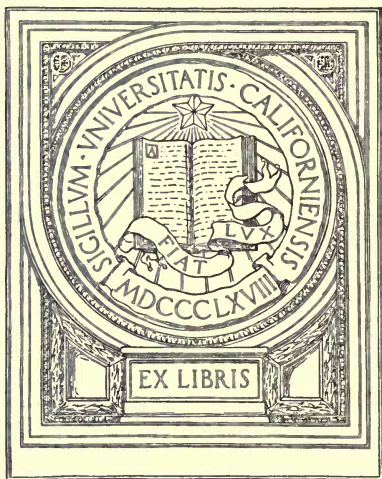
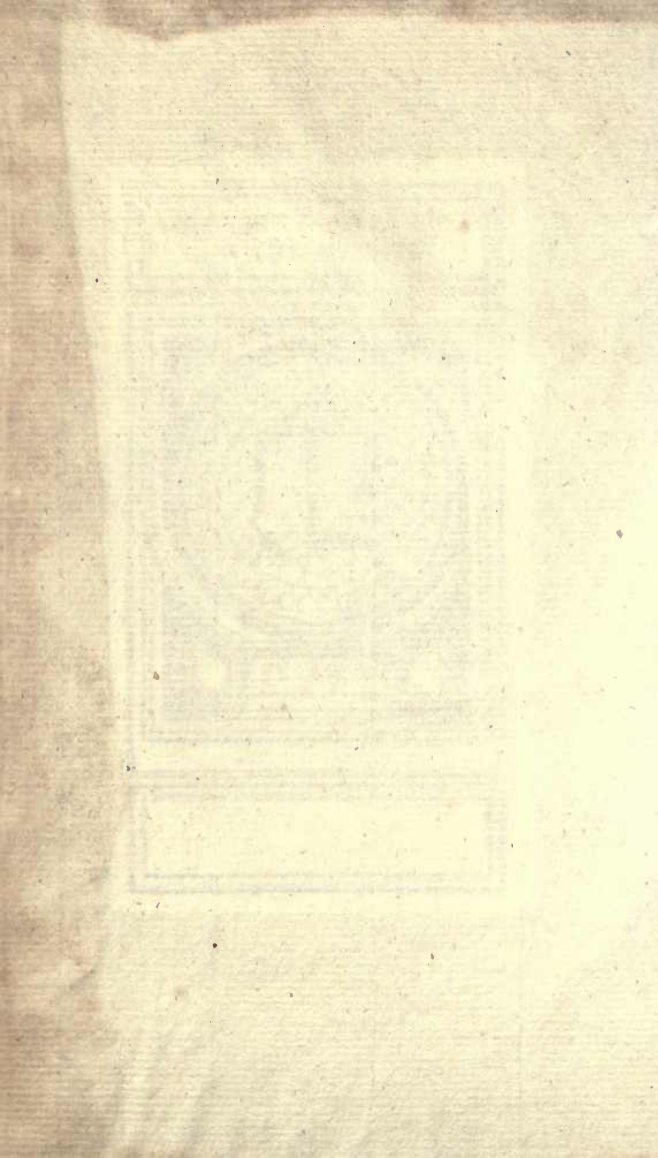


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SERMONS

Preached at the Church of St. Andrew, Westminster,

on the 17th of February 1783

by the Rev. Mr. [Name]

[Name]

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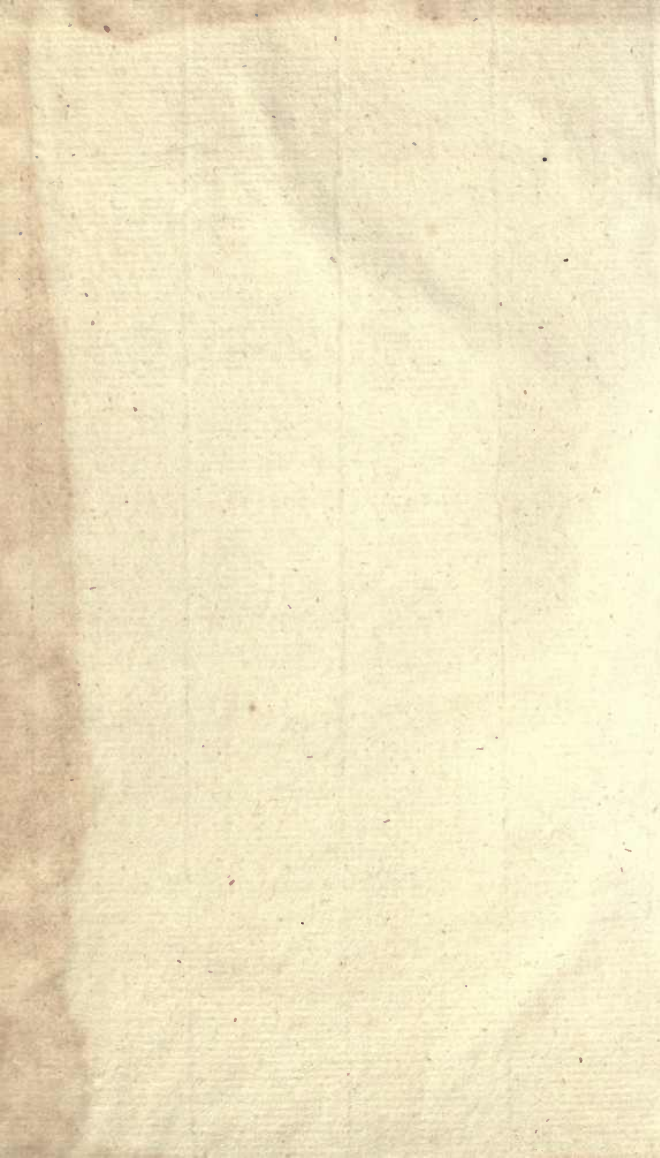
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N I N E
S E R M O N S

PREACHED IN THE

Parish of St. JAMES, WESTMINSTER,

ON OCCASION OF THE

WAR and REBELLION in 1745.

By THOMAS, Lord Bishop of OXFORD,

Then RECTOR of the said PARISH,

Afterwards Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY.

To which are added,

His Grace's ANSWER to Dr. MAYHEW,

A N D

His LETTER to Mr. HORATIO WALPOLE.

The THIRD EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JOHN, FRANCIS, and CHARLES RIVINGTON,
in St. Paul's Church-yard; and BENJAMIN WHITE, in
Fleet-street. 1780.

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T H E
C O N T E N T S.

S E R M O N I. Page 1.

Preached at St. *James's* Church, on the Fast-Day, *Jan.* 9, 1739-40; and at *King-street* Chapel, on the Fast-Day, *Feb.* 4, 1740-1, on Occasion of the War against *Spain*.

2 CHRON. XV. 2.

The Lord is with you, while ye be with Him: and if ye seek Him, He will be found of you: but if ye forsake Him, He will forsake you.

S E R M O N II. Page 27.

Preached at St. *James's* Church, on the Fast-Day, *Nov.* 10, 1742; and at *King-street* Chapel, on the Fast-Day, *Jan.* 9, 1744-5, on Occasion of the War.

A 2

I P E T.

I PET. v. 6.

Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty Hand of God, that he may exalt you in due Time.

S E R M O N III. Page 51.

Preached at St. *James's* Church, on the Fast-Day, *April 11, 1744*, on Occasion of the War.

Text the same.

S E R M O N IV. Page 73.

Preached at St. *James's* Church, and the Chapels belonging to it, *Oct. 6, 13, 1745*, on Occasion of the Rebellion in *Scotland*.

2 SAM. x. 12.

Be of good Courage, and let us play the Men for our People, and for the Cities of our God: And the Lord do that which seemeth him good.

S E R M O N V. Page 103.

Preached at St. *James's* Church, and the Chapels belonging to it, *Oct. 20, 27, Nov. 24, 1745*.

P H I L. iv. 6, 7.

Be careful for nothing: but in every Thing by Prayer and Supplication, with Thanksgiving, let your Requests be made known unto God.

And the Peace of God, which passeth all Understanding, shall keep your Hearts and Minds through Christ Jesus.

S E R M O N VI. Page 127.

Preached at St. James's Church, and at King-street Chapel, May 4, 1746, on the Victory at Culloden.

2 C O R. i. 9, 10.

But we had the Sentence of Death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the Dead:

Who delivered us from so great a Death, and doth deliver; in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us.

S E R M O N VII. Page 151.

Preached at St. James's Church, on the Thanksgiving-Day, Oct. 9, 1746, for the Suppression of the Rebellion.

JOHN

JOHN V. 14.

Afterward Jesus findeth him in the Temple, and said unto him, Behold, thou art made whole: sin no more, lest a worse Thing come unto thee.

SERMON VIII. Page 177.

Preached at St. James's Church, on the Fast-Day, Jan. 7, 1746-7; and at King-street Chapel, on the Fast-Day, Feb. 17, 1747-8, on Occasion of the War.

PSAL. cxxii. 6.

O pray for the Peace of Jerusalem: They shall prosper, that love thee.

SERMON IX. Page 207.

Preached at St. James's Church, on the Thanksgiving-Day, April 25, 1749, for the Peace.

PSAL. xxix. 10.

—The Lord shall give his People the Blessing of Peace.

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Walpole, Esq;* Page 341



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S E R M O N I.

(Preached on a General Fast.)

2 CHRON. XV. 2.

*The Lord is with you, while ye be with Him:
and if ye seek Him, He will be found of you:
but if ye forsake Him, He will forsake you.*

TH E S E Words are the Beginning of a serious Admonition, given by the Direction of Heaven to the Nation of the *Jews*, as they returned from obtaining, under the Conduct of *Afa* their King, one of the greatest Victories recorded in Scripture. Their Condition, after This, might have appeared to human Policy a very secure one: But the Divine Wisdom saw the greatest of all Dangers impending over them, that which proceeds from forgetting God, and abandoning Virtue. *And the Spirit of the Lord came upon Azariah the Son of Oded, and he went out to*

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meet

meet Asa, and said unto him, Hear me, Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin: The Lord is with you, while ye be with Him; and if ye seek Him, He will be found of you; but if ye forsake Him, He will forsake you. Now these great Truths, of which Heaven thought it needful to remind them, at the Conclusion of a prosperous War, it must be very much more needful that we should attend to, who seem to be only at the Beginning of a doubtful one. And accordingly we are met here, by the Command of Authority, to consider our Ways, and humble ourselves before God for our Sins, as the necessary Means for deriving a Blessing on our Arms, and restoring and perpetuating Peace and Prosperity to our Country.

It is a melancholy Consideration, that Creatures endued with Reason and Humanity should ever come to employ Force against one another, and make the dreadful Addition of the Miseries of War to the many unavoidable Sufferings of Life. But wicked as this is, when Passion and Resentment, Desire of unjust Gain, or Fondness of infamous Glory prompts to it; yet when Injuries of pernicious Consequence are done to a Nation, and persisted in, and no competent Redress can be obtained, it becomes then, both

necessary

necessary for particular Societies, and beneficial to human Society in general, that invaded Rights be vigorously asserted by the only Way left. When the Sword is drawn for Justice alone, and ever ready to be sheathed as soon as that is granted, then Heaven may be appealed to, with Hopes of a favourable *Sentence coming forth from his Presence, whose Eyes behold the thing that is equal*^a. But if the Assertors of a righteous Cause be in other respects a sinful People, it is evidently just for God, who hath the Cognizance of both these Things, to regard whichsoever of them infinite Wisdom shall direct; and make even the injurious Party *the Rod of his Anger, and the Staff in the Day of his Indignation*^b, to correct, or destroy, if their Wickedness deserve it, such Nations, as though right in their Disputes with their Enemies, are wrong at the same Time in Matters more important. And how little Terror soever our Enemies might give us at first; yet now we must be sensible, that we know not in the least, how soon and how formidably they may increase: but this we know certainly, that *there is no Restraint to the Lord, to punish, as well as to save, by Many, or by Few*^c. Times of

^a Psal. xvii. 2.^b Isai. x. 5.^c 1 Sam. xiv. 6.

War therefore add a peculiar Strength to those Admonitions, which Reason and Scripture give us at all Times, to consider what our State is with regard to Him, *who doth according to his Will in the Army of Heaven, and among the Inhabitants of the Earth*^d. Let us then all consider now, whether we have Ground of Hope or of Fear from that awful Declaration of the Prophet, which you have heard read.

The Lord is with you, while ye be with Him. To be with God, is to preserve in our Minds a reverent Sense of his Being, Presence, and Government; to keep close to his Laws, and stand on his Side against the opposite Power of Darknes and Sin. Let us then think, if there be need of Thought to answer; How is the Reverence due to the Supreme Being preserved among us? Have we not Persons who even ridicule the Notion of a wise and good Maker of all Things? Have we not those, who, if they do admit a Creator, do not admit a Moral Governor of the World; or at least represent him so very defective in his Administration of it, as finally to let bad Persons be Gainers by their Wickedness, and good Persons Losers by their Virtue: rejecting with mirthful Scorn,

^d Dan. iv. 35.

what hath ever been the Hope and Support of wise and good Men, the Belief of that future State, in which the visible Irregularities of the present shall be rectified? Have we not also too many, who, professing perhaps to believe in Natural Religion, yet speak of Christianity, the great Means by which it is both supported and perfected, not only as a Falshood, but an Impossibility: *Blaspheming that worthy Name, by which we are called*^c, and disdaining to receive from God himself any other Rules, either of Faith or Life, than such as their own Reason, directed by their own Fancy, shall prescribe to them? And let us suppose, if we can, that the Number of such, as go these Lengths deliberately, is upon the Whole but small: yet what shall we say of the inconsiderately guilty? Are there not Multitudes of all Degrees, who seem never once to have asked themselves, whether they believe in God or not? or if they do, whether any Regard is due to him or none: who slight Religion boldly, without imagining they have ever examined it: who are persuaded of its Truth perhaps, so far as they have any Persuasion about the Matter; but have no Notion, that they are to regulate their Conduct by

^c James ii. 7.

it: who possibly do not quite approve of profane Persons, but are astonished at pious ones; and by their Indulgence to the former, and their very great Proneness to despise the latter, plainly shew, whether they perceive it themselves or not, which Party they are on the Road to join?

We have indeed many still, who frequent Divine Worship: but how many of all Ranks, and of that Rank particularly, which ought to be an Example, and will be one either of Good or Bad; how many that omit this Duty entirely, or near it; and though it be an evident Part of the Law of Nature, and an express Precept of Christianity, can yet talk, not only of their own neglecting it, with much Gaiety and Humour, but of other Persons attending upon it as Matter of Conscience, with much Raillery. And such an Ascendant hath this contemptuous kind of Impiety got, that there are many Persons, who sincerely honour their Maker in their Hearts, but dare not for fear of Derision shew it in their Behaviour. Let it be thought of a little, what the Appearance and Construction of these Things is: and let those who are qualified for it, judge; Is not this the one Nation upon Earth, in
which

which Regard to God is taught in the greatest Purity, and treated with the greatest Contempt?

But a worse Symptom yet is, that whilst Irreligious Persons are active in the Cause of Infidelity; some of them with so self-denying a Bigotry, as to teach it their Servants, their very Wives and Children: the Generality of such, as think themselves very competently religious Persons, scarce appear to have any practical Impressions at all made on them by those Truths, which they acknowledge for the Law of their Lives. They forget, it may be feared, almost totally, the Exercise of private Piety; and behave in regard to publick Devotion with a Negligence, which they would think highly indecent towards their earthly Superiors: allow themselves in such Levity of Speech on the most serious Subjects, as would scarce be justifiable in some of the most trifling ones; from their Conduct avowedly on Principles, that have no Tincture in them of the Faith, which they profess; and in effect declare themselves to think of nothing but this World, whilst yet they are really persuaded of another to come. To this it must be added, that very many, who not only believe, but

are influenced by their Belief in other Respects, instead of *confessing their Lord and Master before Men*, as he hath most solemnly commanded them^f, are silent and indifferent, whilst he is denied, or disregarded ever so much; and seem ashamed of a Cause they ought to glory in: by which Means they give bad Persons a Colour for pretending, that few or none are Christians in earnest; and take away from such, as are well-disposed, the Encouragement of seeing how great a Number yet remains. For, God be thanked, they are still no small Number, who continue after all bearing Testimony to the Gospel of Christ. But of how many Sins against it, not a few even of these are guilty at the same Time, by deviating from *the Form of sound Words*^g, by unwarrantable Divisions, and uncharitable Animosities; it is a great deal better that they should consider, than that others should say: only thus much cannot but be said, that these Things add a peculiar Gloom to the View, which we are taking.

Religion, it must be owned, hath never been practised any-where, as it ought. But have

^f Matt. x. 32. Mark viii. 38. Luke ix. 26. ^g 2 Tim. i. 13.

not both the Practice and Profession of it decayed most remarkably, in this Nation, within the Compass of but a few Years? Is not the Prospect before us, that of its declining yet much lower in the Generation that is coming on? And what do we imagine this will end in? If God is, it must be a Matter of ill Desert, either wilfully or thoughtlessly to treat Him, as if he were not. If he hath given a Revelation of his Will to Mankind, it cannot be innocent to neglect it, as if he had given none. And if he is the righteous Governor of the World, He will support his Government by punishing where guilt appears. If the Guilt be National, it must be expected the Punishment will be so too. And though it were not, yet amidst the innumerable Connexions of Things, one Part of a Society cannot suffer, but the Whole must partake.

What Judgments in particular God will execute at any Time on impious Nations, we cannot say. All Nature is in his Power: and they, who offend, have every thing to fear. But one sure Method of Correction, (a very merciful Method, as the lower Degrees of it give Warning of the higher, but a dreadful one indeed,

deed, if that Warning be not taken) is by appointing the natural Consequences of every Sin to be Part of its Reward. The Consequences of Irreligion then what are they, and what must they be, on every Community? True Piety cannot induce Men to injure their Country; and comprehends peculiar Inducements to serve it, of the greatest Force. But in Times of public Danger especially, Belief of Religion gives a Spirit, and Defence of Religion a Motive for exerting it, which Considerations of a lower Nature will never equal. For what is there that can equal the Exhortation, *Be of good Courage, and let us behave ourselves valiantly for our People and for the Cities of our God: and let the Lord do that which is good in his Sight*^h. *Fear not, neither be dismayed: for the Battle is not yours, but God's*ⁱ. Whereas, if some through Infidelity have no Hope in him, and others through Wickedness have only Fear of him, so far as these Ways of Thinking can influence, *all Hands will be feeble, and every Heart will melt*^k.

But indeed the Belief of a just and good Being, who sees and will reward, is at all Times the great Support under the Sufferings of Life;

^h 1 Chron. xix. 13. ⁱ 2 Chron. xx. 15. ^k Isai. xiii. 7.

the great Incitement to every thing worthy, the great Restraint from every thing base. Human Weakness evidently wants these Things: and there is nothing else, that can always furnish them. The virtuous Dictates of their own Minds will have little Influence comparatively on most Men, when they are considered no longer as the Voice of God speaking inwardly to them. And the Penalties of human Laws, without those of the divine Law superadded, will often be evaded, and not seldom desperately braved. For if once Men think there is nothing beyond Death, they will soon come to think there is nothing in it, which ought to with-hold them from preferring a short Life spent as they like, to a long one spent otherwise. Feeling themselves free from the Terrors of Religion, they will fly out into Profligateness, merely to shew they are free: And it will be Encouragement enough to them, to pursue every Appetite, Passion, and Fancy, without Reserve; that whatever Inconveniences may happen to arise from it, one Moment can deliver them from all at once, whenever they please. How then will they act in the numberless Cases, to which the Power of the Magistrate either cannot or is not likely to reach

reach at all, or but imperfectly at best? How, for Instance, will the Properties, and even the Lives of Men be secured, when Perjury is no longer dreaded? A Consideration of peculiar Weight in this Country: where, with amazing Inconsistence, we are multiplying Oaths, as if we could depend upon them for every thing; and slighting the Care of Religion, which alone can give us Cause to depend on them for any thing. But in general, What or Whom can we possibly hope Mankind will regard to any constant good Purpose, if they will not regard God: And how can we pretend to regard him, whilst we go on as we do? Nor let it be thought, that the Belief of a future Recompence is necessary to the lower Part of the World alone: though if it were, they will never preserve it long, when they see their Superiors have it not. But the higher Mens Station, and the greater their Power is, the more is the Importance, both to others and themselves, that they be strongly influenced to do Good and not Evil, by this only Motive that can never be outweighed.

It is very true, neither Irreligious Persons are always so bad, nor Religious ones always

so

so good, as their Notions lead them to be: But still every Way of Thinking produces, more or less, its natural Effects. The deeper Root Religion takes, the more Benefit will spring from it: and the wider Irreligion spreads, the more Mischief it will bring forth. At present it must endeavour to appear as harmless as it can, to recommend itself: and some Degree of the good old Impressions will remain, and have Influence for a Time, even on those who have done their best to wear them out. But when Profaneness shall once have attained its Maturity, then it will be felt, if Men are resolved not to see it before, which were in the right: the weak and credulous Creatures, who contended for honouring God: or the Persons of superior Knowledge and Freedom of Thought, who scorned and forsook him.

But we must remember, our Maker is forsaken, when Virtue, the Law He hath given to Mankind, is transgressed; as well as when his Worship is deserted, or his Being denied. Let it then be a second Article of Inquiry, What our Condition is in this Respect.

The Consequence appears a very plain one, that when Religion decays, Morals must.

How-

However let us look into Fact. In speaking of Virtues and Vices relating to the Public, no Matters of Controversy ought so much as to be hinted at in this Place: a Place to be kept sacredly separate from the Contests of Parties; and only employed, when Occasion requires, to call on every Party alike, as in the Name of God, to consider their Doings. Where Divisions and mutual Accusations run so dreadfully high, there must be great Faults on one Side or other; 'tis well, if not on all. And all should consider very seriously, what they are aiming at, and by what Means; what they are risking, and to what good End. But That above the rest should be considered, which it may be feared is often thought of least, what must become, whilst each Side is supporting itself by the Methods too common, what must become of the Virtue and Integrity of this People, the most important Part of all they have to be concerned for. Every other Sort of Loss Nations have often recovered, and risen again from the lowest Ebb: but Loss of Probity and Principle, this affects the Vitals of Society: and whatever accidental Advantages may seem to arise from it in any Case for a Time; if the Distemper grows, and
it

it is the hardest in the World to stop, its Conclusion must be fatal. And let it not be objected that Countries of very little Virtue and public Spirit have flourished notwithstanding. For how have they flourished? In a State of Freedom? No. Outward Prosperity hath been joined with domestic Oppression: or if Intervals of Ease have been felt; they have always been precarious, and generally short.

