, and keeping them so long from home. Now all who know the situation of things in Britain, must be sensible how difficult it is to get young men of capacity or expectation, to leave their native country in order to undertake the instruction of gentlemen's children. In this office there is little prospect of increase of fortune, to balance the risk of going to a new and dangerous, or supposed dangerous, climate. But those who are born and educated in America will not only increase the number of such teachers, but they will have no such hideous apprehensions of going to any part of the continent or islands. Whatever is done, therefore, to raise and support proper seminaries in America, will, in time, be followed by this great and general benefit, which I have been assured is very much needed in many or most of the West-India islands.

I will now proceed to speak a little of the Constitution and Advantages of the College of New-Jersey in particular.

About twenty-four years ago, several gentlemen and ministers in this province, by the friendship and patronage of Jonathan Belcher, Esq. then Governor, obtained a very ample royal charter, incorporating them under the title of Trustees of the College of New-Jersey; and giving them the same privileges and powers that are given to the 'two English Universities, or any other University or College in Great-Britain.' They, although only possessed of a naked charter, without any public encouragement, immediately began the instruction; and very soon after, by their own activity and zeal, and the benevolence of others who had the highest opinion of their integrity, raised a noble building, called Nassau-Hall, at Princeton, New-Jersey. This they chose to do, though it wasted their capital, as their great intention was to make effectual provision, not only for the careful instruction, but for the regular government of the youth. There all the scholars are lodged, and also boarded, except when they have express license to board out, in the president's house or elsewhere.

The regular course of instruction is in four classes, exactly after the manner, and bearing the names of the classes in the English universities ; Freshman, Sophomore, Junior and Senior. In the first year, they read Latin and Greek, with the Roman and Grecian antiquities, and rhetoric. In the second continuing the study of the languages, they learn a complete system of geography, with the use of the globes, the first principles of philosophy, and the elements of mathematical knowledge. The third, though the languages are not wholly omitted, is chiefly employed in mathematics and natural Philosophy. And the senior year is employed in reading the higher classics, proceeding in the mathematics and natural philosophy, and going through a course of moral philosophy. In addition to these, the President gives lectures to the juniors and seniors, which consequently every student hears twice over in his course, first upon chronology and history, and afterwards upon composition and criticism. He has also taught the French language last winter, and it will continue to be taught to those who desire to learn it.

During the whole course of their studies, the three younger classes, two every evening formerly, and now three, because of their increased number, pronounce an oration on a stage erected for that purpose in the hall, immediately after prayers ; that they may learn, by early habit, presence of mind and proper pronunciation and gesture in public speaking. This excellent practice, which has been kept up almost from the first foundation of the College, has had the most admirable effects. The senior scholars, every five or six weeks, pronounce orations of their own composition, to which all persons of any note in the neighborhood are invited or admitted.

The College is now furnished with all the most important helps to instruction. The library contains a very large collection of valuable books. The lessons of astronomy are given upon the orrery, lately invented and constructed by David Rittenhouse, Esq. which is reckoned by the best judges the most excellent in its kind of any ever yet produced ; and when what is commissioned and now upon its way is added to what the College already

possesses, the apparatus for mathematics and natural philosophy will be equal, if not superior, to any on the continent.

As we have never yet been obliged to omit or alter it for want of scholars, there is a fixed annual Commencement on the last Wednesday of September, when, after a variety of public exercises, always attended by a vast concourse of the politest company from the different parts of this province and the cities of New-York and Philadelphia, the students whose senior year is expiring, are admitted to the degree of Bachelors of Arts ; the Bachelors of three years standing, to the degrees of Masters ; and such other higher degrees granted as are either regularly claimed, or the Trustees think fit to bestow upon those who have distinguished themselves by their literary productions, or their appearances in public life.

On the day preceding the Commencement last year, there was (and it will be continued every year hereafter) a public exhibition, and voluntary contention for prizes, open for every member of College. These were first, second, and third prizes, on each of the following subjects. 1. Reading the English language with propriety and grace, and being able to answer all questions on its orthography and grammar. 2. Reading the Latin and Greek languages in the same manner, with particular attention to true quantity. 3. Speaking Latin. 4. Latin versions. 5. Pronouncing English orations. The preference was determined by ballot, and all present permitted to vote, who were graduates of this or any other College.

As to the government of the college, no correction by stripes is permitted. Such as cannot be governed by reason and the principles of honor and shame, are reckoned unfit for residence in a college. The collegiate censures are, 1. Private admonition by the president, professor, or tutor. 2. Before the faculty. 3. Before the whole class to which the offender belongs. 4. And the last and highest, before all the members of college assembled in the hall. And, to preserve the weight and dignity of these censures, it has been an established practice that the last or highest censure, viz. public admonition, shall never be

repeated upon the same person. If it has been thought necessary to inflict it upon any one, and if this does not preserve him from falling into such gross irregularities a second time, it is understood that expulsion is immediately to follow.

Through the narrowness of the funds, the government and instruction has hitherto been carried on by a president and three tutors. At last commencement, the trustees chose a professor of mathematics; and intend, as their funds are raised, to have a greater number of professorships, and carry their plan to as great perfection as possible.

The above relates wholly to what is properly the college; but there is also at the same place, established under the particular direction and patronage of the president, a grammar school, where boys are instructed in the Latin and Greek languages with the utmost care, and on the plan of the most approved teachers in Great-Britain. It is now so large as to have two masters for the languages, and one for writing and arithmetic; and as some are sent with a design only to learn the Latin, Greek, and French languages, arithmetic, geography, and the practical branches of the mathematics, without going through a full college course, such scholars are permitted to attend the instruction of the classes in whatever coincides with their plan. It is also now resolved, at the request of several gentlemen, to have an English master after next vacation, for teaching the English language regularly and grammatically, and for perfecting by English exercises those whose previous instruction may have been defective or erroneous.

I have thus laid before the public a concise account of the constitution of the college of New-Jersey, and must now earnestly recommend it to the assistance and patronage of men of liberal and ingenuous minds. I am sensible that nothing is more difficult, than to write in behalf of what the writer himself has so great a part in conducting, so as neither to fail in doing justice to the subject, nor exceed in improper or arrogant professions. And yet to employ others to write for us, who may have some pre-

tence as indifferent persons, to embellish our characters, is liable to still greater suspicion. The very best security one can give to the public for decency and truth, is to write openly in his own person, that he may be under a necessity to answer for it, if it is liable to challenge.

This is the method I have determined to follow; and that I may neither offend the delicacy of my friends, nor provoke the resentment of my enemies, I will endeavor humbly to recommend this college to the attention and esteem of men of penetration and candor, chiefly from such circumstances as have little or no relation to the personal characters of those now employed, but are essential to its situation and constitution, and therefore must be supposed to have not only the most powerful, but the most lasting effect. The circumstances to which I would in-treat the attention of impartial persons, are the following.

1. The college of New-Jersey is altogether independent. It hath received no favor from government but the charter, by the particular friendship of a person now deceased. It owes nothing but to the benefactions of a public so diffusive that it cannot produce particular dependence, or operate by partial influence. From this circumstance it must be free from *two* great evils, and derive the like number of solid advantages. There is no fear of being obliged to chuse teachers upon ministerial recommendation, or in compliance with the over-bearing weight of family interest. On the contrary, the trustees are naturally led, and in a manner forced to found their choice upon the characters of the persons, and the hope of public approbation. At the same time those concerned in the instruction and government of the college, are as far removed, as the state of human nature will admit, from any temptation to a sawning, cringing spirit, and mean servility in the hope of court favor or promotion.

In consequence of this, it may naturally be expected, and we find by experience that hitherto in fact the spirit of liberty has breathed high and strong in all the members. I would not be understood to say that a seminary of learn-

ing ought to enter deeply into political contention; far less would I meanly court favor by professing myself a violent partisan in any present disputes. But surely a constitution which naturally tends to produce a spirit of liberty and independence, even though this should sometimes need to be reined in by prudence and moderation, is infinitely preferable to the dead and vapid state of one whose very existence depends upon the nod of those in power. Another great advantage arising from this is the obligation we are under to recommend ourselves, by diligence and fidelity, to the public. Having no particular prop to lean to on one side, we are obliged to stand upright and firm by leaning equally on all. We are so far from having our fund so complete, as of itself to support the necessary expence, that the greater part of our annual income arises from the payments of the scholars, which we acknowledge with gratitude have been for these several years continually increasing.

II. This leads me to observe, that it ought to be no inconsiderable recommendation of this college to those at a distance, that it has the esteem and approbation of those who are nearest it and know it best. The number of under graduates, or proper members of college, is near four times that of any college on the continent to the southward of New-England, and probably greater than that of all the rest put together. This we are at liberty to affirm has in no degree arisen from pompous descriptions, or repeated recommendations in the public papers. We do not mean to blame the laudable attempts of others to do themselves justice. We have been often found fault with, and perhaps are to blame for neglect in this particular. It is only mentioned to give full force to the argument just now used, and the fact is certainly true. I do not remember that the name of the college of New-Jersey has been above once or twice mentioned in the newspapers for three years, except in a bare recital of the acts of the annual commencements. The present address arises from necessity, not choice; for had not a more private application been found impracticable, the press had probably never been employed.

III. It may not be amiss to observe on this subject, that the great utility of this seminary has been felt over an extensive country. Many of the clergy, episcopal and presbyterian, in the different colonies, received their education here, whose exemplary behavior and other merit we suffer to speak for themselves. We are also willing that the public should attend to the characters and appearance of those gentlemen in the law and medical departments, who were brought up at Nassau-Hall, and are now in the cities of New-York and Philadelphia, and in different parts of the continent or islands. Two at least of the professors of the justly celebrated Medical School lately founded in Philadelphia, and perhaps the greatest number of their pupils, received their instruction here. We are not afraid, but even wish that our claim should be decided by the conduct of those in general who have come out from us, which is one of the most conclusive arguments; for *a tree is known by its fruits*. It is at the same time an argument of the most fair and generous kind; for it is left to be determined by mankind at their leisure; and if the appeal be not in our favor, it must be unspeakably injurious.

IV. The place where the college is built, is most happily chosen for the health, the studies and the morals of the scholars. All these were particularly attended to when the spot was pitched upon. Princeton is on a rising ground, from whence there is an easy gradual descent for many miles on all quarters, except the north and north-west, from whence at the distance of one mile it is sheltered by a range of hills covered with woods. It has a most beautiful appearance, and in fact has been found one of the healthiest places, as it is situated in the middle of one of the most healthful countries, on the whole continent. It is upon the great post road, almost equally distant from New-York and Philadelphia, so as to be a centre of intelligence, and have an easy conveyance of every thing necessary, and yet to be wholly free from the many temptations in every great city, both to the neglect of study, and the practice of vice. The truth is, it is to this happy circumstance, so wisely attended to by the first trustees, that

we owe our being enabled to keep up the discipline of the college with so great regularity and so little difficulty. We do not wish to take any honor in this respect to ourselves. Doubtless the masters of every college will do their best in this respect. But it is not in the power of those who are in great cities to keep the discipline with equal strictness, where boys have so many temptations to do evil, and can so easily and effectually conceal it after it is done. With us, they live all in college, under the inspection of their masters; and the village is so small that any irregularity is immediately and certainly discovered, and therefore easily corrected.

It has sometimes happened, through rivalry or malice, that our discipline has been censured as too severe and rigorous. This reproach I always hear, not with patience only, but with pleasure. In the mouth of an adversary, it is a clear confession that the government is strict and regular. While we avail ourselves of this, we prove that the accusation of oppressive rigor is wholly without foundation, from the number of scholars, and the infrequency of public censures, but above all from the warm and almost enthusiastic attachment of those who have finished their course. Could their esteem and friendship be expected in return for an austere and rigorous confinement, out of which they had escaped as birds out of the snare of the fowler? We admit that it is insupportable to the idle and profligate; for either they will not bear with us, or we will not bear with them; but from those who have applied to their studies, and reached the honors of college, we have, almost without exception, found the most sincere, active and zealous friendship.

V. This college was founded, and hath been conducted upon the most catholic principles. The charter recites as one of its grounds, "That every religious denomination may have free and equal liberty and advantage of education in the said college, any different sentiments in religion notwithstanding." Accordingly there are now, and have been from the beginning, scholars of various denominations from the most distant colonies, as well as West-India islands; and they must ne-

cessarily confess, that they never met with the least uneasiness or disrespect on this account. Our great advantage on this subject is the harmony of the board of trustees, and the perfect union in sentiment among all the teachers, both with the trustees and with one another. On this account, there is neither inclination nor occasion to meddle with any controversy whatever. The author of this address confesses that he was long accustomed to the order and dignity of an established church, but a church which hath no contempt or detestation of those who are differently organized. And, as he hath ever been in that church an opposer of lordly domination and sacerdotal tyranny, so he is a passionate admirer of the equal and impartial support of every religious denomination which prevails in the northern colonies, and is perfect in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, to the unspeakable advantage of those happy and well constituted governments.

With respect to the college of New-Jersey, every question about forms of church government is so entirely excluded, that though I have seen one set of scholars begin and finish their course, if they know nothing more of religious controversy than what they learned here, they have that science wholly to begin. This is altogether owing to the union of sentiment mentioned above: for, if you place as teachers in a college, persons of repugnant religious principles, they must have more wisdom and self-denial than usually fall to the lot of humanity, if the whole society is not divided into parties, and marshalled under names, if the changes are not frequent, and, when they take place they will be as well known as any event that can happen in such a society. On the contrary, there is so little occasion with us to canvass this matter at all, that, though no doubt accident must discover it as to the greatest number, yet some have left the college, as to whom I am wholly uncertain at this hour to what denomination they belong. It has been and shall be our care to use every mean in our power to make them good men and good scholars; and, if this is the case, I shall hear of their future character and usefulness with unfeigned satisfaction, under every name by which a real protestant can be distinguished.

Having already experienced the generosity of the public in many parts of the continent of America, I cannot but hope that the gentlemen of the islands will not refuse their assistance, according to their abilities, in order to carry this seminary to a far greater degree of perfection than any to which it has yet arrived. The express purpose to which the benefactions now requested will be applied, is the establishment of new professorships, which will render the institution not only more complete in itself, but less burthensome to those who have undertaken the important trust. The whole branches of mathematics and natural philosophy are now taught by one professor; and the president is obliged to teach divinity and moral philosophy, as well as chronology, history, and rhetoric, besides the superintendence and government of the whole. The short lives of the former presidents have been by many attributed to their excessive labors, which, it is hoped, will be an argument with the humane and generous to lend their help in promoting so noble a design.

I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

JOHN WITHERSPOON.

Nassau-Hall, at Princeton,

New-Jersey, March 21, 1772.

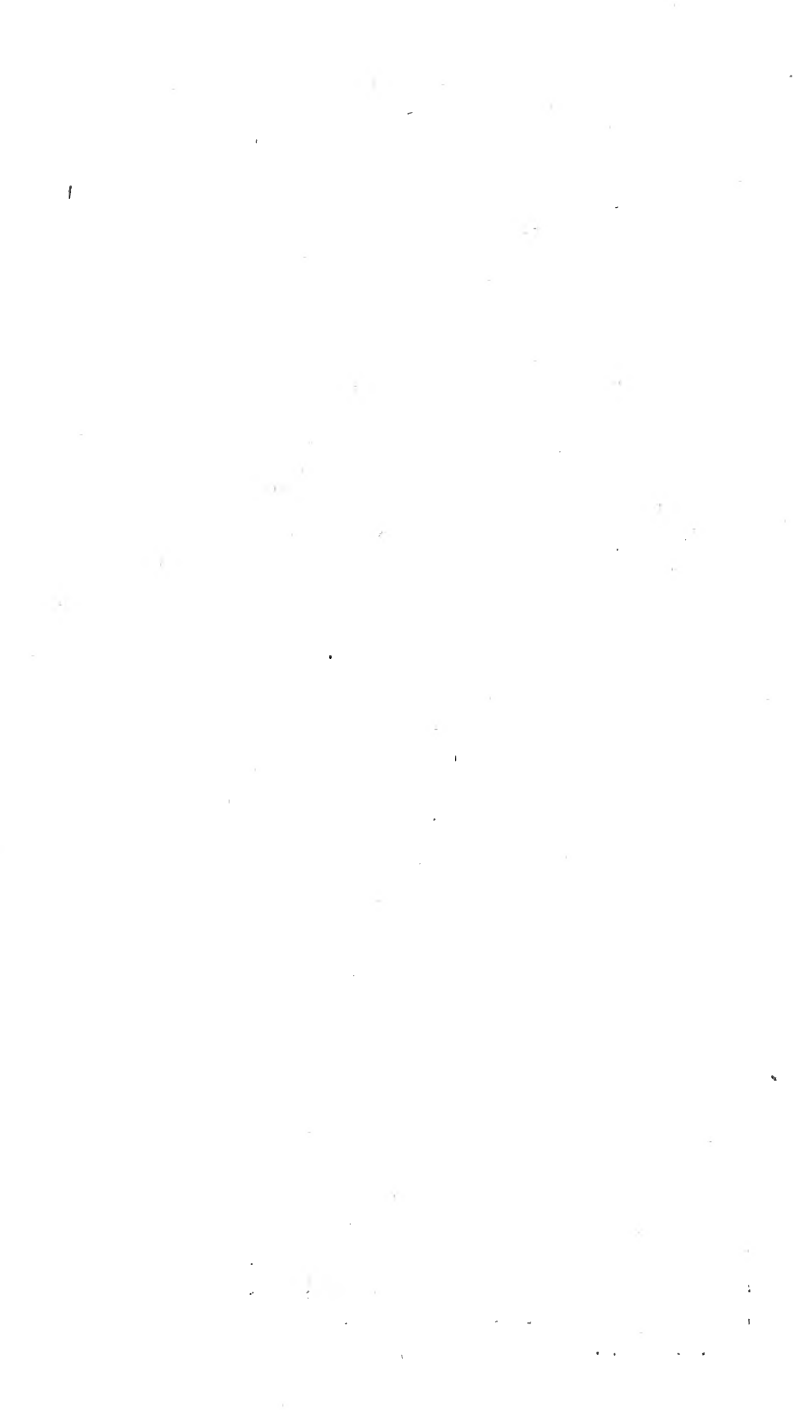
Proper Forms of DONATIONS to the COLLEGE by WILL

OF CHATTELS PERSONAL.

Item, I A. B. do hereby give and bequeath the sum of _____ unto the *Trustees of the College of New-Jersey*, commonly called *Nassau-Hall*, the same to be paid within _____ months next after my decease; and to be applied to the uses and purposes of the *said College*.

OF REAL ESTATES.

I A. B. do give and devise unto the *Trustees of the College of New-Jersey*, commonly called *Nassau-Hall*, and to their successors forever, all that certain messuage and tract of land, &c.



A N

E S S A Y

O N

M O N E Y,

As a medium of commerce ; with remarks on the advantages and disadvantages of paper admitted into general circulation.



FROM every channel of public intelligence we learn, that there is a disposition in many of the legislatures of this country, to emit bills of credit by authority of government, and to make them in some measure at least, or in some cases, a legal tender for debts already contracted. This is a matter of great delicacy and danger. It has occasioned a controversial discussion of the subject in pamphlets and periodical publications. A few plausible things, and but a few that deserve that character, have been published in defence of the measure. Many shrewd and sensible things have been offered against it : but even these last have not been so connected and satisfying, as they might and ought to have been. Some of the pieces have been verbose and declamatory, with many repetitions ; others have been full of antitheses, quaint sayings, and witticisms, which have no great tendency to con-

vince or persuade ; and some have been mingled with the local and party politics of particular states. Perhaps these different ways of writing may be very proper for several classes of readers, and have a good effect ; but there are certainly others who would require a different treatment, because their mistakes are owing not to deceitful intentions, but to erroneous judgment. This has given me a strong desire to try what can be done upon the subject by dispassionate reasoning. By this I mean, endeavoring to carry the matter back to its first principles, to explain them in so simple a manner, as that the unlearned may understand them ; and then to deduce the practical consequences with the general theory full in view.

It is impossible to reach my purpose, without saying many things which in a separate and detached manner have been said by others ; but this must be forgiven me ; because I mean to lay the whole system before the reader, and every part in its proper order and connexion. Let us then begin by considering what gave rise to money, and what is its nature and use ? If there were but one man upon the earth, he would be obliged to prepare a hut for his habitation, to dig roots for his sustenance, to provide skins or fig leaves for his covering, &c. in short, to do every thing for himself. If but one or two more were joined with him, it would soon be found that one of them would be more skilful in one sort of work, and another in a different ; so that common interest would direct them, each to apply his industry to what he could do best and soonest ; to communicate the surplus of what he needed himself of that sort of work to the others, and receive of their surplus in return. This directly points out to us, that a barter of commodities, or communication of the fruits of industry, is the first principle, or rather indeed constitutes the essence of commerce. As society increases, the partition of employments is greatly diversified ; but still the fruits of well directed industry, or the things necessary and useful in life, are what only can be called wealth.

In establishing a mutual exchange of these, the first thing necessary is a standard of computation, or common measure, by which to estimate the several commodities that may be offered to sale, or may be desired by purchasers. Without this it is easy to see that the barter of commodities is liable to very great difficulties, and very great errors. This standard or common measure must be something that is well known to both parties, and of general or common use. As the first essays in any thing are generally rude and imperfect; so I think it appears from the monuments of remote antiquity, that in the early stages of society, cattle were the first things made use of as a standard*. But it would soon appear that this was a most inaccurate measure; because one ox might be as good as two, from size, fatness, or other circumstances. Therefore in place of this succeeded measures both of dry and liquid, that is, corn, wine, and oil. The first of these was of all others the most proper standard, because universally necessary, and liable to little variation. Men, upon an average, would probably eat nearly the same quantity in the most distant ages and countries. It seems to me, that this circumstance of a standard of computation being necessary in commerce, and the first thing necessary, has been in a great measure overlooked by most writers on money, or rather it has been confounded with the standard value of the sign, although essentially different from it; and the equivocal use of the terms has occasioned great confusion. I must however observe, not only that this must necessarily be taken in, but that if we confine ourselves to a standard of computation only, some known commodity, as measured grain, is better, and more intelligible and unalterable than any money whatever, that either has been or will be made. The great alteration in the value of gold and silver is known to every per-

* Servius Tullius, one of the Roman kings, is said to have stamped some pieces with the figure of cattle; an ox, or a sheep. This was as much as to say, this piece is of the value of an ox or a sheep. Hence it is said the Roman word *pecunia*, comes from *pecus*, cattle. Others have thought it was from the use of leather for money, *quasi pecudum corio*. But the first etymology seems to be the best. See a subsequent note.

son who has but dipped into history ; and indeed is known to many, even by memory, in this country, since its first settlement*.

But after a standard of computation had been agreed upon, in commerce even of the most moderate extent, something farther would be absolutely necessary. The actual and immediate barter of commodities could in a few instances take place. A man might have the thing that I wanted to purchase, but he might not need or desire what I was willing to give for it. Another might want what I had to spare, but not have what I wanted to purchase with it. Besides, bulky or perishable commodities could not be carried about at an uncertainty, or with safety. Therefore, it became very early necessary, that there should be some sign or signs agreed upon, which should represent the absent commodities, or rather should represent the standard of computation, in all its divisions and multiplications. These signs must be such as could easily be carried about, and therefore could be readily applied to every kind of transactions, which were connected with the commutation of property.

Let us examine the nature and meaning of these signs more particularly. They are of the nature of a tally, that is to say, they are intended to mark and ascertain a fact. Now the fact is, that the person who can show those signs, having purchased them by his goods or industry, is entitled to receive from somebody, a certain value, or to

* There are two estates near one of the colleges in Scotland, which were originally taxed an equal number of bolls of grain (a boll is about 6 bushels) to that institution. In very remote times, it pleased the proprietor of one of these estates, with consent of the college, to convert the payment into money, according to the then current value, which was a groat or four pence sterling for a boll. At this present time, the one of these farms pays the same number of bolls, that the other does of groats ; which is about thirty-two for one. There is also said to be existing, an old lease of a burrow acre near a town in Scotland, for which the tenant was to pay a boll of wheat, and a boll of barley, or if he did not bring the grain between Christmas and Candlemas, the proprietor was not obliged to accept of it, but he must pay a sum which is now 10-12ths of a penny sterling for the boll of wheat, and 8-12ths for the boll of barley.

a certain amount, which they specify, of the standard of computation. They have always a reference to the standard of computation, and at last, by that known reference, the distinction between them and the standard of computation is lost, and they become a secondary standard of computation themselves. Thus a piece is intended at first to be of the value of a measure of grain; but at last men come to make their bargain by the number of pieces instead of the number of measures; using the sign for the thing signified. Thus also, sometimes at least, an ideal measure, generated by the other two, comes to be the standard of computation; as in England, the pound sterling is the money unit, though there be no coin precisely corresponding to it. This is sufficient to explain the relation of the sign to the standard of computation, and at last, if I may speak so, its consolidation with it.

I have said above, that the person possessing the sign is entitled to receive a certain value from *somebody*. The reason of this is, because his debtor is not the same in every state of things. If we consider the sign as given from one individual to another, it is of the nature of a promissory note, and is a confession of having received so much property. Probably there were often such signs or tokens given in the infancy of society; and it would then signify, that if the seller were to come again, at a distance of time, and find the buyer in possession of such goods as he wanted, he would be entitled to receive the amount of the sign or token that had been given him. But the convenience of using signs is so great, that it would immediately occasion their being made use of by general consent, express or implied; and, at last, the matter would be taken under the direction of the ruling part of the community. In both cases, but especially in this last, the society becomes bound to the person who receives the signs for his goods or industry, that they shall be to him of the value that they specify. I will afterwards show, that this was not the first but the last step taken in the use of signs, and give the reasons for it; but it is proper to mention it now, when we are considering the nature and use of signs in that single view.

Let it be observed here that as it was before said, if we aim at no more than a standard of computation, some commodities are not only as good, but better than any money, so if we confine ourselves to a sign only separate from a standard, many things that might be named are not only as good, but far better than either the standard itself, or what we call money, because they are much more easily reckoned, transported and concealed. This appears particularly from the state of signs in modern times, after so much experience and improvement has taken place. For if we can guard sufficiently against the dangers to which they are exposed, signs inconceivably facilitate commerce. We can put any value we please in an obligation written on a few inches of paper, and can send it over the world itself at very little expense, and conceal it so easily that there shall be no danger of its being taken from us.

But it must have appeared, and did speedily appear, that all mere signs labor under an essential defect. They depend ultimately on the faith or credit of the persons using or answerable for them. Now, whether these be individuals or the multitude by general custom and implied consent, or even the ruling part of the society, there is very great uncertainty. Therefore something farther is necessary to make a complete symbol or medium of general commerce, and that is, a *pledge* or standard of value that may be a security or equivalent for the thing given for it, and at all times be sufficient to purchase a like value of any thing that may be needed by him that holds it. An absent commodity well known, or even an idea well understood, may be a standard of computation and common measure; any thing almost whatever may be a sign, though, since the art of writing has been known, paper is the best, but both are essentially defective; there is wanting a value in the sign, that shall give not only a promise or obligation, but actual possession of property for property.

The mentioning of these three distinct ends to be served by the medium of commerce, and illustrating them separately, was not to convey the idea that there were three steps of this kind taken at a distance of time from each

other, or that men first continued long to deal in gross barter; and after that invented signs, and were content with them for another period; and at last, perfected the plan, by getting signs possessed of real value. On the contrary, it was to show that any thing used as a medium of universal or general commerce, must be able to serve all the three fore-mentioned purposes; and that if there is any production of nature, or fabrication of art, that can unite the whole, at least as far as they are capable of being united, this must be the great desideratum. Now it has been found in experience, that the precious metals, especially those now called by that name, gold and silver, do answer all the three ends in a great degree. It cannot be denied that they have been used for this purpose, in fact, from the earliest times, and through every nation in the old world, and indeed also in the new, with such exception only as will confirm the principles of the theory. If any man thinks that this has happened by accident, or through the whim or caprice of mankind, as one would suspect from the language sometimes used in speech and writing, he is greatly mistaken. No effect of whim or accident ever was so uniform or so lasting. The truth is, that these metals do possess in a great degree superior to every thing else, the qualities necessary for the purposes mentioned above.

This will appear to any impartial person who will consider, with a view to the preceding principles, what qualities a medium of general commerce ought to possess. It ought then, to be (1.) valuable; (2.) rare; (3.) portable; (4.) divisible; (5.) durable. Whoever will examine the matter with attention, must perceive that any one of these qualities being wholly or greatly wanting, the system would be either entirely ruined or remarkably injured. Let us examine them separately.

1. It must be *valuable*; that is to say, it must have an intrinsic worth in itself, in substance distinct from the form. By value or intrinsic worth here, must be understood precisely the same thing that gives to every other commodity its commercial value. Do you ask what that is? I answer, its being either necessary or remarkably useful for the pur-

poses of life in a social state, or at least supposed to be so : and therefore the object of human desire. Without this it could be no more than a bare sign ; nor indeed so useful in this view as many other signs. But we want something that must not be only a standard of computation, but a standard of value ; and therefore capable of being a pledge and security to the holder, for the property that he has exchanged for it. It is likely some will say, What is the intrinsic value of gold and silver ? They are not wealth ; they are but the sign or representative of commodities. Superficial philosophers, and even some men of good understanding not attending to the nature of currency, have really said so. What is gold, say some, the value is all in the fancy ; you can neither eat nor wear it ; it will neither feed, clothe nor warm you. Gold, say others, as to intrinsic value, is not so good as iron, which can be applied to many more useful purposes. These persons have not attended to the nature of commercial value, which is in a compound ratio of its use and scarceness. If iron were as rare as gold, it would probably be as valuable, perhaps more so. How many instances are there of things, which, though a certain proportion of them is not only valuable, but indispensibly necessary to life itself, yet which from their abundance have no commercial value at all. Take for examples air and water. People do not bring these to market, because they are in superabundant plenty. But let any circumstances take place that render them rare, and difficult to be obtained, and their value immediately rises above all computation. What would one of those who were stifled in the black hole at Calcutta, have given to get but near a window for a little air ? And what will the crew of a ship at sea, whose water is nearly expended, give for a fresh supply ?

Gold and silver have intrinsic value as metals, because from their ductility, durability, and other qualities, they are exceedingly fit for domestic utensils, and many purposes in life. This circumstance was the foundation of their use as a medium of commerce, and was inseparable from it. No clearer proof of this can be adduced, than that in the earliest times, even when used in commerce,

they were weighed before they were divided into smaller pieces, and passed in tale. They must surely then have had intrinsic value; for their value was in proportion to their bulk or quantity. This circumstance as a sign made them worse, but as a valuable metal made them better. The same thing appears as clearly from the practice of modern times. Even when they are taken into the management of the rulers of society, and stamped under various denominations, there must be an exact regard had to their commercial value. The stamp upon them is the *sign*, the intrinsic worth of the metal is the *value*. It is now found, and admitted by every nation, that they must give to every piece that denomination and value in legal currency, that it bears in bullion; and if any do otherwise, there is neither authority nor force sufficient to make it pass*.

The author referred to in the note has given us quotations from three persons of name in the literary world in support of a contrary opinion. The first is Dr. Franklin, whom he makes to say, "Gold and silver are not intrinsically of equal value with iron; a metal of itself capable of many more beneficial uses to mankind. Their value rests chiefly on the estimation they *happen* to be in among the generality of nations, and the credit given to the opinion that estimation will continue; otherwise a pound of gold would not be a real equivalent for a bushel of wheat." The second is Anderson on National Industry, who says "Money considered in itself, is of no value; but in many civilized nations, who have found how convenient it is

* An author on this subject in a pamphlet lately published, says, "The value of the precious metals is however enhanced by their peculiar aptitude to perform the office of an universal money beyond any real inherent value they possess. This extrinsic value of gold and silver, which belongs to them under the modification of coin or bullion, is totally distinct from their inherent value as a commodity." I do not very well comprehend what this gentleman means by the intrinsic value of gold and silver. Perhaps it is the stamp or nominal value affixed to them by the state; but whatever it is, I will venture to assure him, that their value as coin is so far from being totally distinct from, that it must be precisely the same with, their value as a commodity.

for facilitating the barter or exchange of one commodity for another, it has received an artificial value ; so that although useless in itself, it has come to be accepted among all civilized nations, as a token proving that the person who is possessed of it, had given something of real value in exchange for it, and is on that account accepted of by another in exchange for something that is of real utility and intrinsic worth." The third is Sir James Stuart, who lays, "By money, I understand any commodity which purely in itself is of no material use to man, but which acquires such an estimation from his opinion of it, as to become the universal measure of what is called value, and an adequate equivalent for any thing alienable." The name of any man how great soever, will not have much weight with me, when I perceive that in any instance he has mistaken his subject. This I believe has been the case with all the gentlemen just mentiond. There is a considerable confusion in the ideas expressed by the last two ; but the thing in which they all agree, and for which they are adduced by this author, is, that they seem to deny the intrinsic value of gold and silver, and to impute the estimation in which they are held, to accidental opinion. Now I must beg leave to observe, as to the comparison of the intrinsic worth of gold and iron, if it were possible to determine whether, on supposition of iron and gold being in equal quantity, the one or the other would be the most valuable, it would not be worth a single straw in the present question ; for if iron were the most valuable, it would in that case be the money, and the gold would be but in the next degree. Accidental opinion has nothing to do with it. It arises from the nature of things. As to a pound of gold not being, as to intrinsic value, equivalent to a bushel of wheat, it might with equal truth be affirmed, that to a man perishing with hunger, a mountain of gold would not be equivalent to half a pound of bread. But is this any argument against the intrinsic commercial value of gold, as it has taken place since the beginning of the world.

As to the other two authors, they seem to say, that money is in itself of no value, and of no material use to man.

If by *money* they mean gold and silver, the proposition is directly false; because they are both of material use for the purpose of social life. But what has led them into this error has been their abstracting the idea, and taking money in the single light of a sign, without considering it as a standard. Then no doubt, even gold, while it continues in this form, is of no other use than as a sign of property. But how little is this to the purpose? For it is equally true of every other commodity. A nail, while it continues a nail, is of no other use but joining boards together, or some similar purpose, and can neither be lock nor key; but a quantity of nails, or the iron which they contain, can be easily converted into either the one or the other. So a guinea, while it continues a guinea, is of no use whatever, but as an instrument of commerce; but the gold of which a guinea consists, can easily be converted into a ring, or any thing which its quantity will reach.. This is what is called, with perfect propriety, its *intrinsic value*.

2. That which is the medium of commerce must be *rare*. It will not be necessary to say much upon this, because it has already received some illustration from what has gone before. It may however be observed, that the medium of commerce must not only be so rare, as to bring it within commercial value in ordinary cases, but it must be much more rare, than most other things, that its value may be increased, and a small quantity of it may represent goods of considerable variety and bulk. If gold and silver were only twenty times as plentiful as they are at present, they would still have a proper value, could be bought and sold, and applied to many useful purposes, but they would be quite unfit for general circulation.

3. The circulating medium must be *portable*. It must be capable of being carried to a distance with little trouble or expence, and of passing from hand to hand with ease and expedition. This is one of the reasons why it must be rare; but it deserves mention also by itself, because it is possible to conceive of things that may be both valuable and rare, and yet incapable of being carried about, and passing from one to another. Some precious drugs,

and some curiosities, may be so rare as to have a high value, and yet may be quite improper for circulation.

4. The medium of commerce must be *divisible*. It ought to be capable of division into very small quantities. This is necessary in order to answer the division of many commodities, and the conveniency of persons of different ranks. It is of such importance, that in the calculations of a complex and diversified commerce, we find divisions and fractional parts even of the smallest coins or denominations of money, that have ever yet been brought into use.

5. Lastly. The medium of commerce ought to be *durable*. It ought to have this quality on two accounts; first, that in perpetually passing from hand to hand, it may not be broken or wasted; and, secondly, that if it is preserved or laid up, as may be sometimes necessary, and often agreeable or profitable, it may not be liable to be speedily corrupted or consumed.

All these particulars are not of equal moment and they have an intimate relation one to another; yet each of them is singly and separately of importance, perhaps more than will be at first view apprehended. I think it is also plain that there is nothing yet known to mankind, in which they are all so fully united, as they are in gold and silver; which is the true reason why these metals have been applied as the instrument of commerce, since the beginning of the world, or as far back as history enables us to penetrate*.

* It has been suggested to me by a friend, that gold and silver possess another quality different from all the above, which, in an eminent degree, fits them for circulation as a medium, *viz.* that they are *equable*. The meaning of this expression is, that the metal of each of these species, when pure, is of the same fineness and worth, and perfectly similar, from whatever different mines, or from whatever distant parts it may have been procured; which, it is said, is not the case with any other metal. It is affirmed, that the copper or lead that comes from one mine will be preferable to that which comes from another, even after this last has been refined to as high a degree as is possible; but that all gold and silver completely refined are perfectly alike, whether they come from Asia, Africa, or Ame-

It will probably throw some light upon the above theory, if we take a brief view of the matter, as it has taken place in fact from the beginning of the world. This may be done now to the greater advantage, that the effects of particular causes, and the events that will take place in society in particular circumstances, have been so fully ascertained by the experience of ages, and the progress of science, that we are able to make a better use of the few remains of ancient history, than could have been done by those who lived nearer to the events which are recorded. It appears then, that the discovery and use of metals was one of the earliest attainments of mankind. This might naturally be expected if they were within reach at all, because of their very great utility in all works of industry, and indeed for all the purposes of convenience and luxury. Therefore, I suppose this fact will not be doubted: but it is a truth neither so obvious nor so much known, that gold, silver, and brass, or rather copper, were the most ancient metals, and all of them antecedent to iron*. These metals being applied to all the purposes of life, came of course to constitute a great part of the wealth of the people of ancient times. I have mentioned brass, because it was one of the metals earliest known, and upon the very principles above laid down, was in the beginning made use of for money by many ancient nations. Its being now in a great measure left out is an illustration and proof of what has been already

rica. I do not pretend to a certain knowledge of this; but if it be true, it is well worthy of being mentioned in this disquisition.

* See upon this subject President Goguet's Rise and Progress of Laws, Arts and Sciences. He has not only sufficiently proved the fact, but also assigned the most probable reason for it, that these metals were found in many places of the earth almost pure, so as to need very little art in refining; whereas extracting iron from the ore is neither so easy nor so obvious. We learn from Homer, that in the wars of Troy, the weapons of war, offensive and defensive, were of copper; and some historians tell us that they had a method of tempering or hardening it so as to make it tolerably fit for the purpose, though certainly not equal to iron or steel.

said. It is left out for no other reason than its having lost one of the necessary qualities, viz. rarity. That it was made use of for money amongst the Hebrews appears from many circumstances. We read of gold, silver and brass, brought as contributions to the tabernacle service in the time of Moses, and to the building of the temple in David's. That brass was made use of as money in the early times of the Greeks and Romans, appears both from the assertions of historians, and from the very languages of both nations, for there it is made use of to signify money in general.* That it ceased to serve that purpose afterwards cannot be accounted for in any other way than as above, especially as the neglect of it has been just as universal as the use of it was formerly.

We are also fully supported by history in affirming, that all these metals were at first estimated and passed in commerce by weight. We see that Abraham gave to Ephron for the cave of Machpelah, four hundred shekels of silver.† The Greek money was of different weights from the lower sorts to the talent, which was the largest. The old Roman word *Pondo* was, as it were, the standard, and the divisions of it constituted their different denominations. From this we seem to have derived the English word pound. Very soon however they came to have either coins, or at least small pieces reckoned by number. Abimelech gave to Abraham, as Sarah's brother, one

* In the Roman language, *as* signifies not only brass, but money in general, and from it many other words are derived; *as*, *ararium*, the treasury; *as alienum*, debt; *are mutare*, to buy or sell for money, &c. So in the Greek tongue, *chalkos* signifies brass, *achalkos* and *achalkēin*, to be without money, or poor. When the other metals came to be in use as money, the words received the same meaning in the language as, *Argenti sitis—auri sacra fames*, the desire of money. Things proceeded in a way perfectly similar in the three ancient nations of whom we have the distinctest accounts, the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans. *Nahus keseph zahav*, in Hebrew; *chalkos arguros* and *chrusos* in Greek; and *as argentum* and *aurum*, in Latin, are all used for money in general.

† See Genesis xxiii. 16. And Abraham weighed to Ephron, the money that he had said, in the presence of the sons of Heth, 400 shekels of silver, current money with the merchant.

thousand keseph; and Joseph was sold for twenty keseph, and he gave to his brother Benjamin three hundred keseph. As the word keseph signifies silver, they must have been reckoned by tale, and are probably very justly translated pieces. Agreeably to all this, the time when the Romans began to coin brass, and some hundred years afterwards silver and gold, is distinctly mentioned by the historians*.

It may be proper to observe here, that several antiquaries have mentioned that some barbarous nations made use of baser metals, such as lead, tin, iron, and even leather, shells and bark of trees for money. This is no way contrary to the above theory, for some nations might indeed use lead, iron and tin, as things of value, upon the same principles as others used gold, silver and brass. I think it is said, and indeed it is more than probable, that the nails given by our voyagers to the inhabitants of the South-sea islands, passed from hand to hand as instruments of commerce. As to leather, shells, &c. I suspect some part of this is fabulous; but if it did take place in any measure, it has been a rude essay, using the sign separately from the standard, and could not be of any great extent or long duration. We know indeed of one nation, after society had been far advanced, that made use of iron, even when very plentiful, for money, viz. the Lacedæmonians. But this was not at all from rudeness or ignorance; it was one of Lycùrgus's extraordinary institutions, who intended by it (and did not conceal his intention) to banish riches, or real and proper money from the state. He indeed banished industry at the same time, for none of his citizens were allowed even to be husbandmen, or to cultivate their lands. This was left to the slaves. I do not find, therefore, that there is any thing in history

* We have the express testimony of Pliny upon this subject, lib. 33. cap. 3. "Servius rex primus signavit æs. Antearudi usos Romæ Timaus tradit. Signatum est nota pecudum unde et pecunia appellanta. Servius first coined brass. Timaus says they used it formerly rough or uncoined at Rome. It was marked with the figure of cattle, whence also it was called *pecunia*." The same author tells us, that silver began to be coined at Rome in the 485th year of the city, and gold 72 years after.

deserving credit, that militates against the theory above laid down.

Having thus laid down the theory of money, and supported it by history and experience, I proceed to draw a few inferences from it, and apply them to some opinions which have taken place, and some measures which have been adopted or proposed with respect to currency and commerce in this country. In the first place, the above theory will enable every intelligent person to fix in his mind precisely what is or ought to be the meaning of a *circulating medium*. This phrase is in every body's mouth, and we meet with it continually in the essays published in the newspapers, and the speeches of senators in public assemblies. We may say of this as controversial divines used to say long ago, that a misconception of this is the *proton pseudos*, the radical error. Not long since a writer in one of the papers said it was agreed on all hands that there is at present a scarcity of a circulating medium. To this I answer, that it is not agreed upon on any hand, but among those who are wholly ignorant of the meaning of the expression. The circulating medium is not yours nor mine; it is not the riches of Holland, nor the poverty of Sweden. It is that indefinite quantity of the precious metals that is made use of among the nations connected in commerce. Whether any particular person, city, or nation, is rich or poor, has more or less comparatively of it, is nothing to the purpose. Every one will receive of the circulating medium that quantity which he is entitled to by his property or industry. It has been shown that rarity is one of the qualities of a circulating medium. If it were more rare than it is, a less quantity would be sufficient to represent a stated measure of property. If it were more plentiful than it is, a greater quantity would be necessary; but the comparative riches or poverty of nations or persons would be altogether the same.

Is any body ignorant that half a century ago in this country, a man might have bought a bushel of wheat for one quarter of a dollar, for which now he must pay a whole dollar. Was not the quarter dollar then as good a circulating medium as the whole dollar is now? And was

not the man just as rich who had it in his pocket? Undoubtedly. Nay, I must further say, it was a better circulating medium, because it was of less size and weight. Has not the quantity of the precious metals increased greatly since the discovery of the mines of South America? Is not the quantity now necessary for any considerable purchase so great as to be burdensome in the transportation? The price of a good horse in silver would at present be a great incumbrance on a long journey. How easy were it to point out places and countries in which there is a greater quantity of the circulating medium than any where else, and yet at the same time greater national and personal poverty, and probably for this very reason. What would it signify to a laborer in the mines of Peru, if he should get half a johannes, or even two, for a day's work, if at the same time he could hardly purchase with both as much provision as to keep body and soul together? Are not these things true? Are they not known to be so? What then must we say of the extreme ignorance and inattention, to say no worse, of those persons who are continually telling us that there is a want of circulating medium? Are not gold and silver a circulating medium, whose currency is universal? Are these then too scarce for that purpose, when there is hardly a negro slave, male or female, without silver buckles in their shoes, and many of them with rings and other ornaments of gold, which five hundred years ago would have denoted a prince or princess? Perhaps I have insisted longer on this than was necessary, but I have been induced to it by the frequent complaints upon this subject, and the absurd application of the phrase, a circulating medium. More reflections will occur, connected with this subject, in the subsequent parts of my discourse. In the mean time I will close by saying to my reader, you and I may be poor men, the state in which we live may be a poor state, we may want property, rents, resources and credit, but a circulating medium we want not.

2. From the principles above laid down it will appear, that money having as one of its essential qualities, an intrinsic, that is to say, a commercial value, it must be not

only a sign and standard or a medium of commerce, but also itself a commodity, or a subject of commerce. There are many transactions respecting money in a trading nation, in which it is considered singly in this view. These it is unnecessary for me to enumerate, but even where it is applied directly or principally as a medium of alienation, its value as a standard doth and must always follow and accommodate itself to its value as a commodity. Hence it follows necessarily that money must be subject to every rule that other commodities are subject to in buying and selling. One of the chief of these is, that it must rise and fall in price according to the quantity that is brought to market, compared with the demand there is for it. This is an unavoidable consequence, and as necessary in the case of money as in that of any commodity whatever. If a greater quantity of money than before is brought into any country, even though brought by the fairest and most honorable means, viz. increasing industry and profitable trade, it will have the effect of raising the price of other commodities in general, and of industry, which is the source of all commodities. But we must observe, that men are apt to view this in a wrong light. One commodity may rise or fall by its own plenty or scarceness; but when there is a great and general rise of prices, of all commodities, it would be at least as proper, or rather much more so, to say that money had fallen, than that goods had risen.

We had so large experience of this during the war, by the excessive emissions of paper money, that it needs hardly any illustration. It is true, some persons did then and do now suppose, that the depreciation of the money was owing as much to the disaffection of some inhabitants, and the counterfeiting, and other artful endeavors of our enemies to destroy it, as to the increased quantity. But in this they were quite mistaken. Jealousy or suspicion of the money would have had very different effects from a gradual and continual rise of prices. If I meet with a suspicious piece of money, I do not raise the price of my goods, but refuse to sell them. This was indeed the case with all those who doubted the money of Con-

gress in time of the war. Besides it is plain, that the American cause was most doubtful, and its enemies most numerous in the years 1776 and 1777, and yet the currency of the money was then very general, and its depreciation slow; whereas in the three following years, when in consequence of the French treaty and other European alliances, the confidence of the public in the cause was increased, the depreciation was accelerated in an amazing degree. I must also here make a remark upon another opinion often expressed during the war, that the depreciation must have been owing to other causes than the quantity, because it was greater than what they called the natural depreciation, in consequence of the quantity. By this they meant, that it was not regular; but when the quantity had arisen, suppose to five for one, the depreciation was as fifteen or twenty for one. These persons did not understand the depreciation of a commodity in consequence of its quantity, for it is not regular and equable, as in arithmetical progression, but rapid and increasing, so as soon to get beyond all computation. If there is in any country but one tenth part more of any commodity than there is any demand for, the price will probably fall more than one half; and if there is double or treble the quantity needed, it will be what merchants call a drug, that cannot be sold at all, but if it be a perishable commodity, must sink in the hand of the possessor.

I have said above that the increase of money, even though in consequence of national prosperity, that is to say, internal industry and profitable trade, will yet necessarily have the effect of raising the price of industry, and its fruits. This, however, must evidently be in a far higher degree, and attended with much more pernicious effects, when it is thrown into circulation without industry; as when silver is found in capacious mines, or paper is issued by the authority of a state, without measure and without end. I verily believe that if as many millions of silver dollars had fallen from heaven and been thrown into circulation as there were paper ones issued by the United States, the disorder would have been as great or greater than it was. At least it would have been so at first, the

difference would have been, that silver being current over all, it would have soon gone abroad and found its level, so that the alteration would have been ultimately not in the United States, but in the general circulating medium over the whole earth. Those however among whom it was first found, and who received it without industry, would have suffered most by it. Among them it would have produced laziness and luxury. Other nations would have drained it from them only by superior industry. The state of the Spanish monarchy at present ought to be, and indeed in a great measure has been, a lesson to the whole world. At the time when they got possession of South-America they were the most powerful and wealthy state in Europe. Would any man at that time have been reckoned sound in his judgment who should have affirmed that they would have grown poor, by the means of the gold and silver mines? Yet it has happened so, and now there is hardly any politician so shallow but he can assign the reason of it. They thought that gold and silver would at once procure them every thing without working; but forgot that the more they had of it, they must pay so much the more to those who were willing to work for them.

3. The above principles will clearly show, that what is commonly called paper money, that is, bills bearing that the person holding them is entitled to receive a certain sum specified in them, is not, properly speaking, money at all. It is barely a sign without being a pledge or standard of value, and therefore is essentially defective as a medium of universal commerce. I will afterwards speak of the different kinds of it, and point out their real and proper uses; but in the mean time I observe, that to arm such bills with the authority of the state, and make them a legal tender in all payments, is an absurdity so great, that is not easy to speak with propriety upon it. Perhaps it would give offence if I should say, it is an absurdity reserved for American legislatures; no such thing having ever been attempted in the old countries. It has been found, by the experience of ages, that money must have a standard of value, and if any prince or state debase the metal below the standard, it is utterly impossible to make

it succeed. How then can it be possible to make that succeed, which has no value at all? In all such instances, there may be great injuries done to particular persons by wiping off debts; but to give such money general currency is wholly impossible. The measure carries absurdity in its very face. Why will you make a law to oblige men to take money when it is offered them? Are there any who refuse it when it is good? If it is necessary to force them, does not this demonstrate that it is not good? We have seen indeed this system produce a most ludicrous inversion of the nature of things. For two or three years we constantly saw and were informed of creditors running away from their debtors, and the debtors pursuing them in triumph, and paying them without mercy.

Let us examine this matter a little more fully. Money is the medium of commercial transactions. Money is itself a commodity. Therefore every transaction in which money is concerned, by being given or promised, is strictly and properly speaking, a bargain, or as it is well called in common language, an agreement. To give, therefore, authority or nominal value by law to any money, is interposing by law, in commerce, and is precisely the same thing with laws regulating the prices of commodities, of which, in their full extent, we had sufficient experience during the war. Now nothing can be more radically unjust, or more eminently absurd, than laws of that nature. Among all civilians, the transactions of commerce are ranged under the head of contracts. Without entering into the nicer distinctions of writers upon this subject, it is sufficient for me to say, that commerce, or buying and selling, is found upon that species of contracts that is most formal and complete. They are called in the technical language, *Onerous contracts*, where the proper and just value is supposed to be given or promised, on both sides. That is to say, the person who offers any thing to sale, does it because he has it to spare, and he thinks it would be better for him to have the money, or some other commodity, than what he parts with; and he who buys, in like manner, thinks it would be better for him to receive

the commodity, than to retain the money. There may be mistakes or fraud in many transactions; but these do not affect the argument in the least. A fair and just value is always supposed or professed to be given on both sides.