Impartial Reflections on these Matters will shew us very clearly the Guilt and the Danger of our Sins with Respect to the Public. But we shall see both in a yet stronger Light, if we reflect farther, How very little Zeal we express, in the Midst of all our Vehemence about disputed Points, for the Promotion of Things indisputably right. Proposals for Reformation are treated in the Gross, as mere Chimeras; mighty little Harm apprehended from the most flagrant Immoralities, but dreadful ill Consequences to Liberty from restraining them: Laws treated with Contempt by those who should obey them, and this connived at by those who should execute them; still every one complaining immoderately of others, for what no one will himself contribute to amend.

But

But indeed public Virtue, though it were genuine, will never be consistent and universal, while private Vices are indulged. And to what a deplorable Degree these abound amongst us, needs not be said, how much soever it needs to be thought of. The Intemperance, the promiscuous Lewdness, the Want of Industry and Frugality, the Disregard to Authority and Order, the Profligateness of all Kinds, that hath overspread in a most uncommon Manner the lower Part of the People, every Body sees. And would but some of higher Condition reflect, how much they have sunk themselves to a Level with their Inferiors, in some of the worst of their Qualities; and indeed contributed to make many of them so bad as they are, and themselves despised by them at the same Time; it might be hoped the Consideration would be useful. But not to say more of these: The Faults of too many, who are accounted, and are in Comparison, decent and regular Persons; their improvident Expensiveness, pernicious many Ways; their Living to Amusements and Pleasures only, and overlooking the most serious Obligations of Life; forgetting the Inspection of their own Conduct, their Families and Affairs; neglecting

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ing their very Children, at least in the important Point of their Religion and Morals: These are sad Instances of personal Guilt, and make a great Addition to the national Danger.

But when to the above-mentioned Epidemical Sins, every one hath added, after examining himself faithfully, the separate Transgressions of his own Life, and the inward *Plague*, which he hath permitted to infect *his own Heart*¹; unknown perhaps to Men, but *naked and open to Him, with whom we have to do*^m: then we shall have no Doubt left, whether the total Amount be not abundantly sufficient to justify Heaven, in whatever Judgments it may inflict on Us and our Country. And if, for Instance, by our Contempt of true Religion, we should open a Way for Popish Superstition to overspread us, after a short preparatory Reign of atheistical Dissoluteness; if our Abuses on all Hands of the Blessings of a Free Government should introduce upon us a Slavery of our own creating; if the sinful Excesses, that we have suffered Wealth and Plenty to lead us into, should bring on us, as

¹ 1 Kings viii. 38.

^m Heb. iv. 13.

they naturally do, Poverty and Distress; and our domestic Enmities deliver us up to our common Adversary: *who shall have Pity upon thee, O Jerusalem, or who shall bemoan thee; or who shall go aside to ask of thy Peace*?"

The common Answer to all Representations of this Sort, is, That the World hath always been bad; and therefore we have no peculiar Reason to fear. But if it hath been always a Place of Wickedness, it hath always been a Place of Misery too, by Means of that Wickedness. Continual Effects have been ever necessary to keep both from increasing. And if we, whom God hath treated with such distinguishing Mercy, will not use these Efforts, but abandon ourselves to Sin; as he doth think fit to make some Examples of his Justice from Time to Time, what fitter Example he can make, is hard to say.

Persons however will flatter themselves, that these, at the worst, are Dangers of very distant Times. And every single Sinner in the World flatters himself in just the same Manner. Yet the Consequences of their Sins do overtake Men, and may overtake Nations too,

ⁿ Jer. xv. 5.

with surprizing Suddenness. And the Sentence, recorded in Scripture, is perfectly just: *They of the House of Israel say, The Vision that he seeth is for many Days to come; and he prophesieth of Times that are far off. Therefore shall none of my Words be prolonged any more: but the Word which I have spoken shall be done, saith the Lord God°. And they shall know, that I am the Lord; and have not said in vain, that I would do this Evil unto them^p.*

Other Persons there are, who acknowledge the Prospect to be bad, and Evil perhaps impending: But the only wise Part in their Opinion is, to let Matters go as they will, and enjoy themselves as long as they can: Why should they be uneasy before the Time comes? Now if it were certain, that nothing could do good, this might be reasonable in a worldly View of Things: but where every one may contribute, both by amending himself and awakening others, to prevent Ruin; there to be indolent, is as contrary to Humanity, as it is to Religion. And therefore the Word of God hath taken severe Notice of it, as a great Crime. *Ye have seen the Breaches of the City of David, that they are many:—And in that Day*

° Ezek. xiii. 27, 28.

^p Ezek. vi. 10.

did the Lord God of Hosts call to Weeping, and to Mourning, and to girding with Sackcloth: and behold Joy and Gladness, eating Flesh, and drinking Wine: Let us eat and drink, for To-morrow we die. And it was revealed in mine Ears by the Lord of Hosts: Surely this Iniquity shall not be purged from you, till ye die, saith the Lord God of Hosts⁹.

But even they, who are concerned for the Public, may yet express that Concern in a very faulty Way. Many seem to think they have fully done their Duty, as soon as they have been angry at those, whom they apprehend to have any Way occasioned what is amiss: angry, perhaps at the wrong Persons, perhaps in a wrong Manner: such as only tends to increase Guilt, and hasten Mischief.

The first Complaint, generally speaking, is of those in Authority. And undoubtedly the People have a Right to complain, whenever the common Concern is administered ill. But then it should be considered, that we may, through Ignorance or Prejudice, expect from Authority, either what it cannot do, or what is not fit to be done: we may expect more than

⁹ Isa. xxii. 9, 12, 13, 14.

is reasonable to expect from Men like ourselves, though it be fit: and even supposing them very much to blame, we may conduct ourselves upon it so as to be equally or yet more to blame. Want of Reverence to Laws and Superiors is one of our great Evils: and all Opposition to whatever is thought wrong, should be accompanied with the strictest Care not to augment this Evil. But our Duty requires us peculiarly to beware of raising Domestic Uneasinesses too high, when a foreign Enemy may take Advantage of them: and at all Times it requires us, to preserve most religiously the Loyalty and Honour due to the supreme Power: especially now, when our present Establishment is our only human Hope of having all that is valuable to us secured to ourselves, and transmitted to our Posterity.

Next to the Rulers of a Nation, its Instructors are usually the great Object of Censure: and we acknowledge there is Cause. We have not been so serious and religious, so zealous and diligent, so disinterested and humble, so mild and charitable, as we ought. The Public must have suffered by this: we have suffered by it ourselves: and, unless we repent, we have Ground to expect a yet fuller Execu-

tion, than we have experienced already, of what Heaven inflicted on our Predecessors in the Jewish Nation: *Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the People, according as ye have not kept my Ways* †. Yet we cannot but hope, that a very considerable Part of the Accusations brought against us, would appear, upon Enquiry, to be without Foundation. But however that be, we must remind you, that Our Faults will be no Excuse for Your Transgressions: and we earnestly beg, that they who complain we do not the Good we ought, would at least not hinder, but give us Opportunity, and assist us rather, to do both Others and Themselves the Good we would.

But even they, who proceed from Complaints to Endeavours of amending Things, will fail unhappily of their End, if they trust to worldly Methods alone, and leave Religion and Virtue, the great Support and Cement of human Society, out of their Schemes. This will be merely palliating for a little while: and doing what the Scripture, in perfect Conformity with plain Reason, hath long ago condemned, as doing nothing. *Because they have seduced my People, saying, Peace, and there was no Peace;*

† Mal. ii. 9.

and one built up a Wall, and others daubed it with untempered Mortar: Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, I will rend it with a stormy Wind, and bring it down to the Ground, so that the Foundations thereof shall be discovered; and it shall fall, and ye shall be consumed in the Midst thereof, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.*

Indeed every Page of the prophetic Writings recommends itself greatly to thinking Persons, by the most forcible and convincing Expressions of the utter Inefficacy of every Expedient for public Good, that is not accompanied with true Virtue and true Piety.

These, therefore, it is our most important Interest to restore and promote: to represent with Earnestness, and yet with Mildness, to such as are deficient in either, how wrong in itself, and how hurtful to the World, their Conduct is: and to be zealous in doing our own Duty, whether They will attend to theirs or not: Persons of Rank and Influence, by setting an Example worthy of Imitation, and shewing different Regards to the Good and the Bad; Persons intrusted with public Power, by behaving in their several Stations uprightly; Parents and Masters, by the prudent Exercise of their

* Ezek. xiii. 10—14.

private Authority; and every one, at least, by reforming himself. This, if it do nothing farther, will be securing his own Happiness: and the more single Reformati^ons there are, the nearer will be our Approach to an Universal one. We are called indeed perpetually to Repentance: but the present National Call, if it be not hearkened to, will much aggravate the Guilt, not only of the profane Despisers of it, but those also, whose Compliance with it is merely external; who dare to approach the Searcher of Hearts, and mock him by saying to him, without Sincerity, such Things as we have joined in saying this Day.

On the Times appointed for Confession of Sins, it hath always been a Rule, as the Word of God plainly shews, for Persons to abstain in a considerable Degree from their usual Food: not as thinking it a Duty of any Value in itself, for that were a superstitious Imagination; and nothing can be more express against every Superstition, than Scripture is: but partly to make an Acknowledgment of more than ordinary Solemnity, by their Actions as well as Words, of their Unworthiness to partake of the common Blessings of Heaven; and chiefly to spend those Hours in Humility of Spirit, and cool

Reflection

Reflection for their future Good, which they have spent too frequently in dangerous Levities, or sinful Indulgences. It is not then the Abstinence; it is not the outward Humiliation, nor even the real Seriousness of a Day, which God requires of us; but that these Things be made subservient to our lasting Benefit: that preserving on our Minds the Impression of what we have said and heard here, we go Home and retire into ourselves; think over our several Duties, public and private, with respect to our Maker, our Fellow-creatures, and the Regulation of our own Hearts; and after renewing our Applications for Pardon and Grace, set right, without Delay, whatever hath been wrong: that we form Resolutions to think often of our own Conduct, to follow steadily the most effectual Methods for preserving it such as we ought, and not to suffer the Opinions and Customs of an inconsiderate World, to wear out of our Minds the Regard we owe to the Author and End of our Beings.

But besides these Obligations, there is yet another, which particularly deserves our Attention at this Time; that when we ask Mercy of God, we shew it to Man. And accordingly the Scripture joins closely together Fasting and giving

ing Alms; which therefore we should join too, each according to his Ability: but always remembering, that no one Part of our Duty whatever will be accepted as an Equivalent for transgressing any other; but we must *break off our Sins by Righteousness*, as well as *our Iniquities by shewing Mercy to the Poor*¹, if ever we expect that our Charity should avail towards procuring our Pardon.

And now would we but employ the present Solemnity, in determining conscientiously to practise these Things: besides the good Fruits, it could not fail to produce in each of us singly; we might hope, on very just Grounds, to experience nationally the same happy Effects of it, which we read the *Jews* did, from making the same Determination, upon hearing the Admonition of the Text. *They gathered themselves together, and they entered into a Covenant to seek the Lord God of their Fathers. And they swore unto him with a loud Voice: And all Judah rejoiced at the Oath. For they had sworn with all their Heart, and sought him with their whole Desire, and he was found of them: And the Lord gave them Rest round about*².

¹ Dan. iv. 27.

² 2 Chron. xv. 10, 12, 14, 15.

S E R M O N II.

(Preached on a General Fast.)

I P E T. v. 6.

Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty Hand of God, that he may exalt you in due Time.

HUMILITY of Heart and Behaviour is a Duty, so deeply founded in the Nature of Man, that though we knew of no Power above us, we ought yet to think modestly of ourselves, from a Consciousness of our Infirmities; and pay a mutual Deference one to another, in proportion to the different Pre-eminences, be they ever so small, by which we are severally distinguished. But the least Apprehension of a perfect Being superintending us, must surely magnify beyond Expression the Sense, how very imperfect we are: and convince us, that the utmost Reverence, of which we are capable, towards such a one, if such a one

one there be, will fall vastly short of what we owe. Now the Existence of a powerful and wise, a just and good, Ruler of all, is at first Sight a possible Thing. And were we sure of no more, the Notion is so respectable in itself, so beneficial to human Society, and so peculiarly comfortable to every honest Mind, that passing it over with a scornful Neglect, instead of attending to it seriously, would be a Haughtiness of Spirit, blameworthy and shocking to a great Degree. But the Reality of this Notion is undeniably proved, by the plainest Observations on every Part of the Universe, and the strictest Inquiries into its general Constitution: by the natural Prepossessions of common Men, the acutest Reasonings of speculative Men, and the most universal Consent, that ever any invisible Truth obtained, of all Men. Yet farther, to leave no Plea for Ignorance of it, or of its Consequences, the Creator hath made himself known to his Creatures by express Revelation: and declared, what he is, what he expects from them, what he hath decreed concerning them. How monstrous a Disposition of Soul must it be then, that can pride itself in standing out against such Evidence of such a Doctrine: can take upon it to censure the Works of the Almighty,

mighty, without understanding a single Part of them thoroughly; can triumph in the Thought of an ungoverned and fatherless World, of Wickedness unpunished, and Virtue unrewarded; and hold those in utter Contempt, who entertain better Hopes!

Our Nation affords, I fear, more than a few Persons, guilty even of such Pride against God, as this. But it affords Multitudes of a Sort, if possible, yet more unaccountable; who believe in him, and slight him. Acknowledging a Sovereign Lord of the World, without standing in Awe of him, is doubtless a most astonishing Inconsistency: and yet I conceive it will appear, on Inquiry, the main Source of those great and many Sins, for which we are met here to express our Concern. Now if this be our Case, a little Reflection will shew it to be a very dangerous one: and the Apostle hath pointed out the only Cure, that since, as the preceding Verse teaches, *God resisteth the Proud, and giveth Grace to the Humble*, we should *humble ourselves* unfeignedly under his mighty Hand, which hath been, and is, in several Respects, heavy on us; that so, instead of depressing us lower still, *he may exalt us again in due Time.*

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There are not many comparatively, but in their cooler Hours at least, believe the Author of Nature to be also the wise and just Lawgiver and Ruler of Mankind. Nay, lamentable as the Apostacy of our Days hath been, the Generality still entertain a Persuasion, grounded on the firmest Proofs, that he hath notified the Conditions of eternal Felicity by Jesus Christ. But, having this *Knowledge of God*, do they *glorify him as God*^a? Do they pay any Homage to him, do they cultivate any Regard for him? Do they consider him as the Giver of all Good, to whom their Thanks are due for every Thing they enjoy; as the Judge of the whole Earth, who shall reward every one according to his Works? Will they, in Obedience to that Reason, which he hath bestowed on them, resist their vicious Appetites and Passions: will they, on the Authority of that Revelation, which he hath superadded, receive any Thing, but what they can see of themselves to be true; or do any Thing, but what they can see of themselves to be requisite? Is it not indeed their stated Practice to set their own Inclinations and Fancies above all his Assertions and Laws: disdain- ing to mind what is right or wrong, even

^a Rom. i. 21.

when it relates to this Life; and much more, to be swayed by the Tendencies, which Doctrines or Precepts may have, to fit them for the Happiness of another?

Nay, such as imagine themselves perhaps very steady Believers, and sufficiently good Christians, do not many of them, though less professedly, and without distinctly seeing it, yet almost as effectually, make their Choice just as they like, in what Things their Christianity shall consist; and what they will go on to think or practise, however plainly forbidden in any one's Judgment, but their own. Are they at all willing to seek, with serious Humility, what the Gospel teaches? Are they withheld from any Sin which it forbids, merely by the Fear of their Lord and Master? Do they perform any Duty, which it enjoins, merely from Love to their Redeemer? Try them but in one Point. The sacred Writings have repeatedly directed a regular Attendance, on public Worship and Instruction. Yet they neglect it perpetually, on Pretences, for which they would neglect scarce any one Thing besides: when they condescend to come, they would usually be understood to do it as Matter of Prudence, or Propriety, and Compliance with Custom; but by no Means
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of Obedience to God. And in general, they substitute the Fashions and Usages of what they call the World, that is, of the Persons with whom they are pleased, and whom they desire to please, in the Place of the Divine Commands. This wretched Rule they follow against their Consciences first: to this by Degrees they bend their Consciences afterwards: and when once they have accomplished that, they will not reflect, they will not hearken, they will not bear the Mention of an Argument or a Hint to the contrary; but exclaim against it as absurd, before it can well be brought out; let Reason or Scripture say what they will: till at last, not even yet renouncing their Faith, they have hardly a single good Impression from it left: no Gratitude to God, no Hope in him, no Dread of him; no Thought of themselves in earnest, as his Creatures; nor any Recollection, how profligate a Treatment this is of our Maker, of our Saviour, of the holy Spirit of Grace. We do not know, I believe, nor suspect very often, how inconsiderable God is become in our Eyes, and how near Advances we have made to what is in Effect mere Atheism. But we have cheated ourselves with Disguises, and shifted between Religion and Irreligion, till
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we have no Perception whereabouts we are. And it is high Time for us to fix once for all, which we will stand to. For if the Almighty deserves any Regard, he deserves a most dutiful and universal one. Will we therefore pay him that, or will we avow paying him none?

But were many of us, whose Appearance is more decent, to be examined, what there is in us beyond Appearance; were many, who have some inward Restraints and pious Feelings, questioned how far they extend; and if there be not mixed with them, a much less indeed, but still a very criminal Neglect and Contempt of the supreme Being; what do we think the Result would be? Were such to be asked, how often they pray to him in private, or whether they remember perhaps, when they did so last; with what Attention they pray at such Times, or whether hurrying over a Set of unmeaning Words contents them; what Care they take in his House, that their Hearts join in the Things they say, or improve by those they hear; how often they meditate, as in the Presence of God, on their Duty, and their Condition with Regard to another Life; whether in Truth they almost ever think of a future State, as their principal Concern, or have not inwardly chosen

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their Portion here; whether they indulge no secret Immorality, are chargeable with no Injustice or Unmercifulness; what Expression, or what Tincture, there is in their common Conversation and Behaviour of a Christian Spirit; what Zeal they have, what Expences they are at, what Methods they encourage, what Pains they take, for promoting the present and eternal Welfare of their Fellow Creatures: how must they answer? Nobody hath a Right, it may be, to put such Questions to you: but surely they are very important ones for you to put to yourselves. And for God's Sake do it: and press your Souls home to make an honest Reply. For if Religion be any Thing, these are most material Things. Do you then find, that you have hitherto been, in Relation to them, such Persons as you ought? And if not do you experience a proportionable Concern for your Failures? Are you even now resolved to become such? And will you remember and keep to what you resolve: or run away from your Convictions to the first Employment or Amusement you can hope to lose them in, or however suffer them to wear out for Want of being renewed; so after a while, neglect your Maker and his Laws as much as ever; and possibly

possibly despise yourselves for having once, in a Sort of Fright, thought to do otherwise? If you relapse so far, your Case will be a very dangerous, God grant it be not a desperate one.

Yet amongst all these blameable Sorts of Persons, there are many perhaps not ill-disposed, were they left to follow their own Judgments quietly, towards becoming sincerely and throughout religious. But the World would wonder at them, their Acquaintance would ridicule them: and that they cannot bear. But which is your God then? The World, or the Maker of it? And which is it fitter you should humble yourselves under? The rightful Authority of the greatest and best of Beings; or the usurped Tyranny of a few vain Mortals, whose Friendship means you no Good, and whose Enmity can do you no Harm? But so it is: we are cowardly one to another, and brave only against *Him, who hath Power to cast into Hell*^b.

Even the lowest Part of Mankind, they also now have learnt from their Superiors to lift themselves up in Defiance of the Most High: to plead openly and boldly for Gratifications, expressly prohibited by his Commandments;

^b Luke xii. 5.

to prefer their Diversions or their Idleness before his Worship; some of them to *fit in*, and others to surround *the Seat of the Scorners*^c. For poor Wretches, that know nothing else, imagine they know enough however to be above Instruction in their Duty, to contemn God's Word, and scoff at his Ministers.

Such is the Condition, and I appeal to the Observation of you all, alas! to the Consciences of too many of you, if it be not daily more and more, if it be not, I had almost said, universally, the Condition of the People of this Land, especially this City. *Help, Lord: for the godly Man ceaseth, for the faithful fail from among the Children of Men*^d.

But how great and general soever our Transgressions have been; it will be alledged, that they cannot have arisen from a Principle so very shocking as Pride, directed against the Author of our Beings, but from inconsiderate Indulgence of less heinous, though still blame-worthy Dispositions. But were there, and O that there were, much more Room for this Plea than there is, yet bare Inconsiderateness and Forgetfulness of God is, in no small Degree, Contempt of him. However, some Offenders have not ad-

^c Psal. i. 1.

^d Psal. xii. 1.

ventured on so direct Impiety as others. And we ought to judge with all possible Tenderness of every one's Case, besides our own; but it concerns us beyond Expression not to flatter ourselves in that. And we may discern with Certainty the true State of it by this one Mark. If Want of Thought hath occasioned our ill Behaviour, we shall be thankful for Admonition, and readily change our Course: if Pride, we shall be displeas'd with it, and tempted to go on. But whether we have disobey'd God wilfully or inadvertently, we have great Cause to humble ourselves before him with deep Contrition: and bewail our own personal Guilt in the first Place; then the Sins of those, who make up the same Community with us: for he cannot correct Them, but we must suffer at the same Time.