Well! is it agreed that all commerce is founded on a complete contract? Let then any person who will, open as many books as he pleases written upon the subject, and tell me whether he does not always find there that one of the essential conditions of a lawful contract, and indeed the first of them, is, that it be *free* and *mutual*. Without this it may be something else, and have some other binding force, but it is not a contract. To make laws therefore, regulating the prices of commodities, or giving nominal value to that which had no value before the law was made, is altering the nature of the transaction altogether. Perhaps a comparison of this with other transactions of a different kind might set this matter in a clear light. Suppose a man were to say, to one of our lawgivers upon this subject as follows: When you make a law laying on a tax, and telling me I must pay so much to the public and common expences of the state, I understand this very well. It falls under the head of *authority*. You may lay on an improper or injudicious tax that will operate unequally, or not be productive of what you expect; but still this is within your line, and if I have any complaint, I can only wish that at the next election we may get wiser men. Again, a Justice of Peace in time of war may give a press-warrant, and take my horses and waggons to transport provisions or baggage for an army. I understand this also; writers and reasoners tell me that it falls under the head of what they call the *rights of necessity*. The meaning of this is, that no civil constitution can be so perfect but that some cases will occur, in which the property of individuals must give way to the urgent call of common utility or general danger. Thus we know, that in cities, in case of a fire, sometimes a house, without the consent of its owner, will be destroyed to prevent the whole from being consumed. But if you make a law that I shall be obliged to *sell* my grain, my

cattle, or any commodity, at a certain price, you not only do what is unjust and impolitic, but with all respect be it said, you speak nonsense; for I do not *sell* them at all: you take them from me. You are both buyer and seller, and I am the sufferer only.

I cannot help observing that laws of this kind have an inherent weakness in them; they are not only unjust and unwise, but for the most part impracticable. They are an attempt to apply authority to that which is not its proper object, and to extend it beyond its natural bounds; in both which we shall be sure to fail. The production of commodities must be the effect of industry, inclination, hope, and interest. The first of these is very imperfectly reached by authority, and the other three cannot be reached by it at all. Perhaps I ought rather to have said, that they cannot be directed by it, but they may be greatly counteracted; as people have naturally a strong disposition to resist force, and to escape from constraint. Accordingly we found in this country, and every other society who ever tried such measures found, that they produced an effect directly contrary to what was expected from them. Instead of producing moderation and plenty, they uniformly produced dearth and scarcity. It is worth while to observe, that some of our legislatures saw so far into these matters as to perceive that they could not regulate the price of commodities, without regulating the price of the industry that produced them. Therefore they regulated the price of day-laborers. This however, though but one species of industry, was found to be wholly out of their power.

There were some instances mentioned at the time when these measures were in vogue, which superficial reasoners supposed to be examples of regulating laws attended with good effects. These were the regulation of the prices of chairs, hackney-coaches, and ticket porters in cities, public ferries, and some others. But this was quite mistaking the nature of the thing. These instances have not the least connexion with laws regulating prices in voluntary commerce. In all these cases the persons who are employed solicit the privilege, obtain a licence, and come under

voluntary engagements to ask no higher prices ; so that there is as complete a free contract as in buying and selling in open shops. I am so fully convinced of the truth and justice of the above principles, that I think, were it proper at this time, I could show, that even in the most enlightened nations of Europe there are still some laws subsisting which work in direct opposition to the intention of their makers. Of this kind in general are the laws against forestalling and regrating. They are now indeed most of them asleep, and what the lawyers call in desuetude ; but so far as they are executed, they have the most powerful tendency to prevent, instead of promoting, full and reasonable markets. As an example of our own skill in that branch, a law was past in Pennsylvania in time of the war precisely upon that principle. It ordained that in all imported articles there should be but one step between the importer and consumer, and therefore that none but those who bought from the ship should be allowed to sell again. I cite this instance by memory, but am certain that such was the spirit of the law. The makers of it considered that every hand through which a commodity passed must have a profit upon it, which would therefore greatly augment the cost to the consumer at last. But could any thing in the world be more absurd ? How could a family at one hundred miles distance from the seaport be supplied with what they wanted ? In opposition to this principle it may be safely affirmed, that the more merchants the cheaper goods, and that no carriage is so cheap, nor any distribution so equal or so plentiful as that which is made by those who have an interest in it, and expect a profit from it.

I have gone into this detail in order to show that tender laws, arming paper, or any thing not valuable in itself with authority are directly contrary to the very first principles of commerce. This was certainly the more necessary, because many of the advocates for such laws, and many of those who are instrumental in enacting them, do it from pure ignorance, without any bad intention. It may probably have some effect in opening their eyes to observe, that no paper whatever is a tender in any nation

in Europe. Even the notes of the bank of England, which are as good as gold, and those of the bank of Holland, which are considerably better*, are not armed with any such sanction, and are not a legal tender in the proper sense of that word. That is to say, though I suppose both of them, or any other paper circulating in full credit may be a tender in equity, so far as that the person offering them without suspicion of their being refused, could not be condemned in any penalty or forfeiture; yet if the person who was to receive the money should say, I am going abroad, I want gold or silver; it would lie upon the debtor and not the creditor to go and get them exchanged. We may perhaps even say more, viz. that the coinage of gold and silver in any country is not so much, if at all to oblige persons to receive it at a certain value, as to ascertain them that it is of the value stamped upon it. Without this ignorant persons would be continually at a loss to know the fineness and the weight of a piece offered to them. This will appear from the two following remarks. (1) If by any accident in the coinage, or fraud in the officers of the mint, some of the pieces had not the full quantity, or were not of sufficient fineness, though the stamp were ever so genuine, if I could discover the defect, I should be justified in refusing it. (2) There is sometimes a fluctuation in the comparative value of gold and silver, and in these cases, though no doubt a debtor, till the error that has crept in be rectified by authority, has a right to pay in any lawful money; yet if I were selling goods, and gold had fallen in its value, I might safely say to the customer, in what coin are you to pay

* Perhaps it may be proper to inform some readers what this expression refers to. It refers to the *agio* of the bank of Holland. A bill of that bank generally goes for a little more in payment with any dealer than the sum it specifies, and this advance or difference is called the *Agio* of the Bank, and rises or falls like the rate of exchange. This probably arises from its perfect security, and the very great advantage in point of ease and expedition, in transferring, reckoning, and concealing of paper above gold and silver. It gives occasion to the vulgar saying in that country, That money goes into the bank but never comes out.

me? I will give you a yard of this silk for twenty-one sterling silver shillings, but if you give me a guinea I must have another shilling before I will part with it. The whole of this serves to show that nothing short of real money, which is of standard value, ought to be enforced by law in a well regulated society.

4. The principles above laid down will enable us to perceive clearly what is the nature of paper circulating as a medium of commerce, what is its real and proper use, and what are its dangers and defects. As to its nature, it is a sign but not a standard. It is properly an obligation, or to use a modern commercial phrase, it is a promissory note. It is not money, as has been shown above, but it is a promise of some person or body of men to pay money either on demand or at a particular time, or some general undefined future time. Obligations of this nature are of more sorts than one. Sometimes they are given by particular persons, or trading companies, who are considered as persons; and frequently in America they have been given by the legislature of the state. In the general definition I have included all kinds of negotiable paper, but it will not be necessary to insist upon more than two of them, viz. the notes of banking companies, and state emissions. Bills of exchange are not supposed to pass through many hands, but to proceed as speedily as may be to the place of their payment. Government securities are only bought and sold like other property, and so any bonds or other private obligations, may be transferred as often as people are willing to receive them; but the notes of banking companies, and the state emissions of this country are intended to be, properly speaking, a circulating medium. They are of various regular denominations, and intended to answer all the purposes of money in the smaller transactions of society as well as the larger, and even go to market for purchasing the necessaries of life.

As to value, such obligations must plainly depend upon the credit of the subscriber or obligor, and the opinion or expectation of the receiver. These are mutually necessary to their use in commerce. Let the resources or wealth of the subscriber be what they may, it is the public opi-

tion that must ultimately give them currency. This opinion, however, may be in some instances better, and in some worse founded. That paper which may with most certainty and expedition be converted into gold and silver, seems evidently to have the advantage on this account. Therefore the notes of banking companies, while they maintain their credit, and continue to pay on demand, appear to be the best calculated for general use. They seem also to have another advantage, that private persons and companies are upon a footing with the holder of the bills. He can arrest them, and bring them to account and have justice done upon them; whereas he cannot call the legislature to account, but must wholly depend upon their fidelity as well as resources. Yet it must be owned there have not been wanting instances formerly in this country, in which paper emissions by the states have obtained full confidence, and met with no impediment in circulation.

Let us now consider what is the proper use of paper currency, or whether it be of any real use at all. Many persons in Europe have declared against it altogether as pernicious. I will endeavor to state this matter with all the clearness I am capable of, and to give the reasons for what I shall advance. We have seen above that nothing can be more absurd than to say that we now want a circulating medium, and that paper is necessary for that purpose. A circulating medium we have already, not in too small, but in too great quantity; so that any person who understands the subject may perceive that gold and silver, especially the last, is losing at least one of the qualities necessary for that purpose, and becoming too bulky and heavy for easy and convenient transportation. Brass, as has been shown above, was once as just and proper a medium of commerce as gold and silver are now. It has all the qualities necessary for that purpose still, except rarity; so that if it were not too plentiful and too cheap, it would be money to this day. It is probable that this circumstance of the abundance and weight of the precious metals is what gives to many such an inclination for paper money. This will appear strange to some, yet I believe

it is at bottom just. The cry with many is, we must have paper for a circulating medium, as there is such a scarcity of gold and silver. Is this just? No. They mistake their own poverty, or the nation's poverty, for a scarcity of gold and silver; whereas in fact, gold and silver used as a circulating medium are so cheap, and the quantity of a moderate sum is such an incumbrance that we want paper, which can be much more easily carried, and much more effectually concealed. So that, contrary to the vulgar idea, we are obliged to have recourse to paper in several cases, not for want of gold and silver, but their too great abundance.

This will appear to be a very uncouth idea to many persons. What, they will say, too great abundance of gold and silver! when I go about from day to day, and cannot collect what is due to me; when my creditors are calling upon me and I cannot satisfy them. There is a scarcity of money every where. What shall be said to satisfy these persons? I must tell them plainly, It is their poverty, or the nation's poverty, and not a want of gold and silver, and if there were an hundred times as much gold and silver in circulation as there is, their poverty and difficulties would be just the same. If these persons read the scriptures they may there learn, that in Solomon's time the silver was as plentiful *as stones in Jerusalem*; probably they will think that all the people in Jerusalem at that time must have lived like princes, but they must be told, that it was added as a necessary consequence, that *it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon*.

If paper is not then needed as a circulating medium, what benefits arises from it? I answer, the uses of paper substituted for money may be summed up under the two following heads: (1.) It is useful for facilitating commerce. (2.) It is useful for anticipating property or extending credit. First, it is useful for facilitating commerce. Nothing can be more advantageous for that purpose than bills of exchange, which, without the actual transportation of money or goods, can transfer property even to the most distant places with the most perfect facility. There have been many persons who have doubted

whether any other sort of paper currency is not upon the whole hurtful, but the benefit of this is beyond all question. We shall afterwards compare the advantages and disadvantages of paper money ; but at present let us leave out the consideration of the evil that it does, and it is manifest that there is so great a facility and safety in the transportation of paper above that of gold and silver, that it must greatly expedite all mercantile transactions, internal and external. Suppose one hundred thousand pounds were to be transported but three hundred miles, if it were to be carried in silver, what an immense load would it be ? But besides the weight, as it could not be concealed, there would be a very great risk of inviting robbers to share in it. Let it be carefully observed, that this good effect of paper is not from the additional quantity thrown into circulation, but from its possessing some advantages superior to gold and silver, provided that the credit of it is supported. Nor must it be forgotten, that it is in great and extensive negotiations only, that this advantage is possessed by paper ; for in smaller bargains and that intercourse between man and man that is carried on every hour, it possesses no advantage at all ; on the contrary, it is liable to wear and waste, and therefore the smaller coins are in all respects to be preferred.

2. Another use of paper in commerce is to extend credit. Though in very large transactions the advantage of paper may be great, as it facilitates commerce ; yet when we consider paper as generally circulating, and doing the office of gold and silver, it is by the extension of credit only, or chiefly, that it can be of any advantage. It is unnecessary for me, and perhaps not in my power, to mention all the ways in which credit may be increased or facilitated by paper. Some will probably be mentioned afterwards ; at present my business is to show, that giving credit is one of the advantages, and indeed in my opinion it is the principle advantage, to be derived from paper circulation of any kind. There are many people whose industry is damped or limited by want of stock or credit, who if they were properly assisted in these respects, might do signal service to themselves, and the community

of which they are members. It has been generally said, and I believe with truth, that the institution of the banks in Scotland has improved the country in the course of little more than half a century, to a degree that is hardly credible. It is also probable, that the manufactures and commerce of England have been greatly promoted by the easy and regular methods of obtaining credit from the public and private banks. I am sensible that some very intelligent persons in Britain have condemned the paper circulation even there, and affirmed that it does more harm than good. It is not necessary for me to enter into the arguments on either side of that question. All that I am concerned to prove is, that if it does good upon the whole, or whatever good it does in any degree, arises from the credit which it is the occasion of extending; and this I think can hardly be denied.*

Let us next consider the evil that is done by paper. This is what I would particularly request the reader to attend to, as it was what this discourse was chiefly intended to evince, and what the public seems but little aware of. The evil is this: All paper introduced into circulation, and obtaining credit as gold and silver, adds to the quantity of the medium, and thereby, as has been shown above, increases the price of industry and its fruits.† This

* That I may state the matter with fairness and fulness, I will just observe, that the enemies of paper say, the improvement was only coeval with the banks, but not caused by them in whole, nor in any great degree. The banks happened to be nearly coeval with the revolution, and the union of England and Scotland; both which important events are supposed to have been causes of improvement to Scotland. However the experience of the last thirty or forty years appears to be considerably in favor of banks and dealers in money and bills, which I consider as essentially the same.

† This will perhaps be misapprehended by some readers. They will say, a high price for our industry! This is just what we want, and what all desire. But the price I mean here is not the price which you get for your industry, but that which you pay for it. A high price, by a great demand from foreign nations, is your profit; but the cost which you pay for servants; tools, rent of land, &c. lessens that profit, and it is this which is increased by increasing the circulating medium, and

consequence is unavoidable, and follows as certainly from good paper as bad, or rather more certainly, for the medium is increased only by that which obtains credit. At the same time this consequence is local, because the paper does not pass among other nations, and therefore it works against the interest of the people who use it, and necessarily draws off their gold and silver, which must be made use of in all foreign payments. Men may think what they please, but there is no contending with the nature of things. Experience has every where justified the remark, that wherever paper is introduced in large quantities, the gold and silver vanishes universally. The joint sum of gold, silver, and paper current, will exactly represent your whole commodities, and the prices will be accordingly. It is therefore as if you were to fill a vessel brim full, making half the quantity water and the other oil, the last being specifically lightest, will be at the top, and if you add more water, the oil only will run over, and continue running till there is none left. How absurd and contemptible then is the reasoning which we have of late seen frequently in print, viz. the gold and silver is going away from us, therefore we must have paper to supply its place. If the gold and silver is indeed going away from us, that is to say, if the balance of trade is much against us, the paper medium has a direct tendency to increase the evil, and send it away by a quicker pace.

I have said, that this consequence follows from all paper, as such, good and bad, so far as it enters into circulation; but every one must perceive that there is a peculiar and indeed a different evil to be feared from paper of a doubtful kind, and especially from that which being doubtful, is obliged to be supported by coercive laws. This must raise general suspicion, and consequently bring on a stagnation of commerce, from universal and mutual distrust. For the same reason it must annihilate credit, and

not the other. Make as much money as you please, this will not make foreign nations call for any more of your grain, fish, lumber, tobacco, rice, &c. but it will just as certainly make them cost you more before you can bring them to the market, as adding two to three will make five.

make every cautious person lock up his real money, that is, gold and silver, as he cannot tell but he may be cheated in the re-payment. This evil is very extensive indeed, for it makes people suspicious, not only of what is, but what may be. Though the injury should be but partial, or inconsiderable at present, it may become wholly ruinous by some unknown future law.

Hence it may be seen, that the resolution of the question, whether it is proper to have paper money at all or not, depends entirely upon another, viz. whether the evil that is done by augmenting the circulating medium, is or is not over-balanced by the facility given to commerce, and the credit given to particular persons. by which their industry and exertions are added to the common stock. As it is upon this that the question depends, we shall find, that as the circumstances of a nation may be different, it may be for or against its interest to use a paper medium. If any nation were in such circumstances as that credit were either not necessary or easily obtained; if the country were fully settled and the inhabitants fully employed in agriculture, manufactures, and internal commerce, with little foreign trade, any addition to the true money, would be unnecessary or pernicious. This is probably the state of China at present, perhaps in some degree also of France. On the contrary, if a nation had an extensive and complicated commerce, and much land to settle and improve, the facilitating of commerce, and extending of credit, might be highly beneficial. I do not pretend to so exact a knowledge of the state of this country, or the different parts of it, as to judge with absolute certainty of what is necessary or would be useful to it, but am inclined to think that there must be something in the state of things in America that makes it either more necessary or more expedient to have paper here than in the European states. We are assured that in former times many of the states, then colonies, thought it a privilege to be allowed to strike paper money; and we are told by persons of good understanding, that it contributed to their growth and improvement. If this was the case, I am confident it was chiefly because it was emitted in the way of a loan-office, and by

giving credit to husbandmen, accelerated the settlement and improvement of the soil. This question I do not take upon me to decide, and therefore in what follows, desire I may be considered as speaking only hypothetically, the rather, that at present the inclination after paper of some kind or another seems to be so strong, that it would be in vain to withstand it.

If therefore paper is to be employed in circulation, we may see from what has been said above, what are the principles on which it ought to be conducted, the ends that ought to be aimed at, and the evils that ought to be avoided. The ends to be aimed at are, the facilitating of commercial transactions, and extending of credit to those who are likely to make a proper use of it. The plan should be so conceived, as that the increase of the circulating medium should be as little as possible, consistently with these ends. It should be perfectly secure, so as to create an absolute confidence. And as it is of the nature of an obligation, no force whatever should be used, but the reception of it left entirely to the inclination and interest of the receiver. It may be safely affirmed, that any deviation from these principles, which are deduced from the theory above laid down, will be an essential defect in the system. If we inquire what sort of paper will best answer this description, we find that there is no other sort used in Europe than that of banking companies. The government stamping paper to pass current for coin is unknown there. Notwithstanding the immense sums which have been borrowed by the English government, they always prefer paying interest for them, to issuing paper without value for money. The only thing resembling it in the English history is, James the second coining base metal, and affixing a price to it by proclamation; a project contemptible in the contrivance, and abortive in the execution. This seems to be a considerable presumption, that the measure is upon the whole not eligible.*

* It seems to me, that those who cry out for emitting paper money by the legislatures, should take some pains to state clearly the difference between this and the European countries, and point out the reasons why it would be serviceable here,

The paper of banking companies has many advantages. It is considered as perfectly safe, because it can be exchanged for gold and silver at any time upon demand. Having this security at bottom, it is perfectly convenient for transportation, which indeed is common to it with all paper. In addition to this, it is considered as the principal business of all banks to give credit, which, though directly only in favor of commercial, is ultimately useful to many different classes of men. I may upon this observe, that it is the duty of banking companies so to conduct their operations as to extend their regular credit as far as is safe for themselves. If instead of this, as has been supposed at least to have been done by some banks in Britain, they circulate their notes by agents, making purchases in different and distant places, that the sum issued may very far exceed the sum necessary to be kept for probable demands; they are in that case not serving the public at all, but using the money of other people to their own profit. It is also to be observed, that the denomination of their notes should never be very small, it should indeed be as high as is consistent with such a general use as will bring in a sufficient profit. Very small denominations of paper do the greatest injury by entering into universal circulation, and chiefly affecting the industrious part of the community. It was a very great complaint against some banks in Scotland, what they brought down the denominations of their notes as far as ten shillings, and some of them even five shillings. If this was an evil, what shall we say of paper, as has been seen in this country, as low as one shilling, six pence, or even three pence value? It is a rule that will hardly admit of any exception, that the higher the denominations of paper bills, the greater the benefit and the less the evil; and on the contrary, the smaller the denominations, the greater the evil and the less the benefit. High sums in paper obligations may perhaps change hands once a week, but a shilling or six-penny ticket may be in fifty hands in one day.

and hurtful there; or else insist that it would be a wise measure every where, and recommend the use of it to the states of England, France, Holland, &c. who will be much indebted to them for the discovery.

I must mention here what has been often objected against banks in America, which, if just, would, from the reasoning in the preceding part of this discourse, tend to their condemnation. It is, that they have destroyed credit instead of extending it, and have introduced or given occasion to excessive usury. I am not sufficiently informed to say how far this is really the case, but cannot help observing, that treating the matter theoretically, as I have all along done, and considering the nature of the thing, this does not appear to be a necessary consequence. One would rather think that the regular credit which is or ought to be given by banks should prevent usury, by supplying all those who deserve to be trusted. Agreeably to this it was found in fact, that the institution of banks in Scotland lowered the interest of money, which indeed seems to be the natural effect of every such institution, from the increased circulation. But if any instances more than before have happened of this kind, it may be by persons in extreme necessity applying to others who have credit with the bank, and who have so little conscientious scruple as to take advantage of their neighbor's poverty. If this is the case, it is only a particular abuse, or occasional bad consequence of a thing otherwise good and useful. It is not a just objection against any thing, that it may be or has been in some instances abused. Besides, as it is the duty of every banking company to guard against this evil as much as possible, even by personal resentment, against those who make this use of their confidence, so it is an evil not out of the reach of legal punishment or general infamy. Wise and well executed laws against usury, would at least so far restrain it, as to make it an evil of little consequence.

But in examining the nature and operation of different kinds of paper, I must consider an objection of much greater importance, upon the principles of this discourse, against the paper of banks, or at least, a defect in their system, that seems to call for other measures in addition to it. This is, that banking companies give credit only so as to be serviceable to merchants, and those immediately connected with them, but do not extend it to husbandmen, or

those who improve the soil, by taking mortgages for a considerable time; yet according to the theory above laid down, this is not only one of the advantages, but perhaps the chief advantage to be derived from a paper circulation of any kind. Now, I admit, that the settlement and cultivation of the soil is the radical source of the prosperity of this country. It is indeed the source of the prosperity of every country, but comparatively more so of that of this country than most others. I also admit that credit, properly extended, to industrious persons in this way would be exceedingly beneficial. For this reason, and for this alone, Dr. Franklin and others perhaps judged right when they said, the country received great benefit from the loan office paper of former times. I am also sensible, that it is not practicable nor proper for banking companies to give credit upon mortgages on distant lands. They being bound to prompt payment, must expect the same; therefore they are not to be blamed for refusing it in this form*. For all these reasons, I do not take upon me wholly to condemn a measure in America, which would be unnecessary or improper in Europe. We hear from every quarter, that is to say, from almost every state, a loud cry for paper money. Now when there is a great and universal complaint, it is seldom without some foundation; and though I have taken much pains in the preceding discourse to show that they mistake their own wants, that they do not want a circulating medium, but use that phrase without understanding its meaning; yet they certainly do want something. They want particular *credit*; and they look back with desire to the former times when they had paper money, which, by its name itself, pointed out its nature and use, the notes being then called bills of credit. I will therefore proceed, keeping a steady eye upon the principles above laid down, to state

* I must here observe, that the banks of Scotland never gave credit upon mortgages, but personal security only, and yet they were universally supposed to put it in the power of landed men to improve their estates; so that the money transactions must have been, though not directly, yet remotely in their favor.

in what manner a loan-office may be established* with- in moderate bounds, that shall render a service probably greater than the evils necessarily consequent upon it.

I would therefore propose, that any state that thinks it necessary, should emit a sum of suppose one hundred thousand pounds, and that the following rules should be laid down in the law, and invariably adhered to. (1.) That not a shilling of that money should issue from the loan-office treasury, but upon mortgage of land to the amount of double the sum in value. (2.) That it should not be a legal tender for any debts contracted or to be contracted, but receivable in all taxes within the state, and payable for the wages of Council and Assembly, and the fees and perquisites of all public officers, after it has been so received. (3.) That at the end of twelve calendar months, a sum precisely equal to the interest that had accrued or become due in that time, should be consumed by fire, and public intimation given of its being done. The same thing should be done every subsequent year. (4.) That at no time any part of this money should be made use of in the payment of the public debts, but that which had been first levied in taxes. It would not be proper even to borrow from the stock for this purpose by anticipation†.

If these rules were observed, credit would be given to

* I am not ignorant that there has been in one of our states, I mean Pennsylvania, a violent controversy for and against the bank, between the political factions which divide that state. On this account, I am sorry I was obliged to mention banks at all; but it was impossible for me to do justice to the subject, without considering their general nature and effects; and I will not so much as name any of the arguments on either side of this question, but what is necessarily connected with money in general as a currency, and its effects upon the national interest.

† The paying of the public creditors is one of the most common and popular arguments for paper emissions, but to pay them with money not loaned, is not paying, but continuing the debt upon the state, and only make it change hands. All such bills so paid must be accounted for by the public. It is better, therefore, that by the loans men may be enabled easily to pay their taxes; and then let the public creditors be paid by money demanded equally from the whole for that purpose.

some persons, who needed and deserved it, to the amount of the whole sum. The bills current would be diminished in quantity every year so as not to load the circulation, which would have a sensible effect upon the public opinion, and indeed, from the nature of the thing, would increase their value, or rather confirm it from year to year*. At the end of fourteen or fifteen years they would be wholly taken out of circulation, and that not by any tax laid on for the purpose, but by the hire or use of the money itself, and after all, the principal sum would be still due to the state in good money, which might bear interest for ever. It would be an important addition to this scheme, if no bills less than two dollars, or perhaps three, or five, should be emitted, as this would still keep silver at least in circulation. On the above principles, all the good that can be produced by paper would be effected, viz. facilitating commerce, and giving credit; and as little of the evil as possible, because the quantity would be fixed and moderate at first, and continually decreasing, so as at last to vanish altogether; and then another emission of the same kind might be made, if the utility of the first should recommend it.

Perhaps it will be said, that this money not being a legal tender, would not answer the purpose of borrowers by paying their debts, nor get at all into circulation. To this I answer, that it would not answer the purpose of those who want to pay their debts with half nothing, and cheat their creditors; nor do I wish to see any thing attempted that would produce that effect. But I affirm, that it would get better into circulation than by a tender law, which creates general and just suspicion. Tender laws, as has been already proved, may be made use

* I cannot help observing here, that the titles of most of the acts for emitting money, do unawares confess the justice of all that has been said above; they run thus, "An act for emitting — thousand pounds in bills of credit, and directing the manner of *sinking the same*." Does not this show what sort of a circulating medium they are? Does it not admit, that they will do evil if they continue to circulate? When you coin gold and silver, do you provide for sinking it?

of by deceitful persons to do particular acts of injustice, but are not sufficient to procure general circulation, nor to excite and reward industry, without the opinion and approbation of the public. Such money as I have described would excite no alarm, it might easily be tried. It would, in my opinion, certainly be tried, for all would know that it would pay every tax to government, and even borrowers of large sums might make trial of it, without any risk at all, because, if it would not answer their end, they might, after a few months, repay it, and take up their mortgage. But I cannot help thinking that the principles of it are so just, and the plan so certain, that all understanding persons would perceive and approve it.

I must here take the occasion and the liberty of saying, that it were greatly to be wished that those who have in their hands the administration of affairs in the several states of America, would take no measures, either on this, or any other subject, but what are founded upon justice, supported by reason, and warranted to be safe by the experience of former ages, and of other countries. The operation of political causes is as uniform and certain as that of natural causes. And any measure which in itself has a bad tendency, though its effects may not be instantly discernable, and their progress may be but slow, yet it will be infallible; and perhaps the danger will then only appear when a remedy is impossible. This is the case, in some degree, with all political measures, without exception, yet I am mistaken if it is not eminently so with respect to commercial dealings. Commerce is excited, directed, and carried on by interest. But do not mistake this, it is not carried on by general universal interest, nor even by well informed national interest, but by immediate, apparent, and sensible personal interest. I must also observe, that there is in mankind a sharp-sightedness upon this subject that is quite astonishing.

All men are not philosophers, but they are generally good judges of their own profit in what is immediately before them, and will uniformly adhere to it. It is not uncommon to see a man who appears to be almost as

stupid as a stone, and yet he shall be as adroit and dextrous in making a bargain, or even more so, than a man of the first rate understanding, who, probably, for that very reason, is less attentive to trifling circumstances, and less under the government of mean and selfish views. As to currency, which has been our general subject, if coins of any particular species happen, as is sometimes the case, to pass at a rate, ever so little higher, in one country, or corner of a country than another, thither they will immediately direct their course ; and if the matter is not attended to, nor the mistake rectified, they will be all there in a very short time, and the place which receives them must bear the loss.

I will now sum up, in single propositions, the substance of what has been asserted, and I hope sufficiently proved, in the preceding discourse.

(1.) It ought not to be imputed to accident or caprice, that gold, silver, and copper, formerly were, and the two first continue to be, the medium of commerce ; but to their inherent value, joined with other properties, that fit them for circulation. Therefore, all the speculations, formed upon a contrary supposition, are inconclusive and absurd.

(2.) Gold and silver are far from being in too small quantity at present for the purpose of a circulating medium, in the commercial nations. The last of them, viz. silver, seems rather to be in too great quantity, so as to become inconvenient for transportation.

(3.) the people of every nation will get the quantity of these precious metals, that they are entitled to by their industry, and no more. If by any accident, as plunder in war, or borrowing from other nations, or even finding it in mines, they get more, they will not be able to keep it. It will in a short time, find its level. Laws against exporting the coin will not prevent this. Laws of this kind, though they are still in force in some nations, supposed to be wise, yet are in themselves ridiculous. If you import more than you export, you must pay the balance, or give up the trade.

(4.) The quantity of gold and silver at any time in a nation, is no evidence of national wealth, unless you take into consideration the way in which it came there, and the probability of its continuing.

(5.) No paper of any kind is, properly speaking, money. It ought never to be made a legal tender. It *ought* not to be forced upon *any* body, because it *cannot* be forced upon *every* body.

(6.) Gold and silver, fairly acquired, and likely to continue, are real national, as well as personal wealth. If twice as much paper circulates with them, though in full credit, particular persons may be rich by possessing it, but the nation in general is not.

(7.) The cry of the scarcity of money, is generally putting the effect for the cause. No business can be done, say some, because money is scarce. It may be said with more truth, money is scarce, because little business is done. Yet their influence, like that of many other causes, and effects, is reciprocal.

(8.) The quantity of current money, of whatever kind, will have an effect in raising the price of industry, and bringing goods dearer to market, therefore the increase of the currency in any nation, by paper, which will not pass among other nations, makes the first cost of every thing they do greater, and of consequence, the profit less.

(9.) It is however possible, that paper obligations may so far facilitate commerce, and extend credit, as by the additional industry, that they excite, to over-balance the injury which they do in other respects. Yet even the good itself may be over-done. Too much money may be emitted even upon loan, but to emit money any other way, than upon loan, is to do all evil and no good.

(10.) The excessive quantity of paper emitted by the different states of America, will probably be a loss to the whole. They cannot however take advantage of one another in that way. That state which emits most will lose most, and *vice versa*.

(11.) I can see no way in which it can do good but one, which is to deter other nations from trusting us, and thereby lessen our importations; and I sincerely wish, that

in that way, it may prove in some degree a remedy for its own evils.

(12.) Those who refuse doubtful paper, and thereby disgrace it, or prevent its circulation, are not enemies, but friends to their country.

To draw to a conclusion, it is probable that those who perceive, which it will be easy to do, that the author of this tract is not a merchant or trader, by profession, will be ready to say, what has this gentleman to do with such a subject? Why should he write upon what he has no practical knowledge of, money and commerce? To these I answer, that I have written, not as a merchant, but as a scholar. I profess to derive my opinions from the best civilians of this and the last age, and from the history of all ages, joined with a pretty considerable experience and attention to the effects of political causes, within the sphere of my own observation. It is not even too much to say, that one of the mercantile profession, unless his views were very enlarged indeed, is not so proper to handle a general subject of this kind as some others. His attention is usually confined to the business, and to the branch of that business in which he is employed. In that his discernment will be clear, and he will find out, if possible, where he can buy cheapest, and sell dearest. But as to the theory of commerce, or the great objects of national interest or connexion, he can have no advantage at all over a person given to study and reflection, who has some acquaintance with public life. With these remarks, by way of apology, and having no interest in the matter but what is common to every citizen, I freely commit the whole to the judgment of the impartial public.

S P E E C H

IN THE

Synod of Glasgow,

When I was accused of being the Author of the Ecclesiastical Characteristics.



MODERATOR,

IT cannot but give me some pain to think upon my being obliged to stand at your bar, in some sort as a pannel or accused person. At the same time, this is greatly alleviated, by the consideration that I am now called to a regular defence of my character, which has been long abused in the most virulent manner, when I had no opportunity of speaking for myself. But Sir, before coming to the particular objection which has been pleaded before you, it is necessary that I should endeavor to remove the great odium that has been, by some in the world, industriously thrown upon me. Those gentlemen at the bar, by whom I am now constrained to this apology, perhaps know who it was that taught certain persons who knew nothing of me, to represent me as a firebrand, as violent and contentious, unfit to be a member of any quiet society. This is a character, Sir, which I am most unwilling to bear, and which, if I am not greatly mistaken,

is most unjustly imputed to me, from any past part of my conduct. I call upon all those with whom I have lived many years in Presbytery, to say if they will lay this to my charge. The apostle James tells us, that "if any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man."—Perfection I do not plead; but any comparative guilt in this respect, I do absolutely refuse. I call particularly upon my nearest neighbor, a minister and co-presbyter, who ought surely to be an unsuspected witness, because we have hardly ever agreed in any principle of church government; yet there hath not been the least jealousy or dryness between us as men, nor even as Christians or ministers; and yet difference in opinion has often caused such things between very good men. I have also, Sir, been many times a member of this Synod, sometimes when debates were pretty high, and may safely affirm, that I have been as far from indiscretion and violence as any of those who accuse me. I was none of those, in April 1753, who, in the committee of overtures, spun out the time purposely with long speeches till the synod's hour was come, and then would not suffer the committee to come to any decision; but unless the synod were immediately constituted, threatened, with apparent passion and fury, to withdraw, and constitute a separate synod altogether. Probably Mr. P——, and Mr. M——, may be able to inform you who the persons were; and I assure you from my own knowledge, that such conduct in clergymen was very astonishing and offensive to some of the laity. I have been told that at the admission of the Rev. Mr. Baine, in Paisley, the person who admitted him, among other advices, told him to beware of a party spirit; and in this, another member said he spoke the sense of the whole presbytery. I am convinced there are some persons who by a party spirit mean a person having different principles from themselves, and that no meekness of temper, no purity of character, no humanity in his carriage, will in that case, save an opponent from such an imputation. And if by a party spirit be understood a regard to the person as much as the cause, and prosecuting their own purposes in a violent and illegal manner, without candor or charity to those who

differ from them, I know none who have a juster title to the character than some members of that reverend body. Several instances might be given in their past conduct to justify this observation; some of which perhaps I shall afterwards mention; the rest are well enough known, and indeed, it seems to be generally agreed by the world about them, that they are not over patient of mixture.

This, Sir, very plainly appears from the case now before you. This presbytery have refused leave to grant even a call to me, upon a presentation and unanimous application from all concerned; and assign this reason for it, that there is a report of my being author of a book which they say in their minutes is of a very bad tendency to the interests of religion, and injurious to the characters of many ministers of this church, and therefore they appointed a committee, &c. The injury done to the town of Paisley, it is the business of the congregation to complain of, and they have done it, and wait for redress from you. The injury done to me, I beg leave, in a few words, to represent to this venerable Synod.—And here, Sir, I do not complain of their taking into consideration any book that they shall be pleased to think contrary to the interests of Religion, and should have been well satisfied to hear of a motion for censuring irreligious books come from that quarter.—I wish if ever it come from any quarter they may faithfully inspect it. But sir, I complain that they have joined my name to a certain book with which they are not pleased, and then have passed a sentence condemning it, when I was not and could not regularly be before them. This is a case that may have important consequences. All I desire is equity and justice, and that surely I have a right to claim. The presbytery of Paisley, Sir, had a right to accuse me if they pleased before the presbytery of which I am a member. But they had no right at all to condemn, or even to judge me, themselves, and much less when I was not heard.—Perhaps it will be said they have not found me guilty, but proposed a peaceable manner of trying whether I was so or not; but Sir, have they not found by their sentence the relevancy of the crime, against which, as well as the proof, any accused person has a right to be heard.

The injury they have done me, and the unjust and tyrannical method of their proceedings, appear in the most evident manner from the situation in which I now stand, and the manner of the cause being pleaded before you—You see with what difficulty they were hindered, or rather that they could not be hindered, from entering into the merits of the cause, and endeavoring to persuade the Synod to condemn this book to which they have joined my name, before they have so much as let me know the nature and form of the process against me, and when I have had no opportunity to see and answer their charge.—This is against all rule, for by the form of process it ought to have begun at the presbytery of Irvine; and whether it be taken up upon the footing of a *fama clamosa*, or a libel from a particular accuser, there must still be virtually a libel in the view of the court—But by bringing it in here, in the manner they have done, and pleading upon it, they are endeavoring to get a law made, as it were *ex post facto*, upon which I may be condemned hereafter; and they have reduced me to the necessity of pleading in defence of a book with which I do not, nor ever did pretend any connexion, unless I would give a sanction to a method of proceeding pregnant with tyranny and injustice. So that though I come to the Synod for justice it is really hardly possible for you fully to grant it, because you cannot wholly understand the bad effects of the Presbytery's wrong procedure. I am sensible Sir, that it would be giving up the very point which I am chiefly to plead, if I should enter into the merits of the cause so far as to consider the particulars contained in this book; whether they are just or unjust, true or false. But I must beg leave to consider a little in general whether the crime of which they think proper to suspect me was so certainly and self-evidently relevant that they might take it for granted, and assert it in their minutes, without so much as having the book before them, or mentioning the offensive passages; which I should think were necessary even in the worst book that can be conceived—and to all this join my name without suffering me to be heard.

And here, sir, I should think that modesty and common decency might have led them to determine otherwise, had they not before themselves the unanimous application of a large and numerous people to call me to be their minister. Did not these people know of the rumour of my being author of this book before they entered into this resolution, and are they all so abandoned as to call an enemy to all rules to watch for their souls? Did not the presbytery know that the person so suspected had been a member of a presbytery for some years after the suspicion began? that he had been a member of this Synod with themselves, nay a member of the Supreme Court of this church, and no notice taken of it all? Nay, are they so ignorant as not to know that a very great majority of this nation find no fault with the book at all? and any person professing himself the author would not thereby in the least degree forfeit their esteem. Pray sir, was it, is it, could it be just in this case, to conclude it criminal without debate or examination? I mean not by this to justify the book in every particular; perhaps if it comes to be examined I may join in condemning it, at least, some parts; but I insist that this shows the precipitateness, the partiality and injustice of the Presbytery, in the sentence which they passed. It looks as if they themselves were struck at in the performance and acted as interested persons; and indeed I would gladly ask them whether they think themselves pointed at in the pamphlet; and if they think so, and at the same time ascribe it to me, whether it is just and equitable that they should be my judges who are supposed to be aggrieved?

There is another general consideration that shews how unjust and precipitate this sentence was, and that there is really no belief of the thing being so criminal as they have taken for granted, among those who must be most unprejudiced and impartial judges. It is read in England, and the presbytery of Paisley do or may know, the sentiments that are entertained of it there. I have been well informed that the present Bishop of London, in conversation with a Nobleman of our own country, gave it great commendation; and withal added, it seems only directed

at a certain party in the church of Scotland, but we want not very many in the Church of England, to whom the characters are very applicable. And Sir, I have seen a letter from the Rev. Mr. Warburton to a minister in Scotland, and it has been seen by several ministers here present, in which he commends the performance, and particularly calls it a fine piece of raillery against a party, to which says he, we are no strangers here—Is it to be supposed sir, that distinguished persons for worth and penetration, would commend and approve a thing so evidently criminal as the presbytery of Paisley are pleased to think—Are persons of the character there represented to be found in the Church of England? Where then is the Church of Scotland's charter of security that none shall ever arise in her deserving such a reprimand? shall such names as these mentioned openly affirm that there are such in England? and must the man be condemned without hearing and without mercy who is but suspected of hinting that there may be such in her sister church? I have often indeed since the commencement of this business reflected on the different situation of affairs in Scotland and England. I have seen, I know not how many books in England, printed with the authors names, which plainly and without ambiguity affirm that there are some of the clergy proud, ambitious, time-servers, and tools to those in power; some of them lazy and slothful, lovers of ease and pleasure; some of them scandalous and dissolute in their manners; some ignorant and insufficient. And these things they affirm without the least danger, or apprehension of it: but I believe, were I to publish a book that had the tenth part of such severity in it in Scotland, I ought at the same time to have a ship hired to flee to another country. I shall not pretend to account for this difference, but only affirm, and I am myself a standing evidence, that it doth really subsist. And at the same time it is attended by a very odd circumstance, for reproaches are criminal when thrown out by one set against the other, but not in the least so, when thrown out, or thrown back, by that other against the first—Many here present will remember what a set of overtures were brought into this Synod in April 1753, by

some of the very persons who are now standing at the bar ; one of them set forth the grievous crime of bringing our public differences with one another into the pulpit : and yet, strange to think, the only sermon that ever I heard in my life in which this was done, was by one of my present accusers, who, Sir, fell bloodily upon those ministers who bawl out against the law of the land as a grievance, instead of giving it that obedience which becomes good subjects. It indeed was his ignorance to find fault with that expression, which is used even by the sacred infallible General Assembly, in the annual instructions to their commissioners. Is it not also well known, that a pamphlet was published, called “ The Just View of the Constitution,” which common, uncontradicted fame, which is not my case, attributes to Mr. H———, and published many months before the one for which I am now accused. This pamphlet represents us all in general as not acting upon conscience, but from a love of popularity, or in the words of the ingenious Mr. T—— of Gowan, “ not conscience, but a spirit of faction and a love of dominion.” And besides this, it tells a story, which it calls a scene of iniquity, with the initial letters of the names of the persons concerned. Was ever this pamphlet charged by these gentlemen, my opponents, as contrary to the interest of religion ? At the same time, I should be glad to know what it is that makes the discovery of a scene of iniquity, if committed by some whom I must not name, contrary to the interest of religion ; but the discovery of a scene of iniquity, supposed to be committed by Mr. Webster, or some others of us, nothing contrary to it at all. I am not able to discover any reason for this difference of judgment, but one that is not very honorable to them, viz. These scenes of iniquity, supposed to be committed by them, are more probable in themselves, and actually obtain more credit, than those which they throw out against us. I do not affirm that that is the reason, but I think, since they have been the aggressors, both in censuring us for scrupling obedience to some of their decisions and attacking our characters in print, if some nameless author has with great success retaliated the injury of the last kind,

they ought to lie as quietly under it as possible, both from equity and prudence—from equity because they have given the provocation; from prudence, because it will bring many to say, that charge must have been just, or it would have been treated with contempt.—Surely that stroke must have been well aimed—the wound must have been very deep, since the scar continues so long, and is never like to be either forgotten or forgiven.

But, Sir, I must confess I am amazed at the boldness, as well as the violence of those gentlemen, considering the land in which we live. Is it not, and do we not glory in its being a land of liberty? Is it then a land of civil liberty and yet of ecclesiastical tyranny? Must not a man have equity and justice in the church, as well as the state? Are there not every day published in this nation, as severe, nay much severer censures of the greatest characters in the kingdom, and possessing the highest offices? Are there not attacks upon our sovereign himself, and his august family, many times made in print, and yet passed unheeded? And must the least attempt to show that there are corruptions among the clergy be an unpardonable crime? I have seen it insisted on in print, that as soon as the liberty of the press is taken away, there is an end of every shadow of liberty. And as of late years it hath been very frequent to borrow from what is customary in the civil government, and apply it to the church, I shall beg leave to borrow this maxim, and to affirm, that so soon as it is not permitted in general to lash the characters of churchmen, there is established a sacerdotal tyranny, which always was, and always will be, of the most cruel, relentless, and illegal kind. But the worst of all is still behind, which I am ashamed to mention in the presence of so many of the laity, because of the reproach which it brings upon our church. There have been published among us, writings directly levelled against religion itself, taking away the very foundation of morality, bringing in doubt the being of God, and treating our Redeemer's name with contempt and derision. Writings of this kind have been publicly avowed, with the author's name prefixed. Where has been the zeal of the Presbytery of Paisley against such

writings? Have they moved for the exercise of discipline against the authors? Have they supported the motion when made by others? I am afraid, Sir, this prosecution will give many just ground to say, as was said an age ago by Moliere in France, and by some there upon occasion of his writings, that a man may write against God Almighty what he pleases, in perfect security; but if he write against the characters of the clergy in power, he is ruined for ever.

I am sensible, Sir that they have said, even at this bar, as indeed they and their emissaries in conversation have often alledged, that the quarrel they have at the pamphlet, is its hurtful tendency to the interest of religion: nay, they have often said that one who could write in that style and manner against his brethren, cannot possibly be a good man; and that has been commonly said even upon the supposition of the truth of the facts and characters contained in the book. This, Sir, I would have had nothing to do with, but would have suffered the book to answer for itself, since its author does not think proper to appear in its defence, if they had not been pleased to load me with the suspicion of it. For removing this odium, by which alone it is that they have made an impression on some good men, I observe in general, that it is not conceivable that a thing should be a certain mark of a bad man, which is approved by, and conveys no such idea to, so great a number of unquestionable characters. But besides, let us consider a little the nature of the thing—1. It is written ironically. 2. It is supposed to attack the characters and credit of a part of the clergy of the church of Scotland. As to the first of these, far be it from me to assert that ridicule is the test of truth; many here present know how uniformly, and how strenuously I have maintained the contrary: it is however many times useful to disgrace known falsehood, and such practices as to be despised need only to be exposed; that it is a lawful thing to make such an use of it, is evident from the highest authority. There are many instances of irony in the sacred writings. In Gen. iii. 22. we have an expression put into the mouth of God himself, which many, perhaps most

interpreters, suppose to be an irony ; and as it is of the most severe and cutting kind, in a most deplorable case, so I do not see that another interpretation can be put upon the words.—“ And the Lord God said, behold the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil.” The conduct of Elijah, and his treatment of the prophets of Baal, *1 Kings* xviii. 27. is another example of the same kind ; “ And it came to pass at noon, that Elijah mocked them, “ and said, Cry aloud : for he is a god, either he is talking, “ or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked.” There are a good many instances of it in the prophets, Which I omit to save time, as the thing is undeniable, and only further mention an expression of our Saviour himself, who though a man of sorrows and in a state of humiliation, yet in some places uses a language plainly ironical, as in *John* x. 31. “ Many good works have I shewed you from my “ Father, for which of these works do ye stone me ?”

And as the instances of such writing in the word of God sufficiently warrants the use of it, so it is founded upon the plainest reason. There are two distinct qualities of truth and piety ; a divine beauty, which renders them amiable, and a holy majesty, which renders them venerable :—and there are also two distinct qualities of error and impiety ; a criminal guilt, which renders them the object of horror, and a delusion and folly, which renders them silly and contemptible—and it is fit and proper that the children of God should have both of these sentiments of hatred and contempt with regard to them. And the last is often necessary, as well as the first, in combating corruptions. There is for ordinary, a pride and self-sufficiency in wicked men, which makes them deaf to advice, and impregnable to sober and serious reasoning, nor is there any getting at them till there pride is levelled a little with this dismaying weapon. Many of the ancient fathers of the Christian church, both used this manner of writing, and asserted its necessity. There is one passage of Tertullian, which I shall translate, because it is very much to the purpose. “ There are many things which ought to be treated with contempt and mockery, through

fear of giving them weight, and making them too important, by seriously debating them. Nothing more is due to vanity than derision; and it belongs to the truth to smile because it is cheerful, and to despise its enemies because it is assured of victory. It is true that we ought to be careful that the raillery be not low and unworthy of the truth; but if that is taken care of, and we can make use of it with address and delicacy, it is a duty to do so." To this I shall add another passage from St. Augustine—"Who will dare to say that the truth ought to remain defenceless against the attacks of falsehood? That the enemies of religion shall be permitted to terrify the faithful with strong words, and to entice and seduce them by agreeable terms of wit; but that believers ought never to write, but with such a coldness of style as to lull the reader asleep?"

Enough surely has been said in defence of the manner of writing; and as to the subject of it, attacking the characters of clergymen, I am altogether at a loss to know what is that argument in reason, or that precept in scripture, which makes it criminal to censure them, when they deserve it. That their station, like that of all other persons of influence or in public employment, should make men very tender and cautious how they take up an evil report against them, and never to do it, except upon good ground, I allow; but when the church is really bad, I hold it as a just principle, that as it is in them doubly criminal, and doubly pernicious, so it ought to be exposed with double severity. And this is so far from being contrary to the interests of religion, that nothing can be more honorable to it, than to shew that there are some so bold as to reprove, and so faithful as to withstand, the corruptions of others. How far secret wickedness should be concealed, and scenes of iniquity not laid open, and so sin turned into scandal in ministers, is a matter that would require a very careful and accurate discussion, and admit of many exceptions; but if in any case erroneous doctrine, or degeneracy of life, is plain and visible, to render them completely odious, must be a duty; and when it is not done, it makes men conclude we are all combined together, like

Demetrius and the craftsmen, and more concerned for our own power and credit, than the interest and benefit of those committed to our charge. Those who think that no good man can attack the character of the clergy, I would just remind of the attack made upon the Jesuits in France, about one hundred years ago, by the gentlemen of the Port royal, a society of Janfenists, of great parts and eminent piety ; particularly by Monsieur Pascal, in his provincial letters, which are written almost entirely in the way of ridicule. And the very objection was made against them by the Jesuits at that time, that is now made against this piece. Will any man now conclude from them, that Pascal was a bad man, whom all history testifies to have been as pious and unbiaſſed to the world as any of his time?

I hope, fir, what hath been ſaid thus in general, on the ſpecies of writing, and the ſubject of this book, will convince every impartial member of this Synod, that the Preſbytery of Paisley have acted in a moſt unjuſt and illegal manner, in paſſing the ſentence they have done upon it in my abſence, and without any examination. It is neceſſary that I ſhould now alſo ſpeak a little to the method of enquiry which they reſolved upon, by appointing a committee of their number privately to interrogate me. And indeed, fir, the method is ſo full of abſurdity and tyranny, that I know not well where to begin in ſpeaking upon it. They have no where indeed told what were to be the conſequences, if their ſuſpicions were found to be juſt. Perhaps the Preſbytery of Paisley would have paſſed ſentence of deposition againſt me in my abſence, which would have been but ending as they began, contrary to law and juſtice. But, whatever were their particular intentions, by their violent and illegal ſtretches of power in falling upon it, they were plainly of the worſt kind ; and it always put me in mind of a Fryer of the Inquiſition, with an unhappy perſon before them, whom they want to convict, that they may burn him, ſtroking him, and ſaying to him in the ſpirit of meekneſs, Confels, my ſon, confels.

Sir, if theſe gentlemen ſuppoſed me endued with the leaſt degree of common underſtanding, this method was exceſſively abſurd ; and whether they did or not, it was

full of injustice. This committee being appointed by the court, and the appointment inserted on the records of the Presbytery, I just ask, were they not to make a report to the next meeting of the Presbytery, of all their private conversation with me? Would not this also be ingrossed in the minutes, and make a part of the process under their cognizance? Could I be present at their next meeting, to be the least check or controul upon their report? or would they regard any of my corrections of their committee's report, if I could? In this situation, no man of common sense would have had any conversation with them but by writing, so that he might be sure nothing would be reported but his own words. For I would not trust the most impartial person in the world to report any conversation with me, upon a matter in which he seemed to be keenly interested, or to have very different sentiments from me. The power of prejudice would give a tincture to the representation; nay, the least forgetfulness would create some variance. And if they supposed me simple enough to converse with them, what must they have been, to take such advantage of my simplicity?

Further, sir, this method of enquiry was very absurd, because self-contradictory. They load a man with the suspicion of writing a book contrary to the interest of religion, and containing many falsehoods; and then they pretend to ask this man if he had done so, saying that they will be well satisfied if he shall deny it. These suppositions destroy one another. If his veracity be so entirely to be depended on, either he must not be the author of the book, or it is impossible it can contain the falsehoods that are alleged: for if he will lie in print to defame his brethren, he will surely never scruple to lie in conversation to save himself from ruin. Therefore, sir, I do affirm, that appointing a committee to confer with me, was highly absurd, or Jesuitically cunning. For if my word is so much to be depended on as they give out, it is a clear and compleat vindication of me from their charge, and that out of their own mouths. But perhaps they were more cunning than absurd, and intended first to make

me deny the thing formally, and then adduce it as a proof, and to aggravate the crime.

But, sir, they pretend that in this they are only in the spirit, and following the rules of the Gospel; particularly that rule of our Saviour, "If thy brother trespass against thee," &c. It is surprising to hear any speaking in the name of such a body, make use of this argument. I would not give my judgment for having a man to preach the Gospel, who is capable of giving such an interpretation to that text. It evidently and undeniably relates only to private offence or personal injury. "If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother." Here, sir, nobody has any thing to do with it but the person injured; if by confession or reparation, he is satisfied, the matter is ended. But will any man say that this is to be applied to cases public in their nature, and against which, if true, a process and public censure is intended? If any of the Presbytery of Paisley, supposing themselves pointed at in that book, had previously come to me when the report rose; or suppose they had at any time, as private persons, spoke to me on the subject—they would have found no man more ready to commune with them, and give them all satisfaction due from one Christian to another. But, sir, after proceeding as a court in the manner above represented; after illegally finding it criminal, and making it the ground of stopping a settlement; then to appoint a committee privately to interrogate me, as to the fact—it is, in my humble opinion, a violation of justice for them to attempt it, a perversion of the word of God to build it upon that text; and it would be yielding up the natural rights of mankind if I should be so tame as to submit to it.

Again, sir, they pretend that their conduct is exactly conformable to the form of process and the practice founded upon it in the case of other scandals, where the very first means of proof is dealing with the accused person's conscience, to bring him to a confession. And here, sir, I must say, before this Synod, that I am not only humbly willing to stand or fall by this form of process,

but that I am resolved to assert and maintain my right to be judged by it, and by it alone, and not by the arbitrary proceedings of some modern clergymen. A general observation is necessary here, that this form of process doth universally proceed upon scandals, the relevancy of which is acknowledged and cannot be denied. Now, this is by no means the case here, as is evident from my continuing so long in the ministerial character, after the rise of the report, as well as many other considerations suggested above; and therefore, at any rate, the relevancy must be first proved, before there can be any propriety of asking for a confession and dealing with the conscience. It is true, they have in their minutes found the relevancy; but whether this has been according to the rules in the form of process, I could almost allow even themselves to be judges; for I dare say they would hardly do it a second time.

But now, after we have left this in its full force, let us suppose that the matter objected, were only of a scandalous nature, and let us go to the 7th chapter in the form of process concerning ministers, and see whether the method there prescribed has been observed in this case. But, sir, as the whole affair is full of irregularity, and involved in darkness and confusion by the precipitate or artful conduct of the Presbytery; so there is a particular difficulty which arises from the strange and ambiguous light in which they appear. Those who read the stile and directions of the form of process, will plainly see that such a case as that now before you, was never contemplated by the compilers of it. It is difficult to say whether they are to be considered as private Christians offended and accusing, or the occasion of the accusation, or as a church court taking the affair under their cognizance for judgment. They seem to have considered themselves as both. This I can never yield to; but they shall be at liberty to be either of them they think proper. And so I shall consider them first in the one light, and then in the other.

1st. If they be considered as Christians offended, and the accusers or occasion of the accusation, the rule is to be found in the 4th part of the 7th chapter of the form of process, "All Christians," &c. Here then, sir, I com-

plain of them, that they have not done as Christians, not even what they resolved to do as a court, and very much out of time. Have they been wary in accusing me? Have they abstained from publishing or spreading the scandal? Have they these three years by-past, conversed with me on the subject? Have they not in the controversy every where called it a heinous crime; though they knew that was far from being generally yielded, and would not probably be yielded by me? Nay, now instead of privately conversing with me, during the seven weeks delay of the affair, without assigning a reason, have they not recorded it in their register? Have they not made it a part of a process, disqualifying me for a call? I leave any one to judge whether this was following the rule laid down in the form of process. Besides, they act not only as private persons, but judges; or at least are making the enquiry themselves, that they may know whether they may desire the Presbytery of Irvine to do it after them.

2d. Let us consider them as a church court, taking the affair under their cognizance for judgment. Here to be sure, there is a monstrous impropriety. For, supposing them to have taken ever so just steps in other respects, I was never before them, I cannot be before them, I am not subject to them. Yet, sir, as it cannot be before the Synod in any other way than they have been pleased to take it up in; let us see how agreeable it is to the form of process, and whether they are ready to deal with me for a confession. The form of process mentions three ways of taking up a scandal against a minister. The two first none pretends to hold in this case. The last is, part 3, last clause, "*that the fama clamosa,*" &c. Now, can any man say that this condition holds in the present case. Is this so scandalous in the eyes of the people, that a Presbytery would be reproached if they let it pass. If there be any such *fama*, it is very silent; for I never heard of any fault found with the Presbytery of Irvine, to whom it naturally fell to do it. On the contrary, I do affirm, because I am able to prove, that the Presbytery of Paisley's taking it up, with very many, brings reproach upon them. Again, do they follow the rule prescribed

even when that condition exists? Have they enquired into the rise, occasion, branches and grounds of this *fama clamosa*. This they were the more bound to do, that it is far from being an uncontradicted *fama*; so far from it, that the very prevailing *fama* is not that I am the author, but some how concerned in it. They themselves express it some such way in their minutes. This makes all the arguments about their passing over the relevancy, every way strong; because a man might have some accession to the publishing of a book in which some very bad things were; and without examination or specifying what this accession was, it would be very hard to judge him guilty of the worst. or of the whole. To say the truth, some of their well-wishers have made it a very dishonorable *fama* for me; saying that I helped to contrive the mischief, to collect the calumnies, but had not skill enough to give it its dress and form. Should not they have enquired then into the grounds of this *fama*? and have they ever done it?

Further, in the 5th paragraph of that chapter of the form of process, it is expressly appointed, that even after a process is begun upon a *fama clamosa*, the court must give a liberal and competent time to answer it. And the accused person is to be heard upon the relevancy. This is, sir, upon the relevancy in the way the facts are laid, even concerning a thing confessedly scandalous; and all this, before the court are to endeavor to bring him to a confession. From this, then, it is clear and evident, that however lawful or prudent it might be for private persons to commune with a man himself, till this be done there is no warrant from the form of process for a court to appoint any examination and enquiry; on the contrary, it is making, instead of mending a scandal. And if this is the rule in cases confessedly of a scandalous nature, it holds much more strongly in what is now before you.

The truth is, this is not only the order of proceeding expressly laid down with regard to ministers, but it is common equity, and in substance the same with the case of scandal in all other cases, and with respect to all other persons. For though when a particular accuser against a man appears, laying to his charge a gross crime, such as

uncleanness, it seems to be due to his own character, as well as to the public, that he should profess innocence; yet it often happens that when the accusation appears wanton and malicious, he puts the accuser upon the proof, and refuses to give any other satisfaction. And whenever any person does so, though the court may think it obstinacy and stateliness, or that they cannot fully approve his conduct, yet they never condemn him on that account, but dismiss the process for want of sufficient light. And I have seen several cases of this sort, in which the court absolutely refused to put a man to his oath, or even ask him if he was willing to swear, unless there were some more presumption than the bare accusation. And indeed this is required in the form of process. This, however, is stating the case too strongly. But if there be no particular accuser, but a vague and general *fama*, would it be tolerable for a court to call any gentleman whom they shall be pleased to suspect, and put him upon an enquiry, whether he was ever guilty of the sin of uncleanness? I dare say such a measure would be detested by every reasonable man.

But you will say, here is a *corpus debiti*. Then let me suppose a case exactly parallel—that a child were exposed in a gentleman's neighborhood, no mother appearing or accusing, but an ible rumour arises, that perhaps it may be his, or it may have been somebody about his house, and he accessory to the commission of the crime; would it in that case be reasonable and just, would it be according to the form of process, to call him, and interrogate him, whether he had ever, or for twelve months preceding, been guilty of the crime of uncleanness—without making any previous enquiry, as to the rise of the affair, or probability of the imputation? So, in this case, here is a child of the brain, exposed to the world: the mother, that is to say, the press or the publisher, accuses nobody; nay, pretends that it is lawfully begotten. A vague rumor lays it to me. This hath never been enquired into, though the first broacher of it might easily be found; and yet I must be interrogated by a court, to

whom I am not subject, with whom as yet, as a court, I have nothing to do. In short, sir, what I would do if I were so irregularly attacked, and charged with a crime highly and confessedly scandalous, I do not know, and hope I shall never have occasion to deliberate upon it. But in this vague and illegal accusation of a doubtful crime, and a crime perhaps chiefly or only in the eyes of those who accuse me and their adherents, I hope I will be approved by every impartial person in standing up for the rights of mankind, and refusing to answer *super enquirendis*.

I could here put the Synod in mind of a question of this nature, which came before the church of Scotland, in professor S——'s process. He refused to answer some queries put to him by the Presbytery of Glasgow, although they arose from, and were founded upon, some writings given in by himself. This was debated before the Assembly, and rejected by them, as they would give no encouragement to inquisitorial proceedings.

But, sir, nothing can demonstrate more clearly the iniquity of such practices, than what happened not long ago in this very Presbytery, which is but little known, but which I am able to bring to light. And after I have narrated it, I leave it to the judgment of the Synod, whether they will countenance with their authority any similar practice in another case. When Mr. C—— was presented to the abbey church of Paisley, there were some rumors raised, I know not how, as if he had been guilty of some practices tending to disaffection. These, I may safely say, were not discouraged by the Presbytery, but mentioned again and again in their minutes; and though the candidate insisted much upon a regular judgment upon the relevancy, and an enquiry, they still shifted both, and instead thereof appointed a conference with him. And what think you were the questions they put to him to remove the scandal?—Where did you learn your English? And what minister of the established church did you hear? Where did you learn your Latin? and in whose house did you stay? Did you ever go near the episcopal meeting-house all the time you were at the

profession of divinity? Did Mr. H—— or Mr. R——, episcopal ministers, recommend you to C——'s family? Did your father attend ordinances in the parish church, where he lived? Have you any near relations that are related to the ministers of this church? We ask this, say they, that we may know the dispositions of your friends.—What could be the intention of these questions? what could be the effect of their being answered, one way or the other? Might not the most loyal man in Britain, be brought under an odium in this manner. I flatter myself I am of as untainted, unsuspected loyalty, as any man in the Presbytery of Paisley; and yet I could not affirm that I had never lodged in a disaffected person's house, nor had the friendship of any such; nor that I never came near the episcopal meeting-house all the time I was at the profession of divinity. And did not these gentlemen know that such things were perfectly frivolous and irrelevant? Yes, sir, they knew it well; but still they served their purpose of disobliging that people, and infusing jealousies. And so they mysteriously express themselves in their answer to the reasons of appeal, that there are such unhappy circumstances in the presenter's character, as do not recommend him to the choice of this people. I will not say, sir, that all I have above represented is now to be found in their register; for they have a salutary art of expunging from their minutes any thing that is dishonorable to themselves: but this I will say, it actually happened, and a great deal more. And I dare say, if there be any episcopalian here present, he will instantly add to his litany, From such Spanish presbyterians, good Lord deliver us.

Thus, sir, I hope I have made it appear, that the Presbytery of Paisley have been guilty of most irregular procedure, and flagrant injustice to me, in passing a sentence upon my character, where they had no title to judge me; in finding a relevancy without examination of the subject, and when I could not be heard in my defence; and lastly, in appointing an inquisition for discovering the fact, directly in the face of law and equity.

I am sorry I have detained the Synod so long, Sir, but could not possibly speak to this involved, perplexed accu-

station in shorter time ; and I hope the importance of the cause to me, will plead for some indulgence, and procure your attention for a very few minutes longer, and then I have done. Let me, Sir, speak plainly out ; whatever may be pretended about the interest of religion being concerned in the fate of this pamphlet, there is strong reason to suspect that it is the credit of a party that is really at stake. We all know that there are very great differences of sentiment among us, as to the government of the church ; and it seems to be my misfortune, to be of opposite principles from several members of this presbytery, on that point. This is the cause of my being charged with ill-nature and unpeaceableness. They themselves, Sir, will not pretend to give any other instance of this temper ; and I confess that as I reckon the Glory of God, and the edification of his church to be deeply concerned in the cause, I am resolved in his strength, to maintain and support it to the utmost of my power, so long as I draw breath ; and if I have been a firebrand, as I have been sometimes called, I wish I could answer the title, and burn their pernicious schemes even to ashes. And, Sir, as in no other case have I ever discovered any keenness of temper, so I trust, that even in this, I have neither discovered an overbearing pride, or perverseness of temper, but have supported what I esteemed to be truth, with resolution, but without violence. I cannot pretend to the polite and courtly style, in the same degree with some of my opposers ; yet have I endeavored to preserve the meekness of a Christian, believing that the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.—Now, Sir, I beg every wise and honest man of the other side of the question in our public differences, to determine seriously, whether he will approve of a presbytery's making personal opposition, and because a man is not in every respect of their way of thinking, barring his settlement to the utmost of their power ; and whether it be decent, or truly moderate, not only to rebuke, suspend and deprive those who cannot go with them ; but as the very last effort of tyranny, to attempt to cast out any who are but suspected of debating the point in writing.

Farther, I beg every man in this house, to lay his hand upon his heart, and say this day, in his judgment, whether he will, in order to reach a man of a different party from himself, approve of going contrary to all form and law, and establishing a precedent of inquisition. However secure some may think themselves and their party at present, there is such an instability in all human things, that the engines which they prepare against others, may be directed against themselves. I know a fear of this kind for the most part operates but weakly upon men's minds ; because the cases that may afterwards cast up, cannot be clearly discerned, being hidden in the darkness of futurity ; but, Sir, he is the wisest man, that acts with most prudence, and does not expose himself or his friends to the law of retaliation. This I speak in perfect security, as to myself, for if the church shall find that interrogation is a proper way of enquiring into facts, it will but open to me a larger field of information ; and though it come to the real merits of this cause, the trial of the relevancy of this crime objected to me will take up at least seven years in processes of various kinds.

To conclude, Sir, though I will never approve of, or give my consent for establishing a practice which I think unjust and tyrannical ; yet as to my own case, I will even submit to be interrogated by this very party upon this just, this self-evidently just condition, that the ministers of that Presbytery do submit themselves to be interrogated by me in turn, on their doctrine—their diligence in pastoral duty—their care and government of their families—and their personal truth. If they will yield to this, I will answer upon oath, either instantly, or upon a month's preparation, not only as to this point, but all that they shall think fit to ask, as to my character, that can accuse me, from my birth this day. And if this condition be refused, the equity of their conduct I leave to the judgment of this venerable Synod.

A N

HUMBLE SUPPLICATION

*To such of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland as are
Elders of the Church, and members of the General
Assembly.*

MUCH HONORED,

YOU will surely be sensible that it must have been a very urgent necessity that has compelled a man of my station and profession to become an author; especially when I address myself to you, whose circumstances set you at so great a distance from me, and may, without that candor and condescension on your part, provoke you to condemn that advice which is offered voluntarily, and from such a hand. And indeed there is nothing of which I am more firmly persuaded, than that the affairs of the church of Scotland are drawing fast towards a crisis, and that a little time will determine whether she will sink or swim. This view of things cannot fail to constrain every one who hath any regard to her prosperity and welfare, of which number I hope I shall always be, so long as I draw breath, to exert himself to the utmost for her support; and also to spread the alarm, and call on others to assist, who have more ability and opportunity to be useful.

On this occasion, I am emboldened to address myself to you, not only as by your quality and station, you are able

to contribute much to a change of the measures that have lately prevailed, but as your office of elders in the church, may be presumed to incline you to be ready and active, for her prosperity and support. I intended once to have styled you brethren, because I also am an elder, but was afraid of giving offence by too forward and assuming an introduction; however, I still hope for some regard in consequence of this relation, because I have ever observed that a likeness of character, a participation of the same office, or indeed a likeness in almost any considerable circumstance, creates a kind of connexion, and produces a sympathy or fellow-feeling between the very highest and lowest that fall under the same denomination. The inhabitants of the same city, though very different in their stations, reckon themselves interested in one another. Those of the same corporation are still more closely connected. And there is a certain society comprehending persons of very distant characters in other respects, who are said to have an extraordinary tenderness for each other's concerns. The society I mean is that of free-masons; for I am told a free-mason, though a king, will show a very great affection for a brother, although a beggar, or at least the next thing to it, if there be no real beggars in that community.

It is not without a very important design that I have mentioned this; for I have observed some of late have endeavored to state a distinction, or perhaps I may call it, to show sedition, between the great elders of our church and the smaller. Many who are not wanting in an humble, if not servile respect to the elders that surround the commissioner's throne in the assembly-house, make it their business to throw all the blame of the confusion that attends the settlement of any parish, upon the elders of lower rank, whom I may call (in allusion to the similitude of free-masons) the operative members of the same society. It is time, therefore, for us to speak for ourselves, and particularly to those from whom, because of our relation to them, of which I again boast, we may confidently expect a fair and impartial hearing.

One other ground of encouragement I have in my present representation, viz. that many or most of our honorable

elders are bred to the law. Now, I find in the history of the gospel, that it was a lawyer that took care of the body of our blessed Saviour, after it was crucified at the instigation of the priests. This is a passage recorded by all the four evangelists; and I hope one effect of its having a place in the bible, will be the stirring up such of our lawyers as have a share in the management of public affairs, to rescue the church, which is Christ's mystical body, from the tyrannical impositions of churchmen in power.

I have been considering with myself, whether I ought not to endeavor to raise my style a little, when speaking to your honors, above what was either necessary or proper when speaking to those of a lower rank and weaker capacity. But upon mature deliberation, I am resolved to continue in my old plain way, because it is probable I shall acquit myself better in that than in any other. I have often observed, that when a countryman is called, upon business, to speak to those of high rank, if he behaves in a quiet way, makes as few motions as possible, and speaks with simplicity, he passes very well; but if he begins to scrape with his right foot, and to imitate the manners of his betters, he exposes himself to their derision. Should it happen that such a man, upon his going out, hears a great loud laugh in the company he hath left, it is my opinion he ought to conclude they are making a jest of his ridiculous behavior; and if he were permitted to return back, it is probable he would find one or two in the middle of the room mimicking his gestures for the entertainment of the rest: for there is not a more refined pleasure to those in high life (especially the ladies) than aping and deriding the manners of their inferiors. Nay, the same disposition is to be found in all ranks towards such as are below them. Even we tradesmen and merchants have learned to speak with contempt of a low-lived fellow, by which we mean one in lower life than our own. This hath determined me (as I said) to aim at nothing but plainness of speaking. And it is very possible it may happen in this, as in my former treatise, that to some I shall be found more plain than pleasant.

The first point I am to apply to you upon, to which I humbly intreat your serious attention, is the manner of making settlements of ministers in the several parishes throughout this church. It is not unknown to you, that this thing hath caused a great deal of confusion in several corners of the country ; that a great part of the people have, on that very account, separated from the established church ; and many more have fallen into an indifference about religion, and given over attendance upon public instruction altogether. Now there are some things upon this subject that I must needs take for granted ; because I cannot find any thing more evidently true than they are in themselves by which I might prove them ; such as that the instruction of a nation in religion is a matter of very great importance, and that you all believe it to be so ; that there is no ground to hope that people will receive benefit by the instructions of those whom they hate and abhor, and that it is impossible they can receive benefit from those instructions which they will not hear. There is one thing more, which to me appears as evident as any of them, that no compulsion ought to be used to constrain men's choice in matters of religion. From these I think it plainly follows, that violent settlements, that is to say, giving a man a stipend, with a charge to instruct and govern the people within a certain district, the whole of which people do absolutely refuse to subject themselves to his ministry, are, to say the least, absolutely unprofitable, and the money that is bestowed upon the person so settled, is wholly thrown away.

There are not a few in whose hearing if I should express myself as above, they would immediately reply, All this is very true, and we are sorry for it ; but as the law now stands with regard to patronages, how can it be helped ? Now, though I am far from being of these gentlemen's opinions, that this matter might not be made much better, even as the law now stands, if the church were so disposed as I hope shortly to show, yet I will suppose it for a little, and make a few reflections upon the conduct of many in that supposed situation.

And first, they must forgive me if I say that I can by no means believe the hardship of the law of patronage lies very heavy upon their spirits, or at least if it does they support

themselves under it with surprising firmness, and discover not the least outward sign of uneasiness. Are they ever heard to complain of it, unless in a constrained manner, when others mention it before them? Do they not shew all willingness to appoint such settlements—to enforce them, to defend them? Do they in the least discountenance such probationers as accept of presentures unconditionally, although it cannot be pretended that the law obliges any man to this? On the contrary, are not these the men whom they love and delight in, whose characters they celebrate for knowledge and understanding, and for disinterested virtue?

I do confess then I am apt to doubt the sincerity of those gentlemen, when they profess their sorrow for the hardships they are under by the patronage act; because some apparent tokens of their concern might have been expected, and are no where to be seen. But alas! why am I expressing my suspicions what is our situation? things are changing so fast, that it is impossible to write even such a book as this with propriety, and suited to the times; for even since I wrote the above paragraph I have received information from Edinburgh, which if it had come before it was written, would have prevented the writing of it; and even, if not for mangling my own book, I would yet expunge it. I am assured that last May it was openly professed by some in the assembly, that presentures were of all others, the best way of settling preachers; and that it was the *proto pseudon* of men of my principles to imagine otherwise. This *proto pseudon* is a phrase which I do not understand, and therefore must let it alone. It may be a phrase of some of the learned languages, and it may be of no language at all. However I have recorded it with great fidelity, as I am informed the gentleman pronounced it. And whatever is its particular signification, I suppose its general meaning is, that patronages are no grievance, but a blessing. As therefore, it is probable that your lordships and honors have this many times affirmed to you, it is necessary that I should first attempt to prove what I thought had been self-evident, that we are in a bad situation, before I crave your assistance for our relief.

S P E E C H

IN THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

On the Transportation of Dr. C——.

MODERATOR,

AS it is usual for people to differ almost upon every subject, I am not surpris'd that there should be some in this Assembly, who are for appointing, that this transportation shall take place; but I apprehend it is really ground of surpris'e, to see the way in which they urge their opinion; they do not speak as if they were weighing and deliberating upon the cause, that they might be able to give a just determination; they do not speak as if clearly satisfied themselves; or as if they desired to convince others, and bring them over to their own opinion; but they speak in an overbearing manner, and press the conclusion with a visible displeasure at the time spent upon it, and impatience that any body should differ from, or contradict them. But as positiveness is seldom any strong presumption of a good cause, so I think it is very much misplaced here; and as the quiet and comfort of a large parish immediately, and the whole country side more remotely, depends upon our decision, I hope the assembly

will not give it, till after mature deliberation and with real impartiality.

The first thing, no doubt, to be considered, is, whether the commission have exceeded their powers, that we may see whether we have room at all for the other question, about the expediency of this transportation; and after reading the words of the assembly's remit, I cannot help being of opinion, with the great majority of the members of Presbytery, that the commission had no power to determine this cause. Is it not plain that this is not the cause which was before the last assembly? And is it not confessed on all hands, that the commission had no title to take in any causes, but such as were remitted to them? Is it not plain, that the words in any after question relating to this settlement, are not to be found in it? It is also proper to observe, from the almost constant use of these words in the remits of the assembly, that they do not suppose that a question relating to the same settlement with another, makes it the same cause. The answer made to this is, that it was a mistake or omission in the clerk of the assembly. Admitting, Sir, that this had been the case, it would be extremely wrong and dangerous, to approve the commission in paying no regard to that legal defect, but taking in the cause. For the assembly itself to make free with, and despise established forms of procedure, is of the very worst consequence. I have heard some honorable members, eminently skilled in the law, affirm, that for a court to despise even its own forms, is to make way for the admission of many instances of great and real injustice. But for the commission, which is a delegated court, so far to come over form, as to take in a cause not remitted to them, is a bold transgression with a witness: and if allowed, must be attended with consequences, which it is impossible to foresee, but can scarce be imagined worse, than they really will be an effect.

But Sir, why should any say this was either an omission in the clerks, or an oversight in the last assembly. I am sure for my part, I think they would have done wrong had they done it in any other way. What is the reason of this clause, (or any after question) when it is inserted.

It is after the part of the cause is decided, to prevent contentious people to protract a settlement, by foolish and frivolous appeals upon every little interloquitur or resolution, of a presbytery, in carrying it into execution. But in this case, neither all the parties, nor the principal part of the cause itself, was before the assembly at all; and I dare say, we may all remember to have heard it given as the opinion of the most judicious members of this church, that it is a very wrong measure to refer any cause of moment to the commission, that hath not been in a good measure heard and understood by the assembly itself. Moderator, I beg leave further to say, that I hope this assembly will not authorise the commission in making a long arm, to take in causes without sufficient powers, because the commission is certainly the most unhappily constituted court of any in this church. I say this without intending, and I hope without giving offence to any body; for supposing human nature in us to be just what it is in other people, the members of the commission being so numerous, and spread over all Scotland, few of them attend voluntarily, and it is the easiest thing in the world for interested persons to bring up a number of a particular way of thinking, and they may carry any cause whatever.

Thus, Sir, it appears that the sentence of the commission has plainly exceeded their powers in some measure, even by the confession of the friends of this transportation. Let us consider it a little in itself, and see if it is like to be so great a benefit, or so great an honor to this church, as that we should either forgive the commission the encroachment they have been guilty of, or should now do ourselves, what they have formerly done in a precipitate and irregular manner. Upon this branch of the subject, I am very much at a loss, not what to say, if every thing were to be brought out that might be urged against it, but to bring the argument within some compass, and chiefly indeed to discover some hope of success by reasoning from some common principles, on which we shall generally agree.

Moderator, I take this opportunity of declaring before this assembly, that I have always had the deepest sense of

the dishonor and loss of authority which this church has suffered, and what indeed is infinitely more, the injury which the souls of men have suffered, by many settlements in which we have ordained a pastor without a people ; at the same time, I am sensible that many worthy men and faithful ministers, look upon themselves as under a necessity in some such cases from the law of patronage ; and I am afraid many from a habit of doing this where there is necessity, are unwilling to come out of the same tract, and continue to do it, when there is no necessity at all.

Moderator, I desire it may be observed that I do not believe, and I know nobody so foolish as to believe, what is commonly imputed to us, that any Christian as such, has a right to call a minister on an establishment ; we know that nobody has any right to call a minister on an establishment, excepting those to whom the law gives it ; neither would I contend that every man ought to have a right, though we had it in our power, to make laws upon that subject, since this seeming equality would be a vile inequality. But, Sir, I would choose to form my judgment upon a few principles, in which I should think, hardly any in this assembly would disagree. Has not every man a natural right, well secured to him in this happy island, to judge for himself in matters of religion, and in fact to adhere to any minister he pleases ? Is not the legal stipend intended to provide a sufficient and useful pastor to the people within the bounds of a certain parish ? can he be of much service to them, if he be upon ill terms with them ? or can he do them any at all, if they will not hear him ? Does any body desire to compel them by penal or ecclesiastical laws to hear him : or would such forced religion be of any worth ? Is not then the legal encouragement unhappily lost and misapplied by somebody's fault, when a minister is settled to whom nobody will adhere ? Now, Sir, the inference that I would draw from these principles is no more than this, that decency and our indispensable duty as a church court, requires us to make no such settlements but with regret, and never without a real necessity ; and the cause we have now before us, is one in

which no such necessity exists. It is a transportation, Sir, the expediency of which we are to judge of and the person concerned is not only bound in duty, but can be easily compelled by law, to submit to our decision. The great argument that always has been used against this or the like reasoning, has been brought out in this cause, that the people were unreasonable and prejudiced, and have been stirred up by evil-minded persons. This argument, Sir, is so old and stale, that I am surprised people are not ashamed of it, and that the ingenuity of the lawyers has not been able to invent another, that shall have the advantage of being new. How often have we heard from this bar, this parish would have been agreeably and peaceably settled, but very early a combination was formed—This is all in all, the rest follows of course. I am persuaded, Sir, from the certain knowledge of many particular instances, in which this was alleged, that in nine cases of ten the allegation is false. One person in a parish or country side may be active, and it may be said with plausibility, that he is the main spring of the opposition. Sir, it is very easy to lead a people according to their own inclinations; but it is not so easy as many seem to suppose, to change their inclinations and direct their choice. In the mean time, it is always forgotten that the argument is founded not upon the cause or occasion, but upon the reality of the aversion of the people to the minister.

Moderator, an argument that is made use of to persuade us to order this transportation, is, that if it should be refused, it would encourage the people to resist in other cases. I am afraid, Sir, that the tame submission which indeed is fast approaching, and which many seem so ardently to desire, can never take place, till there is a total indifference about religion among all the members of the established church; take our neighbor country of England, as an example of that desirable peace. But if this argument be laid as it ought to be, that people should not be headstrong and unreasonable, it operates plainly the contrary way; for there is nothing whatever that would give us so much weight and influence with the people, as that we show a proper tenderness to them, as we have opportunity. If

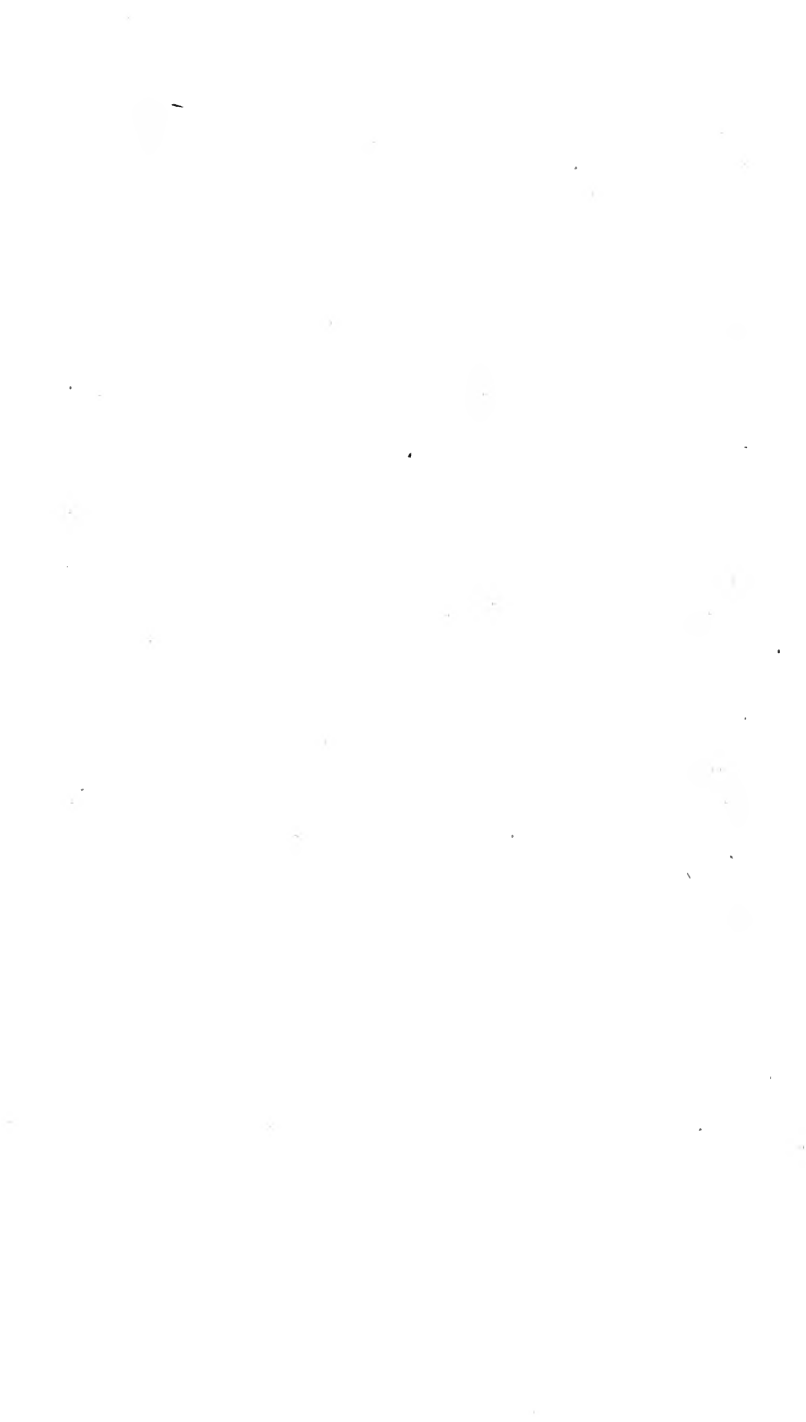
we do not oppress them, when we have it in our power to relieve them, we may expect to have some influence over them, when we are straitened and distressed ourselves.

Besides, Sir, on this subject of the prejudices of the people, this pretence is carried a most unreasonable and extravagant length, and nothing but the prejudice in themselves, could make men speak in such a stile. Many will needs have it to be prejudice and groundless prejudice in a people, if they do not fall in with a man to be their minister, against whose life and doctrine they cannot bring any legal objection. Alas, Sir, all such things are matters of election and choice, and not of legal proof. In illustration of the people's case, there is a very good example given, that a man would have just cause of complaint if you should force a physician upon him of whose skill he had no opinion, though he could not prove him insufficient before the faculty.

But, Sir, as it would be wrong to attribute opposition to a minister's settlement in all cases to groundless prejudice, I am sorry to say it, but I am obliged in justice to say it, we have very little reason to do so in the present case. Even in the case of a probationer, when he absolutely adheres to a presentation, notwithstanding the greatest opposition from the people, it is but a sorry mark of love to souls, and of that self-denial which every Christian should continually maintain. Many things however may be said in favor of a probationer; yet, Sir, for a settled minister not only to act this part, but to excel all that ever were before him in a bold and insolent contempt of the people, as plainly appears to be Dr. C——'s case, is such a conduct, that I shall have a worse opinion of this assembly than I have at present, if they do not openly express their indignation at such indecency of behaviour. In the history of the church we find no character more odious, or more unclerical, if I may speak so, than ambition and open solicitation of ecclesiastical preferment. Little changes in forms, Sir, do often produce at least great changes in manners and characters. In former times in our church, the probationer or minister himself, was never considered as a party, but was considered as the subject concerning which

that process was carried on by the callers or referees ; but now they have been for some time past, considered as parties—they begin to allow the cause to appear at the bar—to urge their claim—to consider the people who are to be their charge as their adversaries, and to treat them with contempt and disdain.

I confess, Sir, I am not able to imagine what are the views of a minister who acts in this manner. It is not I fear easy to answer, that he resolves to change his situation and take upon him that office, from sincere regard to the glory of God and love to souls, which he must profess at his admission. But as we must be tender and cautious in judging of the inward motives of others, I shall leave that to him who judgeth the secrets of all hearts ; but in the meantime, every one in this house is now called to judge whether it would be for the glory of God, and the good of mankind, to suffer him to execute his intention. Let it be considered with seriousness. Moderator, it is not only the people of the parish, or those of lower rank, but many of all stations whom we shall offend, in the proper sense of the word, if we order this settlement. They are led by such things to treat, and they often do treat with derision, a minister's concern for his usefulness, and affirm that it is no more than a desire of a comfortable benefice and salary for life. I shall be sorry to see the day, when by resembling them in their practice, we shall learn from England to leave the people and the work altogether out of the act, and so call our charges no more *parishes*, but *livings*.



L E T T E R

SENT TO

S C O T L A N D,

FOR THE

S C O T S M A G A Z I N E.



I AM informed by my correspondents in Scotland, that several letters have been published in the newspapers there, containing the most virulent reflections upon me, on account of an advertisement by J—P—, merchant of Glasgow, relating to the settlement of a tract of land in Nova Scotia, in which he mentions my being concerned. One or two of these papers have been sent me, and contain so many mistakes in point of fact, as well as betray such ignorance of the subject they attempt to treat, that it would be a disgrace for any man to enter into a formal quarrel with such opponents. Were I in Scotland at this time, I should think it a very great departure from prudence, to take the least public notice of these invectives. Few persons have been less concerned than I have been, through life, to contradict false accusations, from an opinion which I formed early, and which has been confirmed by experience, that there is scarcely any thing more harmless than political or party malice. It is best

to leave it to itself; opposition and contradiction are the only means of giving it life and duration.

But as I am now at so great a distance, and the subject of the scandal is what passes in America, so that impartial persons in general, may be less able to judge of the probability of facts, and cannot have proper opportunities of making a complete enquiry, I think it necessary to state this matter with all the perspicuity and brevity of which I am capable. The accusation, I think, may be reduced to the following argument—Migrations from Britain to America, are not only hurtful, but tend to the ruin of that kingdom; therefore, J. W. by inviting people to leave Scotland, and settle in America, is an enemy to his country.

It will not be improper to mention in the entry, that my having any concern in such an extensive undertaking, was wholly accidental and unexpected. I was invited and pressed to it, from a motive that was not at all concealed, that it would give the people who intended to come out, greater confidence that they should meet with fair treatment. This very reason induced me to consent; and that I might the more effectually answer that purpose, one of the express conditions of my joining with the company was, that no land should be sold dearer to any coming from Scotland, than I should direct. This was the more necessary, that either through mistake, and the power of European ideas, or through misguided avarice, some advertisements had been published in the Scots newspapers, which would not appear surprising to persons born and educated in Scotland, but which are infinitely ridiculous to one acquainted with American affairs. In particular, one I cut out of a Glasgow newspaper, and sent home, relating to Newfoundland, where persons were invited to go to make their fortunes, by renting each family thirty acres of land, at the easy rent of six-pence sterling at first, and gradually rising till it came to two shillings yearly for ever. Now how absurd is this, when in many places you can buy the fee simple of land for the same or less money than is here asked for rent? Besides, how shall thirty acres of land maintain any family, in a place where land is so cheap, and labor so dear?

I have heard it given as a reason for these ensnaring proposals, that people in Britain will not believe that land is good for any thing, if you offer it for a few shillings per acre in fee simple. But the people in Britain should be told, that the value of land does not depend upon its quality, unless in a very small degree—It depends upon its situation, distance from other settlements, and many circumstances that need not be mentioned. It is a matter now as fully ascertained, as universal uncontradicted testimony can make it, that the back land in America, is in general better than that along the shore, though very different in value; because the one is full of trees and wild beasts, and the other is full of houses, fields and orchards. One would think that this matter might be well enough understood by this time. When a new settlement is making, especially if one family or one company have a very large tract, they will sell it very cheap; and if they are urgent to forward the settlement, they will give it to one or two families at first for nothing at all; and their profit does not arise from the price paid by the first purchasers, but from the prospect of speedily raising the value of what remains. Any man that can think, may understand this from J—P——'s advertisement. He proposes to sell to the first families, at six-pence sterling an acre. What profit could he make of that small price? Supposing he should sell 20,000 acres, the whole produce would be but five hundred pounds, to be divided among twelve or fourteen persons. The plain fact is, that the sum is not at all equivalent to the trouble and expence of serving out the patent; therefore the profit must be future, and must arise wholly from the prosperity of the settlement. I believe it is a rule without any exception, that a man's duty is his interest; but there is no case whatever, in which the interest of both parties is more manifestly the same, than in selling and purchasing new lands to settle upon; for the proprietors can receive no benefit, but from the success and thriving of the settlers.

New land may be bought in America at all prices, from six-pence sterling an acre, to forty shillings; and those who would judge of the quality by the price, would do

just like one who should judge that an acre sold for a house in the city, must be twenty times better in soil, than the fields at two miles distance, because it is twenty times the price. The price of land in America, is rising very fast, and sometimes rises in particular places, far more rapidly than could be foreseen. A gentleman who has a large tract in New-York government, within these three years, offered to give away for nothing, several thousand acres, at the rate of two hundred acres to each family of actual settlers, and yet has given away none ; but since that time has sold a great deal at four shillings and six-pence sterling, and now will scarce sell any at that price.

Having premised the above, I would intreat the reader's attention to the following remarks :

1. There is very little ground for being alarmed at the migrations from Britain to America. The numbers who come abroad, never have been, and probably never will be, of any consequence to the population of the country. Any one who will read Montesquieu, will soon be satisfied that when the spirit and principles of a constitution are good, occasional migrations, and even war, famine and pestilence, are hardly felt after a little time. The place of those who are removed is speedily filled. Two or three hundred families going abroad, makes a great noise ; but it is nothing at all to the people in Great-Britain, and will but make way for the settlement and provision of those who stay behind, and occasion them to marry and multiply the faster. It is probable, that the people in Britain imagine that the new settlements in America, are wholly filled by those who come from Europe—It is far otherwise. They do not make the fortieth part in any new settlement. Such tracts are peopled from the adjacent settlements at first, with a few stranger emigrants ; but their chief increase is from natural generation. If a settlement is good, a few families will speedily make a colony ; but if otherwise, you may send in ships full of people every year, and yet it will come to nothing. If a few passengers coming out from Britain, threaten destruction to that populous country, what instant ruin must come upon the settled parts of New-England, New-York, New-Jersey, and Penn-

sylvania, from whence many times the number remove every year to the back countries, and yet it has not any sensible effect, either on the price of land or the number of the people, which continue to increase notwithstanding. America is certainly exhibiting at this time, a scene that is new in the history of mankind. It increases in a proportion that no political calculations have yet been able to understand or lay down rules for. The reason of this I take to be, that when colonies were sent out in ancient times, the people and the soil were somewhat similar, and improved by slow degrees ; but in America we see a wild, but a noble soil, taken possession of by all the power, wealth, and learning of Europe, which pushes on its improvement, with a rapidity which is inconceivable.

Another thing ought not to be omitted ; there are great numbers of people that go from America to Britain, so that the migration is not all one way. The people in New England (an old settlement) say that they have sent twice as many people to England, as ever came out of it to them. But though upon the whole, while this country is but yet settling, the number coming out should be greater ; yet there is this difference, that they commonly come out poor, and return rich. This is very much to the advantage of Britain, if wealth and an increased value of land be an advantage. The truth is even as to numbers, though I do not think so many people go from America to Europe, as come from Europe to America ; yet I am apt to think, that there is little difference in the number that goes to, or comes from the island of Great Britain.

2. But supposing, (what I do not believe) that inviting people over from Scotland to America, did tend in some degree to depopulate that part of the world, I cannot see why a man who does so should for that reason, be called an enemy to his country. What is it for a man to be a friend to his country ? Is it to wish well to the stones and the earth, or the people that inhabit it ? Can he be an enemy to them, by pointing out to such of them as are poor or oppressed, where they may have a happy and plentiful provision, and their posterity be multiplied as the sand of the sea ? If he is their enemy by deceiving them, the dis-

covery will soon be made, and the design will be detested ; or rather indeed, the discovery would have been made long ago, as the intercourse between Great Britain and America has been of so many years standing. Is he then the enemy of those who stay behind ? Not surely of the multitude, or common people, for there will be but more room made for them, and the more easy access to a comfortable subsistence. It remains then, that he must be the enemy of the landholders, who may run some risk of being obliged to lower their rents. But is this a liberal way of thinking, to say a man is an enemy to his country, while he promotes the happiness of the great body of the people, with a small diminution of the interest of an handful ? Allowing therefore this argument all the force that it can pretend to, the accusation is base and scandalous, arising from a littleness of mind, incapable of cherishing a generous love of mankind. I cannot help thinking it is doing a real service to my country, when I shew that those of them who find it difficult to subsist on the soil in which they were born, may easily transport themselves to a soil and climate vastly superior to that. Sobriety and industry cannot fail to be attended by independance and abundance ; neither is this a matter that can be doubted by those who reflect a little on the nature of things. A country where land is cheap, provisions in plenty, and as a natural consequence, labor is dear, must be favourable to the industrious husbandman. His chief concern ought to be, to guard against the temptations always attendant on such a state, viz. laziness and intemperance. I will take this opportunity also to observe, that such as have a small independant fortune in Britain, if they have a taste for agriculture, might easily in America, live upon their estates as well as those in Britain who have a yearly revenue equal to their whole stock. But this is only in case a man lives upon his land, and eats the fruit of it. If he expects that he may live idly and magnificently in a city, and rent out his land at a high price, he will find himself miserably mistaken. It would be a strange country indeed, if land might be bought cheap, and rented dear. This is impossible ; for by what arguments could you persuade a man to

pay a high rent for land, when by going a little back, he may have the property to himself for a small matter.

But after all, I can never admit that the happiness of one class of men depends upon the misery of another; or that it can be any way contrary to the interest of the landholders in Scotland, that a few who find themselves pinched in their circumstances, or who have an active and enterprising disposition, should remove to America. There are always strong motives to hinder a man's removal from his own country, and it cannot be supposed that any considerable number will think of such a measure, unless they are really in an oppressed state. If this is the case, from the natural course of things, their removal will be no injury to any body; but like a swarm of bees coming off from a hive that is too full. If it is the case in particular places, from the iron hand of tyranny, I see no reason to offer any excuse for the meritorious act of assisting them to make their escape. Let not people confine themselves to narrow, selfish views. No part of Europe has received, or does now receive a greater accession of wealth, from the American settlements, than Great-Britain; and perhaps there is no part of Great-Britain where the rent of land has risen higher by the same means, than Scotland. I suppose every gentleman in that part of the kingdom, is well pleased to hear that several thousand Palatines, or people from the north of Ireland go to America every year—or that from time to time, some one or other, who went abroad with a lancet in his pocket, is coming back with an opulent estate, to settle in his neighbourhood—or that no wealthy American is satisfied, till he has sent his son home, as they call it, to spend from two or three hundreds, to as many thousands, in order to complete his education by study, or end his life by gambling. If so, why should he grudge that some of his poorer countrymen should acquire a comfortable settlement there, though with little prospect of returning, especially as it is impossible for them to do any thing for the improvement of America, that will not in the end redound to the advantage of Great-Britain.

3. I have only further to say, that the outcry made upon this subject, is as impolitic, as it is unjust. If I wanted

to people America from Scotland, I would not think of employing a more effectual way, than exciting or hiring one or two authors, who have nothing else to do, to write against it. This would necessarily make people pay attention to the subject, and seek after the information which they would otherwise have neglected. At the same time, as human nature in general, is not very fond of restraint, they would perhaps be the more disposed to remove when they found their landlords anxious that they should stay. I desire it may be particularly observed, that I have not said in any part of the above discourse, or do I believe that there is any hard-heartedness or disposition to oppress in the landlords of Scotland, more than in any other country, nor more at this time than any former period. The rise of lands has been the consequence of an increase of trade and wealth, and the disposition to go abroad in the common people, at present, is owing to the same cause that made clerks and supercargoes go out, for these fifty years past, viz. the hope of bettering their circumstances. It is both unjust and impossible to hinder them, if they be so minded; and for the reasons given above, I am persuaded it will not be the least injury to those of any rank whom they leave behind. For my own part, my interest in the matter is not great; but since Providence has sent me to this part of the world, and since so much honor has been done me, as to suppose that my character might be some security against fraud and imposition, I shall certainly look upon it as my duty, to do every real service in my power, to such of my countrymen as shall fall in my way, and shall either desire or seem to need my assistance.

J. W.

IGNORANCE OF THE BRITISH

WITH RESPECT TO

A M E R I C A.

To the Editor of the Scots Magazine.

Philadelphia, May 28, 1771.

S I R,

I SAW in your magazine (Appendix 1770) a letter, signed E. R. containing some remarks upon, and a severe condemnation of Dr. Lathrop's sermon at Boston, entitled, "Innocent Blood crying for Vengeance." These remarks are introduced with observing, that the synod of New-York and Philadelphia had written a letter, and claimed relation to the church of Scotland; and then says the author, 'on reading of which, I could not help thinking, if we may judge of the American church from the sample here given, that our church derives no great honor from her western progeny; but I hope the flock is better than the sample.'

Now, sir, as to this author's observations on Dr. Lathrop's sermon, I shall say little; because perhaps it cannot be wholly justified—yet, if all circumstances are duly attended to, there is as little reason to insult or glory over the people of Boston, as there was to excite the public resentment against captain P——. But what I have

only in view, is shortly to expose the excessive absurdity and ignorance of bringing in the synod of New-York and Philadelphia on this occasion. Were the author of this sermon even a member of the synod, or any way connected with it, the attempt would be impertinent; because no church can be supposed answerable for the prudence of every particular person connected with her, especially the wisdom or propriety of their publications. Does the church of Scotland desire to be judged by this rule? I suppose not. Nor will I be guilty of so much injustice, as to judge of her by this her friend and advocate. 'I hope (as he says) the stock is better than the sample.' For,

How astonishing must be the ignorance of that gentleman concerning the British dominions in America, when he supposes the ministers of Boston to be a part of the synod of New-York and Philadelphia! Did the synod's letter say any such thing? Did it not enumerate the provinces in which their members reside? Did it not inform the public, that it is but seventy years since the first presbytery met in this country? But give me leave to inform your correspondent, that it is about one hundred and forty years since the people of New-England established a college at Cambridge near Boston: that their churches are upon the independent plan, and are in the four New-England provinces above five hundred in number: whereas the whole synod of New-York and Philadelphia contained, when their letter was written, but one hundred and twenty-seven members, and does not now amount to one hundred and fifty.