Now supposing we did not at all feel ourselves particularly under his mighty Hand at present, yet surely we ought to recollect with great Awe, that in Reality we are under it always. His Government of the World is without ceasing carried on, however silently, yet steadily and powerfully, to that one End, which a Being of perfect Holiness must propose to himself ultimately, the Manifestation of his Glory, in the

Punishment of the Wicked, and Reward of the Good. Were both to be entirely deferred till after Death, as the chief Part of both will, yet how near is that to us all; and how very near to many of us, who perhaps are the farthest of any from suspecting it! Though were it as distant as it can, yet the Connection of it with eternal Enjoyments or Sufferings being as certain as that God is holy and true, the practical Inference would be just the same, as if it were overtaking us this very Moment. But indeed, unless we will absolutely shut our Eyes, we must see Judgments from above, both naturally flowing from our Sins, and additionally inflicted on them, in the mean while.

All Wickedness, by the righteous and wise Appointment of Providence, in the ordinary Course of Things produces Misery: and the great Restraint from all Wickedness is the Fear of God. While Men continue to reverence Him, there will always be some Hold upon them, to keep them back from committing Evil, or bring them back to repent of it. But when once that Band is broken, which it is of late in this Nation, beyond any other in the Christian, or perhaps the Heathen World, slighter and weaker Ties will soon give Way
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one after another, till by Degrees every Thing is set loose. And how very fast accordingly our Morals and our Prudence have been forsaking us, ever since we have begun to forsake Religion, and to find out that our Maker is unworthy of our Notice, a little Reflection will shew us too plainly, if indeed any be needful. Do we not see Probity and Integrity, Friendliness and natural Affection, visibly decayed? Persons of all Ranks living above their Ranks; and first distressing themselves and their Families by vain and vicious Expences, then descending to every Baseness, that will enable them to proceed in this wrong Way, and every Folly that will drive away Remorse for an Hour, though by furnishing Cause for its Return with more Bitterness than ever: crowding their whole Time with absurd and dangerous Diversions, and infected with a Rage for Pleasure and Shew, be the Consequences what they will, that hath taken Possession of High and Low, Young and Old, to a Degree unknown before; and in many fears not, in some affects, to display itself, on the Days set apart for the Worship of God, nay for solemn Penitence and Humiliation? Do we not see almost every Body

treating the grossest and most pernicious Immoralities, of what they gently stile the gay Kind, as no Faults at all in one Sex, and daily approaching nearer towards affording them open Countenance in the other: making on any Occasion indeed, very little Distinction, though it be of unspeakable Importance to make a great one, between good People and bad; or, to say the Truth, rather inverting than laying Claim to the Psalmist's Character: *In whose Eyes a vile Person is contemned; but he honouretb them, that fear the Lord*^e. Do we not see them, educating their Children, and managing their Servants, as if it were on purpose to have them wicked: plainly perceiving them to be miserable in Consequence of it; perpetually involved themselves in grievous Uneasinesses and Difficulties from it, and making frequently heavy Complaints of it; yet never once reflecting to Purpose, whence it comes, or what would mend it: but stupidly acquiescing in what they have the nearest Concern to prevent; and take it for granted, that such of necessity is to be the Condition of their Families, from one Generation to another?

^e Psal. xv. 4.

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And if these Fruits have sprung in private Life from our Disdain of Piety, what must it have produced in public? Just what we were to expect from a Number of such Creatures put together; and from the fixed Decree of Providence, that *they, who plough Iniquity, and sow Wickedness, shall reap the same*. Rulers and Magistrates having permitted the Authority that ordained them, to sink, have, by a Consequence, which they might easily have foreseen, lost their own: Respect to every Kind of Superiors is worn out; and next to the Laws of Heaven, those of our Country are regarded least. The Nature of Things, and the Word of God, have made Uprightness and Industry the Supports of Society, and Religion the Support of Them. But we have imagined we could do better than this: we have been laying other Foundations, and bringing these into utter Disesteem, as it were by Consent on all Sides; till they, who desire most to act upon Principle, find, it may be feared, scarce any Remainder of Principle among us, left to act upon. We have *trusted in the Staff of a broken Reed, whereon if a Man lean, it will go into his Hand,*

† Job. iv. 8.

and

and pierce it^v. We have forsaken God, the Fountain of living Waters, and bewed us out broken Cisterns, that can hold no Water^h. We have indeed been worse than negligent, we have been jealous of Religion; fearful, that Bigotry, Enthusiasm, Superstition, and all Manner of Evils would flow from it: and so, without taking the least Care to guard against them, or prevent the Increase of that Communion, in which they are most intimately mixed with it, Piety in general hath been made the Subject of Invective and Derision, till we are at present immersed in Profaneness and Profligateness; and, as Extremes beget one another, directly in the Road to be over-run after a while by Popery, the Schools of which are multiplying continually in our Streets. We have thought the Morals of our People totally undeserving of Regard, unless it were to corrupt them, that we might enjoy *the public Benefits of private Vices*: and the Consequence hath been, to say of others no more than hath been said, that our Poor, the Strength and Riches of a Nation when regulated well, are every-where destroying themselves and their Posterity by their Intemperance and promiscuous Lewdness; and be-

^v If. xxxvi. 6.

^h Jer. ii. 13.

coming,

coming, in the mean Time, an insupportable Burthen by their Idleness and Extravagance. We have thought that neither God nor Man were to restrain whatever we please to call Liberty; and thus we have plunged into a Licentiousness, that hath brought upon us many of the Inconveniencies, and almost all the Discontent, of Slavery.

Nor hath the Almighty omitted to superadd, though with a gentle Hand, Corrections intirely his own, to the Sufferings, which we have chosen to inflict on ourselves by Means of the stated Connections, which he hath wisely and justly established. We had long been possessed of the Blessing of Peace, without making any one good Use of it: and he hath permitted a War to come upon us, of which we foresee neither the Duration nor the Event. We had long enjoyed healthy and plentiful Seasons, without acknowledging Him for the Giver of them: and we have since been visited with Sicknes in all our Borders; and such Dearth, as few, if any of us, ever knew before. *Our Heavens have been made as Brass, and our Earth as Iron*ⁱ; and we would not understand it to be a Chastisement: *the former and the latter Rain*^k have

ⁱ Deut. xxviii. 23.

^k Deut. xi. 14. Jer. v. 24.

been

been restored to us, and we have not owned it to be a Mercy. Now, if lighter and shorter Judgments will not awaken us, heavier and longer must. For so the Prophet foretells: *Lord, when thy Hand is lifted up, they will not see: but they shall see*¹. And how much greater Evils God may yet cause us to see, lies hid in the Treasures of his own Foreknowledge. We are at present in a Condition, that may, in various Respects, very naturally and very soon become extremely dreadful. And what else we can do to better our Prospect, is neither easy for any Person to discover, nor indeed the Concern of every Person to inquire: but there is one Thing, which alone of itself will do incredible Good; and every Thing besides, very little without it; which we all have in our Power, and all feel to be our Duty. *Come, and let us return unto the Lord our God: for He hath torn, and He will heal us: He hath smitten, and He will bind us up*^m.

Both Particulars and Nations, which fall into a bad Way, are strangely unwilling, for the most Part, to understand the Truth of their own Case. Such was the Disposition of God's ancient People, admirably described by the Pro-

¹ Is. xxvi. 11.^m Hof. vi. 1.

phet *Hosea*: *His Strength is devoured, and he knoweth it not: yea, grey Hairs are upon him, and he knoweth it not. And the Pride of Israel testifieth to his Face: and they do not return to the Lord, nor seek him, for all this*^a. Nay, when the Disease is much too notorious to be denied, Persons will be ascribing it to other Causes, and inventing other Cures, than the right one; putting Confidence in Schemes unconnected with Reformation, and perhaps mending bad with worse. But to these the Almighty himself hath expressly denounced: *Woe to the rebellious Children, saith the Lord, that take Counsel, but not of me; that cover with a Covering, but not of my Spirit; that they may add Sin to Sin: that will not bear the Law of the Lord; which say, Cause the Holy One of Israel to cease from before us. Wherefore, thus saith the Holy One of Israel: Because ye despise this Word, therefore this Iniquity shall be to you as a Breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high Wall, whose Breaking cometh suddenly at an Instant*^o. Healing Sores in a palliative, unsound Manner, only occasions their bursting out again with more threatening Symptoms. If therefore we would truly mend our Case, we must

^a Hof. vii. 9, 10. ^o If. xxx. 1—13.

go to the Bottom of it. We have been wicked, and we must repent. We have despised God, and we must *humble ourselves under his mighty Hand.*

But then what shall we reckon is doing so? Is it merely appointing or observing a Form of Humiliation for Forms Sake? Instead of appeasing God, we shall not so much as deceive Men by this: but only veil Irreligion with transparent Hypocrisy. Is it then being affected and warmed a little, at the Time, by what we say or hear in this Place; and becoming, almost immediately after, just the same Persons that we were before? On the contrary, these transient Fits of Piety are mentioned in Scripture, as a very discouraging Sign: *O Ephraim, what shall I do unto thee? O Judah, what shall I do unto thee? For your Goodness is as a Morning Cloud, and as the early Dew it goeth away*^p. While Persons reflect not at all, one knows not how it may operate, if ever they come to reflect. But when, through the Grace of God, they have actually been made sensible of their Guilt and their Danger, and yet relapse into it; when their Convictions have been renewed, their good Purposes repeated, and yet all suf-

^p Hof. vi. 4.

ferred, Time after Time, to fall back into nothing: what can be expected, but that Heaven will at last abandon those, who in so shameful a Manner abandon themselves. Our present Business therefore is, each of us to imprint on our Minds now such deep Sentiments, as may influence us ever after, that devoutly conforming our Lives and our Souls to the Will of God, is the very End of our Being: to recollect and confess before him, how grievously and how long both we in particular, and this Nation in general, have neglected the Obedience we owe him: to acknowledge, that we are altogether in his Hands, as private Persons and as a People: to consider whatever hath befallen us, as less than our Iniquities have merited; to prepare ourselves, with meek Resignation for whatever more he may please to inflict on us: yet earnestly petition him, that whatever becomes of our temporal Concerns, *our Spirits may be saved in the Day of the Lord Jesus*¹; and that if it be consistent with his Holiness and Wisdom, he would spare us even in this World, *not for our Righteousness, but his own great Mercies*², in Christ our Redeemer, for the Honour of his Name, and the Preservation of his

¹ 1 Cor. v. 5.

² Dan. ix. 18.

true Religion established amongst us; to form solemn Resolutions against every Sin, against every Occasion of Sin, for the future: begging at the same Time that Grace of our Sanctifier, which alone can make them effectual: and do all these Things not only in Profession, as Matter of outward Decency, but from the Bottom of our Souls; not only with a sudden Fervor, excited here in the Congregation, but deliberately at Home, before *our Father which seeth in secret**.

How easy, or how hard, it may be for any of us to bring our Hearts really into such a Frame as this, He only knows, who knows all Things. Perhaps it is a Sort of Language, and a Way of Thinking, to which some of us have never been used, and which others have long disused. If it be, we have so much the more Need to take it up without Delay. For our Maker and our Judge is intitled to the most lowly Submissions from his guilty Creatures: and there is neither any Meanness in making, nor any Greatness in refusing, them. In all Cases, the just and the right is the worthy and the honourable Behaviour. But in this, above all, it is the necessary one too. Obstinacy cannot support

* Matt. vi. 6.

us: Diffimulation will not conceal us: it is God we are concerned with, and our only Resource is to throw ourselves on his Mercy. The very best of us have Cause to lament our Failings, to reiterate our Vows, to implore his Forgiveness and Assistance, yet more ardently than we have done. In proportion to our Transgressions and Deficiencies; our Self-Abasement, our Penitence, our Supplications, our Efforts of Amendment, ought to increase. And that our Performance of these Obligations will be followed, bad as our State is, with the happiest Consequences, Reason affords comfortable Hope, the whole Tenor of Scripture expressly declares, and the Text with peculiar Strength implies: *Humble yourselves under the mighty Hand of God, that he may exalt you in due Time.*

But I must not now enter on the Illustration and Proof of this important Connexion. May our present Humiliation give an experimental Proof of it, by effectually inclining us to *be reconciled to God*^t; and inducing Him to direct our public Counsels into the Way of national Prosperity, and our private Conduct into that of eternal Blessedness.

^t 2 Cor. v. 20.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who were members of the Society of Friends in the year 1800. The names are arranged in alphabetical order, and are taken from the original records of the Society. The names are as follows: [The text is extremely faint and illegible due to the quality of the scan.]

S E R M O N III.

(Preached on a General Fast.)

I PET. v. 6.

Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty Hand of God, that he may exalt you in due Time.

AT our last Meeting on the same most necessary Occasion, which calls us together now, I endeavoured to lay before you, from these Words, both the general Duty of Man's *walking humbly with his God*, and the particular Reasons, which we of this Nation have, for exercising a very deep Humility towards him, as we have been particularly guilty, besides various other Sins, of that unspeakable shocking one, Pride against him. Too many amongst us have dared to treat the Faith, if not of his Being, yet of the only Thing which makes it valuable, a just and good Pro-

^a Mic. vi. 8.

vidence, with utter Contempt: absurd as it is, that the wise and powerful Maker of the World should not be the Ruler of it, and that the Ruler of the World should not *reward every one according to his Works*^b. Much greater Numbers, if they do not deny his Moral Government, yet almost intirely disregard it: attend on his public Worship but seldom, and then visibly as Matter of mere external Decency; never condescend to pay him any Homage in private; nor through their whole Behaviour consider him, in the least, as, what they profess to acknowledge He is, the Lawgiver, the Inspector and Judge, of their Lives and Hearts: but securely follow Passion, Appetite, Custom, Fancy, as the Guide of their Conduct; and openly ridicule those that do otherwise, call themselves Christians perhaps; but are totally void of Reverence for every Doctrine of Christianity, that is above their Comprehension for every Precept that contradicts their Inclination; and strangely negligent even of natural Piety and social Virtue. Larger Multitudes yet imagine, that they are mighty Religious Persons, if they preserve but a tolerable Regularity in the outward Acts of Devotion,

^b Matt. xvi. 27.

Justice and Temperance : though not proceeding from any inward Principle of Love and Duty to God, not accompanied by any Sense of their needing his Pardon through the blessed Jesus, or his Help through the Influences of the Holy Spirit ; not carried on to an uniform Habit either of Obedience or Resignation, or animated by the Hopes of a better World. Indeed they most commonly live, and often die, as unconcerned about his future Disposal of them, as if it were not a Matter of Moment at all, instead of being the only real one, that belongs to our Condition.

But, if possible, we have slighted him still more, considered as a People, than separately. We have enjoyed the greatest national Blessings, without the least national Thankfulness for them. In particular he hath blessed us with the clearest Knowledge of the several Obligations incumbent on us: and we have shewn the most absolute Scorn of all Methods for promoting or securing the Practice of them, even in those Points, on which our public Welfare most confessedly depends. Nor have we hitherto received the Warnings, or even the Corrections of the Almighty, which have begun to overtake us, with more Respect, than his Mer-

cies. You have just heard the Case of the barren Fig-tree read in the Gospel for the Day: *Behold, these three Years I come, seeking Fruit, and find none: cut it down, why cumbereth it the Ground^c?* Brethren, what is Our Case? The present is the fifth Year that we have professed to observe a solemn Fast, on Account of our Sins and our Dangers, without making the least Reformation in any single Article. Nay, we have continually increased in Neglect of Religion, in Gaiety and Madness for Pleasure: till we are come to pursue our Diversions openly on the most sacred Day of the Week; and some (for, in every Instance, while the Offence is renewed, the Complaint must) cannot persuade themselves to abstain from them, or from inviting large Companies of others to join in them, even on these Anniversaries of peculiar Humiliation.

Such Outrages on Piety and common Decency as these, must, when repeated after Notice taken of them, and Warning given against them, which hath been faithfully done by the Ministers of God's Word, be deemed premeditated Insults, not Inadvertence and Forgetfulness. Yet Forgetfulness of the Most High can

^c Luke xiii. 7.

never be a flight Offence: and is greatly aggravated by the strong Admonitions to remember him, which not only his holy Word and our Consciences, would we hearken to them, give us perpetually, but his Providence also hath given us of late. The natural Consequences, and superadded Punishments of our Disregard to him, have appeared very plainly for some Time, and are daily becoming more visible and sensible, in the Sins, and Follies, and Distresses of private Life, in the general Want of public Order and public Spirit, in Burthens and Uneasinesses; in Threatnings and actual Attempts from Abroad to deprive us of the Liberty we have abused, and the Religion we have scorned; and sink us down into the Slavery, and Superstition, and Wretchedness, that we have deserved to feel. Hitherto, indeed, the Storm hath not fallen upon us: but it still hangs over us more heavily, than most of us have ever known: our Efforts to dispel it have succeeded very imperfectly: The Difficulty of renewing those Efforts must be augmenting each Year: our Enemies are multiplied in a dreadful Manner: and what Assistance we may expect from our Friends, God only knows. One Thing indeed, may afford some Consola-

tion to us. We have manifested, on Occasion of our Danger, an universal Zeal for that Establishment, which is the only human Means of preserving us from it. Had we failed in our Loyalty, we had completed our Wickedness: and should any Temptation hereafter intice or provoke us to fail in it, we and our Posterity are intirely undone. But there can be no sure Dependence on Their Dutifulness to their King, who are undutiful to their God: or on their Attachment to the common Interest of the Society, who prefer every present Gratification to their own everlasting Welfare. Or if there could; a profane and wicked People will never have equal Spirit in Defence of the Community, for they have not equal Motives to it, with a pious and virtuous one. Or supposing their Courage ever so great: their Wealth, their Strength, their Union, their Affiduity, their Observance of Rules, their mutual Confidence, will be less: and those Vices, which have brought us already so far on our Way towards Ruin, must at Length, if we persist in them, bring us to it, merely by producing their natural Effects.

But could we have Hopes of escaping these, the Honour of the Divine Government is concerned

cerned not to let a national Contempt of it go unpunished, even in this World: and all Reliance on human Wisdom and Power, without Regard to God, will prove in the End fatal Self-Deceit. *When the Lord shall stretch out his Hand, both he that helpeth shall stumble, and he that is holpen shall fall down: they shall all fail together^d. The Anger of the Lord shall not return, till he have performed the Thoughts of his Heart: in the latter Days ye shall consider it perfectly^e.*

But surely then we had much better consider it in this our Day^f: and, as another Text awfully exhorts, *give Glory to the Lord our God, before he cause Darkness; and while we look for Light, he turn it into the Shadow of Death^g.* Too many, of all Ranks, will probably slight whatever of this Kind is said, even from Scripture itself. But still our Commission is: *Son of Man, I send thee to the Children of Israel; to a rebellious Nation, that hath rebelled against me, they and their Fathers unto this very Day: and thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the Lord; and thou shalt speak my Words unto them, whether they will hear, or whether they will*

^d Isa. xxxi. 3.

^e Jer. xxiii. 20.

^f Luke xix. 42.

^g Jer. xiii. 16.

forbear^b. Men in Power and high Stations more especially, and they who aspire to them no less, have always been disposed to look with great Disdain on the artless and unwelcome Directions, which Religion suggests for Deliverance from Danger. They have more refined Contrivances, on which they rest; and scorn the plain Methods of Reconciliation to God, and trust in him, through our blessed Redeemer, as fitted only for the Populace to hearken to. But the Scripture hath provided an alarming Denunciation against Them in particular. *Hear the Word of the Lord, ye scornful Men, that rule this People which is in Jerusalem. Because ye have said, We have made a Covenant with Death, and with Hell are we at Agreement; when the overflowing Scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us; for we have made Lies our Refuge, and under Falsehood have we hid ourselves: Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I lay in Zion for a Foundation a Stone, a tried Stone, a precious Corner Stone, a sure Foundation: he that believeth, shall not make haste*¹. *Judgment also will I lay to the Line, and Righteousness to the Plummet;*

^b Ezek. ii. 3, 4, 7.
33. x. 11.

¹ Or, be ashamed. See Rom. ix.

and the Hail shall sweep away the Refuge of Lies, and the Waters shall overflow the hiding Place. And your Covenant with Death shall be disannulled, and your Agreement with Hell shall not stand. Now therefore be ye not Mockers, lest your Bands be made strong^k. Another Sort of Persons, extremely apt to despise the Thought of Reformation, indeed all serious Thought whatever, are they who abandon themselves to Indolence and Voluptuousness, and the Study of luxurious Elegance and Delicacy. But for these likewise there is in the Treasury of the Prophets a Menace in Store, which contains, alas, much too exact a Description of our own Times. Wo unto them that are at Ease in Zion, that put far away the evil Day, that lie upon Beds of Ivory, and stretch themselves upon their Couches, that eat the Lambs out of the Flock, and the Calves out of the Midst of the Stall, (the Luxury of the Table had then made but a small Progress) that chant to the Sound of the Viol, and invent to themselves Instruments of Musick, that drink Wine in Bowls, and perfume themselves with the chief Perfumes^l, but are not grieved

^k Isa. xxviii. 14—18, 22. ^l In our Translation it is, anoint themselves with the chief Ointments. But this, though literal, gives a different Idea now from what it did then.

for the Affliction of Joseph. Therefore now shall they go captive with the first that go captive, and their Banquet shall be removed^m. Others again are by no Means indifferent about the Storm, which they see gathering ; but have no Belief, that Amendment, or any Thing, can disperse it : and therefore will take no Pains in what they conceive will produce no Good. But at least to themselves Amendment will produce the greatest Good : and Resolutions not to amend, will bring, both upon Them and others, more certain and speedy, and total Destruction ; which else, after all, may perhaps be avoided. For hear the Declaration of God in this Case. Now therefore speak to the Men of Judah, and to the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying : Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I frame Evil against you ; return ye now every one from his evil Way, and make your Ways and your Doings good. And they said, There is no Hope : but we will walk after our own Devices, and we will every one do the Imagination of his evil Heart. Therefore thus saith the Lord, Ask ye now among the Heathen, who hath heard such Things. I will scatter them, as with an East Wind, before the Enemy :

^m Amos vi. 1, 3—7.

I will shew them the Back, and not the Face, in the Day of their Calamity^a.