I do not mean by this to disclaim connexion with the churches of New England. They are a most respectable part of the church of Christ. Nor do I think that any part of the British empire is at this day, equal to them for real religion and sound morals. My single purpose is to teach your correspondent, and your readers in general, not to write upon American affairs, unless they understand them. I tell you nothing but truth when I say, that being a Briton, I have often blushed in company, to hear stories narrated of the absurd and ignorant manner in which persons of no inconsiderable stations in Britain, have talk-

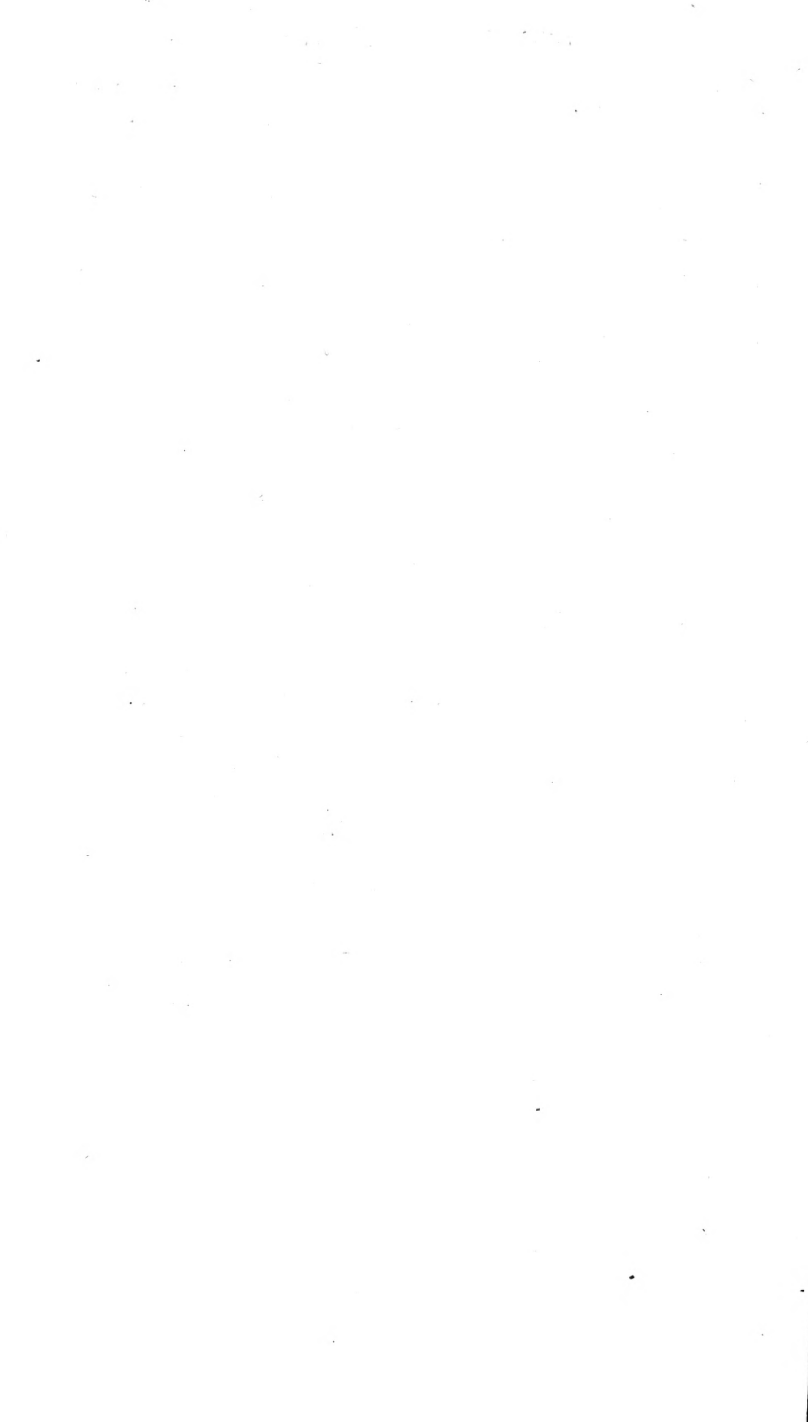
ed of things and places in America. We have heard of a gentleman in the house of commons, frequently making mention of the *island* of Pennsylvania; and of another who in the privy counsel insisted, after contradiction, on his being right in his description of the *island* of New-Jersey.

But what excels every thing is the following story, which I have been assured by persons well acquainted with it, was a fact. Some years ago, a frigate came from England with dispatches for many, or most of the governors of provinces in North America. The captain had orders to go first to New-York, and from thence to proceed to Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys. When he arrived at New-York, he delivered his dispatches there, and mentioned his orders. The governor told him, if you will give me the letters for the governors of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, I will undertake to have them delivered in forty-eight hours; but if you take the rout prescribed to you, perhaps they will not receive them in three months. To which the captain replied, I do not care a farthing about the matter; I will stick to my instructions.

I am, sir, your most obedient,

humble servant,

X. Y.



REFLECTIONS

*On the present State of PUBLIC AFFAIRS, and on
the Duty and Interest of America in this Important
Crisis.*

THAT the present is an important æra to America, has been so often repeated, that I suppose no man doubts it, and I hope few will forget it. Yet, however august the idea, it is capable of being greatly enlarged. It will be an important æra in the history of mankind. The extent of this country is such, that as it is now, and probably will soon be settled, it makes no inconsiderable part of the globe itself. The European in general, but particularly the British settlements in America, have for these hundred years past, been exhibiting to the world a scene differing in many respects from what it ever beheld. In all the ancient emigrations, or colonial settlements, the number was small, the territory very limited, and which was still more, the people and the soil were almost alike uncultivated; and therefore both proceeded to improvement by very slow degrees. But in America we see a country almost without bounds, new and untouched, taken possession of at once by the power, the learning, and the wealth of Europe.

Hence it is that the cultivation and the population of America have advanced with a rapidity next to miraculous, and of which no political calculators have principles or data sufficient to make a certain judgment. I hold every thing that has been said on the numbers in America to be good for nothing, except in certain places where they have proceeded on actual numeration. When writers

state, that the inhabitants in America double themselves in twenty or twenty-five years, they speak by guess, and they say nothing. It may be under or over the truth in certain places; but there are others in which they become twenty times the number in seven years. I do not know, and therefore will not attempt to conjecture, how fast mankind may multiply in a country that is in the most favorable state possible, both in itself, and for receiving an accession from others less happily circumstanced. What is more certain, as well as of more importance to observe, is, that the British colonies in North-America, have in this respect exceeded every other country upon the face of the earth.

What has caused this difference? Does the climate of Britain naturally produce more wisdom, strength and activity, than that of France, Spain or Portugal? Surely not, or wo to America itself; for the best of its colonies are in the climate of these very countries. It is therefore without doubt owing to the liberty which pervades the British constitution, and came with the colonists to this part of the earth. Montesquieu has, with inimitable beauty, shewn that the natural causes of population or depopulation, are not half so powerful as the moral causes; by which last he means the state of society, the form of government, and the manners of the people. War, famine and pestilence are scarcely felt, where there is liberty and equal laws. The wound made by those fore judgments is speedily closed by the vigor of the constitution; whereas, in a more sickly frame, a trifling scratch will rankle and produce long disease, or perhaps terminate in death. We need go no further than our own country to have full proof of the force of liberty. The southern colonies, blessed as they are with a superior soil and more powerful sun, are yet greatly inferior to Pennsylvania and New-England, in numbers, strength, and value of land in proportion to its quantity. The matter is easily solved. The constitutions of these latter colonies are more favorable to universal industry.

But with all the differences between one colony and another, America in general, by its gradual improve-

ment, not long ago exhibited a spectacle, the most delightful that can be conceived, to a benevolent and contemplative mind. A country, growing every year in beauty and fertility, the people growing in numbers and wealth, arts and sciences carefully cultivated and constantly advancing and possessing security of property by liberty and equal laws, which are the true and proper source of all the rest. While things were in this situation, Great-Britain reaped a great, unenvied, and still increasing profit from the trade of the colonies. I am neither so weak as to believe, nor so foolish as to affirm, as some did in the beginning of this contest, that the colony trade was the whole support of a majority of the people in Great-Britain. How could any person of reflection suppose that the foreign trade of three millions of people, could be the chief support of eight millions, when the internal trade of these eight millions themselves, is and must be the support of double the number that could be supported by the trade of America, besides their trade to every other part of the world? But our trade was still of great importance and value, and yielded to Great-Britain yearly, a profit vastly superior to any thing they could reasonably hope to draw from taxes and impositions, although they had been submitted to without complaint.

This however did not satisfy the king, ministry and parliament of Great-Britain. They formed golden, but mistaken and delusive hopes of lightening their own burdens by levying taxes from us. They formed various plans, and attempted various measures, not the most prudent I confess, for carrying their purpose into effect. The ultimate purpose itself was in some degree covered at first, and they hoped to bring it about by slow and imperceptible steps. In some instances the imposition was in itself of little consequence; as appointing the colonies to furnish salt, pepper and vinegar to the troops. But the laudable and jealous spirit of liberty was alive and awake, and hardly suffered any of them to pass unobserved or unresisted. Public spirited writers took care that it should not sleep; and in particular the celebrated *Pennsylvania Farmer's Letters* were of signal service, by furnishing the

lovers of their country with facts, and illustrating the rights and privileges which it was their duty to defend.

The last attempt made by the ministry in the way of art and address, was repealing the act laying duties on paper, glass, and painter's colors, and leaving a small duty on tea, attended with such circumstances, that the tea should come to us no dearer, but perhaps cheaper, than before. This was evidently with design that we might be induced to let it pass, and so the claim having once taken place, might be carried in other instances to the greatest height. This manœuvre, however, did not elude the vigilance of a public spirited people. The whole colonies declared their resolution never to receive it.

T H O U G H T S

ON

A M E R I C A N L I B E R T Y.

THE Congress is, properly speaking, the representative of the great body of the people of North America. Their election is for a particular purpose, and a particular season only; it is quite distinct from the assemblies of the several provinces. What will be before them, is quite different from what was or could be in the view of the electors, when the assemblies are chosen. Therefore those provinces are wrong, who committed it to the assembly as such, to send delegates, though in some provinces, such as Boston and Virginia, and some others, the unanimity of sentiment is such, as to make it the same thing in effect.

It is at least extremely uncertain, whether it could be proper or safe for the Congress to send either ambassadors, petition or address, directly to king or parliament, or both. They may treat them as a disorderly, unconstitutional meeting—they may hold their meeting itself to be criminal—they may find so many objections in point of legal form, that it is plainly in the power of those who wish to be able to do it, to deaden the zeal of the multitude in the colonies, by ambiguous, dilatory, frivolous answers, perhaps severer measures. It is certain that this Congress is different from any regular exertion, in the accustomed forms of a quiet, approved, settled constitution. It is an

interruption or suspension of the usual forms, and an appeal to the great law of reason, the first principles of the social union, and the multitude collectively, for whose benefit all the particular laws and customs of a constituted state, are supposed to have been originally established.

There is not the least reason as yet, to think that either the king, the parliament, or even the people of Great-Britain, have been able to enter into the great principles of universal liberty, or are willing to hear the discussion of the point of right, without prejudice. They have not only taken no pains to convince us that submission to their claim is consistent with liberty among us, but it is doubtful whether they expect or desire we should be convinced of it. It seems rather that they mean to force us to be absolute slaves, knowing ourselves to be such by the hard law of necessity. If this is not their meaning, and they wish us to believe that our properties and lives are quite safe in the absolute disposal of the British Parliament, the late acts with respect to Boston, to ruin their capital, destroy their charter, and grant the soldiers a licence to murder them, are certainly arguments of a very singular nature.

Therefore it follows, that the great object of the approaching Congress should be to unite the colonies, and make them as one body, in any measure of self-defence, to assure the people of Great-Britain that we will not submit voluntarily, and convince them that it would be either impossible or unprofitable for them to compel us by open violence.

For this purpose, the following resolutions and recommendations are submitted to their consideration :—

1. To profess as all the provincial and county rulers have done, our loyalty to the king, and our backwardness to break our connexion with Great-Britain, if we are not forced by their unjust impositions. Here it may not be improper to compare our past conduct with that of Great-Britain itself, and perhaps explicitly to profess our detestation of the virulent and insolent abuse of his majesty's person and family, which so many have been guilty of in that island.

2. To declare, not only that we esteem the claim of the British parliament to be illegal and unconstitutional,

but that we are firmly determined never to submit to it, and do deliberately prefer war with all its horrors, and even extermination itself to slavery, rivetted on us and our posterity.

3. To resolve that we will adhere to the interest of the whole body, and that no colony shall make its separate peace, or from the hope of partial distinction, leave others as the victims of ministerial vengeance, but that we will continue united, and pursue the same measures, till American liberty is settled on a solid basis, and in particular till the now suffering colony of Massachusetts Bay is restored to all the rights of which it has been, on this occasion, unjustly deprived.

4. That a non-importation agreement, which has been too long delayed, should be entered into immediately, and at the same time, a general non-consumptive agreement, as to all British goods at least, should be circulated universally through the country, and take place immediately, that those who have retarded the non-importation agreement, may not make a profit to themselves by this injury to their country.

5. That some of the most effectual measures should be taken to promote, not only industry in general, but manufactures in particular ; such as granting premiums in different colonies for manufactures which can be produced in them ; appointing public markets for all the materials of manufacture ; inviting over and encouraging able manufacturers in every branch ; and appointing societies in every great city, especially in principal sea-ports, to receive subscriptions for directing and encouraging emigrants who shall come over from Europe, whether manufactures or laborers, and publishing proposals for this purpose, in the British newspapers.

6. That it be recommended to the legislature of every colony, to put their militia upon the best footing ; and to all Americans to provide themselves with arms, in case of a war with the Indians, French or Roman Catholics, or in case they should be reduced to the hard necessity of defending themselves from murder and assassination.

7. That a committee should be appointed to draw up an earnest and affectionate address to the army and navy, putting them in mind of their character as Britons, the reproach which they will bring upon themselves, and the danger to which they will be exposed, if they allow themselves to be the instruments of enslaving their country.

8. That a plan of union should be laid down for all the colonies, so that, as formerly, they may correspond and ascertain how they shall effectually co-operate in such measures as shall be necessary to their common defence.

ON THE
CONTROVERSY

ABOUT
INDEPENDENCE.

SIR,

I BEG leave by your assistance, to publish a few thoughts upon the manner of conducting, what I think is now called the independent controversy, in which this country in general is so greatly interested. Every one knows that when the claims of the British Parliament were openly made, and violently enforced, the most precise and determined resolutions were entered into, and published by every colony, every county, and almost every township or smaller district, that they would not submit to them. This was clearly expressed in the greatest part of them, and ought to be understood as the implied sense of them all, not only that they would not *soon* or *easily*, but that they would *never* on *any event*, submit to them. For my own part, I confess, I would never have signed these resolves at first, nor taken up arms in consequence of them afterwards, if I had not been fully convinced, as I am still, that acquiescence in this usurped power, would be followed by the total and absolute ruin of the colonies. They would have been no better than tributary states to a kingdom at a great distance from them. They would have been there,

fore, as has been the case with all states in a similar situation from the beginning of the world, the servants of servants from generation to generation. For this reason I declare it to have been my meaning, and I know it was the meaning of thousands more, that though we earnestly wished for reconciliation with safety to our liberties, yet we did deliberately prefer, not only the horrors of a civil war, not only the danger of anarchy, and the uncertainty of a new settlement, but even extermination itself to slavery, rivetted on us and our posterity.

The most peaceable means were first used ; but no relaxation could be obtained : one arbitrary and oppressive act followed after another ; they destroyed the property of a whole capital—subverted to its very foundation, the constitution and government of a whole colony, and granted the soldiers a liberty of *murdering* in all the colonies. I express it thus, because they were not to be called to account for it where it was committed, which every body must allow was a temporary, and undoubtedly, in ninety-nine cases of an hundred, must have issued in a total impunity. There is one circumstance however in my opinion, much more curious than all the rest. The reader will say, What can this be ? It is the following, which I beg may be particularly attended to :—While all this was a doing, the King in his speeches, the parliament in their acts, and the people of Great Britain in their addresses, never failed to extol their own lenity. I do not infer from this, that the King, Parliament and people of Great Britain are all barbarians and savages—the inference is unnecessary and unjust : But I infer the misery of the people of America, if they must submit *in all cases whatsoever*, to the decisions of a body of the sons of Adam, so distant from them, and who have an interest in oppressing them. It has been my opinion from the beginning, that we did not carry our reasoning fully home, when we complained of an arbitrary prince, or of the insolence, cruelty and obstinacy of Lord North, Lord Bute, or Lord Mansfield. What we have to fear, and what we have now to grapple with, is the ignorance, prejudice, partiality and injustice of human nature. Neither king nor ministry, could have done, nor durst have

attempted what we have seen, if they had not had the nation on their side. The friends of America in England are few in number, and contemptible in influence ; nor must I omit, that even of these few, not one, till very lately, ever reasoned the American cause upon its proper principles, or viewed it in its proper light.

Petitions on petitions have been presented to king and Parliament, and an address sent to the people of Great-Britain, which have been not merely fruitless, but treated with the highest degree of disdain. The conduct of the British ministry during the whole of this contest, as has been often observed, has been such, as to irritate the whole people of this continent to the highest degree, and unite them together by the firm bond of necessity and common interest. In this respect they have served us in the most essential manner. I am firmly persuaded, that had the wisest heads in America met together to contrive what measures the ministry should follow to strengthen the American opposition and defeat their own designs, they could not have fallen upon a plan so effectual, as that which has been steadily pursued. One instance I cannot help mentioning, because it was both of more importance, and less to be expected than any other. When a majority of the New-York Assembly, to their eternal infamy, attempted to break the union of the colonies, by refusing to approve the proceedings of the Congress, and applying to Parliament by separate petition—because they presumed to make mention of the principal grievance of taxation, it was treated with ineffable contempt. I desire it may be observed, that all those who are called the friends of America in Parliament, pleaded strongly for receiving the New-York petition ; which plainly shewed, that neither the one nor the other understood the state of affairs in America. Had the ministry been prudent, or the opposition successful, we had been ruined ; but with what transport did every friend to American liberty hear, that these traitors to the common cause, had met with the reception which they deserved.

Nothing is more manifest, than that the people of Great-Britain, and even the king and ministry, have been hither-

to exceedingly ignorant of the state of things in America: For this reason, their measures have been ridiculous in the highest degree, and the issue disgraceful. There are some who will not believe that they are ignorant—they tell us, how can this be? Have they not multitudes in this country, who gave them intelligence from the beginning? Yes they have; but they would trust none but what they called official intelligence, that is to say, from obsequious, interested tools of government; many of them knew little of the true state of things themselves, and when they did, would not tell it, lest it should be disagreeable. I have not a very high opinion of the integrity and candor of Dr. C——, Dr. C——, and other mercenary writers in New-York; yet I firmly believe, that they thought the friends of American liberty much more inconsiderable, both for weight and numbers, than they were. They conversed with few, but those of their own way of thinking, and according to the common deception of little minds, mistook the sentiments prevailing within the circle of their own acquaintance, for the judgment of the public.

ON
CONDUCTING

THE
AMERICAN CONTROVERSY.



SIR,

I TAKE the liberty, by means of your free and uninfluenced press, of communicating to the public a few remarks upon the manner of conducting the American controversy in general, and on some of the writers that have appeared in your paper in particular. That you may not pass sentence upon me immediately as an enemy to the royal authority, and a son of sedition, I declare that I esteem his majesty king George the third to have the only rightful and lawful title to the British crown, which was settled upon his family in consequence of the glorious revolution. You will say, this is nothing at all; it is the creed of the factious Bostonians. I will then go a little further, and say that I not only revere him as the first magistrate of the realm, but I love and honor him as a man, and am persuaded that he wishes the prosperity and happiness of his people in every part of his dominions. Nay, I have still more to say, I do not think the British ministry themselves have deserved all the abuse and foul names that have been bestowed on them by political wri-

ters. The steps which they have taken with respect to American affairs, and which I esteem to be unjust, impolitic, and barbarous to the highest degree, have been chiefly owing to the two following causes. 1. Ignorance or mistake, occasioned by the misinformation of interested and treacherous persons employed in their service. 2. The prejudices common to them, with persons of all ranks in the island of Great-Britain.

Of the first of these, I shall say nothing at present, because perhaps it may occur with as great propriety afterwards. But as to the second, there is to be found in the newspapers enough to convince every man of reflection, that it was not the king and the ministry only, but the whole nation that was enraged against America. The tide is but just beginning to turn; and I am in some doubt whether it has fairly turned yet, upon any larger principles than a regard to their own interest, which may be affected by our proceedings. It can hardly be expected, that the eyes of a whole nation should be at once opened upon the generous principles of universal liberty. It is natural for the multitude in Britain, who have been from their infancy taught to look upon an act of parliament as supreme and irresistible, and to consider the liberty of their country itself as consisting in the dominion of the house of commons, to be surprised and astonished at any society or body of men, calling in question the authority of parliament, and denying its power over them. It certainly required time to make them sensible that things are in such a situation in America, that for the house of commons in Great Britain to assume the uncontrouled power of imposing taxes upon American property, would be as inconsistent with the spirit of the British constitution, as it appears at first sight agreeable to its form. It argues great ignorance of human nature to suppose, that because we see a thing clearly, which we contemplate every day, and which it is our interest to believe and maintain, therefore they are destitute of honor and truth who do not acknowledge it immediately, though all their former ideas and habits have led them to a contrary supposition. A man will become an American by residing in the country three

months, with a prospect of continuing, more easily and certainly than by reading or hearing of it for three years, amidst the sophistry of daily disputation.

For these reasons, I have often been grieved to see that the pleaders for American liberty, have mixed so much of abuse and invective against the ministry in general, as well as particular persons, with their reasonings in support of their own most righteous claim. I have often said to friends of America, on that subject, it is not the king and ministry, so much as the prejudices of Britons, with which you have to contend. Spare no pains to have them fully informed. Add to the immoveable firmness with which you justly support your own rights, a continual solicitude to convince the people of Britain, that it is not passion but reason that inspires you. Tell them it cannot be ambition, but necessity, that makes you run an evident risk of the heaviest sufferings, rather than forfeit for yourselves and your posterity, the greatest of all earthly blessings.

Another circumstance gave me still more uneasiness, viz. that many American patriots seemed to countenance, and to think themselves interested in the prosperity of that most despicable of all factions that ever existed in the British empire, headed by the celebrated John Wilkes, esq. That shameless gang carried on their attacks with such gross, and indecent, and groundless abuse of the king and his family, that they became odious to the nation, and indeed so contemptible, that the ministry sent at one time the lord mayor of London to the tower, without exciting the least resentment in the persons of property in that great city, so as to be felt in the operations of the treasury.

I am sensible, and I mention it with pleasure, that no American ever proceeded to such offensive extravagance on these subjects, as the people in Britain. Far greater insults were offered to the sovereign, within the city of London, and within the verge of the court, than ever were thought of, or would have been permitted, by the mob in any part of America. Even the writings containing illiberal abuse from England, were scarcely sought after here,

and many of them never published, although it could have been done without the least danger of a prosecution. Yet, though the people of America are as dutiful and respectful subjects to the king as any in his dominions, there were some things done, and some things published, that seemed to intimate that we had one and the same cause with the author of the *North-Britain*, No. 45. The evil consequence of this was, that it had a tendency to lead the king and ministry to think that the American claim was no better than the Wilkite clamor, and so to oppose it with the same firmness, and to treat it with the same disdain. Nothing could be more injudicious than this conduct in the Americans; and it arose from the most absolute ignorance of political history. The stamp-act, that first-born of American oppressions, was framed by the chief men of that very faction; and it is plain from their language to this hour, that they make no other use of American disturbances, but as engines of opposition, and to serve the mean purposes of party or of family interest.

I do not mean by this to take any part with or against the present ministry. I have seen many changes of the ministry, without any sensible change of the state of public affairs. Nothing is more common with them than to raise a hideous outcry against a measure, when they are out, and yet, without shame or conscience, do the very same thing as soon as they get in. I look upon the cause of America at present to be a matter of truly inexpressible moment. The state of the human race through a great part of the globe, for ages to come, depends upon it. Any minister or ministry, who is in or out of court favor, at a particular juncture, is so little a matter, that it should not be named with it.

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A R I S T I D E S.



S I R,

I HAVE a few thoughts to communicate, first to yourself, and after that, if you please to the public, upon the manner of conducting what is now called the independent controversy, in the newspapers. There are to be found in the tracts upon one side of this question, almost without exception, complaints of some restraints, felt or feared, upon the freedom of the press. I shall be glad to be informed, because I am yet ignorant, what foundation there is for these complaints. A pamphlet was published sometime ago, calling itself *Common Sense*, which nobody was obliged to read, but those who were willing to pay for it, and that pretty dearly too. It was however read very generally, which I suppose must have arisen either from the beauty and elegance of the composition, or from the truth and importance of the matter contained in it. That it did not arise from the first of these causes, I shall take for granted, until I meet with somebody who is of a different opinion; and when this is added to the circumstance of its being sold in the manner above mentioned, it is plain that the subject matter of *Common Sense* was proposed to the world under every disadvantage, but that of its own manifest importance and apparent truth or probability.

Things being in this situation, after time sufficient to have matured any pamphlet of an ordinary size, out comes an answer to *Common Sense*, under the title of

Plain Truth. This in one respect, was perfectly fair, for it was pamphlet against pamphlet ; and the said Plain Truth also was sold, as well as Common Sense, at a very high price. For this last circumstance, there was no need of assigning a reason, because I apprehend it is the undoubted right of every author, to set what price he pleases upon the productions of his genius, and of every printer upon the productions of his press, leaving it always to the public to determine whether they will purchase these productions at that price, or any other. A reason however was assigned, which was as singular as it was unnecessary. We were told that only a small number of copies was printed of the *first* edition, I believe this is the only instance that can be produced, of calling a book in its publication, the first edition. The only reason of making more editions than one of any book, is the speedy sale of that number of copies, which the modesty of the author, or the prudence of the bookseller, thought might be sufficient for the public demand. In this case, there is what is stated by the printers a *call* for another edition. But there are multitudes of publications, as to which this call is never heard, and therefore none of them can, with propriety of speech be stiled the first edition. How would it sound if I should say, that a man who came alone into my house, was the first of the company that entered ; or that my wife, who is still alive and well, is my first wife, when it is very possible that she may live till I am unfit for any other wife, or till she is at liberty to take a second husband ?

But further, supposing that the author and bookseller had been right in that expectation, which the use of the phrase plainly shews the vanity of the one and the mistake of the other had raised in them, I desire to know how that was a reason for printing few copies, and thus rendering them unconscionably dear. You printers know best, but I take it for granted from the nature of the thing, that you print fewest copies of a book, when you do not expect a general sale. If I were certain that this dissertation of mine would cause an unusual demand for the paper that contains it, I would modestly suggest to you, to print three

or four hundred of that number more than common. In like manner, if it was certain at the appearance of this pamphlet, that it would be the first of many editions, following one another in rapid succession, it seems the most obvious thing in the world that the edition should have been as large as possible. Upon the whole, this was an unlucky stumble at the threshold in the author of Plain Truth, as well as an unexpected *lapsus* of the great, illustrious, and exalted R. B. providore, as he calls himself, to the sentimentalists, for which I find no way of accounting, but that they were inadvertently led by the subject they had in hand to act, as well as write, in direct opposition to Common Sense.

Well, the book comes out, of which I had a present of two copies, from different persons, notwithstanding the smallness of the number printed. But what shall I say, either of the style or reasoning of the performance. The reading of three pages gave me the opinion of it, which all who read it afterwards concurred in, and which all who have not read it, easily acquiesced in. In execution it was so contemptible, that it could not procure a reading on a subject, as to which, the curiosity of the public was raised to the greatest height; it not only wanted good qualities in point of taste and propriety, but was eminently possessed of every bad one. Common Sense sometimes failed in grammar, but never in perspicuity. Plain Truth was so ridiculously ornamented with vapid, senseless phrases and feeble epithets, that his meaning could hardly be comprehended. He often put me in mind of the painted windows of some old gothic buildings, which keep out the light. If Common Sense in some places wanted polish, Plain Truth was covered over, from head to foot, with a detestable and stinking varnish.

As to the argument itself, although nothing could be more clearly stated than it was in Common Sense, yet in Plain Truth it was never touched upon in the least degree. The author of Common Sense did not write his book to shew that we ought to resist the unconstitutional claims of Great Britain, which we had all determined to do long before; he wrote it to shew that we ought not to seek or

wait for a reconciliation, which in his opinion, is now become both impracticable and unprofitable, but to establish a fixed regular government, and provide for ourselves—Plain Truth on the contrary, never attempts to shew that there is the least probability of obtaining reconciliation on such terms as will preserve and secure our liberties, but has exerted all his little force, to prove, that such is the strength of Great Britain, that it will be in vain for us to resist at all. I will refer it to the impartial judgment of all who have read this treatise, whether the just and proper inference from his reasoning is not, that we ought immediately to send an embassy with ropes about their necks, to make a full and humble surrender of ourselves and all our property to the disposal of the parent state. This they have formally and explicitly demanded of us, and this we have with equal clearness determined we will never do. The question then is; Shall we make resistance with the greatest force, as rebel subjects of a government which we acknowledge, or as independent states against an usurped power which we detest and abhor.

After this reprobated author was off the stage, a new set of antagonists appeared against Common Sense? but instead of publishing the first edition of pamphlets, they chose to appear in the newspapers. The propriety of this I beg leave to examine. Much has been said about the liberty of the press; suffer me to say a few words for the liberty of readers. When a pamphlet is published and sold, nobody is wronged. When the answer to it is published and sold, the thing is quite fair. The writers and their cause will undergo an impartial trial; but when the answering one pamphlet by another, has so shamefully failed, to undertake the same thing by various detached pieces in the newspapers, is cramming the sense or nonsense of these authors down our throats, whether we will or not. I pay for your newspaper, and for two more, and frequently read others besides. Now, if I pay for news, must my paper be stuffed with dissertations, and must I read them four or five times over? I do declare, that I have paid, and am to pay, three times for the most part of Cato's letters, and if they were to be published in

a pamphlet, I would not give a rush for them all together. But it will be said, the cullom is old and universal, to write dissertations in newspapers. I answer, it is both old, universal and useful, when under proper direction ; but it may be abused. It is the right of every publisher of a newspaper, to insert in it upon his own judgment and choice, when news are scarce, whatever he thinks will recommend his paper to his readers. In this view, an able writer is a treasure to a publisher of any periodical paper, and ought certainly to be paid liberally, either in money or thanks, or both ; and therefore, Sir, if you have paid for, or even solicited from the author, the papers you have published, you are wholly acquitted of blame, further than sometimes a mistaken choice ; but if on the contrary, which I strongly suspect, you and others are paid for inserting political pieces, I affirm, you take money to deceive your readers.

As the subject is of some importance, especially at this time, I shall take the liberty of stating the objections I have against the practice, as above described, leaving you to shape your future course as you think proper, and determining to use my prerogative of taking or giving up your paper as it seems to deserve. In the first place, if you admit pieces into your paper for pay, I presume from the nature of all mankind, that those who pay best, will have the preference. Then shall we have a new standard of literary merit ; and a man who is able and willing to refute pernicious principles, or to detect the falsehood of impudent assertions, may yet be too poor to obtain a place, where only it can be done to any good purposes. The moment it is in the power of persons unknown, to conduct or bias the public channels of intelligence, both the people in general, and particular persons, may be deceived and abused in the grossest manner. It is scarce worth while, when things of so much greater moment are to be added, yet I will just mention, that you force nonsense upon us which could not make its appearance in any other mode of publication. Pray Sir, how much copy money would you have given for a pamphlet in which you had found that ridiculous pun upon Mount Seir, which is to be seen

in one of Cato's letters, and the wretched parody upon Hamlet's soliloquy ? Parody in general, is one of the lowest kind of writing that has yet found a name ; and that poor speech has been repeated, imitated and mangled so often, that it must excite disgust in every person who has any acquaintance with newspapers and pamphlets to see it again. I could easily mention twenty different ways, in which I have seen that speech parodied. To speak, or not to speak, that is the question—To fight, or not to fight, that is the question—To wed, or not to wed, that is the question—To drink, or not to drink, that is the question, &c. &c. &c. Is this then a time for filling the newspapers with such egregious trifling ?

But this is not all ; I could mention a case that happened a few years ago in New-York. A gentleman had published a small piece by itself, and put his own name and description on the title page ; he was immediately attacked in the most virulent and unmannerly stile, by anonymous writers in the newspapers, and it was with the utmost difficulty, that even for pay itself, his friends could get a few words inserted by way of reply. This practice indeed, is liable to the highest degree of corruption. Whether are we to suppose it was pay or profaneness, that introduced into the paper printed by the infamous R——, pieces containing the grossest obscenity, and which ought to have been punished by the magistrates of the place, as a public nuisance ? It is also generally believed of that printer, that he encouraged or hired worthless persons to publish aspersions against a gentleman in the neighbourhood, of good estate, but of no great judgment, that he might squeeze money out of him for the liberty of contradicting them. I do not say that things are come this length with you ; but the practice leads to it, and therefore should be early and vigorously opposed.

For the above reasons, caution is to be used in admitting essays into the newspapers at any rate, or suffering a controversy in which people are greatly interested, to be agitated there at all. The writers are very apt to become personal and abusive, and to forget the subject by refuting or exposing every thing that has been thrown out by their

antagonists. Certainly however, they ought to confine themselves to the pieces that have been originally published in the newspapers, and are supposed to have been read by the same persons who read the answers. To answer a whole book by a series of letters in the newspapers, is like attacking a man behind his back, and speaking to his prejudice before persons who never saw nor heard of him, nor are ever likely so to do. Common Sense has been read by many, yet the newspapers are read by many more; and therefore I affirm, that permitting his adversaries to attack him there, is giving them an undue advantage over him, and laying the public at the mercy of those who will not stick to assert any thing whatever, in support of a bad cause.

Let no body say I am writing against the freedom of the press. I desire that it should be perfectly free from every bias; but I would have all writings of consequence upon such a cause as this, published by themselves, that they may stand or fall by their own merit, and the judgment of the public. How do you think Sir, the letter of the *common man* published in your paper, some time ago, would do if lengthened out a little, and printed in a pamphlet? Under a thin and silly pretence of impartiality, he takes upon him to tell us what a number of things must be all previously settled, before we proceed to fix upon a regular plan of government; such as what price we must expect for our produce at this and the other nation and port. Shall we call this reasoning? Are our understandings to be insulted? If all or any such things must be previously settled, any man of common invention may enumerate fifty thousand perfectly similar, which will never be settled by previous computation to the end of the world, but will speedily settle themselves by common interest, when a trade is open, and the common man shall never know any thing of the matter.

But what I chiefly complain of, is the tedious, trifling, indecent altercation, occasioned by handling this subject in the newspapers. It certainly requires a speedy decision, as well as mature deliberation; yet must we wait till Cato and other writers have exhausted their invention in the

newspapers, from week to week, guessed at one another's persons, and triumphantly expressed their disdain at each other's sentiments or stile. If Cato's letters had been a pamphlet, I could have read all that he has said in an hour, and all the reasoning part by itself, in the fourth part of the time; yet after eight letters, must we wait some weeks more, for it would be indecent to proceed to action before he has done speaking. But after all, the worst of it is, that in this way of letter and answer, we never come to the argument at all. If I mistake not, the points to be discussed are very plain and not numerous, and yet wholly untouched, at least by Cato, though he has been repeatedly called upon by his adversaries. For example—Is there a probable prospect of reconciliation on constitutional principles? What are these constitutional principles? Will any body shew that Great-Britain can be sufficiently sure of our dependance, and yet we sure of our liberties? A treatise upon this last subject would be highly acceptable to me, and if well executed, useful to all. I shall add but one question more. Will the country be as orderly and happy, and our efforts for resistance as effectual, by the present loose and temporary proceedings, as when the whole are united by a firm confederacy, and their exertions concentrated like the strength of a single state? I am greatly mistaken if these points ought not to be the hinge of the controversy, and yet if they have been examined fully, or the greatest part of them even touched upon by Cato or his coadjutors, I have read their works with very little attention.

Now, Sir, this paper goes to you, that if you please you may insert it, but neither money nor promise of good deed to make way for it, so that its fate is wholly uncertain.

I remain Sir,

Yours, &c.

ARISTIDES,

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PART OF A

S P E E C H I N C O N G R E S S,

ON THE

C O N F E R E N C E

PROPOSED BY LORD HOWE.

—

Mr. PRESIDENT,

**T**HE subject we are now upon, is felt and confessed by us all to be of the utmost consequence, and perhaps I may also say, of delicacy and difficulty. I have not been accustomed in such cases to make solemn professions of impartiality; and shall not do it now, because I will not suppose that there are any suspicions to the contrary in the minds of those who hear me. Besides, the variety of opinions that have been formed and delivered upon it, seem to prove that we are giving our own proper judgment, without prejudice or influence; which I hope will lead to the discovery of what is most wise and expedient upon the whole.

As the deliberation arises from a message sent to us by lord Howe, at least by his permission, I think it is of importance to attend with greater exactness to all the circumstances of that message, than has been done by any gentleman who has yet spoken on the subject. It comes

from the commander in chief of the forces of the king of Great-Britain, and one who is said to carry a commission to give peace to America.

From the conduct of the ministry at home, from the acts of parliament, and from lord Howe's proclamation in conformity to both, it is plain, that absolute unconditional submission is what they require us to agree to, or mean to force us to. And from the most authentic private intelligence, the king has not laid aside his personal rancor ; it is rather increasing every day. In these circumstances, lord Howe has evidently a great desire to engage us in a treaty ; and yet he has constantly avoided giving up the least punctilio on his side. He could never be induced to give general Washington his title. He plainly tells us he cannot treat with Congress as such ; but he has allowed a prisoner of war to come and tell us he would be glad to see us as private gentlemen.

It has been said that this is no insult or disgrace to the Congress ; that the point of honor is hard to be got over, in making the first advances. This, sir, is mistaking the matter wholly. He has got over this point of honor ; he has made the first overtures ; he has told general Washington, by colonel Putnam, that he wished that message to be considered as making the first step. His renewed attempts by lord Drummond, and now by general Sullivan, point out to all the world that he has made the first step. It will doubtless be related at home, and I am of opinion it is already written and boasted of to the ministry at home, that he has taken such a part. Therefore, any evil or condescension that can attend seeking peace first, has been submitted to by him. Yet has he uniformly avoided any circumstance that can imply that we are any thing else but subjects of the king of Great-Britain, in rebellion. Such a message as this, if in any degree intended as respectful to us, ought to have been secret ; yet has it been open as the day. In short, such a message was unnecessary ; for if he meant only to communicate his mind to the Congress by private gentlemen, he might have done that many ways, and it needed not to have been known either to the public or the Congress, till these

private gentlemen came here on purpose to reveal it.— These, then, are the circumstances which attend this message as it is now before us ; and the question is, shall we comply with it in any degree, or not ? Let us ask what benefit will be derived from it ? There is none yet shewn to be possible. It has been admitted by every person without exception who has spoken, that we are not to admit a thought of giving up the independence we have so lately declared ; and by the greatest part, if not the whole, that there is not the least reason to expect that any correspondence we can have with him will tend to peace. Yet I think, in the beginning of the debate, such reasonings were used as seemed to me only to conclude that we should grasp at it as a means of peace. We were told that it was easy for us to boast or be valiant here ; but that our armies were running away before their enemies. I never loved boasting, neither here nor any where else. I look upon it as almost a certain forerunner of disgrace. I found my hope of success in this cause, not in the valor of Americans, or the cowardice of Britons, but upon the justice of the cause, and still more upon the nature of things. Britain has first injured and inflamed America to the highest degree ; and now attempts, at the distance of three thousand miles, to carry on war with this whole country, and force it to absolute submission. If we take the whole events of the war since it commenced, we shall rather wonder at the uniformity of our success, than be surprised at some cross events. We have seen bravery as well as cowardice in this country ; and there are no consequences of either that are probable, that can be worth mentioning, as ascertaining the event of the contest.

Lord Howe speaks of a decisive blow not being yet struck ; as if this cause depended upon one battle, which could not be avoided. Sir, this is a prodigious mistake. We may fight no battle at all for a long time, or we may lose some battles, as was the case with the British themselves in the Scotch rebellion of 1745, and the cause notwithstanding be the same. I wish it were considered, that neither loss nor disgrace worth mentioning, has befallen us in the late engagement, nor comparable to what the British troops

have often suffered. At the battle of Preston, sir, they broke to pieces and ran away like sheep, before a few highlanders. I myself saw them do the same thing at Falkirk, with very little difference, a small part only of the army making a stand, and in a few hours the whole retreating with precipitation before their enemies. Did that make any difference in the cause? Not in the least—so long as the body of the nation were determined, on principle, against the rebels. Nor would it have made any other difference, but in time, though they had got possession of London, which they might have easily done if they had understood their business; for the militia in England there gathered together, behaved fifty times worse than that of America has done lately. They generally disbanded and ran off wholly, as soon as the rebels came within ten or twenty miles of them. In short, sir, from any thing that has happened, I see not the least reason for our attending to this delusive message. On the contrary, I think it is the very worst time that could be chosen for us; as it will be looked upon as the effect of fear, and diffuse the same spirit, in some degree, through different ranks of men.

The improbability of any thing arising from this conference, leading to a just and honorable peace, might be shewn by arguments too numerous to be even so much as named. But what I shall only mention is, that we are absolutely certain, from every circumstance, from all the proceedings at home, and lord Howe's own explicit declaration in his letter to Dr. Franklin, that he never will acknowledge the independence of the American States.

I observed that one or two members said, in objection to the report of the board of war, that it was like a begging of the question, and making a preliminary of the whole subject in debate. Alas, sir, this is a prodigious mistake. It was not only not the whole, but it was properly no subject of debate at all, till within these three months. We were contending for the restoration of certain privileges under the government of Great-Britain, and we were praying for re-union with her. But in the beginning of July, with the universal approbation of all the states now united,

we renounced this connexion, and declared ourselves free and independent. Shall we bring this into question again? Is it not a preliminary? has it not been declared a preliminary by many gentlemen, who have yet given their opinion for a conference, while they have said they were determined on no account, and on no condition, to give up our independence? It is then a necessary preliminary—and it is quite a different thing from any punctilios of ceremony. If France and England were at war, and they were both desirous of peace, there might be some little difficulty as to who should make the first proposals; but if one of them should claim the other, as they did long ago, as a vassal or dependant subject, and should signify a desire to converse with the other, or some deputed by him, and propose him many privileges, so as to make him even better than before, I desire to know how such a proposal would be received? If we had been for ages an independent republic, we should feel this argument with all its force. That we do not feel it, shews that we have not yet acquired the whole ideas and habits of independence; from which I only infer, that every step taken in a correspondence as now proposed, will be a virtual or partial renunciation of that dignity so lately acquired.

I beg you would observe, sir, that lord Howe himself was fully sensible that the declaration of independence precluded any treaty, in the character in which he appeared: as he is said to have lamented that he had not arrived ten days sooner, before that declaration was made. Hence it appears, that entering into any correspondence with him in the manner now proposed, is actually giving up, or at least subjecting to a new consideration, the independence which we have declared. If I may be allowed to say it without offence, it seems to me that some members have unawares admitted this, though they are not sensible of it; for when they say that it is refusing to treat, unless the whole be granted us, they must mean that some part of that whole must be left to be discussed and obtained, or yielded, by the treaty.

But, sir, many members of this house have either yielded, or at least supposed, that no desirable peace, or no real

good, could be finally expected from this correspondence, which is wished to be set on foot ; but they have considered it as necessary in the eye of the public, to satisfy them that we are always ready to hear any thing that will restore peace to the country. In this view it is considered as a sort of trial of skill between lord Howe and us, in the political art. As I do truly believe, that many members of this house are determined by this circumstance, I shall consider it with some attention. With this view it will be necessary to distinguish the public in America into three great classes. (1.) The tories, our secret enemies. (2.) The whigs, the friends of independence, our sincere and hearty supporters. (3.) The army, who must fight for us.

As to the first of them, I readily admit that they are earnest for our treating. They are exulting in the prospect of it ; they are spreading innumerable lies to forward it. They are treating the whigs already with insult and insolence upon it. It has brought them from their lurking holes ; they have taken liberty to say things in consequence of it, which they durst not have said before. In one word, if we set this negociation on foot, it will give new force and vigor to all their seditious machinations. But, sir, shall their devices have any influence upon us at all ; if they have at all, it should be to make us suspect that side of the question which they embrace. In cases where the expediency of a measure is doubtful, if I had an opportunity of knowing what my enemies wished me to do, I would not be easily induced to follow their advice.

As to the whigs and friends of independence, I am well persuaded that multitudes of them are already clear in their minds, that the conference should be utterly rejected ; and to those who are in doubt about its nature, nothing more will be requisite, than a clear and full information of the state of the case, which I hope will be granted them.

As to the army, I cannot help being of opinion, that nothing will more effectually deaden the operations of war, than what is proposed. We do not ourselves ex-

pect any benefit from it, but they will. And they will possibly impute our conduct to fear and jealousy as to the issue of the cause; which will add to their present little discouragement, and produce a timorous and despondent spirit.

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## S P E E C H I N C O N G R E S S,

ON THE

*C O N V E N T I O N*

WITH

G E N E R A L B U R G O Y N E.

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MR. PRESIDENT,

**I** AM sensible, as every other gentleman in this house seems to be, of the great importance of the present question. It is of much moment, as to private persons, so to every incorporated society, to preserve its faith and honor in solemn contracts: and it is especially so to us, as representing the United States of America, associated so lately, and just beginning to appear upon the public stage. I hope, therefore, we shall detest the thoughts of embracing any measure which shall but appear to be mean, captious, or insidious, whatever advantage may seem to arise from it. On the other hand, as the interest of this continent is committed to our care, it is our duty, and it will be expected of us, that we give the utmost attention that the public suffer no injury by deception, or abuse and insult, on the part of our enemies.

On the first of these principles, it is clearly my opinion that we ought, agreeably to the spirit of the first resolution reported, to find, that the convention is not so broken, on the part of general Burgoyne, as to entitle us to refuse compliance

with it on ours, and detain him and his army as prisoners of war. I admit that there is something very suspicious in the circumstance of the colours, when compared with his letter in the London Gazette, which makes mention of the British colours being seen flying upon the fort. I agree, at the same time, that the pretence of the cartouch boxes not being mentioned in the convention, is plainly an evasion. They ought, in fair construction, to be comprehended under more expressions of that capitulation than one—arms—ammunition—warlike stores. They were so understood at the capitulation of St. John's. In this present instance many of them were delivered up, which certainly ought to have been the case with all or none. And once more, I admit that the detention of the bayonets in the instances in which it was done, was undeniably unjust.

As to the first of these particulars, I am unwilling to distrust the honour of a gentleman solemnly given; and therefore as general Burgoyne has given his honor to general Gates, that the colours were left in Canada, I suppose it is substantially true, whatever small exception there might be to it. The colours seen flying at Tyconderoga, were perhaps old colours occasionally found there, or perhaps taken from some of the vessels lying at the place, and left there when the army proceeded further up the country. This is the rather probable, that if the regiments in general had had colours, they must have been seen very frequently by our army in the battles, or upon the march.

As to the other circumstances, they are so mean and little in their nature, that I suppose them to have arisen from the indiscretion of individuals, quite unknown to the commander in chief, or even to the officers in general.

We ought also to consider that it was so unexpected, and must have been so humiliating a thing, for a whole British army to surrender their arms, and deliver themselves up prisoners to those of whom they had been accustomed to speak with such contempt and disdain—that it is not to be wondered at, if the common soldiers did some things out of spite and ill humor, not to be justified. To

all these considerations, I will only add, that though the want of the colours deprives us of some ensigns of triumph which it would have been very grateful to the different states to have distributed among them, and to have preserved as monuments of our victory, the other things are so trifling and unessential, that it would probably be considered as taking an undue advantage, if we should retain the whole army here on that account. I would therefore, sir, have it clearly asserted, that though we are not insensible of those irregularities, and they may contribute to make us attentive to what shall hereafter pass before the embarkation, we do not consider them as such breaches of the convention, as will authorize us in justice to declare it void.

On the other hand, sir, it is our indispensable duty to use the greatest vigilance, and to act with the greatest firmness, in seeing that justice be done to the American States. Not only caution, but what I may call jealousy and suspicion, is neither unreasonable nor indecent in such a case. This will be justified by the knowledge of mankind. History affords us many examples of evasive and artful conduct in some of the greatest men and most respectable nations, when hard pressed by their necessities, or when a great advantage was in view. The behaviour of the Romans when their army was taken at the Caudine Forks may be produced as one. The conduct of the Samnites was not over-wise; but that of the Romans was dishonorable to the last degree, though there are civilians who defend it. Their consul, after his army had passed through the yoke, a symbol at that time of the utmost infamy, made a peace with the Samnites. The senate refused to ratify it; but kept up a shew of regard to the faith plighted, by delivering up the consul to the Samnites, to be used as they thought proper. That people answered, as was easily suggested by plain common sense, that it was no reparation at all to them to torment or put one man to death; but that if they disavowed the treaty, they ought to send back the army to the same spot of ground in which they had been surrounded. No such thing, however, was done. But the Romans, notwithstanding, immediately broke the

league ; and with the same army which had been let go, or a great part of it, brought the unhappy Samnites to destruction.—Such instances may be brought from modern as well as ancient times. It is even the opinion of many persons of the best judgment, that the convention entered into by the late duke of Cumberland, was by no means strictly observed by the court of London.

When I consider this, sir, I confess I look upon the expression in general Burgoyne's letter to general Gates, of November 14, as of the most alarming nature. For no other or better reason, even so much as pretended, than that his quarters were not so commodious as he expected, he declares *the public faith is broke, and we are the immediate sufferers*. In this he expressly declares and subscribes his opinion, that the convention is broken on our part ; and in the last expression, we are the *immediate* sufferers, every person must perceive a menacing intimation of who shall be the sufferers when he shall have it in his power.

Being sufficiently settled as to the principle on which I shall found my opinion, it is unnecessary for me to give an account of the law of nature and nations, or to heap up citations from the numerous writers on that subject. But that what I shall say may have the greater force, I beg it may be observed, that the law of nature and nations is nothing else but the law of general reason, or those obligations of duty from reason and conscience, on one individual to another antecedent to any particular law derived from the social compact, or even actual consent. On this account, it is called the law of nature ; and because there are very rarely to be found any parties in such a free state with regard to each other, except independent nations, therefore it is also called the law of nations. One nation to another is just as man to man in a state of nature. Keeping this in view, a person of integrity will pass as sound a judgment on subjects of this kind, by consulting his own heart, as by turning over books and systems. The chief use of books and systems, is to apply the principal to particular cases and suppositions differently classed, and to point out the practice of nations in

several minute and special particulars, which unless ascertained by practice, would be very uncertain and ambiguous.