So that, whether it be Confidence, or Despair, that hinders Reformation, the Threatnings, you see, are the same. And the full Execution of these Threatnings, together with the Cause of it, is thus recorded in the Book of Chronicles. *The Lord God of their Fathers sent to them by his Messengers, because he had Compassion on his People, and on his Dwelling-Place. But they mocked the Messengers of God, and despised his Words, and misused his Prophets, until the Wrath of God arose against his People, till there was no Remedy. Therefore he brought upon them the King of the Chaldees, who slew their young Men with the Sword in the House of their Sanctuary, and had no Compassion upon young or old: he gave them all into his Hand^b.*

How near we have approached to them in our Guilt, is too visible: how easily we may come to resemble them in our Punishment, is not less so. The Hand of God is plainly lifted up over us: the only Question is, Will we *humble ourselves under it*, or will we not? Will we yet acknowledge, that He is the Sovereign of the World, and obeying him the only Way to

^a Jer. xviii. 11, 12, 13, 17. ^b 2 Chr. xxxvi. 15, 16, 17.

prosper?

prosper? Will we yet *seek him, while he may be found*^p; confess our Sins, change our Conduct, and petition for his Mercy? There have been Circumstances, in which Repentance itself would not stop the Course of temporal Punishments, though it will always prevent eternal ones: in which God hath said to his Prophets, *Pray not for this People for their Good. When they fast, I will not hear their Cry; and when they offer an Oblation, I will not accept them: but I will consume them by the Sword, and by the Famine, and by the Pestilence*^q. Even to this Extremity we may reduce ourselves: but that we are already in it, no Way appears. The general Rule of his Providence is, *At what Instant I shall speak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it: if that Nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their Evil, I will repent of the Evil that I thought to do unto them*^r. And it ought to be our Persuasion, that we are within the Rule. Our Cause is unquestionably good: and though we have been, most of us, lamentably wicked, yet through his Grace many have preserved their Integrity; and either for their Sake, or his

^p Isa. lv. 6.^q Jer. xiv. 11, 12.^r Jer. xviii. 7, 8.

Mercies Sake, we still enjoy great Blessings. He hath been far from forsaking Us, to the Degree that We have forsaken him: else our State were wretched indeed: and would we but now *humble ourselves* throughly *under his mighty Hand*, there is no Room to doubt, but *he would exalt us in due Time*.

Whenever he calls upon us to use the Instrument, he surely designs us to attain the End, for which it was formed. Now penitent Reformation is the natural, as well as the appointed Instrument for exalting both particular Persons and Communities. Religion works indeed by Terror at first, and lowers the high Spirits of the Guilty: but only to raise them again on solid Grounds, instead of the treacherous Props which kept them up before. Without it, there is no Dignity in the Condition of Man: and how should there be any expected in his Deportment? If Persons either believe not in one, who sees and rewards, or cannot hope that he will reward Good to them: if all that they promise themselves be here, and they apprehend, that neither Annihilation or Misery awaits them hereafter; they will of Course be many of them dangerous and mischievous, the
Generality

Generality of them base and vile, attend solely to the Indulgence of their Fancies and their Senses, *eat and drink, for To-morrow they die**. Or if any Sparks of Worth do remain, unextinguished by such a mean Way of Thinking, they will have only an occasional and partial Influence. Or could it, in some few, be a constant and uniform one, yet they will be very few: and the Body of a People, if they are without Conscience towards God, will be without Honour and Probity towards Men, without Prudence and Magnanimity in the Conduct of themselves, profligate and despicable in all Respects. But on the contrary, true Religion, for I speak not of superstitious Persuasions and Observances, true Religion places Men above fordid Interests, low Pleasures, and worldly Anxieties: teaches them to dread nothing, but offending their Maker; to set their Hearts on nothing, but pleasing Him; and to have no Conception of pleasing him by any other Means, than rational Piety and genuine Virtue: it excites them by the noblest of Motives to whatever is useful and estimable; and restrains them by the strongest Terrors from whatever is bad and hurtful: obliges them to right Beha-

* 1 Cor. xv. 32.

viour in the highest Prosperity, and supports them in it under the heaviest Adversities: inspires Men with the most earnest Concern for doing their Duty; and frees them from all Concern about the Consequences of it in this World, by presenting to their View the endless Recompences of a better. Such, in some Degree, is the Influence even of natural Religion: but unspeakably more powerful will that be found, *whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious Promises, that by these we might be Partakers of the Divine Nature*†.

Then farther, the Sentiments, which thus dignify every one's Behaviour singly, must have the same Influence upon all, considered as forming a Community. Publick Welfare will never be consulted as it ought, while Men act merely on separate selfish Bottoms: nor ever fail to be consulted, when a well-founded Faith in God animates their Zeal for general Good. Sights and Provocations, Difficulties and Risques, private Advantages, and party or personal Attachments, may very easily sway and bias all, that act from temporal Motives: but are nothing to such as act from This; the only one that cannot possibly be at any Time overbalanced. So

† 2 Pet. i. 4.

long as the State of Affairs is calm indeed, Government may go on very smoothly, without much Principle in those who are employed by it, or live under it: perhaps the more smoothly for a while, in some Cases, the less Principle there is. But when Storms rise, as after such Calms they will rise, then is the Time to see, in what the real Strength of Society consists: who will struggle, who will hazard, who will be faithful to the last. They, that fear God, certainly will: and we can have no Certainty (how should we?) of any other. Amongst the truly religious, because they are such, there will be secure and mutual Trust, faithful Oeconomy, and unwearied Application: their Counsels will be steady, their Undertakings just, their Execution bold, their Confidence in Heaven strong, and their Adherence to a righteous Cause unmoveable! Seldom, if ever, will a State, which proceeds in this Manner, fail of Success. And were they to fail ever so greatly, nay, to be overwhelmed ever so intirely, they would fall with more Reputation and more Happiness, than others flourish. But there is always Reason for better Hopes. A Nation, reverencing the Sovereign of the Universe, will be revered by all around them, as *a wise and*

and understanding People, which bath the Lord nigh unto them *. Their Friends will know, they can depend on them: their Enemies will know, they have the utmost Efforts to fear from them: both will know, and they themselves too, that even in their last Extremity, Providence may be expected to fight for them. *Great are the Troubles of the Righteous: but the Lord delivereth him out of them all. The Lord delivereth the Souls of his Servants: and they, that put their Trust in him, shall not be destitute* w.

But then it must be observed, that such as have long been Sinners, and are at last become penitent, (the former is certainly Our Case, would to God the latter were!) if Relief doth not appear immediately, ought to wait for it with much Patience, and be well satisfied if they are *exalted in due Time*: in God's Time, not their own. Wickedness ruins Nations by Degrees: Reformation may restore them by Degrees. An imperfect Reformation will be likely to bring forth but imperfect Fruits. And the completest Reformation of a Few may prove insufficient to save the Whole. Still these are Reasons, only why All should repent: not why None should,

* Deut. iv. 6, 7.

w Psal. xxiv. 20, 22.

unless All will, which it is impossible to foresee. For be the Generality ever so incorrigible, and their Destruction ever so absolutely decreed on that Account: there is Encouragement enough, notwithstanding, for those who do humble themselves, and return to a better Mind. *Seek ye the Lord, all ye Meek of the Earth, which have wrought his Judgment. It may be ye shall be hid in the Day of the Lord's Anger^x. At least, whatever such may suffer in common with others, far from being a Mark of his Anger towards Them, will contribute largely to improve their Virtues, and increase their future Reward. So that in every Event they may cast all their Care on God, for he careth for them^y. Undoubtedly they will feel the Uneasiness, which human Nature must from whatever is painful to it: and in particular, a tender Concern for Multitudes, who have none for themselves. But still they will submit with Composedness and reverent Approbation to the severest Sentences of Heaven; and reflect with Joy, that their chief Interest is safe, though inferior Comforts be lost.*

^x Zeph. ii. 3.

^y 1 Pet. v. 7.

Let us therefore *acquaint ourselves with God, and be at Peace^a: For he will keep those in perfect Peace, whose Mind is stayed on Him^a. Whoever they are, that, sensible of their Offences and their Weakness, apply for the Pardon obtained by Jesus Christ, and the Grace communicated by the Holy Spirit: who, in their private Capacity, honour God, study to be harmless and useful amongst Men, and govern themselves by the Rules of Virtue; who also, in their public Capacity, earnestly pray for and impartially seek the Peace of Jerusalem^b, the Welfare of their Country, civil and religious; not led by Interest, Resentment or Vanity, but having at Heart real common Good; and who in their whole Conduct encourage and restrain themselves as the Case requires, by the Faith of a future Recompence: whatever may befall the Society, of which they are Part, it shall be well with them. Whatever else they may undergo, others will have nothing to reproach them with, they will have nothing to reproach their own Souls with; and in the Darkness Light shall arise unto them^c. All such Persons therefore, after doing conscientiously what is*

^a Job. xxii. 21.^a Is. xxvi. 3.^b Psal. cxxii. 6.^c Psal. cxii. 4.

incumbent on them, not only may, but ought to be without Solicitude: and should let the Foundation of their Peace be known; that all around them may perceive, how vastly preferable the Consolations of Religion are to every other Method of making themselves easy. The pious Man doth not labour to quiet his Thoughts by obstinately shutting his Eyes, or plunging into Excesses, or taking off his Attention by Amusements: but can with Tranquillity look towards the evil Day, and see it coming: wait for it, and bear his Share of it, less or greater; being assured, that *all Things work together for his Good*^d. A very different State from theirs, who know they have deserved the Judgments of God, who know they have contributed to bring them down on their own and others Heads; who have nothing to cheer them, when the Clouds gather on every Side of them; nothing to direct them, when the blackest Tempest pours upon them, but the momentary Glimmerings of human Hope, struck out by their own Imaginations; and if they should escape, if they should outwardly prosper again for the present, will only be tempted by it to *treasure up to themselves hotter Wrath against the*

^d Rom. viii. 28.

Day of Wrath^e, and final Judgment. But hear, I intreat you, how the Word of God expreffes the Cafe of each: and may its enlivening Exhortation to the former, and its terrifying Admonition to the latter, fink deep into your Breasts. Who is among you, fearing the Lord, that walketh in Darknefs, and hath no Light? Let him trust in the Name of the Lord, and ftay upon his God. Behold, all ye that kindle a Fire, and compafs yourselves about with Sparks; walk in the Light of your Fire, and in the Sparks, which ye have kindled: this fhall ye have of mine Hand, ye fhall lie down in Sorrow^f.

^e Rom. ii. 5.

^f Ifa. l. 10, 11.

The first part of the book is devoted to a history of the
 country from the time of the first settlement to the
 present. The author has collected a vast amount of
 materials, and has endeavored to present a full and
 accurate account of the progress of the country.
 The second part of the book is a description of the
 country as it is at present. The author has been
 very particular in his description of the
 natural resources of the country, and has
 endeavored to show the extent to which they
 may be cultivated. The third part of the book
 is a description of the present state of the
 country, and of the progress of its
 civilization. The author has endeavored to
 show the extent to which the country has
 advanced in the arts and sciences, and
 in the cultivation of the soil. The fourth
 part of the book is a description of the
 present state of the country, and of the
 progress of its civilization. The author has
 endeavored to show the extent to which the
 country has advanced in the arts and
 sciences, and in the cultivation of the soil.

The fifth part of the book is a description of the
 present state of the country, and of the
 progress of its civilization. The author has
 endeavored to show the extent to which the
 country has advanced in the arts and
 sciences, and in the cultivation of the soil.

S E R M O N IV.

(Preached on Occasion of the Rebellion
in *Scotland* in 1745.)

2 SAM. X. 12.

*Be of good Courage, and let us play the Men for
our People, and for the Cities of our God:
And the Lord do that which seemeth him
good.*

MANY of you, I hope, remember, that I discoursed to you upon these Words, a Year and seven Months ago^a: when God, for our Sins, threatened us first, with what, for the Continuance of them, he hath at length permitted to fall on Part of this Land. The Renewal, and nearer Approach, of the same Danger, requires a more earnest inculcating of the same Exhortations. For perhaps we may now lay to Heart the Things we did

^a February 26, 1743-4.

not then. It is very true, the Pulpit ought never to be prophaned, and I trust never hath or shall by me, to serve the Purposes of Party-Interest; or intermeddle with any Points of a Political Nature, about which the Friends of their Country, that think at all, can possibly be of different Opinions. But the present is a common Cause, affecting every one of us, without Distinction, in what is most important to us: and God forbid, that the Ministers of the Gospel should be either unwilling or afraid to speak, when his Providence calls on them so loudly, to lift up their Voice. Should the Storm, which is now beating on many of our Fellow-Subjects, be dispersed by infinite Goodness ever so soon and so intirely, without reaching Us; it may yet be of unspeakable Use, to have made the proper Reflections and Resolutions, whilst it was approaching towards us. And should the Almighty suffer us to feel it, as we have well deserved; nothing, but thinking and behaving rightly under his Judgments, can give us Hope of his Mercy to moderate and shorten them.

Now whatever is requisite for these Ends, is clearly comprehended in the Words of the Text:
which

which bring naturally to our Thoughts the three following Particulars.

I. The Interests we have at Stake. *Our People, and the Cities of our God.*

II. The Spirit, which we ought to shew in defending them. *Be of good Courage, and let us play the Men.*

III. The humble Dependance on Heaven, which we ought to exercise at the same Time. *And the Lord do that which seemeth him good.*

I. The Interests we have at Stake. *Our People and the Cities of our God:* in other Words, our Civil Rights and our Religion.

The Defence of their Persons and Possessions against lawless Power, and the secure Enjoyment of the Means of Happiness here and hereafter, were the great Motives, that induced Men to submit originally to Government. And every particular Government is good or bad, as it answers or fails of answering these Purposes. Now in our own, as it stands at present, our Liberties are greater than those of any other Nation upon Earth: we enjoy them so fully, that we abuse them beyond Example: and, I believe, no one Person amongst us, of Knowledge

ledge and Consideration, doth or can suspect our King of having the least Design to infringe any Branch of them. The private Property of the very Meanest is as safe from the Violence and Oppression of the Greatest, as good Laws and an impartial Execution of them can be hoped to make it. And for the Public Burthens we labour under, we have laid them on ourselves, by Representatives of our own Choice, for Uses, which we and our Father, very justly in the main, thought necessary: In particular for the most important Use, of securing the Nation, from Time to Time, against the Mischief that now once more hangs over us: which if we at last get rid of, all we have spent is well laid out; and if we submit to, all is thrown away.

Still, there may doubtless have been Faults committed, in Relation both to these and other Matters. But then, Part of the Faults commonly charged may be imaginary: for we are all as fallible, as those whom we blame; and few of us in so good a Situation for judging. Part may be of small Consequence; and therefore no Ground for any great Resentment. Part may have arisen from our own Misconduct, as much, if not more, than from that of our Superiors.

periors. Part again may have proceeded from excusable Mistakes or Infirmities of theirs; for which, as we need Allowance in ourselves, we should make Allowance in others: especially in Princes, for the same Reason as in Parents; and to a fit Degree, in those also that are employed by them. But whencesoever apprehended Grievances may have come, we have legal, constitutional, peaceable Means for redressing them; with uncontrolled Liberty to use those Means, if we will. And suppose they have not operated so speedily, or so effectually, as we may wish: yet, if Force may be used instead of them, upon every Failure or Delay, especially when caused merely by Difference of Opinions amongst ourselves, no Society can ever subsist. And if we are too corrupt a People, to expect any Good from mutual Persuasion; much less can we expect it from mutual Violence.

Then lastly, as for our Religion; the least valued, I fear, yet infinitely the most valuable of all our Blessings; and which guards and fences the rest, in a Manner that nothing else can: our Religion, I say, is undeniably the most rational and worthy of God, the most humane and beneficial to Men, the furthest from being either tyrannical or burdensome, the freest from Super-

Superstition, Enthusiasm, and Gloominess of any in the World. It is established with such Care, that the Support of it is inseparable from that of the Civil Government: yet happily with such Moderation, as to bear hard on none who dissent from it. The Practice of it indeed, we must own, hath not been enforced on its Professors, so generally or so carefully as it ought, either by the Authority or the Example of those, whose Duty it is. Would to God it had! God grant it may! But still, they who have not duly excited Men to Piety, have not restrained them from it: and every one's Disregard to it is principally chargeable on himself alone.

This I apprehend to be a true and a modest Account of our present Condition: for I have put the Advantages of it at the lowest, in order to say nothing that can be disputed. And what are we to change it for, if the Attempt, now making, should succeed? Indeed what have we to expect before it can succeed, (for every one must be convinced, that it will not be tamely submitted to,) but a wide and horrid View, in Proportion as it makes a Progress, of Bloodshed in the Field and out of it, and of Ravage at the Pleasure of a rude and uncivilized People, to
the

the imminent Hazard of every Thing, and every Person, dear to us? Judgments, which this Island hath been long without experiencing: but how long, and how heavily it may groan under them now, unless a speedy Check be given to this Rebellion, God only knows. For a conquering Enemy, had he the Will, which is dreadful to trust to, hath often not the Power of restraining the Desolations of Fire and Sword, when once they are begun.

But suppose this Beginning of Sorrows over: what must follow?

With Regard to our Civil Concerns: How large Numbers are there, who have no other Security for a considerable Part, it may be the Most, or the Whole of their Property, than the Continuance of the Government now in being; in whose Hands it actually is? And should that Government fail: as it cannot be hoped, that what hath been lent for its Support, and proved one of its main Supports, will be regarded very favourably by those who come to overturn it; how terrible may the Distresses of such Persons be, and how much farther than themselves must they extend? To all their Domestics, all their Dependants, all that have Dealings or Concerns with them. What Multitudes

itudes are there again, whose Fortunes are intirely, or principally, built on Royal Grants, judicial Determinations, or Acts of the Legislature, made within the last six and fifty Years? which, in Case of a Change, will all become questionable, as done by incompetent Authority, and lie at the Mercy of we know not whom. The Person, who now threatens us, comes attended with a large and an indigent Train of Followers, collected from each of the Three Nations, who will think, and do their utmost to make him think, that the long Sufferings of many of them, and the present dangerous Services of many more, can never be rewarded with sufficient Bounty. And when Revenge, and Poverty, and Avarice, are set on Work together, what Forfeitures may be claimed, what Misdemeanors and Treasons charged, in a Nation, which will be looked on as the Whole of it involved in Treason, for so many Years past; or how unfairly the plainest Laws in our Favour may be interpreted to admit of such Attempts, or even wrested to serve them; which of us all can so much as guess, or who can be assured of his own Safety?

But besides these Hazards to the Properties and the Lives of particular Persons, in what State

State will be Commerce and Possessions of the Nation be? Think, what innumerable Debts the Pretender to His Majesty's Crown must needs have contracted in so long a Space, during which he hath had nothing of his own to subsist on: think, what immense Sums foreign Princes may charge on Account of most expensive Wars, which they may plead were begun or carried on for his Service: and how dreadfully this Nation may be exhausted, to satisfy but a small Part of these Demands: for which it will make no Amends, to annihilate the present Incumbrances on our public Revenues, by a ruinous Breach of the public Faith. Think also, once more, what fatal Concessions the Powers who support the present Invasion, and who will be wanted for a continual Support, even were it to succeed; what fatal Concessions they will assuredly require in Return, of Places on which our Trade depends, of Indulgences in Trade to themselves, of Restrictions upon Us; which will reduce us to a Condition impotent, precarious, and despicable.

I say not this, or any Thing, to raise in you a Spirit of unchristian Bitterness, either against the ignorant Wretches that have been deluded into this Rebellion, or even against their Lead-

ers. Let them be judged of with all the Charity, let them be treated with all the Mercy, which their Case will possibly allow: only let us see the Mischief, that their Success would bring on us, and exert ourselves accordingly to prevent it.

But were we ever so safe in other Respects: what Security can we have with Respect to our happy, envied, legal Constitution; when that Power of suspending and dispensing with Laws, and levying Money without Law, which lays every Provision, that can be made in Favour of the Subject, wholly at the Sovereign's Feet; and yet was not only claimed, but exercised immediately before the Revolution, should come of Course to be established as a just Prerogative, by what will be called a Restoration? The Rights, that we have enjoyed as indisputably our own, from that Time to this, may then be accounted seditious and treasonable Pretences; and every Expression of Fondness for any Remain of Liberty, be deemed a Step towards Rebellion: as indeed it will be thought but natural, to suspect and stifle the least breathing of that Spirit which once delivered us, in order to prevent another Change. Efforts notwithstanding will, in all Likelihood, be made towards

wards one: how bloody and how fatal, who can tell? The Apprehension of these Efforts will be a much stronger Plea, than in the late King *James's* Time, for keeping up a chargeable and dangerous standing Force, perhaps a foreign one. The Dread of that Force will intimidate some; and the Principle of turning to their own Advantage what they cannot help, will intice others, to go every Length of Compliance that they are required. And a Prince, coming in on the Bottom of Right Hereditary and Indefeasible, will think he hath the clearest Title to Absolute Power. His Partizans, even whilst he is out of Possession, have openly avowed that he hath: and what can be expected then, if he should get into it? The mere Exercise of such a Power very probably will not satisfy: but Declarations and Oaths be invented for the Acknowledgment and Support of it; which, it will be impossible for us, either to make with Innocence, or to refuse with Safety.

Then for the State of our Religion: No one Instance can be given, that Popery ever spared Protestantism for any Continuance, after it was able safely to oppress it. But least of all will Favour be shewn here, longer than Necessity obliges. For, to whatever Tenderness many

of that Communion may be inclined; as, no Doubt, there are Numbers amongst them of mild and worthy Persons: yet the uncharitable Part will assuredly prevail, as they always have done every-where; and falsely imputing to our Religion that pretended Disloyalty, which proceeded only from their illegal Attempts to overturn the whole Constitution, will not fail to argue, that the same Cause must produce again the same Effect, and therefore must not be permitted to subsist. Think then, all that love the Church of *England*, all that believe the Doctrines of the Reformation to be the Truth of Christ, what a Condition it will be, either to profess and practise the Falsehoods and Impieties, of which you are so thoroughly convinced, or to be driven from this, and every other Place of God's public Worship into Corners: nay, in a while, to be dragged out thence also, and sacrificed to that *Mother of Abominations*, which hath so long been *drunken with the Blood of the Saints*^b.

And let even them who are indifferent, or Doubters, or Unbelievers in Religion, reflect on this at least: that, as they are always inveighing against Superstition, so the Church of

^b Rev. xvii. 5, 6.

Rome is over-run with it to the highest Degree possible: and, as they are always exclaiming against the Wealth and the Power of Ecclesiastics; so the Wealth and the Power, the Pride and the Tyranny of Popery, are unspeakably the greatest, that ever the World knew. And if they will notwithstanding go at present upon their favourite Maxim, that All Religions are the same, it will be a just Judgment of God to make them feel the Difference.

But to these Things it may be answered, that the most solemn Obligations have unquestionably been entered into, by him who claims the Crown, for our intire Security, both in Church and State. Nor indeed could any Thing seem in Speculation more likely: because nothing is more apparently requisite in all common Policy. And yet, surprizing as it is, no one clear and explicit Declaration of this Kind was made by the Pretender at the Time of the last Rebellion: nor can I hear of any made by him at present. And I beg you to consider, if he will not promise plainly now, what will he do afterwards? For as to any good Words, given by another in his Name, what can be easier for him, than to disavow them, as going beyond the Commission which he granted? But suppose the strongest

Assurances given by himself: were they not given by the bloody Queen *Mary* to her Protestant Subjects, who had fully merited them by their Zeal for raising her to the Throne? And did she not persecute them immediately, and burn them in little more than a Twelve-month? Were they not given by the late King *James*? And had he not strong Motives of Gratitude, as well as Conscience, to keep them? And yet did he keep them for the smallest Part of four Years? How can we then flatter ourselves, that any one, who claims under him, will be at all more favourable to that Religion, and those Liberties, which have been all this Time the capital Enemies to his Pretensions? The most formal Declarations, that he can make, have been over and over, and long since the Revolution, declared by the Authority of the See of *Rome* “utterly null and void from
 “the Beginning, whenever they are prejudicial,
 “in any Manner, and the least Degree” (I use the very Words of Pope *Clement XI.* in the very Case of Stipulations made in Favour of Protestants) “to the Catholic Faith, the Sal-
 “vation of Souls, or to any Rights of the
 “Church whatsoever; even though such En-
 “gagements have been often ratified, and con-
 “firmed

“firmed by Oath.” Let therefore the Pretender to the Crown make Promises ever so full and expressive, let his natural Dispositions to keep them be ever so favourable; yet, as he professes Subjection of Conscience to the Pope’s Determinations, under whose Eye he hath long resided, in whose Dominions his Son, who hath now invaded us, was born and educated, and by whose Bounty they have both been all along supported; he cannot refuse to break any Ties, which shall be declared sinful by his infallible Guide; who may purposely have connived at his engaging in them, in order to his breaking them at a proper Time. But if he were to refuse it; can we imagine, that all his Successors too will be so obstinately undutiful, as to spare a Religion which they mortally hate, when they believe extirpating it will intitle them to heaven, and atone for all the Sins of a wicked Life?

It must be acknowledged, Popery hath appeared milder of late, than in former Ages. Yet even our Days have known the Executions of *Thorn*, and the Banishments of *Saltzburgh*: and *France*, this very Year, hath been perse-

^c Clem. XI. Pont. Max. Epist. & Brevia. fol. Romæ, 1724. tom. ii. p. 179.

cuting and murdering our Protestant Brethren for the Profession of their Faith. Nor hath the Church of *Rome* ever given up any one of the Claims, which it may have forborn to exercise: and, should it once regain so much of its ancient Power, as would necessarily follow from prevailing here, it would soon resume its ancient Fierceness in Proportion.

Shall we persuade ourselves then, that Fear will restrain a Popish Prince from attempting to overturn our Religion and Laws? But what if his greatest Fear should be that of Damnation for not attempting it? which was the known Case of King *James*, and may be that of others after him. Or what if it should be held the safest Way, in a political View, to make thorough Work at once, by the Assistance of Foreigners, now preparing to invade us?

Still it may be said, that whoever becomes our King, will at least, for his own Interest, be careful of the Trade and Power of the Nation. But how can he, if he would; when he must undoubtedly have promised the contrary to foreign Powers already? And if he is capable of deceiving Them, how shall We trust him? But supposing he hath promised them nothing: yet, if he prevails by their Help, what can he
be

be else, than a Deputy and a Viceroy, subject to the Commands of our most formidable Adversaries?

This Consideration ought in Reason to alarm even those who wish well to his Cause, even those who profess his Religion; and make them utter Enemies to his coming in such a Manner, however desirous they may be of his coming otherwise. For can we, or can they, make Terms with the Power of *France*, when we have once given it Footing in the Heart of our Country; or hope, that any Terms, which are made, will ever be observed? Will that most ambitious and perfidious Crown lose such an Opportunity of weakening us by our own Strength, making us dependent on itself for ever, and Tools to enslave the rest of *Europe*? Will it not treat both us, and the King it sets over us, as the Tyrant of *Babylon* did the Prince, whom he gave to the *Jews*? *He hath made a Covenant with him, and taken an Oath of him; he hath taken also the Mighty of the Land; that the Kingdom might be base, that it might not lift up itself; but that by the keeping of his Covenant it might stand*^a.

^a Ezek. xvii. 13, 14.

Such then being the View of our Dangers, let us proceed to consider,

II. The Spirit, with which we ought to defend ourselves against them. *Let us be of good Courage, and play the Men.* These Words may seem to express the Duty of the Soldiery alone. And, without Question, they express that peculiarly: and, joined with the following ones, clearly shew, that a strong Sense of Religion, and a virtuous Concern for the common Welfare, are the two Principles, that will give military Persons Bravery and Success; as they did to those, whose History the Text relates. But still the more literal Translation is, *Be strong, and let us strengthen one another*^c. In this Sense they concern us All: this therefore I shall follow,

And if ever Cause required exerting and joining all the Strength, and all the Courage we have, This is that Cause. For the Attack is made by our Enemies, foreign and domestic at once, on every Thing dear to us, Civil and Sacred: and Conscience towards God, as well as private Interest and public Good, demands our utmost Zeal in such a Contest.

^c See Gen. xxv. 22. xli. 2. 2 Kings xiv. 8, 11.

The Plea, which some would use to check this Ardour, as if the Government we live under ought not to be supported, because the late King *James* and his Son were set aside by the People, is absolutely groundless. For indeed King *James* set himself aside; abandoned the Government wilfully, rather than administer it according to Law: and by so doing, left the Nation at Liberty, or rather under Necessity to provide for itself in the Manner it did; especially as he carried away the Person, whom he called his Son, along with him. And had he not been carried away; all the World knows, it was generally and strongly suspected, that he was not the Queen's Child: and the three Estates of the Kingdom, the only fit Judges of a doubtful Succession, fixed it without taking Notice of him. But had none of these Things been so; that unhappy King, seduced by *Romish* Bigots, had invaded, with a high Hand, the Religious and Civil Rights of his People: instead of giving the least Hope of Amendment, he was going on with Rapidity to the utter Destruction of both. And Subjects were not made for Princes, to be treated as their absolute Property, and descend from one to another like Cattle, let them be used as they will: But
Princes

Princes were made for their Subjects; to govern them legally, and seek their Good. What is the Duty of the one, is the Right of the other: and where there is a Right, there ought to be a Remedy. Common Remedies are ever to be used in common Cases: and if they are insufficient, single Persons ought to bear every Thing; and Nations, every Thing that can be borne without Destruction; rather than break the public Peace, and established Order of Government. But in Extreme, imminent, universal Dangers, Methods of the last Resort, if necessary and likely to succeed, are fully warranted; by the Nature of the Thing, by our original Constitution, by ancient Practice upon it, and royal Recognitions of it.

The Scripture indeed commands what Reason itself doth, Subjection to the supreme Powers.— But how many other Commands are there, which confessedly admit of proper Exceptions? And were this to admit of none, yet the Scripture doth not determine, in whose Hands the supreme Power is lodged. And where it is divided, as it is with Us, between the King and his great Council, by whose joint Authority every Statute is expressed to be made: he, who refuses to stand to that Division, as the late

late King *James* did openly, both by Word and Deed, renounces the Authority that belonged to him under it; and other Authority he hath none. Or suppose even this doubtful; the Scripture requires Subjection: But to whom? To *the Powers that be*, the actual, visible Governments of every Country. These it declares *are ordained of God*; and that *they who resist, shall receive Damnation*^f. Not the least Hint given, of enquiring into the Justice of an Establishment in its first Rise long ago: a Thing which few Subjects can do, and perhaps few Governments can bear. Not the slightest Intimation, of adhering for ever to the Family of an abdicated Prince, and going on, Age after Age, to ascribe the sovereign Authority over a Nation, to a Person that hath no Means of exercising any one Act of Authority. The Necessities of Mankind render it absurd: the Practice and the Notions of Mankind have always been contrary to it. Heathens, *Jews*, Christians, Papists, Protestants, all the World have agreed in the Point with universal Consent; excepting a small Handful of Men in this one Age and Nation: Persons greatly to be pitied, and highly to be esteemed, while they submit

^f Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

peaceably to Inconveniences for Conscience Sake; but surely guilty of as indefensible a Singularity, as ever was.

There may indeed often be a Doubt, and sometimes it may last a good while, which are *the Powers that be*: whether a Government is yet to be considered as established, or not. But in our own Case, if a Duration of so many Years, and the peaceable Succession of so many Princes, and the repeated Acknowledgments of the whole People of these Kingdoms, and of all the Sovereigns and Nations of the Earth, do not make it a clear Point, in whose Hands the supreme Authority of this Country long hath been, and actually now is: nothing of such a Nature can ever be clear at all. Very few of Us have either known, or lived under any other Government: we have all of us claimed, and enjoyed the Protection of this: we have acted in Pursuance of its Authority; we have prayed continually for its Preservation; we have many of us bound our Souls by solemn Oaths, and some of us by repeated ones, to maintain it: in so doing, we maintain at the same Time, every Thing that is valuable to us and our Posterity: and there cannot be a firmer Tie upon us, than these Things together: nor more
abandoned

abandoned Wickedness, than to break through it.

Strengthened thus then within ourselves, let us proceed to *strengthen one another*. God knows, instead of this, we have taken great Pains to weaken one another, by separate Interests and Views, Animosities and Resentments, unkind Suspicions, and unjust Imputations. What Party or Sort of Men hath been most to blame in this Respect, were it ever so easy to say, would be very unfit: when the plain Concern is, not to accuse and recriminate, but all to unite in what affects all so nearly. They therefore, who have hitherto thought the Danger of such an Attempt small, let them now shew they were far from wishing it greater. They who have been dissatisfied with particular Measures of Government, let them now give Proof, that they were not disaffected to the Government itself: and if possibly in any Thing they may have opposed too far, take this fittest Opportunity of making Amends. This will demonstrate the Uprightness of their Intentions, give Weight to their Sentiments on other Matters, and pull down the false Hopes, that our Enemies have founded on our domestic Disputes. But then, at the same Time, if the
Zeal

Zeal of any for the present Establishment, hath tempted them to judge too hardly concerning the Affection of others towards it, they ought now candidly to acknowledge their Error: embrace those as true Friends, who approve themselves to be such in the Day of Trial; and remember for the future, that Strength is attained, not by Division, but by Union. Indeed we should all remember, instead of aggravating what our Opposers have done amiss, to reflect seriously what we and our Friends have been faulty in: and perhaps we should most of us find, it hath been a great deal too much.

But it is not mutual good Temper alone, that our Case requires; but mutual Assistance and Encouragement, to be given with Spirit by each of us, according to his Ability, and the Nature of his Station, to all around him: by ranking ourselves openly on the Side we are of; joining our Counsels, contributing our Money, hazarding our Persons, if Need require it; by instructing, undeceiving, exciting, fortifying, as many others as we can. That Part would be indifferent, Part timorous, and All resist weakly, was the great Thing, that the Adversaries of the Government promised themselves, and its Friends were apprehensive of. God be
thanked,

thanked, both of them in some Degree have seen their Mistake. Let us go on to complete the Conviction, by a daily Increase of resolute Activity. *Strengthen ye the weak Hands, and confirm the feeble Knees: say to them that are of a fearful Heart, Be strong, fear not.*

One Thing more, to be mentioned under this Head, is, that if the present Endeavour to ruin us should increase, though it were considerably, the public Expence necessary to defend us, we are surely neither to wonder, nor to murmur at it; but bear with Chearfulness what may be inconvenient, in order to prevent what must be ruinous; and consider well, that were this Design to take Place, we should probably pay much more to Foreigners, as a Reward for enslaving us, than now to our own Governors, as the Means of keeping us free.

But human Means alone, human Prudence and Strength, be it ever so great, is no sufficient Ground of Confidence. For *the Most High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will*^h. We must never forget therefore,

^e Is. xxxv. 3, 4.

^h Dan. iv. 17.

III. An humble Dependance on Heaven for the Event of all. *And the Lord do that which seemeth him good.*

What it will seem good to him to do with Us, when we consider our National Wickedness and Ingratitude to him, it must be acknowledged we have great Cause to fear. He hath blessed these Nations beyond most, if not any other Part of the World: and we have turned all his Blessings into Occasions of Sin. He hath given us Wealth: and we have applied it to the Wicked Purposes of Dissoluteness and Luxury. He hath given us Liberty: and we have abused it to the bitterest Hatred, and the grossest Licentiousness. He hath given us true Religion: and we have slighted and scorned it; cast off the Worship of God, received the Mercies of his Providence without Thankfulness, and the Threatnings of it without Humility: nay, ridiculed the Obligations even of Probity and moral Virtue, till we have scarce Principle enough left to be concerned for any Thing, but present Pleasure and present Interest. Our Abhorrence of Popery is gone: our Zeal against Slavery is degenerated into Faction: our Zeal for the Government, into private Selfishness.

ishness. We daily accuse one another of these Things: we never think of reforming ourselves. And what can be, in a rational View, the probable Consequence, in a religious one, the just Punishment of such Behaviour, but that which the Divine Wisdom has so clearly foretold? *For that they hated Knowledge, and did not chuse the Fear of the Lord; they would none of my Counsel, and despised my Reproof: therefore shall they eat of the Fruit of their own Way, and be filled with their own Devices*¹.

It is by slow and silent, but it is by effectual Methods, that God shews himself the Governor of the World. Princes, that neglect to support His Authority, shall find their own decay with it. Subordinate Rulers, that trust to other than virtuous Arts of Government, shall find they have leaned on a broken Reed. And Nations, that indulge Profaneness and Profligateness, shall experience them to bring on Confusion and Ruin. Escaping it in one Shape for once, is nothing: in that, or some other, it must fall upon them, if they continue such as they are. And were ever so great Ruin to fall

¹ Prov. i. 29, 30, 31.

upon Us now, what would it be more, than *Samuel's* Prediction verified? *If ye shall still do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and your King*^k. And what could we say, but acknowledge before God, with the penitent *Jews* in *Nehemiah*, *Thou art just in all that is brought upon us: for thou hast done right, but we have done wickedly: neither have our Kings, our Princes, our Priests, nor our Fathers* (would to God there were not the most Cause of all to add, nor we ourselves) *kept thy Law*^l.

Considering our Case in this Light then, we have small reason to *be of good Courage*. And yet, considering the divine Mercies, we are far from having any Reason to despond, if we have any Heart to repent. The Cause we are engaged in, is that of Right and Truth, and God's own Honour. Defending it valiantly, is performing one Part of our Duty to him: and deserting it, would be filling up at once the Measure of our Iniquities to the utmost. Wicked as we have been, and are, yet if we will but, *at least in this our Day, know the Things that belong to our Peace*^m, there is still abundant

^k 1 Sam. xii. 25. ^l Neh. ix. 33, 34. ^m Luke xix. 42.

Room to trust in the gracious Protection, that we have so often experienced: and, provided we can but now bring our Hearts in earnest to fear God, we have no Need to fear Man. What hath hitherto happened, is indeed more than enough to awaken us from that Supineness, which it is astonishing we should have indulged so long; but not at all to make us doubtful concerning the Event, were there only any Prospect, that we should render ourselves fit Objects of our Maker's Favour. For the Sake of a few good, there may be Mercy in Store for the rest. The more of us become so, the greater is the Hope. And would but this National Alarm produce, what undoubtedly Heaven hath designed it for, a National Reformation; we might boldly say to our Enemies, in the Words of holy Writ: *Associate yourselves, O ye People, and ye shall be broken in Pieces: take Counsel together, and it shall come to nought: speak the Word, and it shall not stand: for God is with us, Sanctify therefore the Lord of Hosts, and let him be your Fear, and let him be your Dread, and he shall be for a Sanctuary*^a. For God will save Sion,

^a Is. viii. 9, 10, 13, 14.

and will build the Cities of Judah. The Posterity also of his Saints shall inherit it; and they that love his Name shall dwell therein°. Their Children shall continue, and their Seed shall be established before him°.

° Psalm lxxix. 35, 36.

° Psalm ciii. 8.

S E R M O N V.

(Preached in 1745.)

PHIL. iv. 6, 7.

Be careful for nothing: but in every Thing by Prayer and Supplication, with Thanksgiving, let your Requests be made known unto God.

And the Peace of God, which passeth all Understanding, shall keep your Hearts and Minds, through Christ Jesus.

DANGERS are so constant, and Sufferings so frequent, in human Life, that behaving properly under the Apprehensions and Experience of them, constitutes a very considerable Part of our Business here. But when Providence permits a peculiar Degree of either to be our Lot, it calls us peculiarly to think, what Methods will best preserve us from them, or carry us through them. Now these are of two Sorts: Worldly Prudence, and Re-

ligious Wisdom. The Precepts of the former it is not the Business of this Place to deliver; but to limit and perfect them by the Dictates of the latter: that we may neither endeavour to secure ourselves by acting wrong, nor doubt of Support in acting right. We are apt to look on Religion, very injuriously; as only prescribing disagreeable Duties; whereas it suggests the kindest Advice, and superadds the most comfortable Promises: which cannot be done more completely, in the great Point of moderating Fear and Uneasiness, than it is in the Text: where we have

I. A friendly Caution: *Be careful for nothing.*

II. A most necessary Direction: *But in every Thing by Prayer and Supplication, with Thanksgiving, let your Requests be made known unto God.*

III. An Assurance of the happy Effect, which this Conduct will produce: *And the Peace of God, which passeth all Understanding, shall keep your Hearts and Minds, through Christ Jesus.*

I. A friendly Caution: *Be careful for nothing*: Words, which neither common Reason allow us to take in their utmost Extent, nor Scripture itself. For it every-where demands from us the most earnest Care about the Things of another World: and enjoins, quite as often as it needed, a moderate Care about the Affairs of This. *Being careful* therefore must mean, in the Passage which I have read to you, as an Expression mighty little varied from it, being full of Care, doth for the most Part, in our daily Speech; not a discreet and rational, but a disquieting and tormenting Solitude: and that principally, not concerning our Behaviour, which is the only Thing in our Power; but the Event, which is often entirely out of it. This the Original *Greek* Phrase elsewhere usually signifies, though not always. In the Sixth of *St. Matthew* it is many Times rendered, *Take no Thought*. But there also we must remember, that only what is immoderate was intended to be forbidden: which, it had been happy, if our Translation had more determinately expressed.

Thoughtfulness concerning our Department, our Welfare, that of others, and the Public, so far as it will really be of Use, is a Duty of
indif-

indispensable Obligation. And first acting at Random, then turning our Eyes from the evil Day, when we see it coming, instead of considering how we may avert it, or make the best Provision against it, will prove the surest Way to bring it on with its blackest Horrors. But the contrary Extreme, Anxiety, is both a miserable Feeling in itself, and the Parent of many farther Mischiefs, without any Mixture of Good. It represents every Object of Terror as vastly greater than it is in Truth: and frequently gives far more Pain beforehand, than the Presence of all that we fear, is capable of giving. Nay, it makes us tremble at mere Spectres: and fill us with the most alarming Suspicions, sometimes of what cannot happen, often of what is highly improbable. And yet, were it ever so likely, excessive Dread will do nothing towards preserving us from it. Calm Reflection will instruct and excite us to do every Thing for ourselves, which we are able to do: and the utmost Agonies of Disquiet can never carry us beyond our Abilities. Indeed very commonly vehement Emotions either hinder us from seeing what is fit, or disqualify us from performing it: nay, hurry us into what is very
unfit,

unfit, and prejudicial to the Point, which we have in View.

But were they to leave us otherwise intirely Masters of ourselves, that Eagerness of looking farther than we can see, which they always beget, hath a powerful Tendency to mislead us very unhappily. Dangers, which we think we discern at a Distance, may have no Reality: or if they have, may never draw near. Dangers that are near, may never reach us: and Evils, that have reached us, may vanish on a sudden. These are no Reasons against prudent Forecast: but they are strong Reasons against extracting Wretchedness out of Speculations on Futurity, instead of following quietly and chearfully the proper Business of the present Day; since *we know not what another may bring forth*^a, and consequently require us to contrive or execute, to grieve or rejoice at. *To-morrow*, our blessed Saviour hath told us, *shall take Thought for the Things of itself*^b: Time, as it runs on, will direct us much better than we can guess now, what Precautions we are to take, and what Judgments we are to form, about remote Affairs: and since all, that appears at this Instant likely to fall out, or wise to do, may possibly

^a Prov. xxvii. 1.

^b Matt. vi. 34.

in the next appear quite otherwise; we ought studiously to moderate both our Actions and our Passions, by recollecting the Mutability of the World: which would save us a vast deal of fruitless Labour, and needless Misery. We every one of us think the Sorrows of Life abundantly enough: why then should we multiply them by long Anticipations; and load ourselves at once with Misfortunes present and to come, unmindful of our gracious Lord's important Maxim: *Sufficient unto the Day is the Evil thereof*^c? Had our Maker framed the human Mind in such Manner, that we must have been *always forecasting grievous Things*^d, and suffering every Hour, in Thought, all that through a Course of Years we are to suffer in Reality, and much more; we should certainly have looked on it as very hard Usage. Why then will we bring ourselves into a State, in which if God had placed us, we should have complained of him, as cruel? He hath mercifully hid future Events from us, lest the Foresight of them should make us unhappy. And we pry into them by Conjecture, and dwell upon them by Imagination, that we may be unhappy whether he will or not.

^c Matt. vi. 34.

^d Wisd. xvii. 11.