But, sir, I must beg your attention, and that of the house, to the nature of the case before us—at least as I think it ought to be stated. I am afraid that some members may be misled, by considering this declaration of general Burgoyne as an irregularity of the same species, if I may speak so, with the other indiscretions or even frauds, if you please to call them so, of withholding the cartouch boxes, or hiding or stealing the bayonets. The question is not, whether this or the other thing done by the army is a breach of the convention. I have for my part given up all these particulars, and declared my willingness to ratify the convention, after I have heard them and believe them to be true. But we have here the declared opinion of one of the parties, that the public faith is broken by the other. Now, the simplest man in the world knows, that a mutual onerous contract is always conditional; and that if the condition fails on one side, whether from necessity or fraud, the other is free. Therefore we have reason to conclude, that if Mr. Burgoyne is of opinion that the convention is broken on our part, he will not hold to it on his. He would act the part of a fool if he did. It is of no consequence to say his opinion is ill-founded or unjust, as it manifestly is in the present case; for whether it is just or unjust, if it is *really* his opinion (and we should wrong his sincerity to doubt it) the consequences are the same with respect to us. Men do often, perhaps generally, adhere with greater obstinacy to opinions that are ill, than those that are well founded, and avenge imaginary or trifling injuries with greater violence than those that are real and great. Nay, we may draw an argument for our danger from the very injustice of his complaint. If he has conceived the convention to be broken on so frivolous a pretence as that his lodging is not quite commodious, after the just caution inserted by general Gates in the preliminary articles, what have we to expect from him as soon as he shall recover his liberty, and the power of doing mischief? It shews a dis-

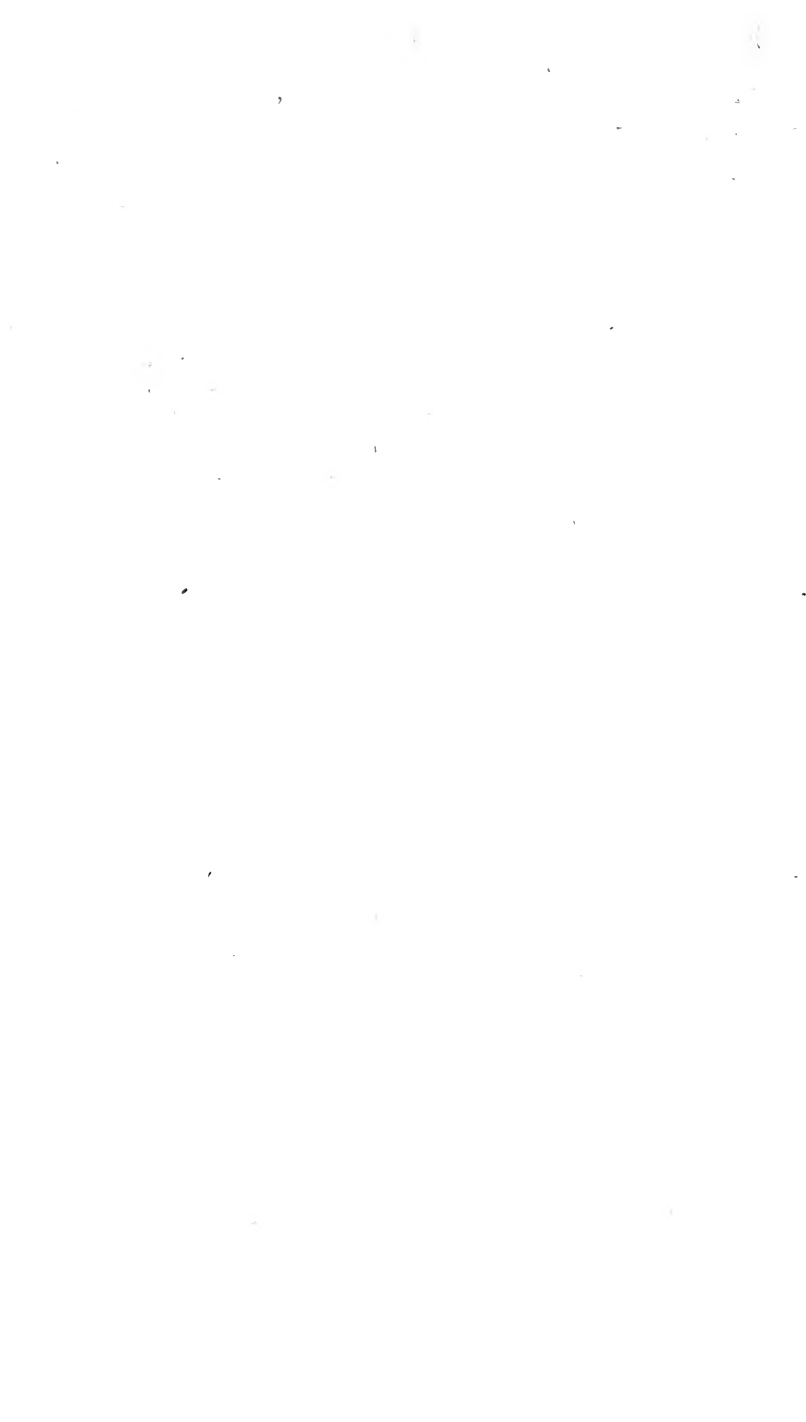
position to find fault, and an impatience under his present confinement, the future effects of which we have the greatest reason to dread.

The more I consider this matter, sir, the more it strikes me with its force. General Gates says upon the subject of accommodation, *granted as far as circumstances will admit*. Was not this proper and necessary? It was very natural to suppose that general Burgoyne, accustomed to the splendor of the British court, and possessed with ideas of his own importance, would be but ill pleased with the best accommodations that could be obtained for him, and his numerous followers, in one of the frugal states of New-England. It was also in the neighbourhood of a place not in the least expecting the honor of such guests, which had been long the seat of war—which had been exhausted by our army, and plundered by their's. One would have thought that the recollection of the ruin of Charlestown, the burning of which, if I mistake not, in a letter of his from Boston to England, he calls a glorious light, might have prevented his complaints, even though he had less elbow room than he wished for. But as circumstances stand, by what conduct shall we be able to satisfy him? When will pretences ever be wanting to one seeking to prove the convention broken, when it is his inclination or his interest to do so.

It has been said, sir, that we ought not to take this declaration of his in so serious a manner; that it was written rashly, and in the heat of passion; and that he did not mean that we should dread such consequences from it. All this I believe to be strictly true. It probably fell from him in passion—and very unadvisedly. But is he the first person that has rashly betrayed his own mischievous designs? Or is this a reason for our not availing ourselves of the happy discovery? His folly in this instance is our good fortune. He is a man, sir, whom I never saw, though I have been more than once in England; but if I should say I did not know him, after having read his lofty and sonorous proclamation, and some other productions, I should say what was not true. He is evidently a man showy, vain, impetuous and rash. It is reported of gene-

ral Gates, from whom I never heard that any other words of boasting or ostentation fell, that he said he knew Burgoyne, and that he could build a wall for him to run his head against. I do not by any means approve of boasting in general. I think a man should not boast of what he has done, much less of what he only means to do; yet I cannot help saying, that this was a most accurate prediction, which, with the event that followed it, plainly points out to us the character of general Burgoyne. Do you think that such a man would not take the advantage of this pretended breach of the convention on our part; and endeavor to wipe off the reproach of his late ignominious surrender by some signal or desperate undertaking? —

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## S P E E C H I N C O N G R E S S,

ON A

## M O T I O N F O R P A Y I N G

THE INTEREST OF

*L O A N - O F F I C E C E R T I F I C A T E S .*

Mr. PRESIDENT,

**I** MUST entreat the attention of the house, while I endeavor to state this subject with as much brevity and perspicuity as I am master of. It is not easy to forbear mentioning, yet I shall but barely mention, the distressed and unhappy situation of many of the persons concerned in the public loans. I shall also pass by their characters, as whigs and friends to the American cause. I shall pass by the services which many of them have rendered, in their persons, by their friends, by their purses, and by their prayers. These are affecting considerations, which ought not, and which I am confident will not fail, to have their weight with every member of this house. Let us then, leave these topics altogether, and let us confine ourselves to the duty and interest of the United States in their present situation, when the care of their affairs is committed to us who are here assembled.

Public credit is of the utmost moment to a state which expects to support itself, at any time; but it is all in all in a time of war. The want of it defeats the wisest mea-

tures, and renders every department torpid and motionless. It cannot be denied, that by many unhappy, if not unwise measures, public credit among us has been reduced to the lowest ebb, first by a monstrous and unheard of emission of paper money ; next by an act of bankruptcy, reducing it to six-pence in the pound ; then by a table of depreciation. There remained but one thing which preserved us some degree of respectability, that the promises made to lenders of money before a certain period, had been kept for three years ; but now, as the last and finishing stroke, this also is broken to pieces, and given to the winds.

Let not gentlemen cry out as before, why distinguish these people from other public creditors ? I do not distinguish them by asking payment for them alone ; but I distinguish them, because their circumstances and disappointment give a new and disgraceful stroke to the credit of the United States. I distinguish them, because I hope that their sufferings and complaints may induce us to take some step towards the payment of all. Strange it is to the last degree, that this comparison should seem to set gentlemen's minds at ease—because great injury has been done to one class, therefore the same may and ought to be done to another. In this way it would be very easy to rid ourselves of both, and to say, why all this noise about loan-office certificates ? have not all the receivers of continental bills suffered as much or more than they, and had the immense sum of two hundred millions sunk in their hands ?—If this would be a good answer in one case, it certainly would in the other. Now is it proper or safe in our present situation, to refuse all kind of payment to the public creditors in this country, so numerous and so variously circumstanced ? Let us examine it a little.

We are now endeavoring to borrow, and have the hope of borrowing money in Europe. Is this the way to succeed ? Is it not possible, is it not highly probable, that our treatment of our creditors here, will soon be known there ? Nay, are not some of our creditors interested in this very measure, residing there ? Must not this repeated insolvency, neglect and even contempt of public creditors, pre-

vent people from lending us in Europe ? I am sorry to say it, but in truth I do believe that it is their ignorance of our situation and past conduct, that alone will make them trust us. I confess, that if I were at Amsterdam just now, and had plenty of money, I would give what I thought proper to the United States, but would lend them none.

It is to be hoped, that in time truth and justice will so far prevail, that our posterity will see the necessity of doing their duty ; but at present we seem but little disposed to it.—By making some payment to the public creditors immediately, and prosecuting the measures already begun for further security, we should obtain a dignity and weight abroad, that would procure money wherever it could be found.

Let us next consider the effect upon our credit at home. It has ever been my opinion, that if our security were good, and our credit entire, so that obligations by the public would be turned into money at any time, at par or at little less, we should find no inconsiderable number of lenders. Every thing of this kind proceeds upon such certain principles as never to fail in any instance of having their effect. From the general disposition that prevails in this new country, real estate is less esteemed, and money at interest more, that is to say comparatively speaking, than in the old. Now, whatever success we may have in Europe, I am persuaded we should still need, or at least be much the better of loans at home, which are in their nature preferable to those abroad ; and therefore whatever leads utterly to destroy our credit at home, does an essential injury to the public cause. Nay, though there were not any proper loans to be expected or attempted at home, some trusting to public credit would be necessary, to make those to whom we are already indebted patient, or at least silent for some time. To this may be added that annihilating public credit, or rather rendering it contemptible, has an unhappy influence upon every particular internal temporary operation. People will not seek your service, but fly from it. Hence it is well known, that sometimes stores and ammunition or other necessaries for the

army, have stood still upon the road till they were half lost for want of ready money, or people who would trust you, to carry them forward.

We must now go a little further, and say that if this proposition is enforced, it will be a great hindrance to the payment of taxes, and raising the supplies which must be called for from the states. I do not insist upon what has been already mentioned, that the payment proposed would enable many to pay their taxes ; because, though that is certainly true with respect to those who shall receive it, and though it is admitted they are pretty numerous, yet in my opinion it is but a trifle to the other effects of it, both in the positive and negative way. It would give dignity to the public spirit, and animation to the people in general. It would give the people better thoughts of their rulers, and prevent murmuring at public persons and public measures. I need not tell this house how much depends in a free state, upon having the esteem and attachment of the people. It is but a very general view that people at a distance can take of the management of men in public trust ; but in general it is well known, they are abundantly jealous, and as ready to believe evil as good. I do not speak by guess, but from facts, when I tell you that they say, we are now paying prodigious taxes, but what becomes of all the money ? The army, say they, get none of it, being almost two years in arrear. The public creditors say they get none of it, not even interest for their money. This was told me by the county collector of Somerset county, New-Jersey, who was not a contentious man, but wished to know what he ought to say to the people. Now this small payment, as it would be very general, would be much talked of ; and I am persuaded, for its general good influence, would be worth all, and more than all the sum we shall bestow. I have heard it said, in some similar cases, you must sometimes throw a little water into a pump, in order to bring a great deal out of it.

Now, on the other hand, what will be the consequence of a total refusal ? You have told the public creditors, that you have no money in Europe to draw for. They

will very speedily hear of this loan in Holland. They are sufficiently exasperated already ; this will add to their indignation. They really are already fore ; their minds will be rankled more than ever. They are looking with an evil eye upon some new men coming into play, and thinking themselves unjustly and ungratefully used. I believe they are not so much without principle, as to turn their backs upon the public cause ; but a spirit of faction and general discontent, upon such plausible grounds, may do it essential injury. They may combine to refuse their taxes ; and if any such unhappy association should be formed, it would spread ; and many from a blind attachment to their own interest, would pretend to be upon the same footing, though they have no concern in the matter : and if this disposition should become general, it would put an entire stop to all our proceedings. This discouraging prospect is not merely founded on conjecture. I have been told that there have already been meetings for entering into concert for refusing to pay taxes. Is it possible we can, in our circumstances, more profitably employ the sum mentioned in the motion, than in giving satisfaction to a deserving body of men, and in preventing evils of so alarming a nature.

It is possible, sir, that some are comforting themselves with their own sincerity and good intentions ; that they ultimately resolve to pay all honorably ; that they have taken, and are taking measures to prepare for it.—A sum of money is called for on purpose to pay the interest of the public debts ; and the five per cent. impost is appropriated to the same purpose. But, sir, it will take a considerable time before the most speedy of these measures can bring money into the treasury ; and in the mean time the late step of refusing to draw bills, has given such a stroke to loan-office certificates, that their value is fallen to a very trifle—the spirits of the people are broken—a gentleman told me the other day, I see the loan-office certificates are gone, as well as all the rest of the money. The inevitable consequence will be, that hard and irresistible necessity, or incredulity and ill humor, will make them part with them for a mere nothing ; and then the greatest part of

them by far will really be in the hands of speculators. When this is notoriously the case, I shall not be at all surprised to find that somebody will propose a new scale of depreciation, and say to the holders, you shall have them for what they were worth and generally sold at, at such a time. Past experience justifies this expectation, and no declaration we can make to the contrary, will be stronger than that of Congress in the year 1779, that they would redeem the money, and that it was a vile and slanderous assertion, that they would suffer it to sink in people's hands. I know particular persons also, who by believing this declaration, lost their all. Now, if this shall be the case again, public faith will be once more trodden under foot ; and the few remaining original holders of certificates will lose them entirely, being taken in connexion with those who purchased them at an under value.

PART OF A

SPEECH IN CONGRESS,

ON THE

*F I N A N C E S.*

Mr. PRESIDENT,

**I** HAVE little to say against the resolutions, as they stand reported by the superintendant of finance. Perhaps they are unavoidable in the circumstances to which we are reduced. Yet the step seems to be so very important, and the consequences of it so much to be dreaded, that I must intreat the patience of the house, till I state the danger in a few words, and examine whether any thing can possibly be added to it, which may in some degree prevent the evils which we apprehend, or at least exculpate Congress, and convince the public that it is the effect of absolute necessity.

Sir, if we enter into these resolves as they stand, it will be a deliberate deviation from an express and absolute stipulation, and therefore it will, as it was expressed by an honorable gentleman the other day, give the last stab to public credit. It will be in vain, in future, to ask the public to believe any promise we shall make, even when the most clear and explicit grounds of confidence are produced. Perhaps it will be said that public credit is already gone; and it hath been said that there is no more in this, than

in neglecting to pay the interest of the loan-office certificates of later date ; but though there were no other differences between them, this being another and fresher instance of the same, will have an additional evil influence upon public credit. But in fact, there is something more in it than in the other. The solemn stipulation of Congress, specifying the manner in which the interest was to be paid, was considered as an additional security, and gave a value to these certificates, which the others never had. I beg that no gentleman may think that I hold it a light matter to withhold the interest from the other lenders ; they will be convinced I hope, of the contrary before I have done ; but I have made the comparison merely to shew what will be the influence of this measure upon the public mind, and therefore upon the credit and estimation of Congress. Now it is plain, that the particular promise of giving bills upon Europe, as it had an effect, and was intended to have it in procuring credit, it must, when broken or withdrawn, operate in the most powerful manner to our prejudice. I will give an example of this, in our melancholy past experience. The old continental money was disgraced and sunk, first by the act of March 18th, 1780, (which the Duke de Vergennes justly called an act of bankruptcy,) telling you would pay no more of your debt than six pence in the pound. This was afterwards further improved by new estimates of depreciation, of seventy-five and one hundred and fifty, for new state paper, which itself was sunk to two or three for one ; and yet bad as these men's cases were, the disgrace arising from them was more than doubled, by people's referring to, and repeating a public declaration of Congress, in which we complained of the injurious slanders of those that said we would suffer the money to sink in the hands of the holders, and making the most solemn protestations, that ultimately the money should be redeemed dollar for dollar ; and to my knowledge, some trusting to that very declaration, sold their estates at what they thought a high price, and brought themselves to utter ruin.

I cannot help requesting Congress to attend to the state of those persons who held the Loan Office certificates

which drew interest on France ; they are all, without exception, the firmest and safest friends to the cause of America ; they were in general the most firm, and active, and generous friends. Many of them advanced large sums of hard money, to assist you in carrying on the war in Canada. None of them at all put away even the loan-office certificates on speculation, but either from a generous intention of serving the public, or from an entire confidence in the public credit. There is one circumstance which ought to be attended to, viz. the promise of interest—bills on Europe were not made till the 10th of September, 1777. It was said a day or two ago, that those who lent in cash a little before March 1st, 1778, had by the depreciated state of the money, received almost their principal ; but this makes but a small part of the money, for there were but six months for the people to put in the money, after the promise was made ; only the most apparent justice obliged Congress to extend the privilege to those who had put in their money before. Besides, nothing can be more unequal and injurious than reckoning the money by the depreciation, either before or after the 1st of March, 1778, for a great part of the money in all the Loan offices was such as had been paid up in its nominal value, in consequence of the Tender laws.

This points you, Sir, to another class of people, from whom money was taken, viz. widows and orphans, corporations and public bodies. How many guardians were actually led, or indeed were obliged, to put their depreciated and depreciating money into the funds—I speak from good knowledge. The trustees of the college of New-Jersey, in June, 1777, directed a committee of their's to put all the money that should be paid up to them, in the loan-office, so that they have now nearly invested all. Some put in before March, 1778, and a greater part subsequent to that date. Now it must be known to every body, that since the payment of the interest bills gave a value to these early loans, many have continued their interest in them, and rested in a manner wholly on them for support. Had they entertained the slightest suspicion that they would be cut off, they could have sold them for something, and

applied themselves to other means of subsistence ; but as the case now stands, you are reducing not an inconsiderable number of your very best friends to absolute beggary. During the whole period, and through the whole system of continental money, your friends have suffered alone—the disaffected and lukewarm have always evaded the burden—have in many instances turned the sufferings of the country to their own account—have triumphed over the whigs—and if the whole shall be crowned with this last stroke, it seems but reasonable that they should treat us with insult and derision. And what faith do you expect the public creditors should place in your promise of ever paying them at all ? What reason, after what is past, have they to dread that you will divert the fund which is now mentioned as a distant source of payment ? If a future Congress should do this, it would not be one whit worse than what has been already done.

I wish, Sir, this house would weigh a little, the public consequences that will immediately follow this resolution. The grief, disappointment and sufferings of your best friends, has been already mentioned—then prepare yourselves to hear from your enemies the most insulting abuse. You will be accused of the most oppressive tyranny, and the grossest fraud. If it be possible to poison the minds of the public, by making this body ridiculous or contemptible, they will have the fairest opportunity of doing so, that ever was put in their hands. But I must return to our plundered, long ruined friends ; we cannot say to what their rage and disappointment may bring them ; we know that nothing on earth is so deeply resentful, as despised or rejected love—whether they may proceed to any violent or disorderly measures, it is impossible to know. We have an old proverb, That the eyes will break through stone walls, and for my own part, I should very much dread the furious and violent efforts of despair. Would to God, that the independence of America was once established by a treaty of peace in Europe ; for we know that in all great and fierce political contentions, the effect of power and circumstances

is very great ; and that if the tide has run long with great violence one way, if it does not fully reach its purpose, and is by any means brought to a stand, it is apt to take a direction, and return with the same or greater violence than it advanced. Must this be risked at a crisis when the people begin to be fatigued with the war, to feel the heavy expence of it, by paying taxes ; and when the enemy, convinced of their folly in their former severities, are doing every thing they can to ingratiate themselves with the public at large. But though our friends should not be induced to take violent and seditious measures all at once, I am almost certain it will produce a particular hatred and contempt of Congress, the representative body of the union, and still a greater hatred of the individuals who compose the body at this time. One thing will undoubtedly happen ; that it will greatly abate the respect which is due from the public to this body, and therefore weaken their authority in all other parts of their proceedings.

I beg leave to say, Sir, that in all probability it will lay the foundation for other greater and more scandalous steps of the same kind. You will say what greater can there be ? Look back a little to your history. The first great and deliberate breach of public faith, was the act of March 18th, 1780, reducing the money to forty for one, which was declaring you would pay your debt at six-pence in the pound — But did it not turn ? No, by and by it was set in this state and others at seventy-five, and finally set one hundred and fifty for one, in new paper, in state paper, which in six months, rose to four for one. Now, Sir, what will be the case with these certificates ? Before this proposal was known, their fixed price was about half a crown for a dollar of the estimated depreciated value ; when this resolution is fairly fixed, they will immediately fall in value, perhaps to a shilling the dollar, probably less. Multitudes of people in despair, and absolute necessity, will sell them for next to nothing, and when the holders come at last to apply for their money, I think it highly probable, you will give them a scale of depreciation, and tell them, they cost so little that it would be an injury to the public to pay the full value. And in truth, Sir, supposing you

finally to pay the full value of the certificates to the holders, the original and most meritorious proprietors will in many, perhaps in most cases, lose the whole.

It will be very proper to consider what effect this will have upon foreign nations; certainly it will set us in a most contemptible light. We are just beginning to appear among the powers of the earth, and it may be said of national, as of private characters, they soon begin to form, and when disadvantageous ideas are formed, they are not easily altered or destroyed. In the very instance before us, many of these certificates are possessed by the subjects of foreign princes, and indeed are in foreign parts. We must not think that other sovereigns will suffer their subjects to be plundered in so wanton and extravagant a manner. You have on your files, letters from the Count de Vergennes, on the subject of your former depreciation; in which he tells you, that whatever liberty you take with your own subjects, you must not think of treating the subjects of France in the same way; and it is not impossible that you may hear upon this subject, what you little expect, when the terms of peace are to be settled. I do not in the least doubt that it may be demanded that you should pay to the full of its nominal value, all the money as well as loan-office certificates, which shall be found in the hands of the subjects of France, Spain or Holland, and it would be perfectly just. I have mentioned France, &c. but it is not only not impossible, but highly probable, that by accident or danger, or both, many of these loan-office certificates may be in the hands of English subjects. Do you think they will not demand payment? Do you think they will make any difference between their being before or after March 1st, 1778? And will you present them with a scale of depreciation? Remember the affair of the Canada bills, in the last peace between England and France—I wish we could take example from our enemies. How many fine dissertations have we upon the merit of national truth and honor in Great-Britain. Can we think without blushing, upon our contrary conduct in the matter of finance? By their punctuality in fulfilling their engagements as to interest, they have been able to support

a load of debt altogether enormous. Be pleased to observe, Sir, that they are not wholly without experience of depreciation : navy debentures and sailors' tickets have been frequently sold at an half, and sometimes even at a third of their value ; by that means they seem to be held by that class of men called by us speculators. Did that government ever think of presenting the holders of them, when they came to be paid, with a scale of depreciation ? The very idea of it would knock the whole system of public credit to pieces.

But the importance of this matter will be felt before the end of the war. We are at this time earnestly soliciting foreign loans. With what face can we expect to have credit in foreign parts, and in future loans, after we have so notoriously broken every engagement which we have hitherto made ? A disposition to pay, and visible probable means of payment, are absolutely necessary to credit ; and where that is once established, it is not difficult to borrow. If it may be a mean of turning the attention of Congress to this subject, I beg of them to observe, that if they could but lay down a foundation of credit, they would get money enough to borrow in this country, where we are. There is property enough here ; and, comparatively speaking, there is a greater number of persons here who would prefer money at interest to purchasing and holding real estates. The ideas of all old country people are high in favor of real estate. Though the interest of money, even upon the very best security there, is from four to four and a half, four and three quarters and five per centum ; yet when any real estate is to be sold, there will be ten purchasers where one only can obtain it, and it will cost so much as not to bring more than two, two and a half, and at most three per centum.

It is quite otherwise in this country, and indeed it ought to be otherwise. To purchase an estate in the cultivated parts of the country, except what a man possesses himself, will not be near so profitable as the interest of money ; and in many cases where it is rented out, it is so wasted and worn by the tenant, that it would be a greater profit at the end of seven years, that the land had been left to it.

self, to bear woods and bushes that should rot upon the ground, without any rent at all. Any body also may see, that it is almost universal in this country, when a man dies leaving infant children, that the executors sell all his property to turn it into money, and put it in securities for easy and equal division.

All these things, Mr. President, proceed upon certain and indubitable principles, which never fail of their effect. Therefore, you have only to make your payments as soon, as regular, and as profitable as other borrowers, and you will get all the money you want; and by a small advantage over others, it will be poured in upon you, so that you shall not need to go to the lenders, for they will come to you.

PART OF A

S P E E C H I N C O N G R E S S,

UPON THE

*C O N F E D E R A T I O N.*

THE absolute necessity of union to the vigor and success of those measures on which we are already entered, is felt and confessed by every one of us, without exception ; so far, indeed, that those who have expressed their fears or suspicions of the existing confederacy proving abortive, have yet agreed in saying that there must and shall be a confederacy for the purposes of, and till the finishing of this war. So far is well ; and so far it is pleasing to hear them express their sentiments. But I intreat gentlemen calmly to consider how far the giving up all hopes of a lasting confederacy among these states, for their future security and improvement, will have an effect upon the stability and efficacy of even the temporary confederacy, which all acknowledge to be necessary ? I am fully persuaded, that when it ceases to be generally known, that the delegates of the provinces consider a lasting union as impracticable, it will greatly derange the minds of the people, and weaken their hands in defence of their country, which they have now undertaken with so much alacrity and spirit. I confess it would to me greatly diminish the glory and importance of the struggle,

whether considered as for the rights of mankind in general, or for the prosperity and happiness of this continent in future times.

It would quite depreciate the object of hope, as well as place it at a greater distance. For what would it signify to risk our possessions and shed our blood to set ourselves free from the encroachments and oppression of Great-Britain—with a certainty, as soon as peace was settled with them of a more lasting war, a more unnatural, more bloody, and much more hopeless war, among the colonies themselves?—Some of us consider ourselves as acting for posterity at present, having little expectation of living to see all things fully settled, and the good consequences of liberty taking effect. But how much more uncertain the hope of seeing the internal contests of the colonies settled upon a lasting and equitable footing?

One of the greatest dangers I have always considered the colonies as exposed to at present, is treachery among themselves, augmented by bribery and corruption from our enemies. But what force would be added to the arguments of seducers, if they could say with truth, that it was of no consequence whether we succeeded against Great-Britain, or not; for we must, in the end, be subjected, the greatest part of us, to the power of one or more of the strongest or largest of the American states? And here I would apply the argument which we have so often used against Great-Britain—that in all history we see that the slaves of freemen, and the subject states of republics, have been of all others the most grievously oppressed. I do not think the records of time can produce an instance of slaves treated with so much barbarity as the Helotes by the Lacedemonians, who were the most illustrious champions for liberty in all Greece; or of provinces more plundered and spoiled than the states conquered by the Romans, for one hundred years before Cæsar's dictatorship. The reason is plain: there are many great men in free states. There were many consular gentlemen in that great republic, who all considered themselves as greater than kings, and must have kingly fortunes, which they had no other way of

acquiring but by governments of provinces, which lasted generally but one year, and seldom more than two.

In what I have already said, or may say, or any cases I may state, I hope every gentleman will do me the justice to believe that I have not the most distant view to particular persons or societies, and mean only to reason from the usual course of things, and the prejudices inseparable from men as such. And can we help saying, that there will be a much greater degree, not only of the corruption of particular persons, but the defection of particular provinces from the present confederacy, if they consider our success itself as only a prelude to contest of a more dreadful nature, and indeed much more properly a civil war than that which now often obtains the name? Must not small colonies in particular be in danger of saying, we must secure ourselves? If the colonies are independent states, separate and disunited, after this war, we may be sure of coming off by the worse. We are in no condition to contend with several of them. Our trade in general, and our trade with them, must be upon such terms as they shall be pleased to prescribe.—What will be the consequence of this? Will they not be ready to prefer putting themselves under the protection of Great-Britain, France or Holland, rather than submit to the tyranny of their neighbors, who were lately their equals? Nor would it be at all impossible, that they should enter into such rash engagements as would prove their own destruction, from a mixture of apprehended necessity and real resentment.

Perhaps it may be thought that breaking off this confederacy, and leaving it unfinished after we have entered upon it, will be only postponing the duty to some future period? Alas, nothing can exceed the absurdity of that supposition. Does not all history cry out, that a common danger is the great and only effectual means of settling difficulties, and composing differences. Have we not experienced its efficacy in producing such a degree of union through these colonies, as nobody would have prophesied, and hardly any would have expected?

If therefore, at present, when the danger is yet imminent, when it is so far from being over, that it is but

coming to its height, we shall find it impossible to agree upon the terms of this confederacy, what madness is it to suppose that there ever will be a time, or that circumstances will so change, as to make it even probable, that it will be done at an after season? Will not the very same difficulties that are in our way, be in the way of those who shall come after us? Is it possible that they should be ignorant of them, or inattentive to them? Will they not have the same jealousies of each other, the same attachment to local prejudices, and particular interest? So certain is this, that I look upon it as on the repentance of a sinner—Every day's delay, though it adds to the necessity, yet augments the difficulty, and takes from the inclination.

There is one thing that has been thrown out, by which some seem to persuade themselves of, and others to be more indifferent about the success of a confederacy—that from the nature of men, it is to be expected that a time must come when it will be dissolved and broken in pieces. I am none of those who either deny or conceal the depravity of human nature, till it is purified by the light of truth, and renewed by the Spirit of the living God. Yet I apprehend there is no force in that reasoning at all. Shall we establish nothing good, because we know it cannot be eternal? Shall we live without government, because every constitution has its old age, and its period? Because we know that we shall die, shall we take no pains to preserve or lengthen out life? Far from it, sir: it only requires the more watchful attention, to settle government upon the best principles, and in the wisest manner, that it may last as long as the nature of things will admit.

But I beg leave to say something more, though with some risk that it will be thought visionary and romantic. I do expect, Mr. President, a progress, as in every other human art, so in the order and perfection of human society, greater than we have yet seen: and why should we be wanting to ourselves in urging it forward. It is certain, I think, that human science and religion have kept company together, and greatly assisted each other's

progress in the world. I do not say that intellectual and moral qualities are in the same proportion in particular persons ; but they have a great and friendly influence upon one another, in societies and larger bodies.

There have been great improvements, not only in human knowledge, but in human nature ; the progress of which can be easily traced in history. Every body is able to look back to the time in Europe, when the liberal sentiments that now prevail upon the rights of conscience, would have been looked upon as absurd. It is but little above two hundred years since that enlarged system called the balance of power, took place : and I maintain, that it is a greater step from the former disunited and hostile situation of kingdoms and states, to their present condition, than it would be from their present condition to a state of more perfect and lasting union. It is not impossible, that in future times all the states on one quarter of the globe, may see it proper by some plan of union, to perpetuate security and peace : and sure I am, a well planned confederacy among the states of America, may hand down the blessings of peace and public order to many generations. The union of the seven provinces of the Low Countries, has never yet been broken ; and they are of very different degrees of strength and wealth. Neither have the Cantons of Switzerland ever broken among themselves, though there are some of them protestants, and some of them papists, by public establishment. Not only so, but these confederacies are seldom engaged in a war with other nations. Wars are generally between monarchs, or single states that are large. A confederation of itself keeps war at a distance from the bodies of which it is composed.

For all these reasons, sir, I humbly apprehend that every argument from honor, interest, safety and necessity, conspire in pressing us to a confederacy ; and if it be seriously attempted, I hope, by the blessing of God upon our endeavors, it will be happily accomplished. — — — — —



## SPEECH IN CONGRESS,

ON THE APPOINTMENT OF

## PLENIPOTENTIARIES.

Mr. PRESIDENT,

**I** AM sorry to observe, that after going through the instructions to be given to our plenipotentiary or plenipotentiaries, we should have so warm a debate, and indeed seem to be so equally divided upon the question, whether there should be one or more, to whom we will entrust the negotiation.

As to the practice of European nations, I believe it is so various as not to afford any argument on one side or the other: we may appoint one or more—there will be nothing singular or remarkable in it, so as to make our conduct look like ignorance in such matters. I am inclined to think, however, that negotiations are generally conducted near to their conclusion, by one confidential person, though after the more important preliminaries are settled, more may be sometimes appointed, to give greater solemnity to the conclusion. We are therefore at liberty to determine ourselves wholly by the general reason and nature of the thing, and our own particular circumstances.

As to the first of these, on the side of one person, it may be said, there will be more precision, more expedition, more uniformity, and more certainty of agreement with others and consistency with himself. And the person whom

we have employed, is a man of sound and clear understanding, and has had the advantage of being a long time in Europe, and no doubt has been turning his thoughts, and making enquiries, upon the subject ever since he went there ; so that we may suppose him pretty ripely advised.

On the other side, it may be said, that, if alone, he might be at a loss ; and that it would be of advantage to him to have the advice of others. It is even said, that there is a necessity of others better acquainted with parts of the country different from those with which he has been chiefly connected.—As to council, that does not strike me much—perhaps there is greater safety in one than three ; because he is fully responsible ; whereas if a common council is taken, the blame is divided, and every one is less diffculted to justify his conduct in the issue. Besides, is there no danger to the cause itself, from an obstinate division of sentiments in those who are entrusted with the conduct of it ? This would expose us, in the opinion of those who observed it, and might perhaps give less respect to what each or all of them might say or do.

As to the necessity of persons from different parts of the country, it is not easy to conceive what circumstances, in a negociation of this kind, can be peculiar to one part of the country more than another. If it were to make rules for the internal government, taxation, or commerce of the states, there would be some force in the remark ; but when it is only to make peace for the liberty and protection of all, there seems to be little weight in it.

But now let us consider our particular circumstances. Mention has been made of the difference between Mr. Adams and the count de Vergennes. I have given particular attention to all that was said in his letter upon that subject, and all that has been said by the minister of France here ; and there was not one hint given that could lead us to think it was their desire or expectation that he should be dismissed or superseded, or even bridled by the addition of others in the commission. We have fully complied with their desire upon this subject, in the instructions. There is the greatest reason to think that they are well satisfied upon it. But if we should still go further,

and either discharge him, or do what is in substance the same, or might be supposed or conceived by him to be the same, this would be rather an act of too great obsequiousness, and but an ill example for the future conduct of our affairs. What we do now, will be often mentioned in after times; and if the like practice prevail, it will discourage public servants from fidelity, and lessen their dignity and firmness. There is also some reason to fear that there may not be the most perfect agreement among them; and if a jealousy in point of affection between them should arise, it might be still more fatal than a difference in opinion. You may observe, that Dr. Franklin particularly mentions the impropriety of having more ministers than one, at one court and in the same place. We have felt the bad consequences of that already in more instances than one. Congress were led into such steps as ended in our parting with Mr. Lee, chiefly by the argument of his being disagreeable to the French court; and though he was in my opinion one of the most able, faithful and active servants we ever had, and certainly one of the most disinterested—he was but barely able to go off, with a cold ceremonial adieu, that had very little in it of a grateful sense of his services, or cordial approbation. It is not pleasant to reflect, Mr. President, that so early in the history of this new state, persons in public employment should be so prone to enter into ambitious contention, and push one another into disgrace.

I cannot help putting you in mind, upon this subject, of what has just now come to light. You are informed by the French court, in the most authentic manner, and indeed if I am not mistaken it is by implication at least in the king's letter, that you had been ill served by the people you employed there, and cheated both in point of quality and price; and that on this account they intend to give directions on that subject themselves. Now, sir, perhaps it may be news to many members of this body, that these were the very contracts made by Mr. Dean, without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Lee, of which Mr. Lee loudly complained. These were the very servants whose accounts Mr. Lee objected to, and whose conduct he cen-

fured. But what did he get by it? Mr. Dean was supported by his venerable old friend, as he called him: Mr. Lee was complained of, as jealous and troublesome, and disagreeable to the court of France; and not only opposed and slighted by many members of this house, but I may say attacked and persecuted in such a manner, that if he had not been supported with a generous frankness by others, might have ended in public infamy.

I have just further upon this subject to observe, that you very lately sent a new minister to the French court, Mr. Laurens—a measure much disapproved by many; and it was then foretold, it would be a disgraceful thing to Dr. Franklin. Probably he has conceived it in that light; and as he has no desire at all to return home, I am well convinced that this is the true cause of the desire expressed in his last letter to resign his commission.

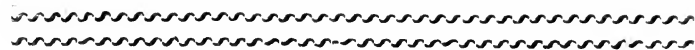
Some have mentioned the importance of the matter, and that the chance is greater against corruption, where three are to be taken off, than one. It is very true, that *ceteris paribus*, as is commonly said, there is a greater chance for one incorruptible person in three than in one; but there are single persons in whom I would confide as much as in ten. And besides, the thing may be taken the other way; for there is a greater chance of finding one corruptible person in three than in one; and in a commission of that nature, one traitor is able to do much mischief, though the others are perfectly upright. He, being admitted into the secret, may not only disclose measures, but perplex them, let the abilities of his colleagues be what they will. I have seen a man in Congress, who upon the supposition of his being a traitor, I am sure had address enough to draw many into his measures—many not contemptible in understanding, and sincerely attached to their country's cause.

Before I conclude, I would say a little upon our circumstances in another respect. The first appearances we make upon the public stage, are of consequence. It is to be wished therefore, that the credit of the United States were consulted. If we were sure that our commissioners would be immediately admitted to public and co-ordinate

fession with the other plenipotentiaries, perhaps a commission of three would be august and honorable; but if, as I strongly suspect will be the case, they are not at first publicly admitted at all, but obliged to negotiate through the plenipotentiaries of France—if, as is not impossible, even in the settlement of the treaty, we are not considered as the formal contracting parties at all, but our interest attended to in articles as it were occasionally introduced—if this is done, as a salvo to the honor of England, and to purchase for us advantages substantial and durable, a pompous commission to a number of delegates will rather lessen our dignity, and detract from our wisdom and caution.

Upon the whole, sir, I am of opinion that it would be much better to assign to one the commission already given, with the instructions which have been cordially agreed upon, and seem to be in every respect agreeable to the desires of the court of France, and the opinion of the king's minister in this country.





ON THE  
PROPOSED MARKET  
IN  
GENERAL WASHINGTON'S CAMP.



*To his Excellency General Washington, and the Officers  
of the American Army.*

SIR,

**A**BOUT ten days ago, I was informed that you were consulting with the farmers in the neighbourhood, and laying a plan for holding a market at the camp. This was to me, the most pleasing news I had heard from camp for a long time. I supposed that you had now discovered the true and proper way of providing comforts and refreshments to your soldiers, which, pardon me, I think has hitherto, in God's most holy will, been *hid from your eyes*. Last week's news-paper brought us the plan, in which I have been so much disappointed, that I have taken pen in hand, to make a few remarks upon it, and submit them to your view. Rest assured that they come from a firm friend to American liberty, who has felt the tyranny of general Howe, and therefore holds him and his cause in detestation. You are not to expect from a plain country farmer, high sounding language, and well turned phrases—It is possible I may be held in derision for this, by some of your learned generals ; for I am told you have some who can write full as well as they can fight, perhaps better ; be that however as it may, I mean to write only of what I think I understand, and shall make use of the plainest words possible, that I may be understood.

I must begin by saying, that if you are under any difficulty in supplying your army, either with the necessaries or conveniencies of life, it is wholly owing to mistaken principles, or unfaithful conduct in the manner of procuring them. You are in the midst of a plentiful country—You command it by your sword, except a small spot in which the enemy is confined; and I most heartily wish you would pen them in closer than you do.—You have also the hearts of the country; for let people talk as they please of the number of tories, they are altogether inconsiderable to the friends of liberty, in every state in this continent. When the English army leaves any place, we do not need your army to conquer it for us. All that were friends to them, fly with them, or skulk into corners, trembling for their lives. Let us consider then how the matter stands—Your army consists, I shall suppose at present, of 20,000 men; for though it was considerably larger lately, I reckon from the number gone home on recruiting parties, and for other reasons, that may be about or near the truth. Suppose it however 25,000; if these were distributed one in every house, for the twenty-five thousand houses that are nearest to the camp, they would not reach so far east as the Delaware, nor so far west as Lancaster; and though no provisions were brought into that space on their account, they could be well fed, and the burden never felt. This shows that the whole difficulty arises from the necessity of procuring and transporting provisions to such a number of men collected together in one place, a difficulty which one would think might be easily surmounted. It is not my intention at present, to make remarks on the commissary's department for supplying the capital necessaries, though I want not inclination. Suffice it to say, that for refreshments and smaller necessaries, you are now making an attempt towards the only effectual way, viz. a market, or in other words, inviting people to bring them to you of their own accord.

Now, Sir, I have read and considered your plan, the chief part of which is settling the prices of a variety of articles, which it is expected will be exposed to sale. Fixing the price of commodities, has been attempted by law

in several states among us, and it has increased the evil it was meant to remedy, as the same practice ever has done since the beginning of the world. Such laws, when they only say men shall be punished if they sell at any higher prices than the legal, and that if any will not sell at these prices, their goods shall be taken by force, have some meaning in them, though little wisdom: but to publish a list of fixed prices, as an encouragement to a weekly market, is a new strain of policy indeed. If people bring their goods to market, and are willing to sell them at these, or lower prices, is not that enough? and if they are not willing to sell, how shall they be made willing to come? Probably you were told these were reasonable prices; now I shall be glad to know what you call a reasonable price. If it be that which is proportioned to the demand on the one side, and the plenty or scarcity of goods on the other, I agree to it; but I affirm that this will fix of itself, by the consent of the buyer and seller, better than it can be done by any politician upon earth. If you mean any thing else, it signifies nothing at all, whether it be *reasonable* or not; for if it is not *agreeable*, as well as reasonable, you might have one market day, but not a second. There are some things which are not the object of human laws, and such are all those that essentially depend for their success upon inward inclination. Laws, force, or any kind of limitation, are so far from having any tendency of themselves, to persuade or incline, that they have generally the contrary effect. It would be much to the advantage of many lawgivers and other persons in authority, if they would carefully distinguish between what is to be effected by force, and what by persuasion, and never preposterously mix these opposite principles, and defeat the operation of both. Laws and authority compel; but it is reason and interest that must persuade.

The fixing of prices by authority, is not only impolitic, as I have shewn above, but it is in itself unreasonable and absurd. There are so many different circumstances to be taken in to constitute equality or justice in such matters, that they cannot be all attended to, or even ascertained. The plenty of one kind of provision, and scarcity of ano-

ther—The plenty in one corner of the country, and scarcity in another—the distance of one place, and nearness of another—The changes of circumstances in the course of a few weeks or days—Good or bad roads, or good or bad weather—The comparative quality of the goods—These, and an hundred other circumstances which can never be foreseen, actually govern the prices of goods at market, and ought to govern them. If a price is just to one who brings his goods fifteen miles, it is certainly too much for one who brings them only one. If ten pence per pound is a just price for veal at present, I am certain it must be too much a month hence, when veal will be much more plentiful. If one shilling and four pence per pound is reasonable for a fat turkey, ought not I to have more for a fatter, which is both better in its quality and weight—being lighter to its bulk, because fat is not so heavy as either lean flesh or bones. If it is reasonable to pay me one shilling per pound for any meat in a good day, I shall expect more if I go out in a storm; if not, I will stay at home on a bad day, and so you must starve one week, and pamper the next.

All these circumstances you must allow to restrain and limit one another. He who is nearest, and has goods in plenty, will by selling cheap, moderate the demands of him who comes far. If you pay very dear for any article one day, the news of that spreading abroad, brings in prodigious quantities, and the price falls, and so it happens in every other case. Thus it appears that it is out of your power to tell what is a reasonable price, and by attempting to do it, you not only refuse to gratify the expectations of the people, but you treat them with injustice.

I have one more remark to make upon this subject: that to fix the prices of goods, especially provisions in a market, is as impracticable as it is unreasonable. The whole persons concerned, buyers and sellers, will use every art to defeat it, and will certainly succeed.— — — — —

## A D D R E S S

TO

GENERAL WASHINGTON.



**T**HE President and Faculty of the College of New Jersey, beg leave to embrace this opportunity of congratulating your Excellency on the present happy and promising state of public affairs; and of sincerely wishing you prosperity and success in the ensuing campaign, and in what may yet remain of the important conflict in which the United States are engaged.

As this College, devoted to the interests of religion and learning, was among the first places of America, that suffered from the ravages of the enemy—so, happily, this place and neighbourhood was the scene of one of the most important and seasonable checks which they received in their progress. The surprise of the Hessians at Trenton, and the subsequent victory at Princeton, redounded much to the honor of the commander who planned, and the handful of troops which executed the measures; yet were they even of greater moment to the cause of America, than they were brilliant as particular military exploits.

We contemplate and adore the wisdom and goodness of divine Providence, as displayed in favor of the United States, in many instances during the course of the war; but in none more than in the unanimous appointment of your Excellency to the command of the army. When we consider

the continuance of your life and health—the discernment, prudence, fortitude and patience of your conduct, by which you have not only sacrificed, as others have done, personal ease and property, but frequently even reputation itself, in the public cause, chusing rather to risque your own name than expose the nakedness of your country—when we consider the great and growing attachment of the army, and the cordial esteem of all ranks of men, and of every state in the Union, which you have so long enjoyed—we cannot help being of opinion, that God himself has raised you up as a fit and proper instrument for establishing and securing the liberty and happiness of these States.

We pray that the Almighty may continue to protect and bless you—that the late signal success of the American arms, may pave the way to a speedy and lasting peace; and that, having survived so much fatigue, and so many dangers, you may enjoy many years of honorable repose in the bosom of your grateful country.

JOHN WITHERSPOON.

# *Memorial and Manifesto*

OF THE

UNITED STATES

OF

N O R T H . A M E R I C A ,

*To the Mediating Powers in the Conferences for Peace,  
to the other Powers in Europe, and in general to all  
who shall see the same,*



THE United States of North-America, having been made acquainted, by their illustrious ally the king of France, that there is a proposal for holding a congress under the mediation of the empress of Russia and the emperor of Germany, to treat of terms of accommodation with Great-Britain have thought proper to publish, for the information of all concerned, the following memorial, which shall contain a brief detail of the steps by which they have been brought into their present interesting and critical situation.

The United States (formerly British colonies) were first planted and settled by emigrants from that country. These settlers came out at different times, and with differ-

ent views. Some were actuated by the spirit of curiosity and enterprize, which was so prevalent in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ; some were chiefly induced by the hope of riches ; and some were driven from their native country by the iron rod of sacerdotal tyranny. They solicited their charters, and settled their governments on different principles, such as best pleased those who were chiefly concerned in each undertaking. In one thing, however, they all agreed, that they considered themselves as bringing their liberty with them, and as entitled to all the rights and privileges of freemen under the British constitution.

Pursuant to these sentiments, they looked upon it as the foundation stone of British liberty, that the freeholders or proprietors of the soil, should have the exclusive right of granting money for public uses, and therefore invariably proceeded upon this plan. With respect, indeed, to the whole of their internal government, they considered themselves as not directly subject to the British parliament, but as separate *independent* dominions under the same sovereign, and with similar co-ordinate jurisdiction. It appears from several events, that happened in the course of their history, and from public acts of some of their governments, that this was their opinion many years before the late unjust claims and oppressive acts, which gave birth to the bloody conflict not yet finished.

From the first settlement of the colonies, they willingly submitted to Britain's enjoying an exclusive right to their commerce ; though several of the acts of the British parliament upon this subject, they always looked upon as partial and unjust. Some of these appear, at first view, to be such badges of servitude, that it is surprising that a free people should ever have been patient under them. The truth is, they would not probably have been submitted to, but that the rigid execution of them at this distance was in its nature impossible.

It was always the opinion of the inhabitants of these states, that the benefits which arose to Britain from the exclusive commerce of America, and the taxes which it enabled her to raise on her own subjects, was more than

their proportion of the common treasure necessary to the defence of the empire. At the same time, great as it was, the loss to them, by being confined in their trade, was greater than the benefit to her ; as it obliged them to purchase any thing they had occasion for from her, and at her own price, which necessarily retarded their growth and improvement. All this notwithstanding, when any extraordinary emergency seemed to render it necessary, and when application was regularly made to the assemblies of the colonies, they complied in every instance with the requisitions, and made advances of sums which, in one or two instances, Britain herself considered as above their ability, and therefore made restitution or compensation for them.

The true reason of this long and patient acquiescence, was the natural and warm attachment which the inhabitants of America had to Great-Britain, as their parent country. They gloried in their relation to her ; they were zealous for her honor and interest ; imbibed her principles and prejudices with respect to other nations ; entered into her quarrels, and were profuse of their blood for the purpose of securing or extending her dominion. Almost every city and county in Great Britain had its counterpart, which bore its name in the new world ; and those whose progenitors for three generations had been born in America, when they spoke of going to Britain, called it going home.

Such was the state of things, when some unwise counsellors to the British king, thought of raising a revenue without the consent of the American legislatures, to be carried directly to the English treasury. The first essay on this subject was the famous stamp act, of which we shall at present say nothing, but that the universal ferment raised on occasion of it was a clear proof of the justice and truth of the preceding representation. So odious was it over the whole country, and so dangerous to those who attempted to carry it into execution, that in a short time it was repealed by themselves. Parliament, however, by their declaratory act, which passed in the same session shewed that they intended to maintain the right,

though they desisted in this instance from the exercise of it; The Americans, overjoyed at the immediate deliverance, returned to their affection and attachment, hoping that the claim would again become dormant and that no occasion would be given for the future discussion of it.