This, you see, is more than Folly: it is evidently Sin. He intended us to live here in Comfort and Peace: and we are not at Liberty to frustrate his Design, by making ourselves uneasy and wretched. Both Nature and Scripture plainly forbid it. Nor have we the least Ground to hope, that the Fault will be deemed a Punishment severe enough for itself. Many others are accompanied with grievous Misery, to which notwithstanding more hereafter is deservedly threatened. And the Guilt of inordinate Solitude is greater, than we generally apprehend. It implies, not only Disobedience to God, but Distrust in him. It unfits us for the Offices of Piety and of common Life. By dejecting the Spirits, and souring the Temper, it renders us different, in many Respects, from what we should be, to all around us. It leads Persons into strong Temptations, of raising and cheering themselves under their Troubles by false and pernicious Supports, or of seeking Deliverance from them by dishonest Arts and Compliances. It infects others, who see it, with the same Apprehensions: which may produce the same or worse Effects on their Quiet, nay their Innocence. And in Proportion, as discouraging Alarms become epidemical, the

Calamity

Calamity dreaded becomes likely to happen. Still, so much of this wrong Turn, as is really constitutional and unavoidable Weakness, will certainly not be imputed as criminal. And therefore we ought not to double our Uneasiness, by adding to involuntary Anxieties a rigid Condemnation of ourselves for them: but strive against them to the utmost of our Power; and then be satisfied with the Consciousness, that we have done so: only not deceiving our Hearts with a Notion, that we have resisted Fears, which in Truth we have indulged.

But some will say, “How can we resist
 “ them? Must we not of Necessity be terrified
 “ at what we perceive is terrible: be concerned
 “ about what we are sensible is of great Con-
 “ cern to us? Where is the Virtue of pretend-
 “ ing to blind ourselves, or even of doing it
 “ actually, if we could?” None at all certainly. But the Rule prescribed you is, not to shut, but open your Eyes, and contemplate the whole of your Case deliberately and impartially. For perhaps it is not so bad, perhaps not near so bad, as you conceive, though you were to look on it only in a worldly View. And yet were outward Appearances, and our own Strength, all that we had to look at, there would be no
 Wonder,

Wonder, if sometimes our Hearts fainted within us at the Prospect: for the stoutest and the proudest Hearts have fainted, before Us, on like Occasions. But the never-failing Foundation of Comfort is this. A Being infinitely powerful, wise, and benevolent, superintends the Universe continually: these Attributes afford us large Ground of Hope; and, that our own Unworthiness may raise no Doubt, his express Declarations give us full Assurance, that if we fly to him with humble Faith, *he will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able, but will, with the Temptation, also make a Way to escape*^c. The most usual Anxiety of Men is about the daily Necessaries of Life. With Respect to these therefore he condescends to argue with us particularly; and the Argument will hold as well concerning less common Exigencies: that since he sustains the Vegetable Part of the Creation, which can do nothing for itself, and the Animal, which cannot do near so much as we: certainly he will take of Us, on doing what we ought, a Care proportionable to the Superiority of our Nature. For in this lies the Force of our Saviour's Reasoning. And when he saith, *Behold the Fowls of the*

^c 1 Cor. x^d 13.

Air; they sow not; neither do they reap; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them: Are ye not much better than they? He doth not mean, that they take no Pains, and therefore we are to take none. They take a great deal, in seeking Food, and contriving Security against Dangers, for themselves and for their Young, according to the Extent of their Faculties. And we are to take as much, in Proportion to the Extent of ours. But then, as Providence furnishes to Them, so far as consists with its wise Purposes, whatever they need, and cannot acquire by their own Power: the same Providence will certainly watch over Us with more peculiar Tenderness, even in the present State; besides that what we suffer now shall increase our Happiness hereafter. And therefore, since They are easy in Their Condition, well may We in Ours. For it would be strange indeed, if that Order of earthly Beings, which enjoys the greatest Favour beyond all Comparison, should be the only one discontented. Reflect then: where human Care ends, the Divine Care begins. The Duty of To-day is our Business; the Event of To-morrow is our heavenly Father's: and surely you do not wish to remove

f Matt. vi. 26.

it out of his Hands into your own; or surmise, that you can possibly be unsafe, while under the Protection of Him, with whom *the very Hairs of your Head are all numbered*^c. Here then we have a secure Refuge against Inquietude. But let us remember: If, having it, we use it not: if, professing Faith in God, we allow ourselves to be as much disconcerted and perplexed on every Alarm, as they that *have no Hope, and are without God in the World*^b; we either think unworthily of him, or behave quite unsuitably to what we think; and our Guilt is greater, as our Temptation to it is less. When therefore, on being troubled and cast down, we are inclined to lay the Blame on accidental or natural Lowness of Spirits, or whatever Excuse occurs, let us *take Heed, lest there be in us an evil Heart of Unbelief*^d, or Disobedience. If there be, amending That is the Way to *uphold him that was falling, and strengthen the feeble Knees*^e.

But in vain shall we attempt any Thing beneficial to us, if we trust to ourselves for Success. And therefore, to make his Caution effectual, the Apostle subjoins,

^c Matt. x. 30.

^b Eph. ii. 12.

^d Heb. iii. 12.

^e Job iv. 4.

II. A most necessary Direction. *In every Thing by Prayer and Supplication, with Thanksgiving, let your Requests be made known unto God.*

The usual Method is, to be *careful about many Things*¹, and pray about Nothing: but the right one is, to be careful about Nothing, but pray about every Thing, which is of Importance enough to be laid before the Lord of All. The Movements of our Hearts indeed, though unuttered, are clearly discerned by him: and he foresaw from Eternity whatever we should wish on every Occasion. But the Scripture speaks in the Language of Men: and calls that *making known our Requests to God*, which is only expressing before him what he is perfectly acquainted with already, in order to imprint more efficaciously, on ourselves and others, the Sentiments concerning him, which belong to our Condition:

Applying to the Almighty in our Difficulties immediately reminds us, on whom we and all Things depend: and brings it strongly to our Thoughts, that the most threatening Dangers cannot advance one Step farther, than infinite Wisdom sees it proper they should, and infinite

¹ Luke x. 42.

Goodness permits. Placing ourselves in his Presence awes and composes our worldly Fears; not by a servile Dread of him, forcibly overcoming them, and substituting itself, a still worse Terror, in their Stead; but by a filial Reverence, mixed with humble Reliance on his Favour, which calms and revives us in such Manner, that we perceive our Solicitudes to vanish even whilst we are confessing them; and quickly smile at what we shuddered at before. Then besides, venting our Desires to Him, shews us in the fullest Light, which are sinful, and to be repressed, if we hope for Acceptance with him: and begging his Help, must powerfully admonish us, that we are not to think of helping ourselves by Methods displeasing to him; but adhere strictly to our Duty, and be assured it will lead us out of whatever Perplexities it leads us into. *Commit thy Way unto the Lord, and put thy trust in him, and he shall bring it to pass*^m. Further yet, praying to our Father which is in Heaven, leads us to consider him as our common Father: who is concerned, not only for us, but for all our Friends; and expects us to be zealous for the general Good, as well as our own; and on no Account to with-

^m Pf. xxxvii. 5.

draw from the Service of the Body, of which he hath made us Members. Piety therefore excites the truest and firmest public Spirit; but smooths and tempers, at the same Time, that Roughness and Vehemence, which too frequently renders it ineffectual and hurtful, by promoting, as it doth beyond all Things, an humble Opinion of ourselves, and Meekness towards others.

With such Dispositions, we shall be duly qualified for the Mercy we intreat: and they who are, will never fail to receive it. For *this is the Confidence which we have in him, saith the beloved Disciple, that if we ask any Thing according to his Will, he heareth us. And if we know that he heareth us, whatsoever we ask, we know that we have the Petitions which we desired of him*^a. We are sure of the very Favours we beg, if they are conducive to his Glory, and the Happiness of his Creatures: which doubtless the Deliverance of this Nation from its Enemies must be, since we profess and support his holy Truth, would we but penitently conform our Conduct to it. And his long Forbearance under our Provocations gives us Room to expect every Instance of Mercy, in Case of

^a 1 John v. 14, 15.

our Amendment. What indeed the humble Applications of a few may do for others, He only knows. But for themselves they will certainly obtain infinitely greater Benefits, than sharing in the highest Degree of earthly Prosperity. Now the sole Reason of our praying for any Thing is, that we suppose it will be good for us. And therefore we pray for nothing of this World absolutely, but on that Condition. So that if God, who knows best, withholds it because it will be otherwise, he grants our Request in the general, though he refuses it in the particular: and if we are wise, far from being overwhelmed by the severest Dispensations, we shall not only be contented, but glad, in such Measure as human Infirmary and Sympathy permit, that *His Will should be done, not Ours* °.

For this Cause the Apostle, when he might have said, what most People would have thought very sufficient, that we should *make our Requests known unto God* with Resignation, chose to say more, that we should do it *with Thanksgiving*. And indeed we ought to be heartily thankful, not only for the many and great Blessings, temporal and spiritual, national and

° Luke xxii. 42.

personal, which God continues to us in the Midst of his Corrections, (O that we would all think seriously, how many and great they are) but even for his Corrections themselves: and much more for the Alarms and Warnings, the Liftings up of his Rod, which are designed to prevent the Necessity of heavier Judgments. What he doth with this View, though it produce terrifying Apprehensions, is the most real Kindness; the only Kindness, that we permit him at present to shew. Many, we may hope, will be influenced by such awful Notices, to amend their Ways. But at least we need not fail of being influenced ourselves to what is right. And then, whatever the Event be to those around us, to Us it shall be happy: if in no other Respect, yet in That, which, beyond all Comparison, is of the greatest Consequence: *Our light Afflictions which are but for a Moment, shall work out for us a far more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory*^p.

Knowing these Things, well might the Apostle add in the Text

III. An Assurance of the blessed Effect, which raising our Thoughts from Earth to

^p 2 Cor. iv. 17.

Heaven

Heaven will produce. *And the Peace of God, which passeth all Understanding, shall keep your Hearts and Minds, through Christ Jesus.*

Bad Persons, as they have never any well-grounded, have seldom any long-continued Peace of Mind, even in Prosperity: and much less can they hope for it in Troubles and Dangers. If they have not been just and merciful, they are conscious of ill-deserving Behaviour to their Fellow-creatures. If they have not been uniformly virtuous and religious, they know they have acted undutifully and ungratefully to their Creator. If they have not by due Application for Pardon reconciled themselves to Him, the Guilt of their Sins remains upon them: and the whole Creation is a Weapon in his Hands against them. They may be stupidly unmoved by these Considerations: they may affect to hide their Convictions, or strive to run away from them into whatever presents itself. But usually the liveliest and strongest natural Spirits will sink under them, in a Time of severe Trial. Or supposing they do not; the more obstinately such Persons hold out, and the more gaily they go on, the heavier in all Likelihood will be their present Ruin, but the dread-

fuller certainly their final Sentence. For sooner or later, and with full Recompence for ever so long Delay, the solemn and repeated Denunciation must be verified, *Whatsoever a Man soweth, that shall he also reap* ⁹.

But the obedient and devout Soul, which looks beyond worldly Appearances, and rests itself on the divine Providence, is intitled, whatever outward Commotions happen, to the truest, the steadiest, the most delightful inward Composedness: to that *Peace of God*, that Sense of being in Friendship with Him, that Feeling of Comfort and Joy flowing from him, *which passeth all Understanding*; exceeds the Conceptions of those who have not experienced it, and shall exceed hereafter the present Conceptions of those who have. Yet the sincerely Good may not constantly enjoy a very high Degree of This. The Imperfection of their Goodness, the Lowness of their Spirits, Errors of Judgment, sudden Alarms, Afflictions uncommonly grievous, may lessen, may interrupt it: or God may, for secret Reasons of infinite Wisdom, *hide his Face from them* ^r for a Time. But, ordinarily speaking, their Tranquillity and Consolation will be found proportionable to their

⁹ Gal. vi. 7.

^r Psal. xiii. 1.

Improvements in real Religion. And, though undoubtedly Seasons of Difficulty and Hazard will give some Uneasiness to the best Minds; yet no more, than is moderate and very tolerable: no more, than leaves them, on the whole, in a peaceful State; and able to *cast*, if not *all*, as they should, yet the most of *their Care on Him, who careth for them*.*

Let us therefore try ourselves by this Rule, whether we have indeed practical Faith and Confidence in the Almighty. And if not, let us instantly labour to obtain it, by a total For-
saking of our Iniquities, which have separated between Us and Him†, and humble Addresses *for Grace to Help in Time of Need*‡. The common Resource is to the Help of Man alone: *there be many that say, who will shew us any Good?* but the Language of a well-instructed Heart is, *Lord, lift thou up the Light of thy Countenance upon us*§. *Some put their Trust in Chariots, and some in Horses: but let us remember the Name of the Lord our God*¶: provide for our Security with the utmost Prudence, and defend our Cause with the boldest Zeal: but still rely on Him alone, *who giveth Victory unto*

* 1 Pet. v. 7.

† Isa. lix. 2.

‡ Heb. iv. 16.

§ Psal. iv. 6, 7.

¶ Psal. xx. 7.

Kings^y. Every other Aid may fail: but God cannot. *He is able to save by many or by few*^z: *to break the Arm of the Wicked*^a, and *disappoint the Devices of the Crafty*^b. *He stilleth the Raging of the Sea, the Noise of its Waves, and the Madness of the People*^c. Under his Conduct, the *Things*, that seem the most *against us*^d, may prove the very Means of our Deliverance: and the fiercest Storms drive the Ship with more Speed into a safe Harbour. Therefore *say to them, that are of a fearful Heart, Be strong, fear not: behold your God will come with a Re-compence; he will come and save you*^e. All, who are penetrated with these Truths, tho' timorous naturally, and while the Danger is distant, shall when it draws near, *out of Weakness be made strong, and wax valiant in Fight*^f: not with a tumultuous and transitory animal Courage, but a calm and stedfast Resolution, *keeping, as the Apostle expresses it, their Hearts and Minds*, quieting their Passions, fixing their Judgments, and by Consequence determining their Behaviour. The Reasonings of such Persons will be those of the Psalmist: *God is our Hope and Strength, a very present Help in Trou-*

^y Psal. cxliv. 10.^z 1 Sam. xiv. 6.^a Psal. x. 15.^b Job v. 12.^c Psal. lxxv. 7.^d Gen. xlii. 36.^e Isa. xxxv. 4.^f Heb. xi. 34.

ble. Therefore will we not fear, though the Earth be moved, and though the Hills be carried into the Midst of the Sea: though the Waters rage and swell, and though the Mountains shake at the Tempest of the same. The Rivers of the Flood thereof shall make glad the City of God, the holy Place of the Tabernacle of the Most High. God is in the Midst of her, therefore shall she not be removed: God shall help her, and that right early. The Nations make much ado, and the Kingdoms are moved: but God sheweth his Voice, and the Earth shall melt away. The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our Refuge^z. These are the Grounds, and there cannot be stronger, on which a good Person, unless he is wanting to himself, will not be afraid of any evil Tidings: for his Heart standeth fast, and believeth in the Lord^h. Nay, were it not the Pleasure of God to deliver his People from their Enemies, even in that Case, they would be enabled to suffer according to his Will, and commit the keeping of their Souls to him in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator¹.

But then we must ever observe, by whose Means alone this unconquerable Firmness, this inconceivable Serenity, is to be acquired. *The*

^z Psal. xlv. 1—7. ^h Psal. cxii. 7. ¹ 1 Pet. iv. 19.

Peace of God shall keep your Hearts and Minds, through Christ Jesus. For as, without Faith in Religion, Persons very often have no Refuge at all in the Storms and Troubles that overtake them; so, without Faith in the Christian Religion, they are liable still to most uneasy and disheartening Fluctuations; from Doubts, how far Providence extends; Doubts of their own Title to Forgiveness and Favour Doubts of the Existence and Duration of a future Reward: to all which the Gospel hath put the happiest End; informing Mankind with Certainty of every Thing that could induce them to act right with chearful Perseverance; and confirming the highest Expectations, which they can possibly entertain, by that equally convincing and affecting Argument: *He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all Things^k?* Thus then we have Hope, as an Anchor of the Soul, sure and stedfast, and which entereth into that within the Veil; lays hold on the promised State of invisible Glory, whither the Forerunner is entered for us, to take Possession already in our Name, even *Jesus*^l: whose gracious Words to his Disciples we ought to have constantly pre-

^k Rom. viii. 32.

^l Heb. vi. 19, 20.

sent to our Thoughts, when Clouds arise and darken our Prospect, hang over our Heads, and seem ready to burst upon us. *These Things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have Peace. In the World ye shall have Tribulation: but be of good Cheer: I have overcome the World^m. Peace I leave with you: my Peace I give unto you: let not your Heart be troubled, neither let it be afraidⁿ.*

^m John xvi. 33.

ⁿ John xiv. 27.

S E R M O N VI.

(Preached in 1746, on the Victory at
CULLODEN.)

2 COR. i. 9, 10.

*But we had the Sentence of Death in ourselves,
that we should not trust in ourselves, but in
God which raiseth the Dead:*

*Who delivered us from so great a Death, and
doth deliver; in whom we trust, that he will
yet deliver us.*

OUR gracious Sovereign having appointed,
of his own mere Motion and Personal
Piety, a solemn Acknowledgment to
Heaven, for our late Victory over the Rebels,
to be inserted in the Prayers of this Day, per-
mit me, as far as I am able, to be *a Helper of
your Joy* on that happy Occasion. And may
God effectually dispose us all to *rejoice before*

* Verse 24.

Him^b in so wise and religious a Manner, as may lay a sure Foundation for his rejoicing over Us to do us Good^c; for his going on to comfort us again, after the Time that he hath afflicted Us, the Years wherein we have suffered Adversity^d.

I hope it may promote this blessed End, if we consider our Condition in the same Views in which the Text places before us that of the Apostle St. Paul, comprehending an Account,

I. Of his Danger: *A great Death, of which he had the Sentence within himself.*

II. Of his Defender from it: *God, who had delivered, and did still deliver him.*

III. Of the Reasons, for which he was first permitted to fall into this Danger, then brought out of it: *that he might not trust in Himself, but might trust in God, which raiseth the Dead:* as accordingly he declares he doth, for Deliverances yet future.

I. His Danger: *A great Death, of which he had the Sentence within himself.* Death, being the Extremity of temporal Sufferings, in the Hebrew Idiom, which expresses every Thing

^b Deut. xii. 12.

^c Jer. xxxii. 41.

^d Psal. xc. 15.

strongly,

strongly, signifies any very dreadful Evil or Hazard. Thus *Pharoah*, on the Plague of Locusts, begs of *Moses*: *Entreat the Lord your God, that he may take away from me this Death only*^e. But more especially Hazard of Life goes under that Name. Whence *David* speaks of himself, as *counted with them that go down into the Pit; free among the Dead, like the Slain that lie in the Grave*^f. Now *St. Paul*, to use his own Phrase towards the latter End of this Epistle, had been *in Deaths often*^g. And therefore the Term, *so great a Death*, must denote, that on the Occasion, to which he refers, his Peril was imminent, peculiarly terrible, and, humanly speaking, unavoidable. His own Words are, *we were pressed out of Measure, above Strength, insomuch that we despaired even of Life*^h. Farther Particulars cannot now be discovered, excepting one, which he adds, of small Consequence to Us, that this Trouble came to him in *Asia*. But by his Manner of notifying it, and the Warmth of his Description, it must have been recent, since he wrote the former Epistle.

^e Exod. x. 17.

^g Chap. xi. 23.

^f Psal. lxxxviii. 4, 5.

^h Ver. 8.

How lately we have been in like Distress, you all know. How *great a Death* we must have suffered, had our Enemies prevailed; how total a Destruction of every Thing valuable to us on Earth, that can be destroyed by Man; I endeavoured to shew you at the very Beginning of their Attempt: and the whole Body of the Nation, God be thanked, have expressed the strongest Detestation of it. May neither the Horror of the impending Ruin, nor the frightful Probability there was of its overwhelming us, ever be forgot. Recollect, I intreat you, what your successive Apprehensions have been for many Months past: on the early and intire, and easy Defeat of our Forces by the Rebels; on the defenceless Condition in which the Island then was; on their passing afterwards, unhurt, by two Armies posted to intercept them, and approaching towards this Capital; on the Prospect of powerful Assistance to them from Abroad; on the credible, though happily false, Intelligence of our being actually invaded; on the safe Retreat of our domestic Enemies into the North, to join, as it was affirmed and believed, with foreign Succours there; on our second Disappointment in Battle, a fatal one it might have proved; on the con-

tinual

tinual Dangers, to which that heroic Prince was exposed, whose Presence and Conduct, and Courage and Activity, were so essentially necessary for animating our dispirited Troops; on the reassembling and Successes of our Foes, after a seeming Despondency and Dispersion; on the Largeness of their Numbers, the Advantages of their Situation; and lastly, on the strong Report of what was but too possible, a complete Victory obtained by them, when indeed one had been obtained over them, of which we were ignorant. Had we not often, during this Period, *the Sentence of Death within ourselves?* Were we not *troubled on every Side; without were Fightings, within were Fears¹; Mens Hearts failing them for Fear, and for looking after those Things which were coming on the Earth²?* And had we been asked, at some Junctures especially, as the Prophet was, in Language akin to that of the Text, *Can these dry Bones live?* Can this exhausted Nation rise up again, and shake off the Pressures, from every Quarter, under which it labours? What other Reply, at best, could we have made, than His? *O Lord God, thou knowest³.* For surely the wisest of Men did not know: nor could the

¹ 2 Cor. vii. 5.² Luke xxi. 26.³ Ezek. xxxvii. 3.

bravest answer for the Event, after it had been so frequently contrary to what we thought the most rational Expectations. Of this only there was Certainty, that we had the loudest Call to adopt the Psalmist's Prayer: *O God, thou hast cast us off, and scattered us; thou hast also been displeas'd: O turn thee unto us again. Thou hast moved the Land, and divided it: heal the Breaches thereof, for it shaketh^m.* And praised be his Name, that we can now add the Words which follow those: *Thou hast given a Token for such as fear thee, that they may triumph because of thy Truthⁿ.*

And we have accordingly triumphed in this comfortable Earnest of Prosperity, returning to us after so long an Absence, with a Joy as cordial and universal, as perhaps this Nation ever expressed. May both our Friends and our Enemies know it, and draw the natural Conclusions from it, to the Encouragement of the former, the Dismay of the latter. But then, if we triumph only for the Safety of our Persons and Properties, and not *because of God's Truth*, and pure Religion; if we rejoice, and overlook the Author of our Joy, *the Giver of all Victory*; we shall fall inexcusably short of our Duty, and

^m Psal. lxxv. 1, 2. ⁿ Verse 4.

the Example set us by the Apostle: who sub-joins immediately to his Account of the Danger, which he had escaped,

II. A thankful Mention of his Defender from it: *God, who had delivered, and did still deliver him.*

It is evidently both as easy for the Supreme Being, and as worthy of him, to govern the Universe, as to create it. Indeed the only Purpose, for which Divine Wisdom could create it, must be to conduct every Part of it to a right End: and the smallest Parts are no more beneath his Attention, than the greatest; for He is infinitely above all. What Reason thus teaches, holy Scripture confirms with important Additions: informing us, that a future Day is appointed for the full and final Display of his Justice and Goodness towards the Children of Men; but that in the mean Time his Providence is active, so far as the Constitution of Things established by him permits, and not the least Occurrence comes to pass, without the superintending Care of *our Father, which is in Heaven*. We are often indeed ignorant, by what Means he acts: for he is able to influence,

° Matt. x. 29.

unperceived, not only the Course of inanimate Nature, but the Minds of rational Agents, and to produce the greatest Events from the slightest Occasions. We are often equally ignorant of his Views in acting: for *we know but in Part*^v; whereas *all Things are naked and open to the Eyes of Him, with whom we have to do*⁹. The Imperfection of our Discernment therefore must be no Hindrance to our Faith: but our plain Duty is to reverence implicitly those Proceedings of His, the Manner and Grounds of which are hid from us: as well as to pay him more particular Acknowledgments on Account of such as we understand.