But it was not long before the English ministry proposed and carried an act of parliament, imposing duties on tea, glass, &c. which by the smallness of the duties themselves, and several other circumstances, was plainly designed to steal upon us gradually, and if possible imperceptibly, the exercise of their pretended right. It was not, however, in their power to blind the colonies, who rose up against the execution of this act, with a zeal proportioned to the importance of the subject, and with an unanimity not to be expected but where a great and common danger keeps every cause of jealousy and dissention out of view. Not only every colony, by its representative body, but every county, and almost every corporation or other subordinate division, publicly declared that they would defend their liberty at the risk of their estates and lives. In the mean while the English government professed a determination equally firm to enforce the execution of this act by military power, and bring us to unconditional submission.

Thus did the rupture take place ; and as to the justice of our cause, we must say, that if any impartial persons will read the declaratory act, that the lords and commons of Great-Britain in parliament, have a right to make laws binding upon the colonies *in all cases whatsoever*, and which was now producing its proper fruit, he must be convinced that had we submitted to it, we should have been in no respect different from a set of conquered, tributary states, subject to a foreign country ; and the colonial assemblies would have become both useless and contemptible. The writings in England upon this subject, proving that we were represented in *Middlesex*, and using many other equally forcible arguments, are and will remain a disgrace to reason, as well as an insult on American understanding.

At this period of time not only the people of England in general, but the king of England in his speeches, and his parliament in their addresses, affected to represent the commotions in America as raised by a few seditious persons, and the consequence of a pre-concerted scheme to throw off the dominion of Great-Britain, and set up an independent empire. This unjust and indeed absurd accusation may be refuted by a thousand arguments. The strong predilection of the people of America for the people, the fashions, and the government of Britain, proves its falshood. There was no person, nor any number of persons in any state of America, who had such influence as to be able to effect this, or even view it as a probable object of ambition. But what must demonstrate the absurdity of this supposition, is the state in which America was found when she began to grapple with the power of Britain. No step had been taken to open the way for obtaining foreign aid. No provision had been made of arms, ammunition, or warlike stores of any kind; so that the country seemed to be exposed, naked and helpless, to the dominion of her enemy.

Agreeably to this, addresses and petitions were the means to which we had recourse. Reconciliation to Britain, with the security and preservation of our rights, was the wish of every soul. The most explicit professions of loyalty to the prince, and the most express assurances of effectual support in his government, if we were called on in a constitutional way, made the substance of our declarations. Every succeeding petition, however, was treated with new and greater insult, and was answered by acts of parliament, which for their cruelty will be a stain upon the annals of the kingdom, and bring the character of the nation itself into disgrace.

Single acts of inhumanity may be accounted for from the depravity of an individual; but what shall we say of grave and numerous assemblies, enacting such laws as the Boston port bill, which reduced at once so many people to beggary, and their property itself to nothing—the act permitting those charged with murdering Americans, to be sent to England to be tried, that is to say, either not to

be tried at all, or certainly absolved—the act appointing Americans taken at sea, to be turned before the mast in English ships, and obliged either to kill their own relations, or be killed by them—and the act appointing American prisoners to be sent to the East-Indies as slaves. But what is of all most astonishing is, that they never failed to extol their own lenity, when passing such acts as filled this whole continent with resentment and horror. To crown the whole, the last petition sent by congress to the king, which beseeched him to appoint *some mode* by which our complaints might be remedied, and a way be paved for reconciliation, was treated with absolute contempt, and no answer given to it of any kind. Thus was all intercourse broken up. We were declared rebels; and they themselves must confess, that no alternative was left us, but either to go with ropes about our necks, and submit ourselves, not to the king, but to the kingdom of England, to be trampled under foot, or risk all the consequences of open and vigorous resistance.

The last part of the alternative we chose without hesitation; and as it was impossible to preserve civil order any longer under the name and form of a government which we had taken arms to oppose, we found it absolutely necessary to declare ourselves independent of that prince who had thrown us out of his protection. This great step was taken with the full approbation, and indeed at the ardent desire of the public at large. The extent and growth of the colonies seemed, in the nature of things, to call for such a separation long before; yet it would not probably have happened for many years, if it had not been forced upon us by the conduct of our unkind parent herself.—The thing indeed seems to have been the purpose of God Almighty; for every measure of the court of Great-Britain had the most direct tendency to hasten, and render it unavoidable.

We must take notice, that before the declaration of independence, there was something like an attempt to reconcile us, commonly called lord North's conciliatory motion; but it was so trifling in its nature, and insidious

in its form, that probably no success was expected from it, even by those who contrived it. Who does not perceive in it an artful attempt to divide us? and that while every thing else is left in the greatest uncertainty, the main point for which we contended is clearly decided against us?

After the declaration of independence, lord and general Howe brought out a commission for *giving peace to America*. But as they had not liberty so much as to acknowledge us by an open treaty, so the substance of what they offered was pardon upon submission; that the parliament would revise the acts they had passed, and if any of them were found improper, they would amend them: which, in one word, amounted to this, that they would do for us what they *themselves* thought good. These offers, however, poor as they were, came too late. So important a step as the declaration of independence, could not be recalled; and the formidable armament sent out against us in the year 1776, rendered it more necessary than ever.

We are sorry to be obliged to take notice of the manner of conducting the war. It would be for the honor of humanity, that it could be buried in oblivion. Many were the instances of persons, after they had submitted and begged mercy on their knees, being murdered in cold blood. The treatment of prisoners was from the beginning, and has continued through the war, with some exceptions, savage and barbarous to the last degree. Multitudes, before any exchange took place, died by famine and stench. Many were, by threatening and ill usage, constrained to enlist in their enemy's service; and many were forced on board their ships of war, or sent to Britain to rot in prison, at a distance from their friends, without hope of relief. It is not easy to enumerate the houses and even towns which have been wantonly burnt, or to describe the devastation of the country, and robbery of the inhabitants, wherever the army passed. To this may be added, hiring the savages to come upon the back settlements. There is the greater shame in this expedient, that they are not formidable either for their number or their valor, but for the shocking manner in which they

torture their prisoners, and murder women and infants who fall into their hands. Civilized nations will perhaps find it hard to believe this representation ; but every part of it can be supported by the most unquestionable facts, and it is rendered credible not only by the circumstance that civil wars are carried on commonly with a rancour and animosity greater than those between independent nations, but by the expressions of hatred and contempt which have been used with respect to the Americans, by almost every speaker and writer in England. What effect could such language have on the minds of the soldiery, but to steel them against all impressions of pity and tenderness, as we find was really the case, till they were restrained in some degree, by the fear of retaliation upon their people in our hands.

At last, after four years of real, and near two years of professed and declared independence, it pleased God to incline the heart of the king of France to give relief to the oppressed, by entering into a treaty with the United States, on the most liberal and disinterested principles. No exclusive privileges are there stipulated for the French nation, but the secure, open and equal intercourse to which all other nations are invited. This acknowledgment and support from one of the most powerful monarchs in Europe, it may easily be supposed gave a new turn to our affairs, and a new dignity to our cause. The terms of this treaty, so favorable to us, as well as honorable to our ally, cannot fail to add the bond of gratitude to that of justice, and make our adherence to it inviolable.

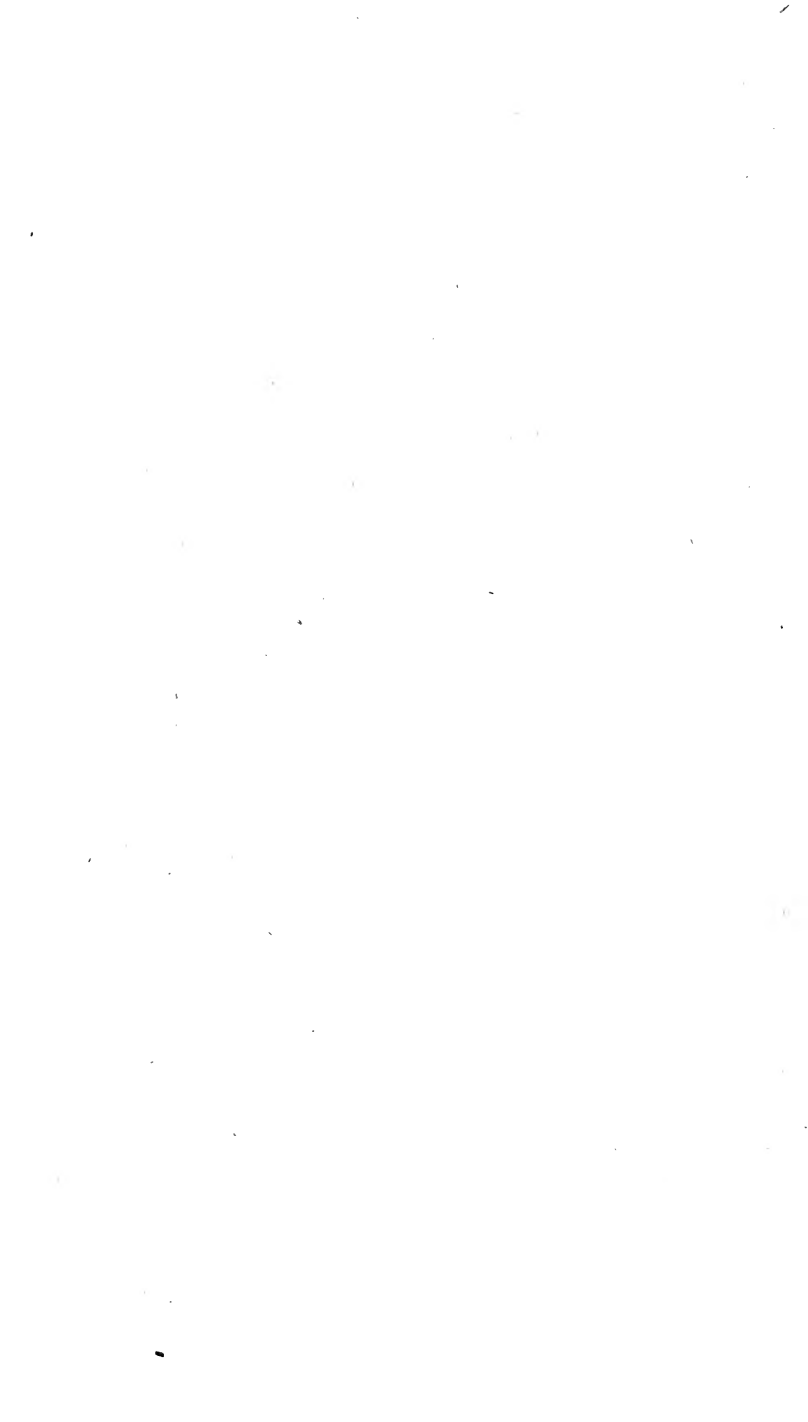
Not long after this treaty was signed, the court and parliament of Great-Britain sent out commissioners to make an offer of terms, which we readily confess were not only as good, but better, than what three years before would have been cheerfully accepted. But the ground was now wholly changed. We were offered freedom from taxes, and even a species of independence itself; upon the *easy* terms of breaking our faith so lately pledged, and uniting our force with that of Great-Britain ; and both would doubtless have been immediately employed in taking vengeance on France for the assistance

she had lent to us in our distress. Yet even here, the whole was to be subject to the revision of parliament; that is to say, any part of the agreement might be approved or rejected as to the wisdom of that assembly should seem meet.

These last proposals from Great-Britain, deserve very particular notice. They are a clear dereliction of the first cause of quarrel, and an ample confession that the demands of America were just; while the time and circumstances of their being made, shew that they could not be accepted with any regard either to justice, gratitude, or policy. Could we be guilty of a direct breach of faith, when the ink was hardly dry by which our ratification of the treaty was marked? Could we instantly forget those favors which had been so earnestly solicited, as well as generously bestowed? Could we, who had not entered into a league offensive and defensive with France, except for the present struggle in our own behalf, because we did not wish to be involved in the wars of Europe, throw ourselves into the arms of an hostile nation, and promise to make peace or war with her, against our benefactors?

Upon the whole, since the American colonies were, from their extent and situation, ripe for a separation from Great-Britain, and the nature of things seemed to demand it; since their growing power, added to that of Great-Britain, would give her such a dominion of the sea, as must be dangerous to the liberty and commerce of other nations; since, by her own acts of oppression, she has alienated the minds of the Americans, and compelled them to establish independent governments, which have now taken place; and since these governments, which are distinct though confederated, wholly settled upon republican principles and fit only for agriculture and commerce, cannot be an object of jealousy to other powers, but by free and open intercourse with them a general benefit to all; it is to be hoped that the revolution which they have effected, will meet with universal approbation.

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ON THE

C O N T E S T

BETWEEN

GREAT-BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

*Philadelphia, September 3, 1778.*

DEAR SIR,

**Y**OUR very acceptable letter of the 21st of March, I received about the middle of June, and would have answered it long ago, if there had been any encouraging prospect of conveying it safely. As to writing you a short letter that must have gone open through the enemy's posts, I did not think it worth while. I have however now come to a resolution of writing you pretty fully, and trying to convey it by France or Holland; and if it should fall into their hands, and never get to your's, there will be no other loss than my time in writing; for as to any other consequences, either to the public or to myself, I have not the least apprehension.

Your letter came to me sealed, and apparently never opened, in a packet from the British commissioners, which arrived at York-town while the congress was setting; and consequently it, as well as one from Mr. F——, was delivered to me in presence of the whole members. As

the same packet, besides the public message, contained some private letters addressed to particular members, some of them from governor Johnstone, one of the commissioners, a proposal was made by a member, who read publicly one received by himself, that every gentleman who had received private letters from any person with the enemy, should deliver them to congress, that they might be read. This would have been attended with no difficulty as to me; except some family affairs in Mr. F——'s letter very improper to be publicly read, and some expressions in his letter a little offensive speaking of congress. However, it was not done at that time; and afterwards, in a diet at many days distance, every member who had received any such letters, was called upon to read from them what related to public affairs, which was done.

I am and have been greatly concerned, as you seem to be, for the contest between Great-Britain and America; and certainly, from my own interest, have by far the greatest reason of the two; and as I suppose it will be agreeable to you, shall make a few observations, 1. upon the public cause, and 2. on my own conduct, which I understand from many different quarters, to be highly blamed in my native country.

As to the public cause, I look upon the separation of America from Britain to be the visible intention of Providence; and believe that in the issue it will be to the benefit of this country, without any injury to the other—perhaps to the advantage of both. It seems to me the intention of Providence for many reasons, which I cannot now enumerate, but in a particular manner for the following—that I cannot recollect any instance in history, in which a person or people have so totally and uniformly mistaken the means for attaining their own ends, as the king and parliament of Britain have in this contest. I do seriously and positively affirm to you, my dear sir, that it is my opinion, that congress itself, if they had been to direct the measures of the British ministry, could not or would not have directed them to measures so effectual to forward and establish the independence of America, as those which they chose of their own accord. They have had a mistaken opinion

of the state of things in America, from the beginning to this hour, and have founded their whole conduct upon their mistakes. They supposed sometimes, that the people of America in general were seditious and factious—desirous of a separation from Great-Britain, and that their conduct on occasion of the stamp-act was the effect of this disposition. Nothing could be more untrue. I am a witness that the people of this country had an esteem of, and attachment to the people of Great-Britain, exceedingly strong. They were proud of them, and of their own descent from them. British fashions, British goods, and even British persons, were in the highest esteem. A person educated in the old countries had a degree of rank and credit from that circumstance, independent of every other. I think they were even partial in this respect. I believe, had I myself been born and educated in America, I should have met with a degree of acceptance and success in my station, far inferior to what actually happened. When an American spoke of going to England, he always called it going home; and wherever you are in this country, you meet with almost nothing but counties, townships and houses, called by English names. I live at Princeton in Middlesex county; and on the opposite side of the street is Somerset county, and indeed I believe all the counties in New-Jersey, are called by English names.

From this I desire that you may infer, that the opposition made to the claims of parliament, arose from a deep and universal conviction in the people, that they were inconsistent with their own security and peace. In this I am satisfied that they judged right; for had the claim set up been acquiesced in, the provincial assemblies would have become contemptible and useless, and the whole colonies no better than a parcel of tributary states, which, placed at so great a distance, would have been, from error, ignorance and self-interest, loaded in the most insupportable manner.

Another mistake, into which the ministry and parliament of England fell, was that this was a deep-laid scheme of a few artful and designing men, who stirred up the multitude for their own ends; that the sentiments in fa

vor of America, were by no means general ; but that the artful leaders imposed upon them. This I have seen asserted from the beginning to the end of the quarrel ; and to complete the absurdity, the very commissioners now here from Britain, continue to reason in the same manner—impeach the congress with ambitious and designing views, and seem disposed to appeal to the people. Alas ! they know nothing of the matter. The congress is a changeable body : members are going from it, and coming to it every month, nay every week. — —

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ON THE

A F F A I R S

OF THE

U N I T E D S T A T E S.



*Tusculum, near Princeton, March 20, 1780.*

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE received a letter from you, dated June 11, 1778, a few days after I had written to you a long letter of the date September 21, that year. The design of it was to desire me to enquire after, and endeavor to procure the enlargement of one Alexander Muirhead, supposed to be carried into Boston, I immediately wrote to Boston myself, and caused one of the delegates of that state also to write ; but we could hear nothing of him, so that probably he was not carried into that place.

Your favor of March 19, 1779, acknowledging the receipt of mine of the 21st of September preceding, I received in the month of August last year. I am to blame in not answering it sooner ; but I had no inclination to send an open letter through the English posts, and any proper opportunity of sending it another way seldom occurs. This goes by a gentleman who means to get to Europe upon business, and has promised to take particular

care of it ; so that I mean to embrace the opportunity of writing to you and some other of my friends. I am obliged to you for your particular private home news about Glasgow, and would be glad of the continuance of such intelligence, and the more so, if you would take in Paisley also.

I have been, since I wrote you last, in general in good health, and indeed am at present in better health than I have been since I had the last fit. Excepting these fits, and the weakness that followed upon them, my health has been good ever since I came to America ; and that weakness has been chiefly a swimming in my head, and fear and uncertainty when I went to make a long discourse in public. It was the opinion of Dr. Rush, that these fits were something of the apoplectic kind. It is remarkable that for these twelve months past I have had almost constantly a succession of pimples, or rather small biles or blotches, about the temples, within the hair, and sometimes on the forehead ; since which time I have been sensibly better and freer from the other complaint.

I have now left congress, not being able to support the expense of attending it, with the frequent journeys to Princeton, and being determined to give particular attention to the revival of the college. Professor Houston, however, our professor of mathematics, is a delegate this year ; but he tells me he will certainly leave it next November. I mention this circumstance to confirm what I believe I wrote you formerly, that the members of congress in general, not only receive no profit from that office, but I believe five out of six of them, if not more, are great loafers in their private affairs. This cannot be otherwise ; for as none of the delegates are allowed to have any lucrative office whatever, either in their own state or for the United States, though their expenses should be fully borne, their time is taken up, and their own private estates are neglected. At the end of the year 1778, I gave notice to our legislature that they must either not chuse me at all, or leave me at full liberty to attend only when I could conveniently. They chose me however, and I made a good deal of use of that liberty in the year 1779 ; and this year

all the delegates were changed but one, who had only been in one year, and who has not a house to go home to, his estate being in the neighborhood of New-York.

My family are well so far as I know. The trustees of the college have last September chose my son-in law, Mr. Smith, professor of moral philosophy. He came to Princeton with his family in December. To him I gave up my house at college, and devolved upon him the whole business of boarding young gentlemen, and retired to my house in the country, at the distance of one mile, and in full sight of Princeton. This I have had in view for some years, and intend to spend the remainder of my life, if possible, *in otio cum dignitate*. You know I was always fond of being a scientific farmer. That disposition has not lost but gathered strength, since my being in America. In this respect I got a dreadful stroke indeed from the English when they were here, they having seized and mostly destroyed my whole flock, and committed such ravages that we are not yet fully recovered from it. My (now) eldest son sailed in October last for France, with Mr. Girard and Mr. Jay, late president of congress. He is to purchase a few medicines and instruments in Europe, and return to prosecute his business as a physician. My other son was studying law; but for the mean while, is private secretary to the present president of Congress, and my youngest daughter is at home.

As to public affairs, it seems to be yet uncertain whether we shall have peace soon. Greatly do I and many others in America desire it; and yet, were our condition ten times worse than it is, nothing short of the clear independence of this country would be accepted. I observe, by your letter of the 19th of March last year, that you had a high opinion of your successes at St. Lucia, in Georgia, and against the French trade. I believe before the end of the campaign, there was little reason to boast of your success upon the whole. I mentioned to you in my last how obstinately the court of England continued in erroneous opinions respecting America; and now I think that obstinacy has become incurable. It is plain that they still

harp upon the same string, that a few leading men in congress stir up the people, and persuade them to continue the contest. Allow me to assure you that this is one of the most absurd and groundless opinions that ever was formed. The congress is changing every day. There is no instance in the whole contest, in which the public opinion did not go before their resolutions. To go back to the very beginning—the declaration of independence was forced upon the majority of the then congress, by the people in general; and, in consequence of subsequent elections, every six months that I have been in congress has weakened the party that was suspected of coldness upon that subject; and now perhaps I may say it is annihilated.

I have read lately your parliamentary enquiry into the causes of your want of success in America. The examination of Galloway in particular is a curiosity. I know that he, and such as he, are blinded and stupified to an almost incredible degree, by their prejudices; and yet it is hard to suppose that he thought as he said in all points. For example, when he endeavors to make it believed that the difficulty of supplying general Washington's army arose from the disaffection of the country to his cause. I admit that he was in the winter 1777, in a part of the country where there are more people either cool or disaffected to the cause of America, than in any other on the continent; and yet his want of supplies did not arise from that in the least degree. It arose from the state of our money. If he and his commissaries had had as much hard money as general Howe, he would have had all the provisions in the country laid down at his tent door.

I am not only fully sensible, by a general knowledge of the country in this and other states, that the public mind is entirely on the side of liberty, and for the independence of America—but I could mention a great many facts and circumstances as evidences of it, stronger than could well be imagined, and indeed which have turned out stronger than even my expectations. One circumstance is alone decisive upon this subject, which is well known to yourselves, that the moment your army leaves any part of the

country, it is not only lost to you, but returns so strongly to the interest of congress, that all the persons known to have been attached to you are obliged to fly with terror and confusion. But there is another strong circumstance. the universal attachment of the people to the French alliance. In vain have your partisans endeavored to alarm the people with the fears of popery and arbitrary power. It makes not the least impression even upon the common people.

Please to attend to the circumstance I am going to mention ; because it surpris'd myself when I observed it. There are always, you know, little feuds and contentions, jealousy and emulation, in every society and in every association. Both in congress and in the country, I have observed that when one set or faction wants to make the other odious, they charge them with being cold to the French alliance, and ungrateful to them for their services. This, to my knowledge, has been the subject of mutual reproaches, when I do not believe there was any truth in it on either side. Would you think it—some have seriously attempted to persuade me that the New-England delegates were cold to the French, and inclined to the English ; to which I answered, that I well knew the contrary, but that they were of an independant spirit, and would not easily submit to unwarrantable influence, either from the French or the English. I mention all this singly with this view, to shew you the bent and inclination of the public mind.

I have been lately reading over governor Johnston's speech after his return, in which to my amazement he positively and publicly denies his having sent any message by a lady to Mr. Reed. The thing is now publicly known and confessed. He says they would have named the lady if there had been any such thing. Mr. Reed forbore naming the lady out of tenderness to her ; but it has now come out. It was Mrs. F——, daughter of the late Dr. G——, married to Mr. F——, son of R. F——, of ———. What should people think of persons of his character so boldly and solemnly to deny a certain fact.

I will mention another circumstance to you. The distresses of this country by the depreciation of the money, has been very great. Many have suffered great losses; not a few have been utterly ruined. Yet I never could perceive that this altered the inclination of the people as to the public cause, in the least. Nay, notwithstanding the dreadful complaints made against particular classes of men, such as forestallers and engrossers, commissaries and quartermasters, yet I am persuaded that any body who should but propose to return to submission to England for relief from their depredations, would be torn in pieces.

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## OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

*IMPROVEMENT OF AMERICA.*

**N**ORTH AMERICA is at present from the natural course of things, in a growing state. It will therefore of itself, for a series of years, gradually improve. There are however many things by which that improvement may be facilitated or retarded; and it is the laudable purpose of this society, to attend to these circumstances with care, and use their utmost endeavors to encourage the one and to remove the other. Having had the honor of being admitted a member of this society, and not having it much in my power any otherwise to promote American improvements, I could not resist the inclination I felt to digest and put in writing, a few reflections upon the police of countries in general, the great principles on which the Philadelphia Society ought to proceed, and perhaps I may propose some particular regulations.

I. The moral causes of the prosperity of a country, are almost infinitely more powerful than those that are only occasional. This observation is taken from Montesquieu, by whom it is admirably illustrated, and it ought never to be out of view, with those who wish to promote the general good. The moral causes arise from the nature of the government, including the administration of justice, liberty of conscience, the partition of property. The rise of a particular town, the cultivation and beauty of a particular

quarter of a country, may sometimes be justly ascribed to the surprising effects of a single person who set the example ; yet he was only the occasion, properly speaking, of the vigorous exertion. The consequences could never be general or lasting, if there was not a disposition to it in the constitution of the country. Therefore, a sacred regard should be had by every lover of mankind, to the principles of equity and liberty, that they may never be violated by any public proceedings. Pennsylvania is so happy in this particular, that its constitution need not be improved, but preserved and defended.

2. It is extremely difficult, after you depart from general principles, to discover what particular regulations will be for the interest of a country. It requires a very comprehensive mind, and a thorough knowledge of the course of trade and police in general. Besides, it is not only difficult, but impossible to foresee what circumstances may afterwards occur. Many things are useful and expedient at one time, which in a few years become unnecessary or hurtful. Nay, many selfish laws have operated from the beginning, in a manner directly contrary to what was expected. The incorporation of trades in the cities in Britain, is an instance of the first : and almost every law made to the prejudice of Ireland, is an example of the last.

## S U P P L I C A T I O N

O F

J. R \* \* \* \* \*



*To his Excellency Henry Laurens, Esquire, President,  
and other, the Members of the Honorable, the American Congress, &c. &c. &c.*

*The humble representation and earnest supplication of J.  
R——. printer and bookseller in New-York,*

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

**T**HAT a great part of the British forces has already left this city, and from many symptoms there is reason to suspect, that the remainder will speedily follow them. Where they are gone or going, is perhaps known to themselves, perhaps not; certainly however, it is unknown to us, the loyal inhabitants of the place, and other friends of government who have taken refuge in it, and who are therefore filled with distress and terror on the unhappy occasion.

That as soon as the evacuation is completed, it is more than probable, the city will be taken possession of by the forces of your high mightinesses, followed by vast crowds of other persons—whigs by nature and profession—friends to the liberties, and foes to the enemies of America. Above all, it will undoubtedly be filled with shoals of

Yankies, that is to say, the natives and inhabitants (or as a great lady in this metropolis generally expresses it, the *wretches*) of New-England.

That from several circumstances, there is reason to fear that the behavior of the wretches aforesaid, may not be altogether gentle to such of the friends of government as shall stay behind. What the governing powers of the state of New-York may do also, it is impossible to foretel. Nay, who knows but we may soon see, *in propria persona*, as we have often heard of *Hortentius*, the governor of New-Jersey, a gentleman remarkable for severely handling those whom he calls traitors, and indeed who has exalted some of them (*quanquam animus meminisse horret lectu-que refugit*) to a high, though dependent station, and brought *America under their feet*, in a sense very different from what Lord North meant when he first used that celebrated expression.

That your petitioner in particular, is at the greatest loss what to resolve upon, or how to shape his course. He has no desire at all, either to be roasted in Florida, or frozen to death in Canada or Nova Scotia. Being a great lover of fresh cod, he has had thoughts of trying a settlement in Newfoundland, but recollecting that the New-England men have almost all the same appetite, he was obliged to relinquish that project entirely. If he should go to Great-Britain, dangers no less formidable present themselves. Having been a bankrupt in London, it is not impossible that he might be accommodated with a lodging in Newgate, and that the ordinary there, might oblige him to say his prayers, a practice from which he hath had an insuperable aversion all his life long.

In this dreadful dilemma, he hath at least determined to apply to your high mightinesses, and by this memorial to *lay himself at your feet*, which he assures you, is the true modish phrase for respectful submission, according to the present etiquette of the court. Being informed however, that some of you are Presbyterians and Religionists, he has been also at some pains to find out a scripture warrant or example for his present conduct, and has happily found it, in the advice given by the servants of Benhadad,

king of Syria, to their master, 1 Kings xx. 31. *And his servants said unto him, behold now we have heard that the kings of Israel are merciful kings : Let us we pray thee, put sackcloth upon our loins, and ropes upon our heads, and go out to the king of Israel, peradventure he may save thy life. So they girded sackcloth upon their loins, and put ropes upon their heads, and came to the king of Israel, and said, Thy servant Benbadad saith, I pray thee let me live.* In like manner, O most mighty and venerable Congress-men, your servant J. R————— saith, I pray you let me live.

Having thus preferred my petition, I must now intreat leave to lay before your high mightinesses, sundry reasons, which I hope will incline you to lend a favorable ear to it, in doing which, I shall use all possible plainness and candor.

1. In the first place, there cannot possibly be any danger to the United States, in suffering me to live. I know many of you think and say, that a tory heart acquires such a degree of sourness and malevolence, in addition to its native stock, and such a habit of treachery, by breaking through the most endearing ties of nature, that no good can be expected from it, nor any dependance placed upon it, let pretences or appearances be what they will. I remember also, about seven years ago a certain person hearing accidentally one or two paragraphs read from the writings of an eminent controversial divine in this country, said, That fellow must be a turn coat ; it is impossible that he could have been educated in the profession which he now defends. What is your reason for that opinion ? said another gentleman who was present—Because, says he, he discovers a rancor of spirit and rottenness of heart, unattainable by any other class of men. But I contend that these remarks relate only to the natives of this country, who like parricides took up arms for her destruction ; and to apostates in religion ; neither of which, I am certain, can be applied to me. I was born, as is well known, in old England ; and as for the accusation of apostacy, I set it at defiance, unless a man can be said to fall off from what he was never on, or to depart from a place which he never saw.

But what I beg of you particularly to observe is, that let the disposition to mischief be as great as you please, where the ability is wanting, there can be no danger. I have often seen the lions in the tower of London without fear, because there was an iron grate between me and them. Now it is certain that the Tories in general, would do any thing sooner than fight. Many of them became Tories for no other reason, than that they might avoid fighting. The poor chicken-hearted creatures cried out to the potent King of England, to take them under his wings for protection, which he endeavored to do, but they were too short to cover them. Even the late petition for arms in which they promised to go without the lines, and sweep you all away with the besom of destruction, was but an idle rhodomontade—It was something like a poor boy shouting and singing in the dark, to keep himself from being afraid. At that very time, to my certain knowledge they would have given the world for a place to fly to, out of the reach of Washington and Gates. But I return to myself, *ego met sum proximus mihi*. I can assure your high mightinesses, that no danger can arise from me, for I am as great a coward as King James the VIth of Scotland, who could never see a naked sword without trembling; having been, as it is said, frightened in his mother's belly, when the fierce barons of that country came in, and killed David Rizzio in his presence. I was once severely caned by a Scots officer now (if employed) in your service. Though the gentlemen of that cholerick nation have been very much our friends in the present controversy, I find it is dangerous to offend them. Buchanan their own historian says, *perfervidum est Scotorum in genium*. Therefore by the by, or en passant, for I suppose you are at present best pleased with French phrases, I would advise every man who regards his own peace, however smooth and gentle a Scotchman may appear, not to take him *against the hair*, as the saying is in their own country, but to remember the motto that surrounds the thistle, *Nemo me impune lacessat*. I also very narrowly escaped a sound beating from a New-England parson, who was strong enough, without either cane or cudgel, to have pound-

ed me to a mummy. All this, and much more of the same kind, I bore with the most exemplary patience and submission. Perhaps it will be said, that though no danger is to be apprehended from any deeds, yet I may do harm enough by words and writing. To this I answer, that I have expended and exhausted my whole faculty of that kind in the service of the English. I have tried falsehood and misrepresentation in every shape that could be thought of, so that it is like a coat thrice turned that will not hold a single stitch. My friend, Gen. Ro————n, told me some time ago in my own shop, that I had carried things so far that people could not believe one word I said, even though it were as true as the gospel. From all this I hope it plainly appears that there could be no danger from me; and therefore as you cannot surely think of being cruel for cruelty's sake, that you will suffer me to live.

II. Any further punishment upon me, or any other of the unhappy refugees who shall remain in N. York, will be altogether unnecessary, for they do suffer and will suffer from the nature of the thing, as much as a merciful man could wish to impose upon his greatest enemy. By this I mean the dreadful mortification (after our past puffing and vaunting) of being under the dominion of the Congress, seeing and hearing the conduct and discourse of the friends of America, and perhaps being put in mind of our own, in former times. You have probably seen many of the English newspapers, and also some of mine, and you have among you the *few* prisoners who by a miracle escaped death in our hands. By all these means you may learn with what infinite contempt, with what provoking insult, and with what unexampled barbarity, your people have, from the beginning to the end, been treated by the British officers, excepting a very small number, but above all by the tories and refugees, who not having the faculty of fighting, were obliged to lay out their whole wrath and malice in the article of speaking. I remember, when one of the prisoners taken after the *gallant* defence of Fort Washington had received several kicks for not being in his rank, he said, is this a way of treating a gentleman? The answer was, gentlemen? G—d——n your blood

who made you a gentleman? which was heard by us all present with unspeakable satisfaction, and ratified by general applause. I have also seen one of your officers, after long imprisonment, for want of clothes, food and lodging, as meagre as a skeleton and as dirty and shabby as a London beggar, when one of our friends would say with infinite humour, look you there is one of King Congs's ragged rascals. You must remember the many sweet names given you in print, in England and America, Rebels, Rascals, Raggamuffins, Tatterdemallions, scoundrels, Blackguards, Cowards, and Poltroons. You cannot be ignorant how many and how complete victories we gained over you, and what a fine figure you made in our narratives. We never once made you to *retreat*, seldom even to *fly* as a routed army, but to *run off into the woods*, to *scamper away through the fields*, and to *take to your heels as usual*. You will probably soon see the gazette account of the *defeat* of Mr. Washington at Monmouth. There it will appear how you scampered off, and how the English followed you and mowed you down, till their officers, with that humanity which is the *characteristic of the nation*, put a stop to this carnage, and then by a masterly stroke of generalship, stole a march in the night, lest you should have scampered back again and obliged them to make a new slaughter in the morning.

Now, dear gentlemen, consider what a miserable affair it must be for a man to be obliged to apply with humility and self-abasement to those whom he hath so treated, nay, even to beg life of them, while his own heart upraids him with his past conduct, and perhaps his memory is refreshed with the repetition of some of his rhetorical flowers. It is generally said that our friend Burgoyne was treated with abundance of civility by general Gates, and yet I think it could not be very pleasing to him to see and hear the boys when he entered Albany, going before and crying *Elbow Room* for General Burgoyne there. Fear and trembling have already taken hold of many of the Refugees and friends of government in this place. It would break your hearts to hear poor Sam. S————, of Philadelphia, weeping and wailing, and yet he was a peaceable Quaker who did nothing in the world but hire guides

to the English parties who were going out to surprize and butcher you. My brother of trade, G— is so much affected, that some say he has lost, or will soon lose, his reason. For my own part I do not think I run any risk in that respect. All the wisdom that I was ever possessed of is in me still, praised be God, and likely to be so. A man that has run the gauntlet of creditors, duns, and bailiffs, for years in England, and has been cudgelled, kicked, and p—d upon in America, is in no danger of losing his reason by any circumstance whatever, so long as there is the least prospect of saving his life. I have heard some people say that dishonor was worse than death, but with the great Sancho Pancha, I was always of a different opinion. I hope, therefore, your honors will consider my sufferings as sufficient to atone for my offences, and allow me to continue in peace and quiet, and according to the North-British proverb, *sleep in a whole skin*.

III. I beg leave to suggest, that upon being received into favor, I think it would be in my power to serve the United States in several important respects. I believe many of your officers want politeness. They are like old Cincinnatus, taken from the plow; and therefore must still have a little roughness in their manners and deportment. Now, I myself am the pink of courtesy, a genteel, portly, well-looking fellow, as you will see in a summer's day. I understand and possess the *bienveillance*, the *manner*, the *grace*, so largely insisted on by lord Chesterfield; and may without vanity say, I could teach it better than his lordship, who in that article has remarkably failed. I hear with pleasure, that your people are pretty good scholars, and have made particularly very happy advances in the art of swearing, so essentially necessary to a gentleman. Yet I dare say they will themselves confess, that they are still in this respect far inferior to the English army. There is, by all accounts, a coarseness and sameness in their expression; whereas there is variety, sprightliness and figure, in the oaths of gentlemen well educated. Dean Swift says very justly, 'a footman may swear, but he cannot swear like a lord.' Now we have many lords, in the English army, all of whom, when here, were pleased to honor

me with their friendship and intimacy ; so that I hope my qualifications can hardly be disputed. I have imported many of the most necessary articles for appearance in genteel life. I can give them Lavernitti's soap-balls, to wash their brown hands clean, perfumed gloves, paint, powder, and pomatum. I can also furnish the New-England men with rings, seals, swords, canes, snuff-boxes, tweezer-cases, and many other such *notions*, to carry home to their wives and mistresses, who will be *nation*-glad to see them. You are also to know that I import a great many patent medicines, which may be of use to your army. It is said that some of them are exceedingly liable to a disorder called by physicians the *rancomania*, which is frequently followed by the two twin diseases of plumbophobia and siderophobia. If they will but submit to a strict regimen, and take the tincture drops and pills which I prepare, I am confident the cure in most cases would be infallible.

I have been informed, that a certain person, well known to your august body, has clearly demonstrated that virtue and severity of manners are necessary to those who would pull an old government down, which set is now happily accomplished ; but that luxury, dissipation, and a taste for pleasures, are equally necessary to keep up a government already settled. As I suppose you are fully convinced of this most salutary truth, I take it for granted, now that you have settled governments in all the states, you are looking out for proper persons to soften the rigid virtue of the Americans, and lay them asleep in the lap of self-indulgence. Now, I am proud to say, that there is not a man on this continent more able to serve you in this respect, than myself. I have served many of the British officers in a most honorable station and character, of which the great Pandarus of Troy was the most ancient example. If I am happy enough to make my own conversation and manners the standard of the mode, I believe you will see very powerful effects of it in a short time. But if, after recovering your friendship myself, I am able also to bring back and reconcile to his country the Rev. Dr. A——, I believe the system will be perfect. That gentleman, by

his robust form, is well fitted to be an ecclesiastical bruiser, if such an officer should be needed; and, with all due deference to the officers of the American army, I should think that, a better way of terminating differences among them in the last resort than sword or pistol, for many obvious reasons. He has also distinguished himself by the publication of some poems, on subjects extremely well suited to the character of a Christian clergyman, and very proper for initiating the tender mind in the softest and most delicious of all arts, viz. the art of love.

Finally, I hope I may be of service to the United States, as a writer, publisher, collector, and maker of news. I mention this with some diffidence; because perhaps you will think I have foreclosed myself from such a claim, by confessing (as above) that my credit as a news-writer is broken by over-stretching. But it is common enough for a man in business, when his credit is wholly gone in one place, by shifting his ground, and taking a new departure, to flourish away, and make as great or greater figure than before. How long that splendor will last is another matter, and belongs to an after consideration. I might therefore, though my credit is gone in New-York, set up again in the place which is honored with your residence. Besides, I might write those things only or chiefly, which you wish to be disbelieved, and thus render you the most essential service. This would be aiming and arriving at the same point, by *manœuvring retrograde*. Once more, as I have been the ostensible printer of other people's lies in New-York, what is to hinder me from keeping incog. and inventing or polishing lies, to be issued from the press of another printer in Philadelphia? In one, or more, or all of these ways, I hope to merit your approbation. It would be endless to mention all my devices; and therefore I will only say further, that I can take a truth, and so puff and swell and adorn it, still keeping the proportion of its parts, but enlarging their dimensions, that you could hardly discover where the falsehood lay, in case of a strict investigation.

That I may not weary you, I conclude with recommending myself to your kind countenance and protection; and in the mean time, waiting for a favorable answer, your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

# RECANTATION

OF

*Benjamin Towne.*

*The following was printed in Loudon's New-York Packet, published at Fishkill, October 1st, 1778.*



**T**HE following facts are well known. 1st. That I Benjamin Towne used to print the Pennsylvania Evening Post, under the protection of Congress, and did frequently, and earnestly solicit sundry members of the said Congress for dissertations and articles of intelligence, professing myself to be a very firm and zealous friend to American liberty. 2d. That on the English taking possession of Philadelphia, I turned fairly round, and printed my Evening Post under the protection of General Howe and his army, calling the Congress and all their adherents, rebels, rascals, and raggamuffins, and several other unfavory names, with which the humane and polite English are pleased to honor them. Neither did I ever refuse to insert any dissertation however scurrilous, or any article of intelligence sent to me, although many of them I well knew to be, as a certain gentleman elegantly expresses it, *facts that never happened*. 3d. That I am now willing and desirous to turn once more, to

unsay all that I have last said, and to print and publish for the United States of America, which are likely to be uppermost, against the British tyrant; nor will I be backward in calling him, after the example of the great and eminent author of *Common Sense*, *The Royal Brute*, or giving him any other appellation still more approbrious, if such can be found.

The facts being thus stated, (I will presume to say altogether fairly and fully) I proceed to observe, that I am not only proscribed by the President and Supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, but that several other persons are for reprobating my paper, and alledge that instead of being suffered to print, I ought to be hanged as a traitor to my country. On this account I have thought proper to publish the following humble confession, declaration, recantation and apology, hoping that it will assuage the wrath of my enemies, and in some degree restore me to the favor and indulgence of the public. In the first place then, I desire it may be observed, that I never was, nor ever pretended to be a man of character, repute or dignity. I was originally an understrapper to the *famous Galloway* in his *infamous* squabble with *Goddard*, and did in that service contract such a habit of meanness in thinking, and scurrility in writing, that nothing *exalted*, as brother Bell provedore to the sentimentalists, would say, could ever be expected from me. Now, changing sides is not any way surprising in a person answering the above description. I remember to have read in the Roman history, that when Cato of Utica had put himself to death, being unable to survive the dissolution of the republic, and the extinction of liberty; another senator of inferior note, whose name I cannot recollect, did the same thing. But what thanks did he receive for this? The men of reflection only laughed at his absurd imitation of so great a personage, and said—he might have lived though the republic had come to its period. Had a Hancock or an Adams changed sides, I grant you they would have deserved no quarter, and I believe would have received none; but to pass the same judgment on the conduct of an obscure printer is mis-

erable reasoning indeed. After all, why so much noise about a trifle? What occasion is there for the public to pour out all its wrath upon poor Towne; are turn-coats so rare? Do they not walk on every side? Have we not seen Dr. S——, J—— A——, T—— C——, and many others who were first champions for liberty; then friends to government,—and now discover a laudable inclination to fall into their ranks as quiet and orderly subjects of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The rational moralists of the last age used to tell us that there was an essential difference between virtue and vice, because there was an essential difference to be observed in the nature and reason of things. Now, with all due deference to these great men, I think I am as much of a philosopher as to know that there are no circumstances of action, more important than those of time and place. Therefore if a man pay no regard to the changes that may happen in these circumstances, there will be very little virtue, and still less *prudence* in his behaviour. Perhaps I have got rather too deep for common readers, and therefore shall ask any plain quaker in this city what he would say to a man who should wear the same coat in summer as in winter in this climate? He would certainly say, “Friend, thy wisdom is not great.” Now whether I have not had as good reason to change my conduct as my coat, since last January, I leave to every impartial person to determine. 2. I do hereby declare and confess, that when I printed for Congress, and on the side of liberty it was not by any means from principle, or a desire that the cause of liberty should prevail, but purely and simply from the love of gain. I could have made nothing but tar and feathers by printing against them as things then stood. I make this candid acknowledgment not only as a penitent to obtain pardon, but to show that there was more consistency in my conduct than my enemies are willing to allow. They are pleased to charge me with hypocrisy in pretending to be a whig when I was none. This charge is false; I was neither whig nor tory, but a printer. I detest and abhor hypocrisy. I had no more regard for General Howe or

General Clinton, or even Mrs. Lowring or any other of the *chaste nymphs* that attended the Fete Champetre, alias Mischianza when I printed in their behalf, than for the Congress on the day of their retreat. It is pretended that I certainly did in my heart incline to the English, because I printed much bigger lies and in greater number for them, than for the Congress. This is a most false and unjust insinuation. It was entirely the fault of the Congress themselves, who thought fit (being but a new potentate in the earth) to be much more modest, and keep nearer the truth than their adversaries. Had any of them brought me in a lie as big as a mountain it should have issued from my press. This gives me an opportunity of showing the folly as well as malignity of those who are actuated by party spirit; many of them have affirmed that I printed monstrous and *incredible* lies for General Howe. Now pray what harm could incredible lies do? The only hurt, I conceive, that any lie can do, is by obtaining belief, as a truth; but an incredible lie can obtain no belief, and therefore at least must be perfectly harmless. What will those cavillers think, if I should turn this argument against them, and say that the most effectual way to disgrace any cause is to publish monstrous and incredible lies in its favor. In this view, I have not only innocence, but some degree of merit to plead. However, take it which way you will, there never was a lie published in Philadelphia that could bear the least comparison with those published by J—— R—— in New-York. This in my opinion is to be imputed to the superiority not of the printer, but of the prompter or prompters. I reckon Mr. T—— to have excelled in that branch; and probably he had many coadjutors. What do you think of 40,000 Russians, and 20,000 Moors, which Moors too were said by Mr. R—— to be dreadful among the women? As also of the boats building at the forks of Monongahela to carry the Congress down the Ohio to New-Orleans? These were swingers.— As to myself and friend H——, we contented ourselves with publishing affidavits to prove that the king of France was determined to preserve the friendship that sub-

sisted between him and his good brother the king of England, of which he has given a *new proof*, by entering into and communicating his treaty with the United States of America. Upon the whole I hope the public will attribute my conduct, not to disaffection, but to attachment to my own interest and desire of gain in my profession; a principle, if I mistake not, pretty general and pretty powerful in the present day.

3dly. I hope the public will consider that I have been a timorous man, or, if you will, a coward, from my youth, so that I cannot fight,—my belly is so big that I cannot run,—and I am so great a lover of eating and drinking that I cannot starve. When those three things are considered I hope they will fully account for my past conduct, and procure me the liberty of going on in the same *uniform* tenor for the future. No just judgment can be formed of a man's character and conduct unless every circumstance is taken in and fairly attended to; I therefore hope that this justice will be done in my case. I am also verily persuaded that if all those who are cowards as well as myself, but who are better off in other respects, and therefore *can* and *do run* whenever danger is near them, would befriend me, I should have no inconsiderable body on my side. Peace be with the Congress and the army; I mean no reflections; but the world is a wide field, and I wish every body would do as they would be done by. Finally, I do hereby recant, draw back, eat in, and swallow down, every word that I have ever spoken, written or printed to the prejudice of the United States of America, hoping it will not only satisfy the good people in general, but also all those scatter-brained fellows, who call one another out to shoot pistols in the air, while they tremble so much that they cannot hit the mark. In the mean time I will return to labor with assiduity in my lawful calling, and essays and intelligence as before shall be gratefully accepted by the public's most obedient humble servant,

BENJAMIN TOWNE.



DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE

OF

NEW-JERSEY.

*Answers in Part to Mr. Marbois's Questions respecting New-Jersey.*

I. **N**EW-JERSEY is bounded on the north by a line drawn from the North or Hudson's river to the boundary of Pennsylvania, fixed about ten years ago by commissioners appointed from New-York and New-Jersey, and marked in all these late maps. This line runs nearly west, and passes about thirty miles north of Morris-town in New-Jersey.

It is bounded on the east by Hudson's river, from the line just now mentioned to the sea.

It is bounded on the south by the Atlantic Ocean, from the mouth of Hudson's river to Cape May, at the mouth of Delaware Bay. And on the west by the Delaware, to the place where the first mentioned line strikes it, between two and three hundred miles from the sea.

II. Smith's History of New-Jersey is the only publication that can answer the design of this query.

III. New-Jersey consists of thirteen counties, which, beginning at Cape May on the Delaware Bay, lie in the following order: Cape May, Salem, Cumberland, Gloucester, Burlington, Hunterdon, Suffex, Morris, Bergen, Essex, Somerset, Middlesex, Monmouth. These counties are sub-divided into townships or precincts.

There are no cities in New-Jersey, but Burlington and Perth Amboy, which were severally the capitals of East and West Jersey, as will be seen by the patents and history of the settlement.

The chief villages, or considerable places in New-Jersey, are Haddonfield, Mountholly, Burdowntown, Trenton, Princeton, Brunswick, Morristown, Springfield, Woodbridge, Elizabeth-town, Newark, Hackensack, Pittstown, Cranberry, Shrewsbury, Allentown, Pennington, and some others of less note.

The only river of considerable extent in New-Jersey, is the Raritan; the two branches of which passing through the north eastern parts of the state, unite near twenty miles above Brunswick, and receiving the Millstone and some other smaller streams, it becomes navigable about two miles above Brunswick, and from thence to Amboy bay, about twenty miles by water, is navigated by shallops and small vessels of one hundred or one hundred and fifty tons.

South river passes through Cranberry, in Middlesex county, and empties itself into the Raritan before it reaches Amboy.

Black river is a considerable stream, passing through Morris county eastward, and empties itself into Hudson's river.

Passaic river passes through Bergen county, and enters into the bay opposite to Newark. There are falls pretty remarkable on this river, at the head of the bay, which many people go to see as a curiosity.

There are many other small rivulets, not considerable, and many creeks and inlets upon the sea coast, and particularly in the bay and river of Delaware, none of them navigable far into the country.

As to mountains, there is a ridge not very high, but

commonly called Rocky Hill, which crosses the great road from Philadelphia to New-York, about five miles eastward of Princeton and runs from the south-east to the north-west, continuing about ten miles in length, passing about one mile and a half to the north of Princeton. Though there are no hills properly speaking, there is a continued and gradual ascent from the Delaware to Princeton, and a gradual descent from thence to the eastward. There is a great ridge of mountains near and on the boundary between New-Jersey and New-York, running chiefly from east to west.

The trees are very various. As to forest trees, there are oaks of various kinds, ash, maple, birch, chestnut, walnut, pine, locust. The middle and upper parts of the country run much into the several kinds of oak, and in the lower parts are to be found great quantities of pine and cedar. The mulberry tree thrives in most parts of the state; and it seems remarkably favorable to fruit trees, particularly apples, pears, cherries and peaches, of all which there is great abundance. The vine grows spontaneously in many parts, and bears a large blue grape, not unpleasant to eat.

The produce of the improved farms, is wheat, rye, barley, Indian corn, buckwheat, flax, and hemp. It is usual for farmers to have a small piece of land in tobacco; but it is only for their own use, or that of their servants; it is not raised in New-Jersey for sale. All the garden herbs raised in France and England, thrive well in New-Jersey; so probably would vines, if cultivated by persons who understood the business.

Black cattle are raised in New-Jersey to great advantage—also horses. There is a particular turn in the inhabitants for raising fine horses, from the breed imported from England. There is also a large breed of heavy draught horses, in those parts of the state chiefly inhabited by the low Dutch.

IV. The number of inhabitants in New-Jersey at present, is certainly not less than two hundred thousand. There was an exact list of them taken about ten years

ago, which will be procured in a short time. There are negroes, but they are certainly not above one seventh or one tenth part of the whole. The negroes are exceedingly well used, being fed and clothed as well as any free persons who live by daily labor.

V. There is no profession of religion which has an exclusive legal establishment. Some particular churches have charters of incorporation; and probably they would not be refused to a body of any denomination. All professions are tolerated, and all protestants are capable of electing and being elected, and indeed have every privilege belonging to citizens.—There are in New-Jersey, English presbyterians, Low Dutch presbyterians, episcopalians, baptists, quakers. The two first, except the difference of the national connexion of the one with the church of Scotland, and the other with the church of Holland, and the language, are of the same principles as to doctrine. They have the same worship and government, and they are by far the most numerous. There is a great majority of the present legislature of these two denominations. Formerly the quakers, though not the majority, had considerable influence; but since the late contest with Great-Britain, they are fewer in number, and altogether without power. The episcopalians are few. The baptists are presbyterians in all other respects, only differing in the point of infant baptism; their political weight goes the same way as the presbyterians; their number is small.

VI. There is at Princeton a college, which had originally a royal charter, begun in 1748. It is now confirmed in its privileges, with some alterations and improvements, by act of assembly. The charter name of it is, the College of New-Jersey; the name of the building, Nassau-Hall. It was in a flourishing state before the war, having about one hundred and fifty under graduates and other scholars; but was entirely desolated, and the house made a wreck, by the confusion of the times—first by the English army, which entirely scattered the scholars, and took possession of the house; and afterwards, by the Ame-

rican army making it a barrack and hospital. It now begins to recover, having of under graduates and scholars about sixty.—A printed account of the college has been given to Mr. Marbois before.

There is also in New-Jersey a college, whose charter name is Queen's College, set up by the low Dutch, with a particular view to preserve their language, and all the peculiar customs of the church of Holland. They have no building as yet, but have carried on their instruction sometimes at Brunswick, sometimes elsewhere.

The College of New-Jersey is the best building in the state. Neither churches nor court-houses are any where sumptuous. There is no public hospital in the state.

There are few men of letters in the state of New-Jersey, except those who belong to law, physick, or theology; and many of these professions are often taken up without a liberal education. The state consists almost wholly of substantial farmers. There has been formerly known, especially when the quakers had some power, a prejudice against learning—That prejudice begins to wear off.

There are no turnpike roads. There are statutes for the widening of the public roads; also for repairing, though it is generally poorly done—yet from the climate and the level position of the country, the roads are excellent in summer. The accommodations in taverns are in general as good as in any state in America. The great road from Philadelphia to New-York, lies through the Middle of New-Jersey, by Trenton, Princeton, Brunswick, Woodbridge, Elizabeth-town, and Newark.

VII. I cannot at present recollect any customs peculiar to the state, or that from their singularity deserve notice. New-Jersey was first peopled by the Low Dutch, at least the eastern part of it. Their language is continued there as yet, though wearing out. They are a remarkably cleanly people, and frugal. They use their slaves and other servants with great humanity, often not scrupling white and black to eat together. People from all the other states are continually moving into and out of this state, so that there is little peculiarity of manners.

VIII. *The present state of manufactures, commerce, and exterior trade.*

New-Jersey being in general settled by farmers, with a great equality of rank and even possessions, no considerable manufactures are established in it. There are, however, tradesmen dispersed through it, of almost every kind. The farmers being frugal and plain in their manners, always made both linen and woolen cloth for their own families and their servants. They have given greater attention to this matter within these five or six years that the differences with Great-Britain have subsisted. I believe it may be depended upon, that there is not one in ten of the members of the legislature of New-Jersey, who is not clothed in the manufacture of his own family for the greatest part, and many of them have no other clothing of any kind. At this time a great quantity of very good cloth is made in the families. Some tradesmen in different places make for sale, but not much. There are some very considerable dealers in leather, and still a greater number in hats. All iron tools are well made here, but not for exportation out of the state.

From the situation of New-Jersey, there is hardly any foreign trade carried on directly from it. The merchants in Trenton, Brunswick, Burdowntown, and several other places, have boats, shallops, and other small vessels, with which they trade to Philadelphia or New-York. In former times ships might be entered both at Burlington and Amboy, for any part of the world: but few are sent abroad—such of our merchants as are concerned in foreign trade, being almost always joined in company with some of the large cities above mentioned.

IX. *A notice of the best sea-ports in the state, and how big are the vessels they can receive.*

The best sea-port in the state of New-Jersey is Amboy, which can receive vessels of as great burden as New-York. There has never been as yet any great foreign trade at Amboy. The vicinity of New-York has probably been a hindrance to it. There are harbors at little Egg-harbor and great Egg-harbor, on the coast of the Atlantic, which

privateers and traders have made a considerable use of since the war. They cannot receive vessels of great burden; but the greatest part of the trading vessels can go in there. The same is the case with the creeks on the Jersey shore, in the river Delaware.

*X. A notice of the commercial productions peculiar to that state, and of those objects which the inhabitants are obliged to draw from Europe and from other parts of the world.*

The productions of New-Jersey, and the sources of its wealth, are grain of every kind, as mentioned under question third—horses, cattle, salted beef and pork, and poultry. In times of peace, great quantities of all these are sent to the West-Indies, and flax-seed to Europe, shipped however more commonly in Philadelphia or New-York than any port in New-Jersey. The city of Philadelphia receives a great proportion of its provisions, including vegetables of every kind, from New-Jersey. The soil of that part of New-Jersey which is opposite to Philadelphia, is exceedingly proper for gardening, and derives much of its value from its proximity to that city.

The state of New-Jersey is obliged to draw from Europe and other parts, tea, sugar, wine, spirits. Before the war they purchased considerable quantities of English cloth, both linen and woolen, because cheaper than they could manufacture it in many instances, and because many tradesmen and others had not the materials of manufacture. All articles of finery they must purchase if they use them—lawns, gauzes, silks and velvet.

*XI. The weights, measures, and the currency of hard money—Some details relating to the exchange with Europe.*

The weights and measures now used in New-Jersey, are the same as in England, of every kind—measures of length, solidity, superficies, dry and liquid. The most common for grain is the bushel, which contains eight Winchester gallons, and each gallon two hundred and seventy-two and a quarter solid inches.

The exchange between New-Jersey and Europe, is carried on almost wholly through Philadelphia and New-York.

The statute currency of money in New-Jersey is in the same proportion to sterling as that of Pennsylvania, that is, as five to three. A Spanish milled dollar is, of New-Jersey proclamation money, seven shillings and six pence. There was twenty years ago, a currency or way of reckoning in New-Jersey, commonly called light money, according to which a dollar was eight shillings and eight pence, but this seems now to be wholly disused, or confined only to the north-eastern part of the state. The other way of reckoning is called *proclamation money*, which prevails.

## XII. *The public income and expenses.*

The public income of New-Jersey consists, so far as is known to me, of taxes annually laid by the assemblies; and is great or small, as they shall think the exigencies of the state require. There is in general a great disposition to save the public money; indeed such as in many instances to make inadequate provision. The salary of the governor was by the act of supply, October 1775, before the change from a colony to a free state, twelve hundred pounds, proclamation money; the judges of the supreme court, three in number, had each of them one hundred and fifty the same year; all other expenses for clerks, &c. were small; and the members of council and assembly had each eight shillings for every day's attendance. The delegates in congress had at first twenty shillings per day; and during the depreciation of the money, if they made any allowance at the beginning of the year because of its bad state then, they never made any amends for the increased depreciation before the year expired.—As to this and all such matters, they may be seen more fully from the printed laws, which I believe may be purchased of Isaac Collins, printer to the state, in Trenton.

XIII. *The measures taken with regard to the estates and possessions of the rebels, commonly called tories.*

They have been all sold off *in perpetuum*, and are now in possession of the new proprietors; the debts upon them to faithful subjects, having been first discharged.

XIV. *The marine and navigation.*

There are no vessels whatever belonging to the state of New-Jersey. There are privateers who have commissions, which sail from the ports on the coast, or on the enemy's lines. There is an admiralty court established for the condemnation of prizes.—As to merchant ships, see the answer to question eighth.

XV. *A notice of the mines, and other subterranean riches.*

There are some very valuable iron mines in New-Jersey, in Morris and Suffex counties. Some companies in England were concerned in working some of these mines before the war. It was suspected some years ago, that there were copper mines in New-Jersey; but no trial hitherto made has fully succeeded—some gentlemen lost their fortunes in the attempt.

It is not known whether there are any coal mines or not, as people every where burn wood.

XVI. *Some samples of the mines, and of the extraordinary stones; in short, a notice of all that can increase the progress of human knowledge.*

Iron ore is so very common, that it cannot be supposed to be an object of curiosity. I have heard of and seen some pieces of black matter, that was said, when dissolved in water, to be exceedingly good ink. If this or any other curiosity can be obtained by enquiry, they shall be forwarded.—There is very good marl in some parts of New-Jersey, to the eastward.—There is no limestone in the parts of New-Jersey where I have been, but probably there is some in Suffex.—There are in several places of New-Jersey, sugar-maple trees, whence the country people draw sugar for their own use, as in the back parts of New-Hampshire and Vermont.

XVII. *A description of the Indians established in the states, before the European settlements, and of those who are still remaining. An indication of the Indian monuments discovered in that state.*

The Indians and their manner of life, are described in several books, much better than I can do it, who was never among them. And indeed by comparing together all that I have ever heard or read, it appears that the characteristic features of the Indians of North-America, are the same which have distinguished savages in all parts of the world, and wherever discovered—gravity and sullenness of deportment, love of hunting and war—that is to say, depredation ; ferocity to their captives, laziness and aversion to habitual labor, tyranny over the female sex, passive courage, and, if it may be called so, active cowardice, and strong passions both of lasting gratitude and unextinguishable resentment.

The chief thing that a philosopher can learn from the Indians in New-Jersey is, that perhaps the most complete experiment has been made here how they would agree with cultivated life. At the time when the Indians sold and confirmed the lands to the settlers, at their own request, a tract of land was purchased for them to live in the heart of the colony, in Burlington county, of three thousand acres and more, which was secured to them by law. They had a village built, and a house of worship and a minister, and every possible encouragement given them to cultivate the land, and carry on trades ; yet, after all, they were so far from increasing in numbers or improving in industry, that at different times several of them went back into the woods, and the remainder dwindled away, so that there are few of them now left. On the whole it does not appear, that either by our people going among them, or by their being brought among us, that it is possible to give them a relish of civilized life. There have been some of them educated at this college, as well as in New-England ; but seldom or never did they prove either good or useful.

A F E W

## R E F L E C T I O N S

*Humbly submitted to the Consideration of the Public in general, and in particular to the Congress of the United States.*

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**T**HOUGH the following reflections come from an individual citizen, no way connected with public business, I hope they will be read with candor and attention. All good conduct proceeds from certain radical principles; and retired theoretical persons certainly may judge as well, perhaps they often judge better, of those, than such as are engaged in the bustle and hurry of an active life, or occupied in the management of particular affairs. Another circumstance which encourages me in this hope is, that I intend to offer nothing but what shall be even beyond the imputation of proceeding, either from party attachment or mercenary views.

When the Federal constitution was agreed on, it was the fervent desire, and I may say the earnest prayer of many, that it might take place, and get into operation with quietness, and under the acquiescence and approbation of the public. This I think we may say, has happily been the case so far as we have yet proceeded. The persons chosen to fill the houses of Congress, have been generally approved. Perhaps some states, in a few instances, might have made a better choice; but upon the whole, there is

little reason to complain. I remember to have heard a gentleman well acquainted with the subject, say of the former Congress which conducted the war, that he had never known a time in which it did not contain a great plurality of men of integrity, and of those a very respectable number of distinguished abilities. I hope and believe that this is the case at present; and may it always continue to be so.

The measures taken by Congress in their last session, have in general given satisfaction. I am not ignorant that there have been some severe, and in my opinion petulant and insolent remarks made upon the salaries fixed for public officers, and the compensation allowed for the attendance of members of Congress, especially the last. I am of opinion, however, that they are both reasonable, and the last at least as reasonable, if not more so, than the first. I hope few persons will ever be in Congress, who, devoting their time to the public service, may not well deserve the compensation fixed for them, from their character and talents. And if they have lucrative professions, or valuable private fortunes, these must be deserted for a time, and probably a loss incurred greater than the whole wages. I should also be sorry to hear of any member of Congress who became rich by the savings above his expense. I know very well, that there have been Congress men and assembly men too, who have carried home considerable sums from less wages; but they were such generally as did more good to their families by their penury, than to their country by their political wisdom.

I come now to what I chiefly intended by this short essay. Much time of the last session was spent in debates upon fixing a place for the permanent residence of Congress, and building a federal city. That matter was under the consideration of the former Congress, and was fixed and unfixed I believe more than once. It always occasioned great altercation; nor was it possible to tell when it was settled; for whenever Congress changed its members, or the members changed their opinions, every thing that had been done was undone. In the last meeting of the federal Congress, it seems to have been finally deci-

ded ; but, either by accident or the address of some who were opposed to the decision, it was thrown open again, and is now left as unsettled as ever. I have not met with any body who was sorry, but with many who were happy at this circumstance ; and I sincerely wish that it may be suffered to sleep in its present situation at least for a considerable time, and till some other business of greater and more confessed importance shall be completely finished. I am now to give my reasons for this opinion.

1. A determination upon that subject is not *necessary*. When I say it is not necessary, I mean that we are not urged to it by any pressing inconveniencies or injuries which we have suffered or are suffering for want of it. Every body must own that it would be very expensive ; and indeed I am one myself, who, if it were to be done at all, and there were buildings to be erected which should not belong to any state, but to the union, would wish that they should be not barely elegant, but magnificent, that they might not derogate from the dignity of the empire. This is not even contrary to the general principle of economy ; for it has been observed that some of the most frugal nations have been most sumptuous in their public edifices, of which the stadthouse at Amsterdam is an example. Therefore, if the necessity were great, if the public business could not be carried on, nor the public authority maintained without it, I should be for submitting to every inconvenience—I would not be deterred even by the expense itself. But is this really the case ? Does it appear to be necessary from the nature of the thing ? No. The weight and influence of any deliberative or legislative body, depend much more on the wisdom of their measures, than the splendid apartments in which they are assembled. Does it appear to be necessary from experience or the example of other nations ? I think not. I can hardly recollect above one or two of the kingdoms or states of Europe, in which the capital is central ; and as to confederated republics, some of them have no common capital at all. The Swiss Cantons have no federal city. The different states of which this last consists, have for ages, when they had occasion to meet for common consultation,

held their Diets in different places. But we need go no further than our own experience. Did not the former Congress carry on the war with Great-Britain, defend and secure the liberties of the United States, without a federal city? Was the want of it greatly or deeply felt as an inconvenience? I do not recollect a single complaint made in speech or writing upon the subject.

2. It can be but little *profitable*. The truth is, when I attempt to recollect and enumerate the advantages to be derived from a federal city, in a central place, yet thinly inhabited, I find them very few and very small. If the American empire come to be one consolidated government, I grant it would be of some consequence that the seat of that government and source of authority should not be too distant from the extremities, for reasons which I need not here mention. But if the particular states are to be preserved and supported in their constitutional government, it seems of very little consequence where the Congress, consisting of representatives from these states, shall hold their sessions. There is not only little profit in their being fixed and central, but perhaps some advantages might arise from their being unfixed and ambulatory. This last seems to be more suitable to the equality of rights of the several states. It is far from being an impossible supposition, that the state on which Congress should be fixed, would think itself entitled to a leading, if not a domineering influence over the other states. As to easiness of access, such is the state of this country, lying along the sea coast, and having so many navigable rivers, that any city whatever on the coast or great rivers is easily accessible; and the difference of distance, especially when the payment is to be in proportion to the distance, is not worth mentioning. It is farther to be observed, that though buildings may be immediately raised for the accommodation of Congress, yet a great city, or a city of opulence and commerce, could not be raised for a long tract of time. It is even uncertain whether the bare residence of Congress during their annual sessions (which it is to be hoped in a few years will be but short) independent of other circumstances, will ever raise a great commercial city at all. The Hague,

though the residence of the stadtholder, is far from being the largest, most populous, or most wealthy city in Holland. Now I humbly conceive, that if not residence in, yet nearness to some important commercial city or cities, will be found to be absolutely necessary for transactions relating to money or finance : so that, if the advantages and disadvantages of a federal city on the proposed plan are fairly weighed, the latter would preponderate.

3. There is reason to fear that it may be very hurtful. Nothing is of so much consequence to us at present as union ; and nothing is so much the desire of all unprejudiced, public-spirited and virtuous men. The federal constitution is but new. It is, we hope, taking place ; but cannot yet be said to have taken root. It will, from the nature of things, take some time before it can acquire the respect and veneration necessary in every government from the body of the people, who are always guided by feeling and habit, more than by a train of reasoning, however conclusive. Now, is there no reason to fear that the disputes upon this subject may produce warmth and violence, and perhaps an alienation of mind in some states against others, very prejudicial to public order ? The most trifling subjects of dispute have sometimes created divisions both in larger and smaller political bodies, which have ended in common ruin. If I am rightly informed, the disputes which have already taken place in Congress upon this subject, have been carried on with greater virulence of temper and acrimony of expression, than upon any other that has been under their deliberation. This is not to be wondered at ; for it is indeed of such a nature, that it has a nearer relation to state attachments and local prejudices than any other that can be named. Perhaps in such a question it is lawful, decent, and even necessary, to plead the local interest of particular states ; and therefore it is to be expected that every delegate will contend with earnestness for that of his own. At any rate, whatever ostensible public reasons may be devised by a fertile invention, all unprejudiced hearers will believe that it is local attachment that guides their judgment, and inflames their

zeal. The only use that it is necessary for me to make of such a remark, is to shew that the contention and animosity raised by this dispute will probably extend itself to every other, and that it will not be confined to the contending members in Congress, but will spread itself through all the states, whose cause they plead, and whose interest they seem to espouse. This is one of those questions that had much better be decided wrong by general consent, than decided right by a small majority, without convincing or satisfying the opponents.

4. In the last place, it is certainly at least *unseasonable*. Though it were possible justly to answer all the objections I have stated above, I must still say, there is a time for every thing under the sun. A measure may be good in itself, and even necessary in a qualified sense, yet if there be another duty incumbent upon the same body, that is better and more necessary, this surely ought to have the precedence in point of time. Now, I think it cannot be denied, and all intelligent persons in the United States seem to be of opinion, that bringing order into our finances, restoring and establishing public credit, is the most important business which the Congress has to do. It is also the most urgent in point of time; because in the interval, many public creditors are in a situation truly deplorable, whereas I can think of nobody that is suffering much for want of a federal city. The two designs are also connected together as cause and effect; and I need not tell any body which of these ought to go foremost. What a romantic project will it be to fix on a situation, and to form plans for building a number of palaces, before we provide money to build them with, or even before we pay those debts which we have already contracted? This is a matter in which not only all the citizens of America, those who are, and those who are not, public creditors, are deeply concerned, but on which will depend our future security, our interest and influence among foreign nations, and even the opinion that shall be formed of us by posterity itself.

These few reflections, not enlarged upon as they might easily have been, nor swelled or exaggerated by

pompous declamation, but simply and nakedly proposed,—I leave to the judgment of the impartial public; and remain,

Their most obedient,

Humble servant,

X. Y.



ON THE

G E O R G I A

C O N S T I T U T I O N.



S I R,

**I**N your paper of Saturday last, you have given us the new Constitution of Georgia, in which I find the following resolution, "No clergyman of any denomination shall be a member of the General Assembly." I would be very well satisfied that some of the gentlemen who have made that an essential article of this constitution, or who have inserted and approve it in other constitutions, would be pleased to explain a little the principles, as well as to ascertain the meaning of it.

Perhaps we understand pretty generally, what is meant by a clergyman, viz. a person regularly called and set apart to the ministry of the gospel, and authorized to preach and administer the sacraments of the Christian religion. Now suffer me to ask this question; Before any man among us was ordained a minister, was he not a citizen of the United States, and if being in Georgia, a citizen of the state of Georgia? Had he not then a right to be elected a member of the assembly, if qualified in point of property? How then has he lost, or why is he deprived of this right? Is it by offence or disqualification? Is it a sin against the public to become a minister? Does it merit that the person who is guilty of it should be immediately deprived

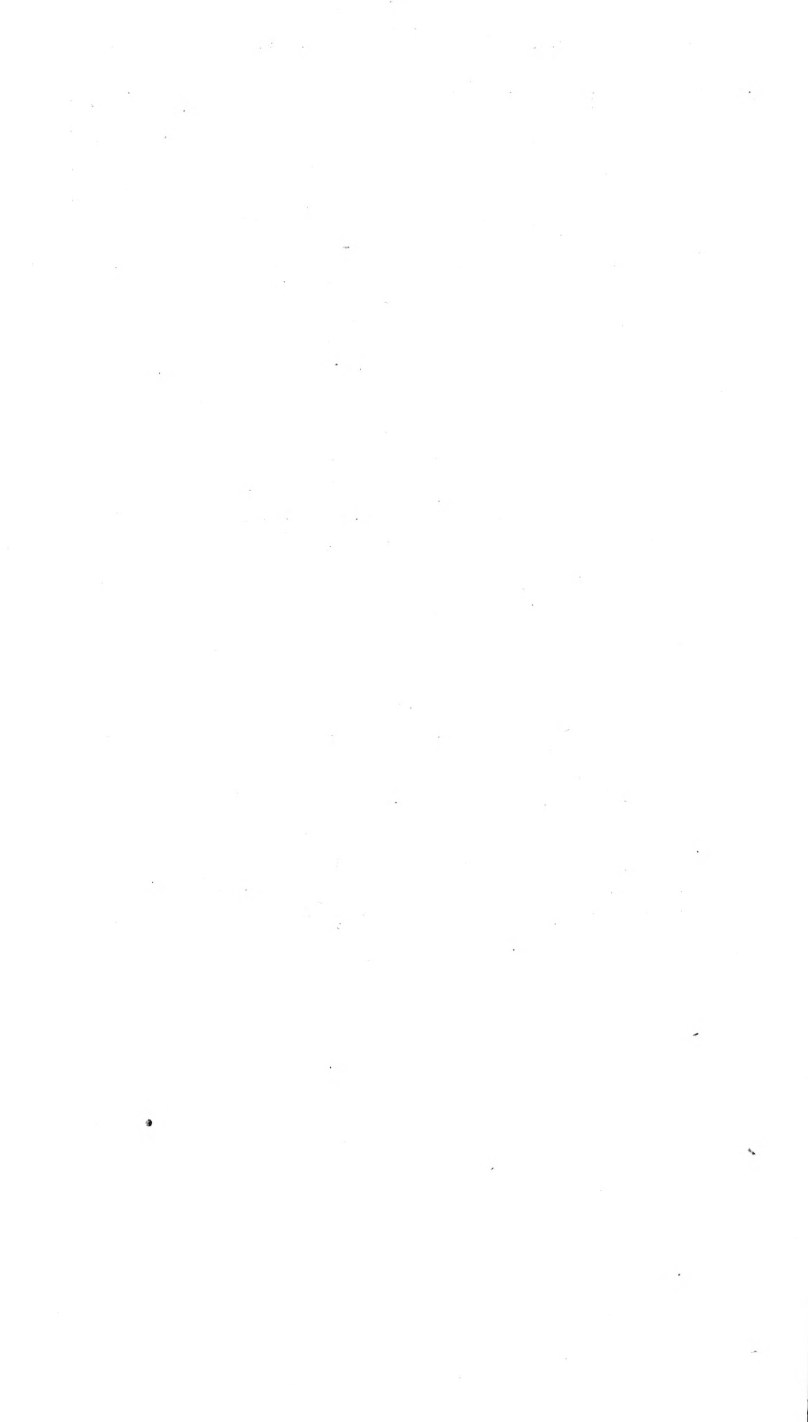
of one of his most important rights as a citizen? Is not this inflicting a penalty which always supposes an offence? Is a minister then disqualified for the office of a senator or representative? Does this calling and profession render him stupid or ignorant? I am inclined to form a very high opinion of the natural understanding of the freemen and freeholders of the state of Georgia, as well as of their improvement and culture by education, and yet I am not able to conceive, but that some of those equally qualified, may enter into the clerical order: and then it must not be unfitness, but some other reason that produces the exclusion. Perhaps it may be thought that they are excluded from civil authority, that they may be more fully and constantly employed in their spiritual functions. If this had been the ground of it, how much more properly would it have appeared, as an order of an ecclesiastical body with respect to their own members. In that case I should not only have forgiven, but approved and justified it; but in the way in which it now stands, it is evidently a punishment by loss of privilege, inflicted on those who go into the office of the ministry; for which, perhaps, the gentlemen of Georgia may have good reasons, though I have not been able to discover them.

But besides the uncertainty of the principle on which this resolution is founded, there seems to me much uncertainty as to the meaning of it. How are we to determine who is or is not a clergyman? Is he only a clergyman who has received ordination from those who have derived the right by an uninterrupted succession from the apostles? Or is he also a clergyman, who is set apart by the imposition of hands of a body of other clergyman, by joint authority? Or is he also a clergyman who is set apart by the church members of his own society, without any imposition of hands at all? Or is he also a clergyman who has exhorted in a methodist society, or spoken in a quaker meeting, or any other religious assembly met for public worship? There are still greater difficulties behind:—Is the clerical character indelible? There are some who have been ordained who occasionally perform some clerical functions, but have no pastoral charge at all. There are

some who finding public speaking injurious to health, or from other reasons easily conceived, have resigned their pastoral charge, and wholly discontinued all acts and exercises of that kind; and there are some, particularly in New-England, who having exercised the clerical office some time, and finding it less suitable to their talents than they apprehend, have voluntarily relinquished it, and taken to some other profession, as law, physic, or merchandize—Do these all continue clergymen, or do they cease to be clergymen, and by that cessation return to, or recover the honorable privileges of laymen?

I cannot help thinking that these difficulties are very considerable, and may occasion much litigation, if the article of the constitution stands in the loose, ambiguous form in which it now appears; and therefore I would recommend the following alterations, which I think will make every thing definite and unexceptionable.

“ No clergyman, of any denomination, shall be capable of being elected a member of the Senate or House of Representatives, because [here insert the grounds of offensive disqualification, which I have not been able to discover] Provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this part of the constitution, that if at any time he shall be completely deprived of the clerical character by those by whom he was invested with it, as by deposition for cursing and swearing, drunkenness or uncleanness, he shall then be fully restored to all the privileges of a free citizen; his offence shall no more be remembered against him; but he may be chosen either to the Senate or House of Representatives, and shall be treated with all the respect due to his *brethren*, the other members of Assembly.



THE  
D R U I D,

*Originally Published in Numbers Periodically.*

NUMBER I.

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S I R,

**I**T is my intention, by your permission and assistance to attempt the instruction and entertainment of the public once a month, on miscellaneous subjects. This letter shall serve as the first paper, and shall be an introduction to those that are to follow, by pointing out the spirit and design of the undertaking, and the plan upon which it is to be conducted.

The title which I have assumed, was not intended to carry any wit in it, and indeed not much meaning, further than what is common to all names, the distinction of one thing or person from another. It proved a matter of no little difficulty to fix upon a title, after so great a variety as the world has seen, since the practice of periodical essays was first introduced. After a good deal of deliberation on a matter of very little moment, the above was suggested, by the place which is now, and is likely to be, my residence, while I continue on earth.

It is a small but neat house, in a pleasant, retired situation, surrounded with woods, in all the simple majesty of their uncultivated state. Neither was it unsuitable to my time of life, the age of fifty, a cool and contemplative season, when men of education or business have generally seen as much of the world as satisfies their curiosity, and enables them to understand well enough what is passing in it; so that they have neither necessity nor inclination to mix again in its active scenes.

I was born and educated in Great-Britain, and had all the advantage I could receive from a long residence in one of the most celebrated seats of learning in that happy kingdom. The prime and vigor of life I spent in the midst of public business, and had a thorough knowledge of the greatest part, and personal intimacy with not a few, of the persons most distinguished in rank, politics, or literature, for the last thirty years. From what circumstances, or with what views, I came into this country, it is of no consequence for the reader to know; suffice it therefore to say, that I was not transported by Sir John Fielding, but came of my own proper motion and free choice; and indeed have never met with any thing in passing through life, that could be supposed either to sour the temper, or break the vigor of the mind. There are not a few who, towards the close of life, acquire a settled hatred or contempt of mankind, and seem disposed to avenge their own real or supposed calamities on the world in general, by the acrimony of their conversation, and the virulent satire of their writings. Productions dictated by such a spirit, have often, it must be owned, such a poignant severity, as deeply wounds the object of their resentment, and yet, I think, seldom adds to the relish of those for whom the entertainment is provided.

It has been generally supposed, that satire and invective is the way of writing, of all others, most agreeable to the public; and the reason given for it is very little to the credit of human nature, viz. The prevalence of envy and malignity in the bulk of mankind. Had I been of this opinion, I would have cautiously avoided introducing

the sentiment, at least so soon, as it would have been but a poor compliment to that very public, whose attention I mean to solicit, and whose improvement I wish to promote. I confess that a thorough knowledge of the world, and extensive reading in history, have often produced mean thoughts of human nature. We see sometimes old hackneyed politicians discover a jealousy of the characters, and an indifference to the sufferings of others, which surprises and offends men of less experience, who are therefore often laughed at for their weakness. This, in some instances is the mistake of the observer, while the coolness and composure of spirit, the deliberate and self-collected carriage, which is the effect of time, is falsely called a callous or unfeeling disposition. But where the remark is just, and a real and general hatred of others has obtained full dominion, it would not be so decent to infer from it, that mankind are universally worthless or incorrigible, as to impute it to the selfish meanness of that heart in which it had taken place.

It is very common for authors to go to an extreme on the one hand or on the other, in speaking of human nature. Those philosophers who speak of it in such exalted terms as to contradict the truths of religion, have present experience and the history of past ages directly against them. The most illustrious persons in the records of time, have derived the greatest part of their lustre itself, either from the singularity of their character, or, which is nearly the same thing, from the depravity of others, who needed their assistance for instruction or correction. It was smartly, at least, if not justly said, by an author not many years ago, that the wisdom of legislators, and the admirable policy of states, and even the purity moral precepts, are just such arguments for the dignity of human nature as gibbets are. There is, doubtless, no small degree of error, ignorance, prejudice and corruption to be found among men ; but these, when properly viewed, serve rather to demonstrate the importance and necessity of information and instruction. There are not only particular instances in which the human mind has discovered the most exalted virtue as well as amazing pow-

ers, but the human race in general, with all its defects, is certainly the noblest and most valuable in this lower world, and therefore the most worthy of cultivation. To this may be added, that there is no circumstance in which there is a more manifest distinction between man and the inferior creatures, than that the individual is more helpless as well as the kind more noble ; and therefore the intercourse of society and mutual assistance is absolutely necessary to his improvement and perfection.

But this is perhaps treating the subject in too abstract and philosophical a manner, which I well know is not much to the taste of the present age. The importance of knowledge, and the power of intellectual light, will be readily confessed. The questions to be seriously debated with himself by an author, at his first setting out, are, What encouragement he has to devote himself to the public service ? and, what reason to think he hath any thing to communicate that is worthy of the public attention ? Now, as to the *first* of these, it is my opinion, that though error, prejudice, and partiality, are very universal, that is to say, they have place in some degree in many persons of every rank, age, and country ; yet their influence in each has, properly speaking, but a narrow sphere. Truth is much stronger than them all. They shew themselves chiefly in the smaller interests of particulars ; but there is a candor and impartiality in a diffusive public, which may be in a great measure depended upon, and which will both hear truth and obey it. There is not perhaps a man in that public, but has many prejudices and prepossessions ; but these are confined within certain bounds, like the sphere of attraction of particular bodies, round himself : when you go beyond that sphere, they are not felt, or they are felt very weakly. There is an observation I have sometimes made, which I do not remember to have read in any author, but which, if just, should teach every man to revere the public judgment. The remark is, that I can scarcely recollect any person well and intimately known to me, whose performances, either in speaking or writing, had been exhibited to the world for any time, of whose talents and erudition the great plu-

rality did not judge exactly in the same manner that I did myself. If they do justice to every other person, why should I doubt their doing it to me? Ignorance, prejudice, malice, or accident, may have some influence at first; but their effects are merely temporary, and are speedily effaced. Time is a diligent enquirer, and a just judge. I could almost say the same thing of a man's moral character, under two exceptions: If you go beyond the bounds of local politics, and abstract entirely from religious differences, every man is spoken of pretty nearly as he deserves. I am sufficiently aware that there are particular exceptions to this general theory, but I have not now time to enter upon them; and therefore shall leave them till they fall in my way in the discussion of such subjects as shall be undertaken in my future papers.

As to the *second* point, whether I have any thing to communicate that is worthy of the public attention? It is plain from the appearance of this paper, that I have already judged of it so far as to make the attempt; it is therefore too late for me, and too early for the reader, to take that matter into consideration. I shall, however, mention briefly the plan which I mean to follow. The general subject of these papers shall be the philosophy of human nature and of human life; I would willingly join science and reflection to experience and observation. Literature and morals, arts and industry, shall be my chief themes; and under one or other of these, every thing may be introduced, that can in the least contribute to the happiness of social or private life. I must beg the reader to observe, that in handling all these subjects, I shall have a particular view to the state and interest of this rising country. As in youth the human frame wears its loveliest form; as the spring is the most charming season of the revolving year: so, a country newly planted, and every day advancing to a maturer state, affords the highest delight to a contemplative philosopher, and is, at the same time, the strongest invitation to activity and usefulness.

I am sensible that some will think the present an improper season for beginning on so extensive a plan. They will say the time calls not for speculation but action. Our in-

dustry is now all turned into one channel, the vigorous exertion of the spirit of defence. When liberty, property and life are at stake, we must not think of being scholars, but soldiers. When happy peace returns we shall be able to apply with proper attention and vigor to the improvement of our minds, as well as to the cultivation of the soil: till then we have other work upon our hands. I must inform the reader that these are mistaken reflections. There is such a connexion among all the arts that improve or embellish human nature, that they are best promoted in conjunction, and generally go in a body. As I look without solicitude, or rather with unshaken confidence of success, on the present glorious and important struggle for the liberties of mankind; so I consider it as a proper season for the most ardent application to the improvement of this country in all respects. In times of public commotion the human mind is roused, and shakes off the incumbrances of sloth and self-indulgence. Those who put on the harness and go into the field, must be encouraged, assisted, and even supported, by the activity and industry of those who remain at home. Besides, I am much mistaken if the time is not just at hand, when there shall be greater need than ever in America, for the most accurate discussion of the principles of society, the rights of nations, and the policy of states; all which shall have a place in the subsequent numbers of this paper. But above all, can it ever be unseasonable to lay before the public what tends to improve the temper and morals of the reader, which shall be the ultimate object of all my disquisitions? He who makes a people *virtuous*, makes them *invincible*.

The reader will now, in some degree, understand the design and extent of this undertaking. As to wit and humor, I choose to make no promises upon that head, lest I should break them. Most people, perhaps, differ from me; but I confess I would rather read a tedious argument than a dull joke. Yet the favors of the ingenious, as the saying is (post paid) may perhaps enable me sometimes to gratify a reader of taste; only I must take the liberty of being pleased myself first, other-

wife they shall sleep with me, or return to the authors. Some, perhaps, will wonder that I have said nothing of the delightful themes of love and gallantry, especially as it is so easy to establish a connexion between the tender passion and military glory. The younger class of my readers may rest satisfied that they shall not want good advice enough, which may be applied to that and to every other subject; but I do not take myself to be qualified to paint the ardors of a glowing flame. I have not seen any killing eyes these several years. It was but yesterday, that I smiled involuntarily on reading a poem in your last magazine, setting forth, that both Beauty and Wisdom had taken up their residence with a certain nymph, the one in her cheek, the other in her tongue, and that they were resolved never to depart; which I thought was a little unfortunate for all the rest of the sex. I wish every Strephon and Daphne heartily well, and that the exalted and rapturous phrases of Arcadia may be soon brought down to the composed discourse of a quiet man and wife in Philadelphia; in which character, perhaps they may sometimes hear from me, I hope, to their great benefit.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

THE DRUID.



## N U M B E R II.

S I R,

**W**HEN I first came into this country, nothing was farther from my expectation than the contest that has now taken place between Great-Britain and the Colonies. The reader, I suppose, will also readily believe me when I affirm, that what relates to this im-

portant struggle, made but a small part of the matter I had meditated and digested for the subject of these dissertations. But, from some letters which I have received, and much conversation that I have heard, it appears plain, that something of this kind is expected from me, and that if it is long withheld, it will be difficult to avoid suspicion from the warmer sons of liberty. It is not easy to determine what branches of this great argument it would be best to take up, as most suitable to a speculative philosopher, and at the same time most necessary or useful to the bulk of my readers. The natural rights of mankind, and the cause of liberty in general, have been explained and defended in innumerable treatises, ancient and modern. The application of these principles to the American controversy, has been made by many writers among us, with the greatest clearness and precision. The nature of government, and method of balancing a civil constitution, I cannot say has been handled either with so much fulness or propriety as the other topics; yet on this also many excellent observations have been made. If it has not been much reasoned on, it seems nevertheless to be both felt and understood, in almost every corner of this continent.

Leaving, therefore, these subjects for the present, as we are yet engaged in a war somewhat singular in its nature, important in its consequences, and uncertain in its duration, I shall beg leave to make some remarks as a scholar, and as a citizen of the world, on *the manner of carrying on war*. By this is not meant, to lay down a plan of discipline, or tactics for an army, or of stratagems and manœuvres for a general or inferior leader; but to consider by what means wars of different kinds may be carried on, consistently with reason, conscience, or common utility. Every body must have observed how frequently the newspapers have been filled with complaints of our enemies, as acting savagely and barbarously—as being guilty of unnatural cruelty—as carrying on a felonious and piratical war—as acting contrary to the laws of war. I have, however, taken notice, that among all these dissertations little or nothing has been said to shew

why they have acted barbarously, further than that they have acted unjustly in being our enemies at all. No one has told us what are the laws of war, or endeavored to make us understand when enemies may be said to act a fair and honourable, and when a dastardly and cruel part.

This subject I shall now therefore enter upon; and will endeavor to handle it with as much simplicity as possible, that it may be useful to persons of the lowest rank, and most common understanding. Let me trace it to its source. Wherever society exists founded upon clear established laws, this obliges us to form an idea of a state previous to the formation of society, or before such, or any laws, were made and acknowledged to be in force. This is called a state of nature. I do not enter into the innumerable questions upon this subject; as, how long it could continue, when men increased in number? Whether it is a state of war or peace? Whether inclination prompted, or necessity compelled, men to enter into society? It is sufficient for my purpose, to observe, that independent nations are in a state of natural liberty with respect to one another, or as man to man previous to the social compact. When they disagree, they have no common umpire or judge to resort to, but must decide their quarrels by the sword. The questions then to be resolved are three: 1. Are there any laws at all by which they are bound? or, are all kinds of force or violence equally just? 2. If not, what is the law? what is it that makes the distinction? and, 3. what is the sanction of the law? To whom shall we complain when it is broken?

If there is any such law, it is certainly very justly denominated, by civilians, *the law of nature and nations*. Of nature, because its principles are to be derived from the state of natural or universal liberty, and personal independence; and of nations, because there is no person in such a state at present, excepting nations or large bodies, who consider themselves as independent of each other. Now, that there is such a law, I think is evident, not only from the universal acknowledgment of men, and the practice of nations from the earliest ages, but from

the nature of the thing. If there are any duties binding upon men to each other, in a state of natural liberty, the same are due from nation to nation. Bodies politic do not in this circumstance, differ from individuals. The same answer must be made to the second question. It is impossible to mention any right that an individual may justly claim, either as to person or property, from his fellow men, but a society has the like claim upon any other society. Their persons must not be assaulted, nor their property invaded. The single purpose of society, indeed, is to protect the individual, and to give him the strength of the public arm, in defence of his just and natural right.

But it will be asked, in the third place, What is the sanction of this law? and who is to call the offender to account? To this I answer, That the sanction of the law of nature is nothing else but a sense of duty, and accountability to the supreme Judge; to which may be added, such a sense of general utility, as makes men fear, that if they notoriously trample upon it, reproach and infamy among all nations will be the effect, and probably resentment and indignation by common consent. Agreeably to this, having recourse to force is often called an appeal to Heaven, and it is, at the same time, generally accompanied with an attempt, by some public declaration, to convince other nations of the justice of the cause.

Omitting many things that are not connected with the point I have in view, particularly without enumerating the legitimate causes of war, but supposing nations engaged in a war which they believe on both sides to be just, let us ask, What are the means by which this war is to be carried on? The first and most obvious answer is, By all manner of force or open violence; and the most able warrior is presumed to be the one that can invent weapons the most deadly and destructive. It is admitted also, on all hands, that force may be used, not only against the persons and goods of rulers, but of every member of the hostile state. This may seem hard, that innocent subjects of a state should suffer for the folly and indiscretion of the rulers, or of other members of the same state. But it is often unavoidable. The whole individuals that compose a state,

are considered but as one body. It would be impossible for an enemy to distinguish the guilty from the innocent. When men submit to a government, they risk their own persons and possessions in the same bottom with the whole, in return for the benefits of society.

Upon this principle, open violence may be said to have no bounds, and every method that can be invented to send destruction and misery to any part of the hostile state, may be thought to be permitted. But upon the principles of general equity, and the consent and practice of modern times, acts of cruelty and inhumanity, are to be blamed, and to be considered as a violation of the law of nations. Many of them might be easily enumerated, such as refusing quarter to those who submit, killing prisoners when they might be kept without any danger, killing women and children, inventing methods of torture, burning and destroying every thing that might be of use in life. The use of poisoned weapons also has been generally condemned, as well as the poisoning of springs and provisions.

The celebrated Dr. Robertson of Edinburgh, in a sermon before the society for propagating Christian knowledge, has made an observation to this purpose, "that to the honor of modern times, and (as he thinks) particularly to the honor of Christianity itself, there is much more gentleness and humanity in the manner of carrying on war than formerly." If we look into ancient history we shall see such instances of ferocity and cruelty in many cases, as are too shocking to be related. There is no fact, however, in the records of antiquity on this subject, that ever struck me so much as the account given of Sesostris, because it shews, not the barbarity of a particular monster, but the spirit of the times. He is extolled by many ancient authors for his clemency, because he did not put to death the princes whom he unjustly attacked and conquered. Yet he ordered them to wait upon him, with a yearly tribute, and on these occasions used to yoke them in his charriot, and make them draw him, in place of horses, to the temple. How much worse than death would this appear at present to a captive prince?

But however justly praise may be due to modern times for comparative humanity, what we have said above is only general and undefined. Let us seek for the true principle that ought to govern the conduct of refined and enlightened nations. This, if I mistake not, is, *That all acts of cruelty which have no tendency to weaken the resisting force, are contrary to reason and religion, and therefore to the law of nature and nations.* The end of war is to obtain justice, and restore peace, therefore whatever tends to lessen or destroy the force of the enemy, must be permitted. It is in this view alone that the capture of private property is allowed and justified. But to take lives without necessity, and even to treat prisoners with oppression or insult, above all to distress or torture the weaker sex, or the helpless infant, ought to be detested by every nation professing the gospel.

The principle which I have laid down, may be applied universally, and will serve to point out when any measure is to be justified or condemned, between persons professing open hostility against each other. I will take the liberty to apply it to some things that have been done or attempted in the present war, carried on by Great-Britain against America. It is now undeniable that endeavors have been used to bring the Indian tribes upon the back settlements. This I call an act of extreme and unjustifiable barbarity, because their manner of making war is well known. They are neither formidable for their number nor their strength, but for making inroads upon the dwellings of their enemies, and putting to death women and children, with circumstances of horrid cruelty. This is so far from weakening the force of the people against whom it is practised, that it tends to inspire them with a revenge and fury not to be resisted. The well known history of the late war, will both explain and support what I have said. The cruelty of the Indians produced such a spirit in the back settlers, which not only repelled their attacks, but in some instances retaliated their injuries, in a manner that I will not take upon me either to defend or excuse. Therefore, when we blame the British ministry for stirring up the Indians against us, we do not blame them for asking

assistance from other nations, which is common in all wars, when any party apprehends itself weak, but for a method of attack, the cruelty of which bears no proportion to any advantage that can be derived from it.

The same thing I say of proclaiming liberty to slaves, and stirring them up to rebel against their masters. There is, however, some little difference in the application of the principle to this and the preceding instance. It is probable that the people in Great-Britain reckoned upon a degree of advantage from this measure, vastly superior not only to what it produced in effect, but to what they themselves expected from the incursions of the Indians. I gather this from an expression in a treatise published in England on the American controversy, to this purpose, that 'if England declare freedom to the slaves, they (the Americans) have not six weeks to be a people.' These apprehensions may be thought to justify them in the attempt, as they must have taken it to be so speedy and effectual a means of producing absolute submission. But I must observe, in addition to what I have said above, that there are some things so base and treacherous in their nature, and so pernicious in the example to human society in general, that whatever effect they might be supposed to have in a particular case, all men of liberal minds have concurred in rejecting them. For example, though it is generally agreed that aiming particularly at the life of a leader in battle, is not only lawful but prudent, as it is of more consequence than fifty others, yet to suborn his servants to assassinate him privately, though it might have the same effect upon the military operations, is universally condemned. An instance in history occurs to me, in which a measure, though likely to have a great influence in weakening the enemy, yet, for its extreme cruelty, deserves to be spoken of with horror. It was that of king James VII's general at the siege of Londonderry, 1689, who, when the garrison was reduced to extremity for want of provisions, drove all the protestants within thirty miles, chiefly old men, women and infants, under the walls of the city, to be either taken in, or suffered to perish with hunger under the eyes of their friends. Had this measure

been successful, it would have been, notwithstanding, condemned as unjust ; but I am happy in being able to observe, that acts of extreme cruelty do very seldom produce the effects intended by them. When a certain point is exceeded, fear itself is converted into rage, and produces the unexpected and incredible efforts of despair.

The principle I have above laid down, will also enable us to judge what opinion we should form of acts of violence and depredation. When an army can avail itself of the goods and property of the members of a hostile state, or probably reduce them to the necessity of making peace, not only the seizure but the reduction of both may be justified, upon the principles of reason. But when men can only destroy and not possess, and that destruction can only fall upon an inconsiderable number of helpless people, it is at once inconsistent with greatness of mind, and for the most part against the interest of the destroyer. It operates as an inflammatory principle, and calls up every man, from the strongest to the feeblest, to assist in repelling or punishing the savage invader. For this reason I give it as my opinion, that burning and destroying houses, where there is no fortress, as has been in some instances done, deserves all the epithets of barbarous, savage and inhuman, that have been bestowed upon it, either by those who have suffered, or those who have felt in their behalf.

A few more reflections should have been added, upon wars differently circumstanced, and particularly upon civil wars ; but they must be referred to the next, or some future paper.

## NUMBER III.

S I R,

MY last paper was employed in examining what is the radical principle, according to the law of nature and nations, for determining *the just and lawful means* of carrying on war. Having left the subject unfinished, I will now add what seems further necessary upon it. The chief and most remarkable distinction of wars, to be found in civilians, is into what they call *foreign* and *civil* wars. By the first are to be understood, wars between nations confessed on both sides to be separate and independent. By the second, wars between different parts of the same state. The first are supposed to arise from some occasional injury or partial encroachment, and to have for their end the reparation of the wrong, and the restoration of security and peace. The second, in which one part of the subjects of a state rises against another, are much more various, both in their causes and ends, although the rulers of every state generally affect to consider them all as of the same nature, and belonging to the same class. The light in which they wish them to be viewed is, as an insurrection of disorderly citizens against law and order in general, and therefore as including the greatest crime that can be committed against society, and deserving the severest punishment. This is the true and proper import of the laws against treason in any country, and if the object on which they take hold is really such as they describe, no fault can be found with their severity. He who breaks the public peace, and attempts to subvert the order of the society of which he is a member, is guilty of the greatest crime against every other member, by robbing him of a blessing of the greatest value in itself, as well as essentially necessary to the possession of every other.

For this reason it is that in civil wars one party takes upon itself to be on the side of order and good government, and considers every person of the opposing band,

not as a citizen contending for the supposed rights of his own state, but as a felon, and a criminal breaking the law of God and man, and if subdued and taken, destined to public, ignominious, legal punishment. But let us consider a little the causes and circumstances of civil wars, as they have appeared in history. Some have doubtless been of the kind above described, and which the law in general presumes ; but if they have been numerous, they have hardly ever been formidable. Insurrections of profligate or even mistaken citizens have generally been local, and occasioned by some circumstances that do not effect the whole body of an empire, and therefore have been easily suppressed. Many of the civil wars which have torn and distracted great empires, have arisen from the ambition and turbulence of particular men, contending for power and influence in the administration of government. Such were the wars of Sylla and Marius, Cæsar and Pompey, in the Roman republic ; in which, though the partisans on both sides were certainly criminal, yet at, the same time, they were equally so. We may place in the same rank, the civil wars in England and France, which were so long in the one country, and so bloody in both, about the succession to the crown. In these wars, the principle on which they were waged, was fundamentally wrong, viz. that there was a claim of right in one family or person, which entitled them to authority distinct from common consent, or the general good. But this principle was the same to both parties ; many persons of equal honor and truth embraced the opposite sides of the question ; and we can perceive no difference at all between them, in point of merit or demerit towards the society. If one contends for the uncle, and the other for the nephew, to be king, or the posterity of each many generations distant, and a bloody war must decide the question, little other reflection can occur to a considerate man, than to pity the weakness of human nature.

There remains another class of civil wars, in which a part or the great body of a monarchy or republic resist the authority of their rulers, on pretence that they are suffering under oppression. They do this sometimes with

a view to redress their grievances and sometimes to subvert their government altogether as insupportable, and re-settle it upon a new foundation. It also frequently happens that they begin with the first of these, and in the course of the quarrel find or think it necessary to end with the last. There are many wars of this kind upon record, some of which have been successful, and others not. If they have been successful, history dignifies them with the name of Revolution; and if otherwise, they must bear that of rebellion. Their success, however, is no certain criterion of their justice. The civil war in England of the last century, which bears the name of the grand rebellion, and the late vigorous contest of the Corsicans against the republic of Genoa, though they were sold into slavery, were as honorable in the principles, as the successful resistance of the Seven United Provinces to the king of Spain, or the efforts of the English nation at that period which we have now agreed to call the *glorious revolution*.