For in many Cases the Hand of God is clearly visible: but no-where more than in the Correction, and yet Preservation of *States professing his holy and eternal Truth*^r: as indeed there cannot be on Earth fitter Objects of his righteous Providence. Thus in all Ages he hath watched over his Church. Thus more especially he hath treated this Church and Land, ever since the Reformation: *visiting our Offences with the Rod, and our Sin with Scourges; nevertheless his loving Kindness hath he not utterly*

^v 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 12.

⁹ Heb. iv. 13.

^r Office for November 5.

taken from us, nor suffered his Truth to fail'. Many a Time have they fought against me from my Youth up, may Israel now say; yea, many a Time have they afflicted me from my Youth up, but they have not prevailed against me. The Ploughers have ploughed upon my Back, and made long Furrows: but the righteous Lord hath hewn the Snares of the Ungodly in Pieces'. And surely in the Troubles, which we have undergone of late, a pious and thoughtful Mind may trace evident Footsteps of Divine Interposition. Why else, on the one Hand, did our Enemies increase, prevail, and escape, so surprisngly, for so long together? Why, on the other, did they so unaccountably miss the fairest and most palpable Opportunities of undoing us effectually; neither pursuing at Home the Advantages they had gained, nor procuring the Succours, which their Friends Abroad in all Prudence ought to have sent them? And why, lastly, have they allowed us to obtain so decisive a Victory, in a few Moments, at the Expence of so little Blood lost on our Side, (would God their own, poor deluded Wretches, could have been spared) when both from the Encouragement of their preceding Successes, and the Necessity of exert-

* Pf. lxxxix. 32, 33.

† Pf. cxxix. 1—4.

ing themselves to the utmost in this Crisis of their Fate, a very obstinate Engagement was to have been expected? Whence have these Things happened thus, but that *God ruleth in the Kingdom of Men*^u? *The Lord maketh the Devices of the People to be of none Effect, and casteth out the Counsels of Princes. But the Counsel of the Lord shall endure for ever, and the Thoughts of his Heart from Generation to Generation. Blessed are the People, whose God is the Lord Jehovah; and blessed are the Folk, that he hath chosen to be his Inheritance*^w.

Let us learn therefore, and acknowledge, for it is a very bad Sign if we are unwilling, that both our Dangers and our Deliverances are from above. This will in no Degree lessen the Guilt of our Enemies: for they were prompted by their own Wickedness unjustly to attempt, what Heaven for Our Wickedness might justly have permitted. Nor can it ever be a Plea for yielding tamely to their Enterprizes, that God makes Use of them to serve his Purposes. We know not the Extent of those Purposes; which he will certainly execute, as far as they extend: and are therefore to do our evident Duty. If he suffers our Adversaries to attack our most

^u Dan. v. 21.^w Pf. xxxiii. 10, 11, 12.

valuable Rights, he both impowers and commands Us to defend them: and they, who consider themselves as his Instruments for this End, will act with unspeakably more Faithfulness and Zeal, than such as are induced by worldly Motives alone; which frequently other worldly Motives, and sometimes very trifling ones, may outweigh: whereas there is no Counterbalance to a Principle of Conscience. Nor doth it in the least detract from the Merit of our Soldiers and Commanders, that *the Salvation of the Righteous cometh of the Lord, who also is their Strength in the Time of Trouble*^r. Every Pre-eminence is more estimable for being his Gift; every great Action, for being done by his Guidance: and the highest of those, who have wrought this Deliverance for us, are surely the most deeply sensible, that the noblest of their Distinctions is, being employed by their Maker, and Fellow-Workers with him, for the Support of genuine Religion, virtuous Liberty, and public Happiness. This Way of Thinking will inspire the most composed Moderation, along with the most undaunted Bravery: and whoever makes it the Basis of his Conduct, will be intitled to all Demonstrations

^r Pf. xxxvii. 40.

of Respect from Men; and yet abundantly contented with *the Honour, that cometh from God only*¹.

Every Thing that befalls us therefore, adverse or prosperous, let us look on it as proceeding from the just and good Pleasure of our heavenly Father: humble ourselves before him in all our Afflictions; and, which is our present Concern, be thankful to him in all our Rejoicings. *If the Lord himself had not been on our Side, let Israel now say, if the Lord himself had not been on our Side, when Men rose up against us: they had swallowed us up quick, when they were so wrathfully displeas'd at us: yea, the Waters had drowned us,—the deep Waters of the Proud had gone over our Soul. But praised be the Lord, who hath not given us over for a Prey unto their Teeth*². This is the Language, that expresses the Truth of our Case: and it is of infinite Importance, that we own it unanimously. For the Sovereign Disposer of the Universe will neither be denied nor forgot, without vindicating the Glory of his Name: and he hath long ago pronounced the Sentence: *They regard not in their Mind the Works of the Lord, nor the Operation of his Hands; therefore shall he*

¹ John v. 44.

² Pf. cxxiv. 1—5.

break them down, and not build them up^a. But the Duty and the Necessity of such Regard will more distinctly appear, by considering,

III. The Reasons, for which the Apostle was first brought into Danger, then brought out of it: that he might learn by the former *not to trust in himself*; and by the latter, *to trust in God, which raiseth the Dead*.

Now if there was Need of improving St. Paul in this Lesson, much more is there of teaching it others. And never perhaps was any Nation, at least which made Profession of Faith in Christ, so deplorably inattentive to it, as ours. Our Wealth, our Fleets, our Valour, have been for many Years past, till very lately, our continual Boast. And in vain had the Scripture forewarned us: *Cursed is He, that trusteth in Man, and maketh Flesh his Arm, and whose Heart departeth from the Lord*^b. How then should God convince us of so pernicious an Error; and shew us, that we were not sufficient of ourselves? By the very Method, which he hath taken. *He hid his Face, and we were troubled*^c: Storms rose around us; and the most

^a Psal. xxviii. 6.

^b Jer. xvii. 5.

^c Psal. civ. 29.

dangerous,

dangerous, where we thought there was nothing to produce any: our Navy proved no Protection; our Valour sunk into panic Terrors; our *Riches* were on the Point of *making themselves Wings and flying away*^d; a general Bankruptcy threatened us; and what the *Kings of the Earth, and all the Inhabitants of the World would not have believed, the Adversary and the Enemy were near entering into the Gates of Jerusalem*^e. Who could possibly have apprehended that the landing of six or seven Men should have put this great Nation into such Confusion? Who could ever have conceived, that the Disturbers of our Peace should have multiplied and conquered as they did; should have advanced and retreated, and ranged at Will through our Land, with so perfect Security, for so long a Time? And what is all this, but a Call from God to know ourselves, and abase our Pride before him: a practical Declaration, *that no Flesh shall glory in his Presence*^f.

But necessary as this Instruction is, yet singly it is not enough. When irreligious Persons have found by Experience, that they cannot rely on their own Strength, they have no other left to rely on: and so are tempted to despair in their Minds, to fail in their Duty, to seek

^d Prov. xxiii. 5.

^e Lam. iv. 12.

^f 1 Cor. i. 29.

Refuge in cowardly and treacherous Artifices for their own Preservation. But very different are the Sentiments of the pious Man's Heart. Let ever so unexpected Calamities happen, let ever so alarming Dangers approach, with ever so little Appearance of surmounting them: still he knows, that nothing can be so dangerous, as to desert the Post, in which God hath placed him; and that *He, who is faithful unto Death, shall receive a Crown of Life*^b. At the same Instant therefore, that he saith, *There be many that fight against me, O thou Most Higbest,* he is enabled to say also, *nevertheless, though I am sometime afraid, yet put I my Trust in Thee*^b. And this is the Spirit, which God intends to excite, by sending, after extreme Perils, remarkable and sudden Deliverances. From these it is natural to learn Faith in Him, *that raises the Dead*, that restores from the most helpless Condition; and since *he hath delivered*, to form reviving Hopes, that *he will yet deliver*; which we may and ought to do now. He hath given us a Victory speedier, cheaper, completer, than we could even have flattered ourselves with. He hath given it by the Means of a young Prince, whose confessed Abilities, vigilant At-

^a Rev. ii. 10.

^b Psal. lvi. 2, 3.

tention,

tention, unwearied Diligence, and intrepid Firmness, on all Occasions, as well as his wonderful Success on the present, afford us the justest Ground of Persuasion, that he is chosen by Providence for the Service and Support of his Father, his Family, his Country. And the same God, who hath *begun to shew his mighty Hand*¹, can, with the same Ease, accomplish his good Work, and bring it to Perfection.

But then, alas! what avails it that he can, unless we have Cause to trust that he will? And whence shall we have this? Thankfulness for past Mercies undoubtedly is the Way to secure future. And just now we seem in earnest thankful. But if our Gratitude prove to be superficial and short-lived, like that of the *Jews, They sang Praise unto him: but within a while they forgot his Works, they would not abide his Counsel*; what can we expect else, than Judgments like theirs? *Then he lift up his Hand against them, to overthrow them*^k. Our State, though vastly altered for the better, is still a very undesirable, indeed a very melancholy one. Our Burthens are unavoidably augmenting, and our Strength wasting. Foreign Force may soon

¹ Deut. iii. 24.

^k Psal. cvi. 12, 13, 26.

renew our intestine Commotions: or even, without their Intervention, subject us all directly to itself. The Failures of our Friends give us, Year after Year, new Reason to say with the Psalmist: *O be Thou our Help in Trouble: for vain is the Help of Man^a. Put not your Trust in Princes, nor in any Child of Man: for there is no Help in them. Blessed is He, that hath the God of Jacob for his Help, and whose Hope is in the Lord his God^m. But we cannot hope for the Continuance of his Protection, unless we answer the Intention of it: which the Nature of the Thing, as well as Holy Writ, assures us is, *that being delivered out of the Hands of our Enemies, we may serve him without Fearⁿ*. It is not then, that we may sin against him without Fear; that we may return securely to the Follies and Vices, the Impiety and Profaneness, from which we abstained, while his Hand lay heavy upon us. Then we professed to observe Days of Fasting and Prayer. And what was the Language of them? “Spare us, good Lord, that we may safely go on to be as bad as we have been, and worse?” Surely not. Some indeed expressed, even in the Midst of Danger, an open Scorn of them: others*

^a Psal. lx. 11.^m Psal. cxlvi. 2, 4.ⁿ Luke i. 74.

were evidently kept from it by mere outward Decency. Many however were awakened, spoke and thought seriously, resolved well, prayed heartily. But are they not most of them already, or shall we not find them soon, relapsed again into their old Neglect? For such hath always been the Course of human Nature, unless carefully restrained by conscientious Vigilance. *When he slew them, they sought him, and turned them early, and inquired after God: and they remembered, that God was their Strength, and the high God their Redeemer. Nevertheless, they did but flatter him with their Mouth, and dissembled with him in their Tongue. For their Heart was not whole with him: neither continued they stedfast in his Covenant.* After this Feint of Reformation, they grew, as Men always do, wickeder than before. And I beg you attend to the final Consequence. *When God saw this, he was wroth, and took sore Displeasure at Israel: He delivered their Power into Captivity; and their Beauty into the Enemy's Hand.*

If therefore it be asked, what we shall do to shew our Thankfulness acceptably, the Answer is plain: *Walk in all the Commandments and*

• P^sal. lxxviii. 34—37.

• Ver. 60, 62.

Ordinances of the Lord blameless^a; but practise those with more especial Zeal, which either our Circumstances particularly require, or our Hearts tell us we have particularly transgressed.

Common Prudence is one Part of our Duty; which we have unaccountably slighted. We have increased Amusements and Gaities to a Degree unexampled, just when Providence hath called us most loudly to thoughtful Consideration. We have increased Expensiveness to an equal Degree, when perhaps our own Fortunes, but certainly those of Multitudes, whom our Example tempts and often almost forces to Imitation, are incapable of bearing it. And both these Indiscretions have produced personal Miseries and national Inconveniencies without Number. We have disregarded, and affected to disregard, the Care of our Families, and the proper Business of our several Employments, though sometimes perhaps important ones, not only to indulge our Appetites, but to gratify our Caprices: Behaviour, in every Rank and Station, fruitful of Mischief; but in the higher, of most dreadful and extensive Mischief. In

^a Luke i. 6.

Matters of national Concern, we have followed our private Interests, Resentments, Friendships, instead of Truth, and Right, and general Good. We have framed and supported uselefs and hurtful Distinctions and Divisions; and been unjustly vehement in mutual Reproaches; till our Enemies were encouraged to fancy, that one half of us was ready to join them. We have vilified our Governors, till we had almost disowned the Blessings of Government: and it was very near being too late, that our Affection to an Establishment, on which our whole Happiness depends, revived, after an Indifference, that foreboded immediate Ruin. Let us never forget more what we have been so seasonably convinced of now: but always esteem as highly our Laws and Liberties, and the august House that secures them, as we did in that Hour, when the Hazard of losing them was most imminent. But let us amend in every other Point also: and while there is yet *Space to repent*^r, become a sober-minded, frugal, industrious, honest, and united People. For we cannot else continue a free one: neither the Justice of God,

^r Rev. ii. 21.

nor the Connections of human affairs will permit it.

These then are fundamental Rules of private Prudence. With those of public Wisdom we have no Concern here, beyond two particulars. The first is our Obligation to pray, that God would incline those, who are in Authority over us, to consider seriously what have been the Causes of our Troubles, and direct them to proper Remedies: would enable them to preserve, both in Punishments and Precautions, the true Medium between too great Severity and too great Indulgence: would instruct them, how to reconcile all that wish well to the Community; and how to prevent others from renewing any more our Sufferings, or their own. The Second is, our consequent Obligation to distrust our own Judgment, rather than theirs, in Matters of such Difficulty; and to use our faithful Endeavours, that what they determine may become effectual.

But how rightly soever we are disposed in these Respects, if we continue to entertain the same Contempt of Religion, which we have manifested for a long Time past, it is in vain to *trust, that God will continue to deliver us.*

How much, or how little Forbearance he may exercise, cannot be said: but sooner or later, *except we repent, we must perish**. For, let us think of it or not, He is the Ruler of the World: and he will approve himself to be such, by inflicting on those, who slight him, the Vengeance they deserve. Indeed, could he leave them to themselves; as *the Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom**, so casting it off is the Inlet of Folly. Religious Motives are the only ones, that can, in all Cases, either prompt to what is right, or restrain from what is wrong, with sufficient Force: and when this Tie is broken, no other will hold. Reason plainly shews it: Scripture hath repeatedly foretold it: the Experience of all Ages confirms it: and there is no Room left for us to carry the Trial further, without utter Destruction. We have been sinking for a great while, in Proportion as we grew vicious and profane, till at last we were plunged in the very Depth of Distress. Once more however, after seeming quite rejected, we have received a kind Encouragement. But if we let Judgments and Mercies

* Luke xiii. 3.

* Psal. cxi. 10. Prov. ix. 10.

both be lost upon us; what can there remain, but final Ruin?

Think then with yourselves, why should we not now return to God? Gratitude is a generous Principle of Action: and he hath furnished us with an Opportunity for it. Hope is a nobler one than Fear alone. And who can tell, what Hope there may be yet for this Nation, would we but apply to our offended Father with virtuous Penitence? He can raise us Friends where we least expected it, and change the Hearts of our bitterest Adversaries. For *he refraineth the Spirit of Princes, and is wonderful among the Kings of the Earth*^v. *When the Ways of a Man please the Lord, he maketh even his Enemies to be at Peace with him*^w. But if their Enmity continues, he can check, he can break their Power, at its very Height: and *strengthen the Hands*^x, direct the Counsels, prosper the Undertakings of his People; so that *no Man shall be able to stand before them*^y. *For His is the Greatness, and the Glory, and the Victory, and the Majesty*^z: *For the Kingdom is the Lord's and*

^v Psal. lxxvi. 12.

^w Prov. xvi. 7.

^x Neh. vi. 9.

^y Josh. i. 5.

^z 1 Chron. xxix. 11.

He is the Governor amongst the Nations^a. Let it be thy Pleasure, O Lord, to deliver us: make Haste, O God, to help us. Let all those that seek thee, be joyful and glad in thee: and such as love thy Salvation say alway, The Lord be praised^b.

^a Pſal. xxii. 28.

^b Pſal. xl. 16, 19.

S E R M O N VII.

(Preached *October 9, 1746*, on the Day appointed for a General Thanksgiving for the Suppression of the Rebellion.)

J O H N V. 14.

Afterward Jesus findeth him in the Temple, and said unto him, Behold, thou art made whole: Sin no more, lest a worse Thing come unto thee.

AFTER seven yearly Fasts, we have now through God's Mercy, before we have deserved it, one Day of general Thanksgiving: and surely our Concern is to employ it so, that we may hope for more. Now there can be no wiser or kinder Direction for this Purpose, than that of our Lord in the Text. He had just healed the Person to whom

he speaks, and therefore certainly did not mean to use him harshly in these Words: but indeed to shew him still greater Goodness, than he had done already; as much greater, as Spiritual and Eternal Welfare is than Temporal. His Cure had been the heaviest of Misfortunes to him, had he behaved improperly upon it. But *Jesus found him in the Temple*, whither probably he went with a devout Heart, to give God Praise. This promised well concerning him: yet by no Means rendered a strong Warning to him superfluous. Permit me therefore, finding You, and God be thanked that I find so many of you, in the Temple on a like Occasion, to treat you in a like Manner. And think it not strange, I beseech you, if at present you hear not solely the Voice of Joy, though never was a juster Occasion for it, but are exhorted, even now, to *serve the Lord in Fear, and rejoice unto him with Reverence*^a. I hope many Teachers of his Word will dwell this Day on the same Subject: for the Advice, here given by our gracious Master, comprehends every Thing that our Condition requires.

^a Psal. ii. 11.

I. A thankful Sense of the Blessing, which we have received. *Behold, thou art made whole.*

II. A firm Resolution of virtuous Obedience in Return for it. *Sin no more.*

III. A prudent Consideration of the Danger of behaving otherwise. *Lest a worse Thing come unto thee.*

I. A thankful Sense of the Blessing, which we have received. *Behold, thou art made whole.*

At this Time last Year, and for many Months after, we had a very afflicting Sense of the Judgments, that threatened us: the whole Nation had it, and with the utmost Cause. Our Religion, our Liberties, our Lives, our public Independence, our private Properties, were all at Stake. Our Forces were few, unsuccessful, and disheartened: the Rebels were numerous, flushed with Victory, and increasing. Then besides what appeared, we knew not how much more Evil we had to apprehend, from Abroad or at Home, from the Fury of our Enemies, from the Coldness of our Friends. The Danger too was no less imminent than great: and must soon crush us, if not soon averted. We saw, and felt, and trembled at it; we exerted ourselves against it, with a Spirit, never known
amongst

amongst us before: and God forbid we should have forgotten, God forbid we should ever forget, the Impressions that we had so lately, first, of the Terrors impending over us, then of the Felicity of their sudden Dispersion.

It is true, we are not yet perfectly *whole*. Far from it, Heaven knows. But what would we have given once for so happy an Approach towards it, as we now possess? Our domestic Foes are fallen in Battle, or cut off by Justice, or driven into other Lands, or absconding in Corners of their own, impoverished and disarmed, and taught by Experience neither to rely on themselves, nor their faithless Allies. Our Soldiery have recovered their antient Courage and Character. The Nation in general hath united in active Loyalty: we are known and trusted one by another; known and dreaded by our Adversaries, who had strangely mistaken our intestine Divisions, bad as they were, for something much worse. Our Distemper is at least expelled from our Vitals, and driven to the extreme Parts. We have Notice, we have Time, to provide against a Return of it: and possibly at present *France* may be feeling from us, in her own Dominions, a small Share of the Sufferings, which She projected for Ours, while

while We are enjoying in Peace all that we feared to lose. Whatever we may want therefore to make our Happiness complete, we ought to be most deeply sensible, that our Portion of it is remarkably large: so large, that there is not surely a Nation upon Earth, with which any one of us, in the Midst of all that we have to complain of and lament, would be willing on the whole to change Conditions.