Let us apply these remarks to the subject of our present enquiry, the means and manner of carrying on war. In fact, it has always been found that civil wars have been carried on with a rage and animosity much greater than those of independant nations. Acts of cruelty have been much more frequent while they lasted; and after peace has taken place, the alienation of mind and inward resentment has been much greater and of longer continuance. The barbarity of the Syllan and Marian factions to each other in Rome, as well as the proscription of the two subsequent triumvirates of that state, were so horrible that it is difficult to conceive how human nature could be brought to such an unfeeling and hardened temper, as to give or execute the bloody orders. As soon as a war between independent nations ceases, the wound is perfectly healed, and particular persons of these nations do not retain the least degree of resentment against each other. It is quite otherwise in civil wars. They often give a name and character to the different factions, which is not obliterated for many generations. Whig and Tory are names by which persons and families are still distinguished in England, although they are both of great anti-

quity, and the first of them more than a hundred years old.

Whenever any effect is general and constant, there must be some suitable and permanent cause or causes for it. It may not therefore be amiss, either in a philosophical or a moral view, to examine the causes of this phenomenon in political life. One cause may be assigned for it which is very general, but which will perfectly apply to this, as well as to every other kind of strife. The greater the injury that is done, and the stronger the obligations to friendship that are broken through, the deeper the resentment that is felt by a sensible mind. Now, it is certain that to disturb the internal peace of a state by a civil war, is a much more dreadful evil, and touches the people more universally, than war with a foreign kingdom. Besides, injuries done, or supposed to be done, by those with whom we are nearly connected, and from whom we expected every act of friendship, wound more deeply than those done by strangers or persons unknown. This is so generally true, that differences between near relations, if they come to a certain height, and are publicly known, are scarcely ever thoroughly reconciled. They may be apparently or imperfectly taken away, the sore may be skinned over, but it still rankles at bottom, and upon the slightest touch is ready to break out anew.

Another cause which may be assigned for the barbarity exercised in civil wars, is the hateful or contemptible idea which the one side, at least, often entertains of the other. It is a fine observation of a moral writer of the last age, "If you want to be wholly free from the guilt of injury, oppression or slander, you must take care what you *think* of others, for it is certain that your treatment of them will be according to the opinion you have formed of their character and merit." This remark is perfectly just: for if once a man allow himself to hate another heartily, there is no answering for what he will do to him, nor is the natural humanity of his disposition the least security against his going to excess. Persons of the gentlest nature and the softest sex, when completely enraged, have been guilty of the most horrid cruelty. This is commonly accounted

for by the mixture of fear and hatred. But if another ingredient is added to the composition, it will be yet more powerful; I mean contempt. Some may think that fear and contempt are inconsistent, but this is a mistake. You cannot fear the strength of an enemy and despise it, at the same time; but you may easily fear his strength and malice, and despise his character. If therefore you join all these together, fear, hatred and contempt, towards an enemy, it will not be wonderful if the treatment he receives is unmerciful or unjust. This is often the case in civil wars. Those who are on the side of government are apt to form the most unjust, as well as despicable ideas, of their opponents, and never to speak of them but in the most opprobrious terms. By this they are naturally led to behave towards them with inhumanity, and sometimes in their correspondence they will scarce consider themselves as upon an equality, or be bound by the laws of sincerity and truth.

I could illustrate the influence of character, and the opinion we entertain of others, on our conduct toward them, by many instances in history. It is the true and genuine source of the Roman Catholics not keeping faith with heretics. This their enemies charge them with as an avowed principle; which they deny. But that they have acted agreeably to it is fact. The example of John Huss of Bohemia, and several others, put it beyond all question. It is also the true cause of the cruelty of the inquisition, commonly called the bloody Tribunal. Nothing is more common than to consider the ministers of this court as monsters divested of every feeling of humanity, and so to lay three fourths of the blame upon the personal character, whereas in truth, it ought to be wholly imputed to the power of bigotry and false zeal. When once a person is believed to be an enemy to God, and meriting his utmost vengeance, it is not wonderful that men should co-operate with him, and inflict that little part of it that is in their power. It is not so properly suffering in itself, as the innocence of the sufferer, or the disproportion of the suffering to the crime, that excites our compassion. When crimes are very atrocious, we sometimes feel, and in some degree

regret, the weakness of human vengeance, which cannot possibly give them their due. I can recollect several instances of criminals, on whose condemnation, not one but many would say, "he deserves, if it were possible, a thousand deaths.

But now let me draw this dissertation to a conclusion, or as divines would say, to the application. It is easy to see, from the above principles, what are the dictates of truth and justice as to the manner of carrying on civil wars. There is but one class of them in which the behavior should be different from the practice that prevails in wars with independent states; I mean when tumultuous and disorderly citizens attempt to subvert law and order altogether. But when the grounds of the quarrel are plausible on both sides, and when it is demonstrable that persons of the strictest honor and integrity may be found adhering to the opposite parties, they are bound by every tie to candor in judgment, and to humanity and mercy in their conduct towards each other. Happily we often see the parties in such wars compelled to humanity through self-interest, and restrained by fear of one of the justest of all laws, that of retaliation. I could wish, however, that a sense of duty should be added to this obligation; for neither necessity, nor even inclination, is so stable and powerful a principle of action, as reason and truth impressed on the conscience. Necessity does not always seem equally strong, and the impulse of natural affection is transient and changeable; but that which we consider as essential to our duty, we shall adhere to without the assistance of either, and ought to do it even in opposition to both.

I do truly think myself, in my present retirement (begging the reader's pardon) not ill qualified, in point of impartiality, for handling this subject, and applying it to the present contest between Great-Britain and America. I am past the age of bearing arms, and whatever I have done before, shall probably never again wield any other weapons, than those improperly so called, the tongue and the pen. I do clearly see the perfect justice and great importance of the claim on the one hand, and easily conceive the power of prejudice on the other. On the part of America, there

was not the most distant thought of subverting the government, or hurting the interest of the people of Great-Britain, but of defending their own privileges from unjust encroachment; there was not the least desire of withdrawing their allegiance from the common sovereign, till it became absolutely necessary, and indeed was his own choice: On the other hand, I can easily conceive that those who have been long accustomed to subjection, and from whom it is really due, should not suddenly enter into the reasons of exempting a people, otherwise situated, from the same burden. They are therefore of course easily deceived by false or imperfect accounts of a distant country, and insensibly biassed by the phraseology constantly used, particularly the terms rebels and rebellion. Upon the whole, as I am now to dismiss this subject, and prosecute the plan laid down in my first number, I shall conclude with saying, That humanity is the noblest attendant on true valor; and that he will probably fight most bravely, who never fights till it is necessary, and ceases to fight as soon as the necessity is over.

## NUMBER IV.

S I R,

ONE of the greatest difficulties that occurs to writers of miscellaneous essays, and which has been often complained of, is the fixing upon proper subjects. We are confined, as a certain writer observes, to ‘human nature and life,’ and yet these have been so completely ransacked, and almost every character and occurrence has been placed in such a variety of lights, that it is hardly possible to find a corner that is wholly untouched. At the same time, as to the manner of writing, the reader generally expects two things that seem to be incompatible and mutually destructive of each other. The one is, that it be striking and original; and the other, that it be simple, natural and obvious. If we say what any body might say, then it is a trite, beaten, common-place, hackneyed topic; and if we say what would not readily occur to others, then it is a forced, unnatural, *out of the way* manner of thinking and writing, than which there cannot be a greater disparagement of either writer or speaker, nor any that will more speedily or effectually prevent his success. But notwithstanding this apparent hardship, there is a real justice in the expectation of the public in both respects, when rightly understood. A writer’s sentiments should be properly his own, and yet they should not be too much repugnant to other people’s. And as one man’s face is easily distinguished from that of every other, though the general features are the same in all, he may preserve his genuine character without going far *out of the way*, or aiming at any thing odd or particular for this purpose. I know not how it is with others, but for my own part, I would rather write on a subject that has been often handled, or a character that has been often described, than one of a contrary kind; because, in such cases, I can form my own sentiments with greater precision, and express them with greater perspicuity and force.

The reader may consider the above as an introduction, preface, or, if he pleases, apology for the following dissertation, which shall have for its subject a certain human character or quality, generally called *plain common sense*. I must, in the first place, settle the meaning of the expression. There are in every language, certain fine or nice distinctions in the use both of phrases and single terms, which, though introduced and finally settled by general practice, are not always attended to or fully understood. In the case before us, I think, the term is used very differently in the negative, from what it is in the positive form. When we say of a man, that he *wants common sense*, we mean that he is a very great fool, and sometimes that he is the next thing to a changeling or idiot. But when, in the positive form, we say of a man, that he is a man of *plain common sense*, we give him a good character, and are understood by it as affirming that there are not many superior or equal to him in that particular, as also that he possesses a quality of no inconsiderable value. It is plain, that in these two ways of speaking, the term *common sense* stands for different things. In the first of them it signifies, that sense that is really common to all men, or at least nearly universal : in the second it signifies either something totally different, or at least a degree of that sense which is not possessed by the plurality, but perhaps is called common, because it may be found in some persons of every rank.

Let me now enquire a little into the characters of common sense. It is the *gift of nature*, and may be clearly distinguished from what is acquired by study or application. In the *Thoughts on various Subjects*, by Swift and Pope, we have one to this purpose, that ‘ fine sense is not half so useful as common sense, for he that has the one without the other, is like one that carries nothing about him but gold coin, who must be often at a loss for want of change.’ In another of these thoughts we are informed, ‘ that to attempt to move the multitude with fine sense, is like attempting to hew a block with a razor.’ With all respect to these great men, I must say, that though there is something smart and lively in the above recited senti-

ments, yet they are more brilliant than just; they seem to suppose, that refinement is a thing of the same kind with common sense, and only higher in degree, and yet at the same time that a man may possess genuine refinement and be without common sense, neither of which, in my opinion, is true, at least in such a sense as to make their similitudes just, or their reasoning conclusive. Refinement is as different from common sense as the culture is from the soil, or the climate from either; but as their joint influence is necessary to the production of the crop, so fine sense, without common sense as its ground-work and foundation, very ill deserves the name. If I saw a man attempting to hew a block with a razor, or heard him speaking in metaphysical, abstract, unintelligible terms, to a multitude of common people, I should heartily agree that he wanted common sense; but that he possessed fine sense, I should not be easily brought to confess.

The use of scientific terms and sentiments, brought from what is known only to scholars and improperly introduced, has been long treated with the contempt it deserves; but it is considered as belonging only to the learned professions. I was well acquainted with a divine many years ago, who began a prayer in his congregation with these words, ‘O Lord, thou art the simplest of all beings,’ which incensed his hearers against him to such a degree, that they accused him of having spoken blasphemy; whereas the poor man only meant to say, that God was philosophically simple and uncompounded, altogether different from the grossness, divisibility, or, as it is sometimes more learnedly called, the discerptibility of matter. I was also acquainted with a physician, who, sitting with a lady in her own house, and being asked by her, ‘Doctor, are artichokes good for children?’ answered, ‘Madam, they are the least flatulent of all the esculent tribe,’ indeed, doctor, says the lady, I do not understand a word of what you have said. Now, I think, few would have much admired either the fine or common sense of these gentlemen, though certainly the divine would have been considered as the greater fool of the two, for physicians, as a body, have asserted and maintained their right to the use of hard

phrases beyond any other class of scholars. But there is a certain species of this fault, which, I think, has not been much taken notice of; and that is, when men, either of high station or real sense and literature, are filled with self-sufficiency, and cannot think of descending to the level of those with whom they converse, either in sentiments or phraseology. I suspect there were a few grains of this failing in the illustrious persons not long ago mentioned; and that their sentiments, above related, are an evidence of it. In this instance, their fine sense was an over match for their common sense, and this was an evident proof of the imperfection of both.

If then fine sense does not differ essentially from common sense, and the first is nothing more than a certain brightness or polish given to the last, it would seem as if by common sense we ought to understand the rational powers in general, and the *capacity* of improvement. But here we meet with a difficulty which seems to need a resolution. If common sense is nothing else but the strength of the intellectual powers taken complexly, then must it be in every person in proportion to those powers; and science, if it does not improve, certainly cannot diminish it. Yet there is no branch of science whatever but we find some persons capable of learning it, and frequently even of shining in it, who are notwithstanding very defective in common sense, and after their learned acquisitions, the defect is either greater in itself, or at least more visible than before. We find many who learn the dead languages to great perfection, who learn arithmetic, geometry, natural philosophy, rhetoric, politics, who even become eminent in some of them, and tolerably skilled in all, whom yet we reckon greatly inferior to more ignorant persons, in clear, sound, common sense.

Perhaps it may be thought that these ignorant persons only wanted the opportunity of improvement, and would have excelled the others also in literature had they applied to it. This I do not find to be the case, from the instances in which a trial has been made. Doubtless there are some examples of persons eminently possessed of judgment or common sense, as well as capable of acquiring

skill in the sciences; but these talents are by no means the same, or in direct proportion to one another. I have known persons who seemed capable of learning any thing, and who did know a great deal upon many subjects, who yet had such a comical cast in their general behavior, that it was not easy to avoid smiling at their speech and conduct. I have even known persons, male and female, with whom you could find no fault, but that their carriage and conversation were too complete and perfect at all times, and yet we suspected them of folly, merely because they were free from the follies and irregularities of others. I remember an instance, in early life, of my being in company, for the first time, with a certain young lady, and after a few minutes, she asked me a very judicious question upon the character and history of Augustus Cæsar, which made me immediately suspect that she was not quite sound; whereas, if she had only said it was a fine day after the rain, or uttered any other such wise and pertinent reflection, I should have concluded nothing to her prejudice. On the other hand, there are many instances of persons who have made trial of study and science with very little success, and who, giving them up, have applied to active life, and have deservedly acquired the character of clear-headed, sensible, judicious men. The truth is, the distinction between literature and common sense, seems to be well known and generally acknowledged. There are some who evidently give way to, or even affect an absence of mind, from forgetfulness and inattention to what they are about, and expect we should consider it as an indication of profound study and deep learning. This is one of the most ridiculous pieces of affectation imaginable. Such gentlemen, if they be logicians, should be told that *a particulari ad universale non valet consequentia*. We know very well that some great scholars are fools, but this will never prove that all fools are great scholars. Upon the whole, it seems that science, or a capacity for it, is not common sense.

Since then common sense is a gift of nature, different from a capacity for science in general, shall we say that it is genius, including particularly those exalted and admired

talents which have been, by some of the latest writers, called the powers of imagination. Here we are further from the point than ever, for great wit and a lively imagination are rather considered as opposed to judgment and prudence, and other happy fruits of common sense. So much is this the case, that the poet has been often cited with approbation, who says,

“ Great wit to madness sure is near allied,  
And thin partitions do their bounds divide.”

It is common to say, that such a man has more sail than ballast, meaning that his imagination, fire and sprightliness are an overmatch for his prudence, and clearly carrying the supposition, that this last quality is as opposite to the others, as sail is to ballast, or even motion to rest. To all this may be added, that some who really were, and many who desired to be thought, men of great genius, have actually claimed it as their right, not to be confined to common forms, and indeed have generally acted accordingly.

We have seen then that refinement, science, genius, are not common sense, shall we now go any further? Is there not a character in which there is knowledge of the most liberal kind, clearness of understanding, penetration of mind upon every subject, and yet a weakness or want of common sense, in conduct and behavior? Are there not some who seem to have, not only all other senses, but common sense too, for every body but themselves? They can immediately and readily discover the mistakes of others, they can give the best and soundest advice upon every subject, and yet never could act a wise part themselves on any subject. Some who are even connoisseurs in economy, never can keep their own affairs in tolerable order. I have known a gentleman who reduced himself to beggary by foolish projects, yet, after having sold his paternal inheritance, he employed himself in thinking and writing on that subject on which he had acted wrong, and published essays on agriculture, modestly pointing out to gentlemen and farmers by how small a portion of land, well improved, they might speedily acquire a plentiful estate.

Upon comparing all these observations together, I beg leave to lay down a few propositions which appear to be nearest the truth in the way of theory or system, and on them to ground a few practical advices. There seem to be three separate qualities of the human mind very well expressed in the old philosophy, by the three known terms of memory, imagination and judgment. These are truly distinct one from another ; for any one of them may not only exist, but be in high perfection, in the absence of both the others. This will not, I think, be doubted as to the two first, and even as to the last, I have known some persons not only without imagination as a talent, but with very little taste for works of imagination, and whose memory was no ways remarkable, who have passed through life with great dignity and credit, who, with or without learning, have conducted their own affairs with prudence and discretion, and discovered the highest sense of propriety and decorum in all their intercourse with others, under the happy guidance of plain common sense.

In the next place, though these qualities are distinct, they are by no means incompatible. There have been instances of persons who possessed all the three in high perfection ; and there must be a considerable proportion of each to form a character truly illustrious. Some, in whom imagination has been very strong, have also been remarkable for clearness of judgment in their works, good sense and prudence in their whole deportment. The same thing I say of memory. Some prodigies of memory have been defective in judgment, but many great men have also excelled in this respect, and no small measure of it is necessary both in works of genius and the functions of public life. Again,

Of these three qualities, judgment is by far the most valuable and important. Of itself it is amiable and respectable, while the others, without it, are contemptible, useless or hurtful. A man of memory without judgment, is a fool ; and a man of imagination, without judgment, is mad . but when this great quality takes the government of both, they acquire lustre, and command universal ef-

teem. No human accomplishment, unless it has this as its foundation and ground-work, can reach perfection, even in its own kind. Memory will make a linguist, imagination will make a poet, penetration will make a philosopher, public life will make a politician, and court breeding will make a man of fashion ; yet all of them are essentially defective, if common sense is weak or wanting. There is something in the application and direction of all these accomplishments which judgment must supply, and which neither instruction, example, nor even experience will bestow.

It is probable that many would readily grant me (what yet I do not ask, being hardly of the same opinion) that of all the characters just now mentioned, that of a man of fashion or politeness is the most superficial, and what may be most easily attained by imitation and habit. Yet even here, nothing is more easy than to see the dominion of judgment and good sense, or the prevalence of folly and indiscretion. That want of presence of mind or embarrassment, which is often the effect of modesty or bashfulness, nay, even the errors and blunders which visibly proceed from ignorance and mistake of the reigning mode, are not half so absurd and ridiculous, as the affected airs and misplaced ceremonies of a fop, of which the ladies are always most attentive observers, and to give them their due, generally not incompetent judges.

Once more, judgment is an original and radical quality, that is of all others least capable of being communicated by instruction, or even improved or augmented by culture. Memory and imagination are also gifts of nature ; but they may be greatly increased, the one by exercise, and the other by indulgence. You may teach a man any thing in the world but prudence, which is the genuine offspring of common sense. It is generally said that experience teaches fools, but the meaning of the proverb is often mistaken, for it does not signify that experience makes them wise : it signifies that they never are wise at all, but persist in spite of instruction, warning and example, till they feel the effects of their own folly. If a man is born with a fund of good sense and natural discern-

ment, it will appear in the very first stages of his education. He who outstrips his fellows in a grammar school, will not always be the greatest scholar in advanced life ; but he who does not discover discernment and sagacity when a boy, will never be distinguished for it so long as he lives. It is often said, in a certain country, that a fool of forty will never be wise ; which is sometimes understood as if a man made as regular a progress to the summit of his wisdom, till the age of forty, as he does to that of his stature till twenty ; which is a very great mistake. I take it to be in this case, as in the other, that a man of forty has sufficiently proved to all the world that he is not, and therefore that he never was, and never will be wise.

Shall we say then that this most valuable of all human qualities receives no benefit at all from a well conducted education, from study, or from an acquaintance with the world. I answer, that I do not think it is capable of any change in its nature, or addition to its vigor, but it may be joined to other talents of more or less value, and it may be applied to purposes more or less useful and important, and thence acquire a lustre and polish, of which it would otherwise be destitute. The same good sense and prudence, which alone would make a sensible judicious farmer, would, if united to memory and imagination, and enriched with skill in the liberal arts, make an eminent scholar, and bring in large contributions to the treasury of human science. The same soundness of judgment, which, in a country life or contracted neighborhood, would set an example of frugality, be an enemy to disorder, and point out the possessor as a proper umpire in unhappy dissensions ; would, in a more enlarged sphere, make an accomplished senator or a politician, to manage the affairs of a large community, or settle the differences of contending nations.

I come now to offer my readers some advices, a practice to which I am by nature and habit exceedingly prone. A difficulty, it must be confessed, seems to occur in this matter. If the above theory be just, there seems to be little room left for advice, as the great talent, so largely

described, is supposed to be original and unalterable. This difficulty, however, notwithstanding, important instruction may be grafted upon it, not only to parents and others who have the charge of the education of youth, but to every man, for the future direction of his own conduct.

As to the first of these, I would intreat parents to guard against that fond partiality which inclines them to form a wrong judgment of the capacity of their children; particularly, it were to be wished, that they would not take a few fallies of pertness and vivacity for an evidence of distinguished parts. It is well known, and has been frequently observed, how apt parents are to entertain their visitors with an account of the bright sayings or shrewd schemes of their children, as most promising symptoms of their future talents; and yet, so far as my observation reaches, the things related might for the most part justify a contrary supposition. I should run little risk in affirming, that three fourths at least of those anecdotes, which parents relate with so much triumph of their children, are to be accounted for from memory, or petulance, or even stupidity. A child will repeat, at an improper time, a phrase or remark that he has heard, and it will make so absurd a contrast with what is going on, that it is impossible to forbear laughing. I ask whether this is an evidence of the greatness or the want of understanding in the child? Another will give an insolent and saucy answer, and acquire great reputation for what deserved the most severe and exemplary correction. To crown all, I will tell a true story: An old gentleman, whom I knew, would often say, in commendation of his son's wisdom, then a boy about ten or twelve year's of age, That when other boys are breaking their legs by falls from limbs of trees, or going a fishing in rivers, at the risk of being drowned, his son would fish a whole afternoon with a crooked pin, in a tub of foul water in the kitchen. I suppose any reader will agree, that the fact and the remark taken together, constitute a full proof that the mother was honest, and the son lawfully begotten.

It would be a great advantage, that parents should make a moderate estimation of the talents of their chil-

dren, in two respects. (1.) It would preserve the children themselves from being puffed up with unmerited praise, and thus mistaking their own character and capacity. Though the native force and vigor of common sense can neither be augmented nor destroyed, yet it may be, and I believe frequently is neglected and despised, or overgrown by the rank weeds of ostentation and self sufficiency. When young persons are vain of the talents which they do not possess, or ambitious of a character which they cannot attain, they become ridiculous in their conduct, and are generally unsuccessful in their pursuits. (2.) It would incline and make their parents to conduct their education in the most proper manner, by giving particular attention to those branches of instruction, which, though less splendid, are more generally useful than some others. It would lead me too much into detail to give many examples for the illustration of this remark, and therefore I shall only say, that common sense, which is a modest unassuming quality, and a diligent application to the useful parts of science, will neither distress nor weaken a fervent imagination, when it really resides in the same subject; but giving loose reins to a warm imagination, will often overset a moderate degree of judgment, so that it will never more dare to show its head. I have known some youths of bright genius in their own esteem, who have looked down with great contempt upon quiet and orderly boys as dull plodding fellows, and yet these last have, in the issue, become men of spirit and capacity, as well as literature, while the others have evaporated into rakes and bullies, and indeed blockheads; or taking the road to Mount Helicon, have become poets, fools and beggars.

I must advise every reader, especially those in early years, to form his opinion of others, and his friendly attachments, upon the principles above laid down. Nothing will more effectually mislead young persons than an excessive admiration of showy talents in those with whom they converse, whether they be real or supposed. I have known many instances of persons who apparently owed their ruin to their imbibing, early in life, a notion

that decency, order, and a prudent management of their affairs, were marks of dulness ; and on the contrary, that petulance, frowardness and irregularity, and even vicious excesses, were the effects of spirit and capacity. Many follow the leading person in frolics, not from any inward approbation of such practices, but merely to avoid the reproach which in such societies is so unjustly bestowed. I beg all such to believe me, as a person of some experience in places of public education, when I assure them, that in nine instances out of ten, your ramblers, night-walkers, and mischief workers, are blockheads and thick-skulls. Does it require any genius, think you, to throw a log in another's way in a dark passage, and after he has stumbled over it, to raise a triumphant laugh at him, who was such a fool as not to see without light.

I conclude with observing, that whatever may be the capacity of any person in itself, if it is neglected or misimproved, it will either be wholly lost or be of little consequence in future life. Our very bodily frame presents us with a lesson of instruction upon this subject. Though formed by nature complete and regular, if it is accustomed to any improper torture or ungraceful motion, the habit will soon become unconquerable ; and any particular limb or member that for a long time is not used, will become useless. This holds yet more strongly as to the powers of the mind : they are lost by negligence ; but by proper application they are preserved, improved, and in many cases increased. Let all, therefore, who wish or hope to be eminent, remember, that as the height to which you can raise a tower, depends upon the size and solidity of its base, so they ought to lay the foundation of their future fame deep and strong, in sobriety, prudence and patient industry, which are the genuine dictates of *plain common sense*.

## N U M B E R V.

S I R,

**A** MAN is not, even at this time, called or considered as a scholar, unless he is acquainted in some degree with the ancient languages, particularly the Greek and Latin. About one hundred and fifty years ago, however, those languages were better understood than they are at present; because, at that time, authors of reputation published almost all their works in Latin. Since the period above mentioned, the modern, or as they are sometimes called, the northern languages, have been gradually polished, and each nation has manifested a zeal for, and an attention to, the purity and perfection of its own tongue. This has been the case, particularly, with respect to the French and English. The French language is, as nearly as I can guess, about fifty years before the English, in this respect; that is to say, it is so much longer since their men of letters applied themselves to the ascertaining, correcting and polishing of it. The English, however, has received great improvements within the last hundred years, and probably will continue to do so. He must have little judgment, or great obstinacy, who does not confess that some late authors have written the English language with greater purity, than those of the first character in former times. From this we may certainly infer, that the education must be very imperfect in any seminary where no care is taken to form the scholars to taste, propriety and accuracy, in that language which they must speak and write all their life afterwards.

To these reflections it may be added, that our situation in America is now, and in all probability will continue to be such, as to require peculiar attention upon this subject. The English language is spoken through all the United States. We are at a great distance from the island of Great-Britain, in which the standard of the language is as yet supposed to be found. Every state is equal to and in-

dependent of every other ; and, I believe, none of them will agree, at least immediately, to receive laws from another, in discourse, any more than in action. Time and accident must determine what turn affairs will take in this respect in future, whether we shall continue to consider the language of Great-Britain as the pattern upon which we are to form ours ; or whether, in this new empire, some centre of learning and politeness will not be found, which shall obtain influence and prescribe the rules of speech and writing to every other part.

While this point is yet unsettled, it has occurred to me to make some observations upon the present state of the English language in America, and to attempt a collection of some of the chief improprieties which prevail, and might be easily corrected. I will premise one or two general remarks. The vulgar in America speak much better than the vulgar in Great-Britain, for a very obvious reason, viz. that being much more unsettled, and moving frequently from place to place, they are not so liable to local peculiarities, either in accent or phraseology. There is a greater difference in dialect between one county and another in Britain, than there is between one state and another in America. I shall also admit, though with some hesitation, that gentlemen and scholars in Great-Britain speak as much with the vulgar in common chit chat, as persons of the same class do in America : but there is a remarkable difference in their public and solemn discourses. I have heard in this country, in the senate, at the bar, and from the pulpit, and see daily in dissertations from the press, errors in grammar, improprieties and vulgarisms, which hardly any person of the same class, in point of rank and literature, would have fallen into in Great-Britain. Curiosity led me to make a collection of these, which, as soon as it became large, convinced me that they were of very different kinds, and therefore must be reduced to a considerable number of classes, in order to their being treated with critical justice. These I now present to the public under the following heads, to each of which I will subjoin a short explication, and a

number of examples, with remarks where they seem necessary.

1. Americanisms, or ways of speaking peculiar to this country.

2. Vulgarisms in England and America.

3. Vulgarisms in America only.

4. Local phrases or terms.

5. Common blunders arising from ignorance.

6. Cant phrases.

7. Personal blunders.

8. Technical terms introduced into the language.

It will be proper to put the reader in mind, that he ought not to expect that the enumeration under each of these heads can be complete. This would have required a very long course of observation; and indeed is not necessary to my purpose, which is by specimens to enable every attentive and judicious person to make observations for himself.

1. The first class I call Americanisms, by which I understand an use of phrases or terms, or a construction of sentences, even among persons of rank and education, different from the use of the same terms or phrases, or the construction of similar sentences, in Great-Britain. It does not follow, from a man's using these, that he is ignorant, or his discourse upon the whole inelegant; nay, it does not follow in every case, that the terms or phrases used are worse in themselves, but merely that they are of American and not of English growth. The word *Americanism*, which I have coined for the purpose, is exactly similar in its formation and signification to the word *Scotticism*. By the word *Scotticism* is understood any term or phrase, and indeed any thing either in construction, pronunciation, or accentuation, that is peculiar to North-Britain. There are many instances in which the Scotch way is as good, and some in which every person who has the least taste as to the propriety or purity of language in general, must confess that it is better, than that of England, yet speakers and writers must conform to custom.

Scotland, or the northern part of Great-Britain, was once a separate independent kingdom, though, except in the Highlands, the people spoke the same language as in England; the inhabitants of the Lowlands, in both countries, having been originally the same. It is justly observed by Dr. Robertson, in his history of Scotland, that had they continued separate kingdoms, so that there should have been a court and parliament at Edinburgh, to serve as a standard, the small differences in dialect and even in pronunciation, would not have been considered as defects; and there would have been no more opprobrium attending the use of them in speech or writing, than there was in the use of the different dialects of the ancient Grecian republics. But by the removal of the court to London, and especially by the union of the two kingdoms, the Scottish manner of speaking came to be considered as provincial barbarism; which, therefore, all scholars are now at the utmost pains to avoid. It is very probable that the reverse of this, or rather its counter part, will happen in America. Being entirely separated from Britain, we shall find some centre or standard of our own, and not be subject to the inhabitants of that island, either in receiving new ways of speaking, or rejecting the old.

The examples follow.

1. "The United States, or *either* of them." This is so far from being a mark of ignorance, that it is used by many of the most able and accurate speakers and writers, yet it is not English. The United States are thirteen in number, but in English *either* does not signify one of many, but *one or the other* of two. I imagine *either* has become an adjective pronoun, by being a sort of abbreviation of a sentence where it is used adverbially, *either the one or the other*. It is exactly the same with *ekateros* in Greek, and *alterutur* in Latin.

2. This is to *notify* the public; or the people had not been *notified*. By this is meant *inform* and *informed*. In English we do not notify the person of the thing, but notify the thing to the person. In this instance there is certainly an impropriety, for *to notify* is just saying by a word of Latin derivation, *to make known*. Now if you cannot

say this is to make the public known, neither ought you to say this is to notify the public.

3. *Fellow countrymen.* This is a word of very frequent use in America. It has been heard in public orations from men of the first character, and may be daily seen in newspaper publications. It is an evident tautology, for the last word expresses fully the meaning of both. If you open any dictionary, you will find the word countryman signifies one born in the same country. You may say fellow citizens, fellow soldiers, fellow subjects, fellow christians, but not *fellow countrymen*.

4. These things were ordered delivered to the army. The words *to be* are omitted. I am not certain whether this is a local expression or general in America.

5. I wish we could contrive it to Philadelphia. The words *to carry it, to have it carried*, or some such, are wanting. It is a defective construction, of which there are but too many that have already obtained in practice, in spite of all the remonstrances of men of letters.

6. We may *hope* the assistance of God. The word *for* or *to receive* is wanting. In this instance hope, which is a neuter verb, is turned into the active verb, and not very properly as to the objective term assistance. It must be admitted, however, that in some old English poets, hope is sometimes used as an active verb, but it is contrary to modern practice.

7. I do not consider myself equal to this task. The word *as* is wanting. I am not certain whether this may not be an English vulgarism, for it is frequently used by the renowned author of Common Sense, who is an Englishman born; but he has so happy a talent of adopting the blunders of others, that nothing decisive can be inferred from his practice. It is, however, undoubtedly an Americanism, for it is used by authors greatly superior to him in every respect.

8. Neither to day *or* to morrow. The proper construction is, either the one or the other, neither the one *nor* the other.

9. A *certain* Thomas Benson. The word certain, as used in English, is an indefinite, the name fixes it precise-

ly, so that there is a kind of contradiction in the expression. In England they would say, a certain person called or supposed to be Thomas Benson.

10. Such bodies are *incident* to these evils. The evil is incident or ready to fall upon the person, the person liable or subject to the evil.

11. He is a very *clever* man. She is quite a *clever* woman. How often are these phrases to be heard in conversation? Their meaning, however, would certainly be mistaken when heard for the first time by one born in Britain. In these cases, Americans generally mean by *clever*, only goodness of disposition, worthiness, integrity, without the least regard to capacity; nay, if I am not mistaken, it is frequently applied, where there is an acknowledged simplicity, or mediocrity of capacity. But in Britain, *clever* always means capacity, and may be joined either to a good or bad disposition. We say of a man, he is a clever man, a clever tradesman, a clever fellow, without any reflection upon his moral character, yet at the same time it carries no approbation of it. It is exceeding good English, and very common to say, He is a clever fellow, but I am sorry to say it, he is also a great rogue. When *cleverness* is applied primarily to conduct, and not to the person, it generally carries in it the idea of art or chicanery, not very honorable; for example—Such a plan I confess was very clever, i. e. sly, artful, well contrived, but not very fair.

12. I was quite mad at him, he made me quite mad. In this instance mad is only a metaphor for angry. This is perhaps an English vulgarism, but it is not found in any accurate writer, nor used by any good speaker, unless when poets or orators use it as a strong figure, and to heighten the expression say, he was mad with rage.

These shall suffice for the first class.

## N U M B E R VI.

S I R,

I PROCEED now upon the plan laid down in my last paper, to the second general class of improprieties, viz. vulgarisms in England and America. Of these there is great plenty to be found every where, in writing and in conversation. They need very little explication, and indeed would scarcely deserve to be mentioned in a discourse of this nature, were it not for the circumstance hinted at in the introduction, that scholars and public persons are at less pains to avoid them here, than in Britain.

1. I will mention the vulgar abbreviations in general, as an't, can't, han't, don't, should'nt, would'nt, could'nt, &c. Great pains were taken by the Spectator to shew the barbarity and inelegance of that manner of speaking and writing. The endeavors of that author, and others of later date, have been successful in Britain, and have banished all such harsh and mutilated phrases from public speaking, so that they remain only in conversation, and not even in that among persons of judgment and taste. I need hardly say how far this is from being the case in America.

2. I *know'd* him perfectly well, for, I *knew* him.

3. I *see* him yesterday, or I *see* him last week, for I *saw* him. In Scotland the vulgar say, I *seed* him last week.

4. *This here* report of *that there* committee. Some merchants, whom I could name, in the English Parliament, whose wealth and not merit raised them to that dignity, use this vulgarism very freely, and expose themselves to abundance of ridicule by so doing.

5. He was *drownded* in the Delaware. This is so common, that I have known a gentleman reading it in a book to a company, though it was printed *drowned*, read *drownded*.

6. She has got a new *gownd*. This and the former are vulgarisms in conversation only; but even their very

improper and unbecoming for persons of education. In London you are sometimes asked if you will take a glass of *wind*, for wine. Of the same nature are an impertinent *fellar*, for *fellow*; *waller*, for *wallow*; *winder*, for *window*.

7. Some on'em, one on'em, many on'em. This, though frequent in the northern parts of England, and some parts of America, perhaps is rather local than general. This indeed may be the case with several others which have fallen under my observation.

8. It *lays* in Bucks county, for it *lies*, &c. This is not only a prevailing vulgarism in conversation, but has obtained in public speaking, and may be often seen in print. I am even of opinion that it has some chance of overcoming all the opposition made to it, and fully establishing itself by custom, which is the final arbiter in all such cases. Lowth, in his grammar, has been at much pains to correct it; yet, though that most excellent treatise has been in the hands of the public for many years, this word seems to gain instead of losing ground. The error arises from confounding the neuter verb to *ly* with the active verb to *lay*, which are very different in the present, preterite and participle. The first of them is formed thus, *ly*, *lay*, *lien* or *lain*; the second, *lay*, *laid*, *laid*.

9. I *thinks* it will not be long before he come. This is a London vulgarism, and yet one of the grossest kind. To this confusion or disagreement of the person, may be added the disagreement of the number, giving a verb singular to a nominative plural, which is more frequent than the other, as, after all the *stories* that *has* been told, all the *reasons* that *has* been given.

10. Equally *as* well, and equally *as* good. This is frequent in conversation and public speaking. It is also to be found in some publications, of which it is needless to name the authors; but it is just as good English to say, the *most highest* mountain in America.

11. One of the most common vulgarisms or blunders in the English language, is putting the preterite for the participle. This is taken particular notice of by Lowth, in his grammar, as after he had *fell* down, for *fallen*;

and in the same manner, *rose*, for *risen* ; *spoke*, for *spoken* ; *wrote*, for *written* ; *broke*, for *broken*. Some of these appear, as he observes, barbarous to scholars ; others we are so accustomed to, that they give little offence to the ear. Had not a gentleman *threw* out—the reasons of protest were *drew* up. These are offensive, but you may meet with similar errors even in good authors, such as I had *wrote*, I had *spoke*, the bone was *broke*. The best way to judge of this impropriety, is to try it upon a word that has been seldom so misused, as for example, If you go to the battle perhaps you will be *slew*.

12. Just as you *rise* the hill—little or no bread-corn is *grown* in this country. These are similar corruptions arising from turning neuter into active or passive verbs. They are also, if I am not mistaken, among the newest corruptions of the language, and much more common in England than America. The above two examples are taken from Cook's first voyage, by Hawkesworth, where some others of the same kind are to be found.

13. I *sat* out yesterday morning, for I *set* out. The verb *set* has no change of termination ; the present, preterite and participle being the same. I *set* out immediately ; I *set* out three days sooner than he ; after I had *set* out. The error lies in taking the preterite of the verb *sit*, and making use of it for the past time of the other—*sit* has three terminations, *fit*, *fat*, *fitten*.

14. He said *as how* it was his opinion. This absurd pleonasm is more common in Britain than in America.

The third class consists of vulgarisms in America only. This must be understood, so far as I have been able to observe, and perhaps some of them are local. It will not be necessary either to make the examples on this head numerous, or to say much upon them, because the introduction of vulgarisms into writing or public discourses is the same, whether they are of one country or another.

1. I have not done it yet, but am just going to. This is an imperfect construction ; it wants the words *do it*. Imperfect constructions are the blemish of the English language in general, and rather more frequent in this country than in England.

2. It is *partly all* gone, it is *mostly all* gone. This is an absurdity or barbarism, as well as a vulgarism.

3. This is the weapon with which he defends himself when he is *attacted*, for attacked; or according to the abbreviation, attack'd.

4. As I told Mr. —, for as I told you. I hope Mr. — is well this morning. What is Mr. —'s opinion upon this subject? This way of speaking to one who is present in the third person, and as if he were absent, is used in this country by way of respect. No such thing is done in Britain, except that to persons of very high rank, they say your majesty, your grace, your lordship; yet even there the continuance of the discourse in the third person is not customary.

5. I have been *to* Philadelphia, for *at* or *in* Philadelphia; I have been *to* dinner, for I have dined.

6. Walk *in* the house, for *into* the house.

7. You *have no right* to pay it, where right is used for what logicians would call the correlative term obligation.

8. A *spell* of sickness, a long *spell*, a bad *spell*. Perhaps this word is borrowed from the sea dialect.

9. *Every* of these states; *every* of them; *every* of us; for *every one*. I believe the word *every* is used in this manner in some old English writers, and also in some old laws, but not in modern practice. The thing is also improper, because it should be *every one* to make it strictly a partitive, and subject to the same construction, as *some of them*, *part of them*, *many of them*, &c. yet it must be acknowledged, that there is no greater impropriety, if so great, in the vulgar construction of *every*, than in another expression very common in both countries, viz. *all of them*.

Having finished these two classes, I shall make a remark or two upon vulgarisms in general. Probably many will think and say, that it would be a piece of stiffness or affectation to avoid them wholly, in conversation or common discourse. As to some of those which have been described above, perhaps this may be admitted; but as to the greatest part, it is certainly best to avoid them wholly, lest we should fall into them inadvertently where

they would be highly improper. If a gentleman will not imitate a peasant, male or female, in saying *if so be*, and *forsooth*, and many other such phrases, because he knows they are vulgarisms, why should he imitate them in saying *equally as good*, or *I see him yesterday*, but because he does not know, or does not attend to the impropriety?

The reader is also desired to observe, that we are not by far so much in danger of the charge of affectation for what we omit saying, as for what we do say. When a man is fond of introducing hard words, or studies a nice or pompous diction, he brings himself immediately into contempt; but he may easily attain a cautious habit of avoiding low phrases or vulgar terms, without being at all liable to the imputation either of vanity or constraint.

I conclude with observing, that as bombast and empty swelling is the danger to which those are exposed who aim at sublimity, so low sentiments and vulgar terms are what those are most in danger of who aim at simplicity. Now, as it is my intention, in the course of these papers, to set a mark of reprobation upon every affected and fantastic mode of expression, and to recommend a pure, and, as it may be called, classic simplicity, it is the more necessary to guard the reader against that low and grovelling manner which is sometimes mistaken for it.

## NUMBER VII.

S I R,

THE fourth class of improprieties consist of *local phrases* or *terms*. By these I mean such vulgarisms as prevail in one part of a country and not in another. There is a much greater variety of these in Britain than in America. From the complete populations of the country, multitudes of common people never remove to any distance from where they were born and bred. Hence there are many characteristic distinctions, not only in phraseology, but in accent, dress, manners, &c. not only between one county and another, but between different cities of the same county. There is a county in the North of England, very few of the natives of which can pronounce the letter *r*, as it is generally pronounced in the other parts of the kingdom.

But if there is a much greater number of local vulgarisms in Britain than America, there is also for this very reason, much less danger of their being used by gentlemen or scholars. It is indeed implied in the very nature of the thing, that a local phrase will not be used by any but the inhabitants or natives of that part of the country where it prevails. However, I am of opinion, that even local vulgarisms find admission into the discourse of people of better rank more easily here than in Europe.

1. He *improved* the horse for ten days. This is used in some parts of New-England for riding the horse.

2. *Raw salad* is used in the South for *salad*. N. B. There is no salad boiled.

3. *Chunks*, that is brands, half burnt wood. This is customary in the middle colonies.

4. He is *considerable* of a surveyor, *considerable* of it may be found in that country. This manner of speaking prevails in the northern parts.

5. He will *once in a while*, i. e. *sometimes* get drunk. The middle states.

6. Shall I have *occasion*, i. e. opportunity to go over the ferry. New-England.

7. *Tot* is used for *carry*, in some of the southern states.

The fifth class of improprieties may be called *common blunders through ignorance*. In this they differ from the former classes, that the similarity of one word to another, in pronunciation or derivation, makes ignorant people confound them and use them promiscuously, or sometimes even convert them and use them each in the other's room. The following are examples.

1. *Eminent* for *imminent*. How often do we hear that a man was in eminent danger.

2. *Ingenious* for *ingenuous*. How common is it to say he is an ingenious young man—he is a young man of a very ingenious disposition. they are both English words. Ingenious signifies of good capacity; ingenuous signifies simple, upright, sincere; ingenuity, however, the word that seems to be derived from ingenuous, is used in both senses, sometimes for fairness, openness, candor; sometimes for capacity or acuteness of invention. I should think this last, though done by good authors, to be contrary to the analogy of the language, especially as we have two words for these opposite ideas regularly derived from the correspondent adjectives, ingeniousness and ingenuousness.

3. Three or four times *successfully*, for *successively*. This is a blunder through ignorance, very common among the lower sort of people in England.

4. *Intelligible* for *intelligent*. It was a very intelligible person who told me.

5. *Confistigate*, for *confiscate*. The most ignorant of the vulgar only use this phrase.

6. *Fictious* for *fictitious*. That is no more than a *fictious* story. This is used by people somewhat superior to those who would use the former.

7. *Veracity* for *credibility*. This is not a blunder in conversation only, But in speaking and writing. I have some doubt of the veracity of this fact, says a certain author. Veracity is the character of the person; truth or credibility, of the story told. The same is the case with

all, or most of the words, of similar formation, capacity, rapacity, tenacity. These all are applied to the person or the disposition, not to a particular action of the one, or effect of the other. We say, a man of capacity—this work is a proof of capacity, but not the capacity of this performance; and so of the rest.

8. *Susceptive*, for *susceptible*. I must acquaint the reader, that after I had marked this word as an example of the mistakes men fall into from ignorance, I found it in some English writers, who cannot be called altogether contemptible, and also in Johnson's Dictionary. As to the last of these, I shall have occasion to make a remark or two upon that lexicographer under the next class, and therefore shall say nothing of it now. As to the other particular, I observe, that though the word is used by some writers, it is not only contrary to general practice, but contrary to the analogy of the tongue. All the adjectives ending in *ive* are of an active, and those ending in *able* or *ible* of a passive nature, as active, decisive, communicative, significative, demonstrative, and on the contrary, able, capable, communicable, demonstrable, contemptible.

9. They are so very *duplicity* that I am afraid they will *rescind* from what they have done. Here are two errors in one sentence. *Duplicity* is an adjective made by guess from duplicity, and *rescind* is mistaken, by the likeness of sound, for *recede*.

10. *Detect*, for *dissect*. A lady, in a certain place at dinner, asked a gentleman if he would be so good as *detect* that piece of meat for her. To these I might add a long list of errors, in which ignorance or orthography makes a vitious pronunciation, and that pronunciation continued by the same ignorance, makes a vulgar word in place of the true one, of which take one example—A gentleman writes to his friend, that on such a day they had a smart *scrimitch*, for *skirmish*.

The sixth class consists of *cant* phrases, introduced into public speaking or composition. The meaning of *cant* phrases, is pretty well known, having been fully explained as long ago as the days of Mr. Addison. They rise

occasionally, sometimes perhaps, from the happy or singular application of a metaphor or allusion, which is therefore repeated and gets into general use, sometimes from the whim or caprice of particular persons in coining a term. They are in their nature temporary and sometimes local. Thus, it is often said, a man is *taken in*, he is *bilked*, he is *bit*, that was a *bit* indeed, that is not *the thing*, it was quite *the thing*. Innumerable others will occur to every reader. Sometimes the cant consists in the frequent and unnecessary repetition, or improper application of a word that is otherwise unexceptionable. Thus, when *vast* was in repute, a thing was vastly good, and vastly bad, vastly pretty and vastly ugly, vastly great and vastly little.

It is worth while, in remarking on the state of the language, to reflect a little on the attack made by Addison, Steel, Swift, Pope, and Arbuthnot, on many of these cant phrases in their day, such as bite, bamboozle, pos. rep. mob, &c. Some of them they succeeded in banishing from, or rather prevented from being ever admitted into public discourses and elegant writing, such as bite, bamboozle, &c. some they banished from all polite conversation, such as pos. rep. plenipo. and some have kept their ground, have been admitted into the language, and are freely and gravely used by authors of the first rank, such as *mob*. This was at first a cant abbreviation of *mobile vulgus*, and as such condemned by the great men above mentioned; but time has now stamped it with authority, the memory of its derivation is lost, and when an historian says an unruly *mob* was assembled in the streets, or he was torn in pieces by the *mob*, no idea of any thing low and ludicrous is conveyed to the mind of the reader.

I promised, under this head, to make a remark upon Johnson's Dictionary. It is a book of very great value on several accounts, yet it may lead ignorant persons into many mistakes. He has collected every word, good or bad, that was ever used by any English writer; and though he has, in the larger Dictionary, given his authorities in full, yet that is not sufficient to distinguish them. There are instances in which this may be the very cause of wrong judgment. If an author of reputation has committed a

single error, his authority should not be made use of to sanctify that error—sometimes, also, the author's design is mistaken. In the abridgement of that Dictionary, at the word *bamboozle*, you find added, a *low word*; but the authority is *Arbuthnot*: now would not any man imagine, who was not otherwise informed, that Arbuthnot was a low writer; whereas, in fact, he used that word only to disgrace and put it out of practice. The lexicographer would have acted more wisely not to have mentioned the word at all.

It would be very easy to make a large collection of cant or low phrases at present in use, such as helter skelter, topsy turvy, upside down, the Devil to pay, at sixes and sevens, put to his trumps, flung all in a heap. Every one of these has been seen in print, and many others of the same stamp, as well as heard in conversation.

't is not long since I read, in a piece published by a sensible writer in this city, 'low methods of *shamming Abraham*.' Now, pray what is shamming Abraham? With some difficulty I have understood, that it is a cant phrase among seamen, for pretending sickness when they are well, and other fetches of the same kind. I should be glad to know how a foreigner could translate this expression into his own language.

Under the head of cant phrases, I would include all proverbial or common sayings introduced into the language, as well as trite and beaten allusions. Of the first sort are these, I want to put the saddle upon the right horse, the laboring oar lies upon you; of the second, the following, that is only *gratis dictum*, the Supreme Being by his almighty *fiat*, I will not pay any regard to *his ipse dixit*. All these are taken from printed pieces, some of them by authors not contemptible; the last of them, *his ipse dixit*, is of the most frequent use, and yet is the most pedantic and puerile of the whole. I conclude with observing, that a cant phrase, if it do not die by the way, has three stages in its progress. It is, first, a cant phrase; secondly, a vulgarism; thirdly, an idiom of the language. Some expire in one or other of the two first stages; but if they outlive these, they are established forever. I have

given an example of this above, in the word *mob*; and I think *topsy turvy* and *upside down* have very nearly attained the same privilege.

The seventh class consists of *personal blunders*, that is to say, effects of ignorance, and want of precision in an author, which are properly his own, and not reducible to any of the heads above mentioned. I shall give an example or two of this kind, because it will make the meaning of the former classes more clear. The examples follow.

1. 'The members of a popular government should be continually *availed* of the situation and condition of every part.' The author of this did not know that *avail* is neither an active nor passive, but a reciprocal verb; a man is said to *avail himself* of any thing, but not to *avail* others, or *be availed* by them.

2. 'A degree of dissensions and oppositions under some circumstances, and a political lethargy under others, *impend* certain ruin to a free state.' Here a neuter verb is made an active one. I have before given some examples in which this is done commonly, but in the present case it belongs to this author alone.

3. 'I should have let your performance sink into *silent disdain*.' A performance may fall into contempt, or sink into oblivion, or be treated with disdain, but to make it sink into *silent disdain*, is a very crude expression indeed.

4. He is a man of most *accomplished* abilities. A man may be said to be of distinguished abilities or great accomplishments, but *accomplished abilities* is wholly new.

5. 'I have a *total* objection against this measure.' I suppose the gentleman meant, that he objected to the whole, and every part of it. It was only an irregular marriage of the adjective to the wrong substantive.

6. "An *axiom* as well established as any Euclid ever demonstrated." Now, it happens that Euclid, notwithstanding his great love of demonstration, never demonstrated axioms, but took them for granted.

I hope the reader will forgive me for not referring to the treatises from which these examples are taken. They were in general anonymous ; and as it is probable many of the authors are alive, and may be of further use to their country, so being wholly unknown to me, without the least degree of envy or malevolence, I mean not to injure but improve them.

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