But then, as often as we consider to how comfortable a Degree we are *whole*, we should always recollect, by what Means we were *made whole*. Our Saviour was not afraid the poor Man, whom he cured, should forget that he had regained the Use of his Limbs, but how he had regained it. And if He, who had been miraculously healed, yet had need of being reminded to whom he owed his Health: much more should we, who have been saved by the ordinary Methods of Providence, be careful to fix it in our Hearts, whence the inestimable Benefit was derived. And here let us allow their full Proportion of Praise, even to the human Means: to the Justice and Mildness of his Majesty's Government, and the Prospect of continued Security and Tranquillity under his Descendants; Blessings, which the Risque of
losing

losing excited the most vigorous Efforts for preserving; to the Valour, the Prudence, the Vigilance, the Activity of his illustrious Son; to the Bravery and Indignation, thus inspired into his Officers and Troops; to the unexampled Unanimity, Zeal, and Liberality of his faithful Subjects, the Nobility, the Gentry, the Clergy, the Commonalty of the Realm. Let us ever acknowledge our Obligations to the Merits of all these. But still let us remember, that Men are only Instruments in the Hand of the Almighty. We have owned this all along by our Prayers: let us own it sincerely in our Thanksgivings also; and not receive, without suitable Gratitude, what we begged with such uncommon Earnestness. It is just as true at this Hour, as it was then, that *except the Lord keep the City, the Watchman waketh but in vain*^b. From his Displeasure came our Danger: from his compassionate Goodness, our Deliverance. *Therefore despise not either the Chastenings or the Mercies of the Almighty. For he maketh sore and bindeth up: he woundeth, and his Hands make whole*^c. It cannot be less criminal towards God than Men, it is unspeakably more, to ask assistance, and when we have had it, not

^b Psal. cxxvii. 2.

^c Job v. 17, 18.

acknowledge it. He doth not indeed want our Acknowledgments: but he hath still an equal Right to them; and that he requires them not for his own Sake, but for ours, is surely no Reason, why we should with-hold them.

But you will say, “ We do acknowledge “ God’s Mercy in delivering us, and will never “ deny it.” But if after a While you never think of it more, you might almost as well deny it. Or if you think of it, and are not moved by it, that is worse than forgetting it. Or suppose you have ever so warm a Feeling of his Favours, yet if you refuse to make a proper Return for them, this is worst of all. And what Return doth he demand? Some hard and unnatural, or expensive and ruinous Service? No: the most reasonable Thing in itself, and the most beneficial to us and our Fellow-Creatures, that possibly can be: what the Text expresses,

II. A firm Resolution of virtuous Obedience.

Behold, thou art made whole: sin no more. God hath been gracious to you: be dutiful to him. Sin is at all Times equally absurd and ill-deserving. It is setting up our own perverse Will against the Authority of our Maker and Sovereign Lord; our own Passions and Caprices,
against

against the Wisdom of our heavenly Father: thinking, that we can prosper in Opposition to the Almighty; or if not, preferring Rebellion and Misery to Fidelity and Happiness. But to sin on, directly in the Face of distinguishing Mercies, just vouchsafed, this is the most shocking Aggravation of the worst Thing in the World: a Crime so heinous, that perhaps you may resent being thought bad enough to need a Caution against it. But the impotent Man, whom our Saviour healed, was not, that we know, a Sinner beyond others. And therefore, could we of these Nations truly say, that we are not such neither; still the Caution, given Him, would be a seasonable one to Us. We have at least sinned enough to deserve what we have suffered, which is more than a little. And had we deserved nothing farther, yet, as *Elibu* remarks in the Case of *Job*, *Surely it is meet to be said unto God, I have borne Chastisement, I will not offend any more*^d.

But, to see, how far such Advice is necessary for us, it will be requisite, not to keep in Generals, but descend to Particulars. And they must be such, as relate to each of us in our private Capacities: for I am not speaking now to

^d Job. xxxiy. 31.

Bodies of Men, or to single Persons in high Stations. May God bestow plentifully on all such, Grace to consider, what the Warning, *sin no more*, directs Them to, while we consider, what it directs Us to. And I apprehend the present Occasion calls upon us to avoid, for Time to come, four Kinds of Sin especially: to disregard Religion no more; to misbehave towards our Rulers no more; to encourage Party-Disputes and Contentions no more; to indulge extravagant Pleasures and Amusements no more.

1. To disregard Religion no more. Perhaps this is the Nation upon Earth, where it is regarded the least, (our Neglect of God's Worship in our Churches, our Families, our Closets; the impious Talk, the infidel Books, that abound every-where, afford lamentable Evidences of it) though we have confessedly the greatest Blessings to incline us to be religious, and the most rational Instruction how to be so. Notwithstanding this, who is there amongst us, of any Age, who doth not perceive, how much commoner and opener both Indifference and Profaneness are grown within his own Time, within a small Part of it? Who was there amongst us lately, of any Thought, that did not
strongly

strongly fear we were become so intirely unconcerned about the Matter, that even Popery would have had no Terrors for us? God be thanked, it hath proved otherwise. And permit me to add, let Them be thanked also, by whose long despised and reproached Labours, a Spirit of Piety had still in some Measure been kept alive: and by whose earnest and seasonable Exhortations an unexpected Degree of Protestant Zeal was principally raised. Do us the Justice then to bear it in Mind, that you wanted our Help, and you had it. The Enemies of the Government avowedly hate us for what we have done: if its Friends will not love us for it, our Case is hard indeed. But, however you think of Us, learn at least to think of the Religion we profess, as the truest Support, indeed as an essential Part, of our happy Establishment. Not that preserving it for political Purposes alone will be at all sufficient: they, who aim at no more, will come short even of that. God will disappoint them, Men will see through them: and Infection will spread from Hypocrisy, as well as Profligateness, though not quite so fast, yet till at length the whole Frame is corrupted and destroyed.

You

You may plead, that however profane the Nation may be, we are answerable each for himself only. But indeed, so far as our Behaviour can properly influence, we are answerable beyond ourselves. Do we then endeavour to discountenance Irreligion, and encourage Seriousness in those who belong to us, in those with whom we converse? Do we, as our Saviour hath enjoined us, *confess Him before Men*? Or do we not on many Occasions outwardly appear *ashamed of Him*, while inwardly our Hearts condemn us for it?

But were we to answer for ourselves alone, what Answer could we give? We are as good as others, perhaps. And what if others be very bad? Will that excuse Us from being what the Word of God, and our own Consciences, tell us we ought to be? If not, are we indeed such? Is Concern for our future Happiness, is Reverence and Love of God, the great Principle within our Breasts? Do we really love him, the better for these very Mercies, for which we are now met to praise him? We hope so, perhaps. But what Proof have we given of it. By serving him better since? And if none, while the Motive was fresh upon our Minds, what is to be expected afterwards, unless the

* Matt. x. 32. Luke xii. 8.

present Call awaken us, as Heaven grant it may?

2. The next Point of Instruction is, to misbehave towards our Rulers no more. The Connexion is inseparable, *Fear God: Honour the King^f. For by him Kings reign, and Princes rule; Nobles and all the Judges of the Earth^g*. For which Reason we are to respect, not only the Person of our Sovereign, but, to use the Apostle's Words, *All that are in Authority^h*. For without a Number of such, Government cannot be administered. And Professions of Duty to Him, with unjust Bitterness against those whom he intrusts, and causeless Opposition to the Measures they advise, betray either gross Insincerity, or pitiable Weakness, or an Impetuosity of Temper, that should be better governed. This however doth not restrain those, to whose Rank or Office it belongs, from using the faithful, though possibly sometimes unpleasing, Freedom of giving such Counsel, or proposing such Laws, as public-spirited Prudence appears to direct. Nor doth it restrain any one from expressing, in a proper Manner, his Opinion of whatever public Measures may considerably affect Him, or the Whole, pro-

^f 1 Pet. ii. 17.

^g Prov. viii. 15, 16.

^h 1 Tim. ii. 1.

vided he hath Ground to think himself a Judge of them. - But it ought to restrain all Persons from being vehement, and judging harshly, where perhaps they are unqualified to judge at all: from indulging such Behaviour, such Language, or even such Notions, as are injurious to Governors, or hurtful to the Ends of Government; as may excite or cherish Disloyalty, or unreasonable Dissatisfaction, or barely promote Unconcernedness about those, whom Providence hath set over us.

How far we have been guilty of these Things, it is much fitter that each one should think seriously for himself, (for it is a very serious Matter) than that any one should take upon him to tell others, especially from this Place. I shall only say therefore, that every Sort of Persons may have been guilty: some by wrong Compliances, and Abuse of Power and Favour; some by ill-founded Complaints and Resentments; all by disguising selfish Views under plausible Pretences. But whoever the Criminals are, the Crime is very great. Not only those in Authority suffer by it, when they ought not, which alone is grievous Injustice, but the Community in general suffers deeply with them. The wrong Things of this Kind,

which are said and done, give the Ill-defigning dreadful Advantages against their Superiors; and hurry the Inconsiderate, even they who mean well, into Wildnesses almost incredible. Nay, the Wise and Good are insensibly cooled and alienated by them. And then is the Juncture for attempting to overturn a Constitution. We have felt this: and therefore we shall be inexcusable, unless we remember it; remember to *abstain from all Appearance*ⁱ of Undutifulness; to *keep our Mouths with a Bridle, while the Wicked or the Weak are before us*^k; on no Occasion to expect more from our Rulers, than we justly may from human Creatures, like ourselves; to bear it patiently, if our most equitable Expectations are not always answered; and *accept and acknowledge every worthy Deed they do*, and surely they have done many, *with all Thankfulness*^l. Acting thus, very probably, might have prevented the late Rebellion, and may prevent another.

3. A further Caution, closely connected with the preceding, is, to encourage Party Contentions no more. For they always break in, and usually to a high Degree, be it ever so undesigned at first, on the Respect owing to our Go-

ⁱ 1. Thess. v. 22. ^k Psal. xxxix. 1. ^l Acts xxiv. 2, 3.

vernors. Or could that be avoided, one Side will be tempted to patronise, for the Sake of Popularity, what they know, or easily might know, is wrong; to oppose what is useful, or even necessary; to construe the worthiest and wisest Conduct unfairly; to prefer the Support of their Cause before the Service of the Public; to imagine or pretend, that the Prevalence of it will produce every desirable Effect; when both Reason and Experience demonstrate, that little, if any, Good is like to follow from it, and possibly much Harm. The other Side, in Return, are tempted to reject what they ought to forward; to insist on what they ought to give up; to oppress their Adversaries by superior Power; to accuse them of being what they are not, till perhaps they provoke them into being what they would not be. And on both Sides these Disputes engage Mens principal Attention, to the Neglect of their common Welfare; drive them into doing bad Actions, and countenancing bad Persons; make foreign Friends afraid to rely upon us; and both foreign and domestic Enemies bold to enterprize against us. Their late Enterprize was chiefly founded on our Divisions: which neither They, nor indeed We, could have imagined would have suffered us to

unite against them so soon, and so heartily, as we did. God be praised, who inclined our Hearts to it: but let us *sin no more*. Each Party sees, that the other have sinned: each might see, that they have sinned themselves: both must see, that the Event was nearly pernicious: let us take Warning for the future.

But it will be of small Advantage not to oppose one another, if we all agree in behaving amiss: and therefore,

4. The last Caution is, to indulge extravagant Pleasures and Amusements no more. It is but too visible, how much, living intirely to Trifles and Follies hath increased in the upper Part of the World: and Madness for Diversions and Entertainments, even in the middle and lower; together with most profligate Intemperance and Debauchery in the lowest of all. Now vicious Indulgencies are destructive to our temporal, as well as our Spiritual Interests; to the Health and Strength, that should labour for and defend the Public; to the Honesty and Regularity, that should secure private Peace and Comfort. Merely imprudent Gratifications, by devouring Time and Money, as they do beyond Imagination, destroy Industry, and propagate Poverty; which, we must be sensible, is making yearly
frightful

frightful Advances upon us. And when Wick-
edness is instigated by Necessity, the worst of
Consequences may justly be apprehended.
Those of mean Rank are then fully ripe for any
Mischief: and what Mischief might we not
have dreaded from them ten Months ago, had
Providence permitted the Rebels to reach our
Capital? Persons of better Condition, when
distressed, will too often sacrifice every other
Consideration to the urgent one of supplying
their Wants, real or fancied; prefer their own
present Profit, sometimes a trifling Profit, before
the common Safety; heighten groundless Dis-
contents, to take Advantage of them; nay, join
in Rebellion itself against their Consciences; of
which we have lately had a most remarkable
Example, and ingenuous Confession^m. May it
prove an useful Preventive!

A further great Evil is, that immoderate
Lovers of Pleasure will of course favour the
vilest Wretches, who contribute to their Enter-
tainment; and too frequently depreciate the
worthiest Character, if it be a grave one: whence
proceed Inconveniencies without Number. But

^m See *Foster's Account of the Behaviour of the late Earl of Kilmarnock*, after his Sentence, p. 6, 7, 10, 11, 41.

were this despicable Inclination hurtful no otherwise; it would be extremely so, by taking off the Mind from Application to Things of Moment. Even in Persons the least considerable, Indolence, and Inattention to their proper Business, may have extensive bad Effects: and when it grows general among such, it sensibly impoverishes and weakens, and tends to ruin a Nation. But they, who are intrusted with Matters of Importance, may, not only by a Series of Neglect, but by the ill-timed Indulgence of an idle Humour for a Day or an Hour, cause irretrievable Mischief to a Society, that hath purchased and depends on their best Vigilance and Industry: which therefore are due to it, not only in Point of Honour, but of indispensable moral Obligation in the Sight of God.

These, I apprehend, are the chief Particulars, in which we should learn, from being made whole, to sin no more. And every one should apply them to examine and direct himself, not to inveigh against others: and remember, that the utmost Punctuality and Zeal in some Parts of his Duty, will not be accepted, as an Atonement for transgressing or overlooking any of the rest.

III. The last general Head, comprehended in the Advice of the Text, is, A prudent Consideration of what may follow, if we disregard it: *Sin no more, lest a worse Thing come unto thee.* Perhaps we may think, that nothing worse can come. And so perhaps thought the poor Man, to whom this was said first: for his Illness had been a very deplorable one. Yet our Saviour gave Him the Warning: and let Us take it also. Whoever goes on to offend, after receiving signal Mercies, is plainly a greater Sinner: and let him not doubt, but God can send him a heavier Punishment even in this World, and make *his last state worse than the first*^a. Indeed, should only what we have already felt return upon us: the Tenderness of a wounded Part will augment both the Fear and the Pain. And how little Probability of it soever we discern, as one dreadful Danger hath grown up out of nothing, so may a dreadfuller of the same Nature. Our Sins, if we amend not, will enfeeble and divide us yet more: our intestine Foes may take new Courage; our foreign ones may support them better: God may refuse intirely *to go forth with our Hosts*; and any Thing may have any Effect, that he pleases.

^a Matt. xii. 45.

^o Psal. cviii. 11.

Hitherto we have only been washed by the Waves: the next Time we may sink under them: that surely would be worse. And they, who have now suffered so much from us, would with Reason become vastly more formidable to us, were they to succeed hereafter, than if they had succeeded lately.

But where is the Impossibility, that without the Help of Enemies at Home, the powerful and inveterate one, which we have Abroad, may enslave us ere long immediately to itself: and That without granting even the short Reprieve to our Religion, Liberties, and Properties, which perhaps from the former we might hope? Our only Defence against both is in God's good Providence: and our only Ground of Trust in That is, If we *sin no more*. For fresh Provocations, it must be expected, will bring on severer Judgments. Let us often recollect then, that He, who hath delivered us out of the Hand of our Enemies, can full as easily deliver us into it: and if he doth not, still hath us continually in his own. Every Thing terrible, Fire, Famine, Pestilence, waits on his Orders. At this Instant we are suffering heavily by the last, though hitherto confined to our Cattle. But how much longer and more general
a Ra-

a Ravage it may make amongst Them, or to what other Species of Creatures it may extend at length, and whether not to our own, which of us can say?

But indeed, without any other Scourge at all, Sin alone, by the natural Consequences, which Heaven hath originally annexed to it, is able to ruin us very completely. Contempt of God and our Duty may overturn on a sudden, but must undermine gradually, in Proportion as it prevails, every Blessing that we enjoy: fill every Family with Disorders and Distresses, abolish mutual Faith and Confidence, open a wide Door to Fraud and Force, defeat the Execution of Justice, make our envied Constitution ineffectual to its great Ends, and turn all the Good of it into Evil: *till we are able to bear*, as was the ancient Complaint in like Circumstances, *neither our Diseases, nor their Remedies*^r. The more Immorality spreads, the deeper Root it strikes: the Difficulties of checking it increase; the Numbers and Vigour of those who endeavour to check it, lessen. Some Distempers, by the Fermentation, which they excite, work their own Cure. But Wickedness is a Gangrene, which destroys the Part it seizes:

^r Liv. Hist. Præf.

and, if it approaches towards being univerfal, must end in Death. External Force, like an acute Disease, though for a Time it bears down all before it, may still, by the Vigour of Nature, be thrown off unexpectedly: but an internal Principle of Dissolution, that hath corrupted the whole Mass of Humours, admits no Relief.

Or suppose a sinful Nation, either by stopping short of the Extremity of Sin, or by an uncommon Delay of Divine Justice, neither of which can reasonably be expected, were to escape temporal Ruin ever so long: yet there will be a *worse*, an infinitely *worse Thing*, come without fail, and that very soon, to every Sinner in it; the final Vengeance of God in the next Life: which will be, as it ought, peculiarly severe on those, who *despise the Riches of his Forbearance and Long-suffering; and will not know, that his Goodness leads them to Repentance*^a.

I am very sensible, that this may appear a comfortless, an intimidating Manner of speaking to you: and exceedingly unsuitable to so joyful a Solemnity, as the present. By why then will not all who hear me, why will not

^a Rom. ii. 4.

this whole Land resolve on that Amendment, without which no true Comfort can be administered to them? Relieve us then from the Necessity, for we must deal faithfully with you, of saying on Thanksgivings just the same terrifying Things, that we do on Fasts. It would afford us the highest Delight to omit them, on both: to set before you only pleasing Views, and describe your Condition in the Language of the Psalmist: *Happy are the People, who are in such a Case: yea, blessed are the People, who have the Lord for their God*^r. It is intirely your own Fault, that Motives of Fear are ever mentioned to you. Our gracious Maker hath furnished us plentifully with a much better Ground of Obedience, by the numerous Mercies, which we have long enjoyed, and still continue to enjoy. Think but a little of the natural Advantages of this Island; of the Civil, the Spiritual Privileges, that have distinguished it for Ages; and what Requitals they deserve: think but, how complicated a Blessing this last Deliverance is: and labour to be induced, as much as you can, by the Bounties of God to serve him. But let us be conscious also, that our Imperfection, our Depravity, needs Awe, as well as Love, to

^r Psal. cxliv. 15.

move us; and use the joint Efforts of both, to produce in our Souls that filial Sorrow, and penitent Return to Duty, which will prove the Inlet, and is the only one, to all Manner of Consolation.

*They, that thus sow in Tears, are intitled to reap in Joy: their Mouth may be filled with Laughter, and their Tongue with Singing: they may with Propriety, not only give, as they are bound, the more serious Demonstrations of pious Gratitude, but indulge every lighter Expression of a chearful Heart, that Innocence and Prudence allows. Outward Rejoicings for Mercies, without inward Concern for Unworthiness, and fixed Resolution of virtuous Improvement, is an absurd and insolent, and will be a short-lived Triumph. Praise is not seemly in the Mouth of a Sinner: for it was not sent him of the Lordⁿ. But when humble and hearty Devotion hath preceded, Gladness and Exultation, kept clear of Excess and Riot, may and should follow, on Occasions like this. The Grief of our Offences should be lost, for the Time, in a thankful Sense of God's Goodness: a chearing Hope be entertained, that *He, who hath delivered, will deliver*^m; and our Be-*

^{*} Psal. cxxvi. 6.

[†] Ver. 2.

[‡] Ecclus xv. 9.

[¶] 2 Cor. i. 10.

haviour shew to all around us, what our Hearts feel. This was the Direction, immediately given to the *Jews*, when once they had been made sensible of their Transgressions, in their public Assembly for a Thanksgiving, on their Return from the Captivity: and I conclude with reciting it. *The Levites read in the Book, in the Law of God, and gave the Sense, and caused them to understand the Reading. And all the People wept, when they heard the Words of the Law. Then Nehemiah the Governor, and Ezra the Priest, and the Levites, that taught the People, said unto them, This Day is holy unto the Lord your God: mourn not, nor weep. Go your Way, eat the Fat, and drink the Sweet, and send Portions unto them, for whom nothing is prepared; for this Day is holy unto our Lord: neither be ye sorry, for the Joy of the Lord is your Strength. And all the People went their Way, to eat and to drink, and to send Portions, and to make great Mirth; because they had understood the Words, that were declared unto them^{*}.*

^{*} Neh. viii. 7, 8, 9, 10, 12.

The Assembly was dissolved, and the House
 adjourned. The next day the British
 gave to the King when once they had been
 made sensible of their Obligations, in their
 to the Assembly for a Thanksgiving, on their
 Acquittal from the Captivity: and I conclude with
 a Prayer for the King and the Nation, in
 the Name of God, and give the Blessing, and wish
 the same to everybody that Reading. And all the
 People were: when they heard the Words of the
 King: Upon Viewing the Couriers, and having
 the French and the British, what taught the
 People said unto them, This Day is kept unto
 the Lord your God: neither more nor less. Do
 your Duty, eat the Fat, and drink the Scurvy,
 and find the Lord your God, for whatsoever
 is prepared: for the Day is appointed our Lord:
 neither be ye sorry, for the Joy of the Lord is
 your Strength. And all the People were that
 they to eat and to drink, and to find the Lord
 and to make great the Lord: because the Lord is
 with the People, that were broken with the Lord

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S E R M O N VIII.

(Preached on a General Fast.)

P S A L M cxxii. 6.

O pray for the Peace of Jerusalem: They shall prosper that love thee.

GOD hath planted in the Hearts of Men, and it is a strong Proof of his Goodness to us, a Principle of tender mutual Benevolence; which Reason enjoins us to exert on all Occasions: and Revelation both threatens our Transgression of this Rule with the severest Punishments, and encourages our Observance of it by Promises of the most effectual Assistance and noblest Rewards. But as all Mankind is an Object too large, for the Generality of Persons to embrace in their Affections, and for the rest to think of actually benefiting; the Scripture hath very justly appropriated our *Love*, to *our Neighbour*: to every one, who is any

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Way

Way brought near enough to us, to be capable of receiving any Service or Mark of Kindness from us: according to our Saviour's most rational Explication of that Term^a. And each Nation of the World being only a more extensive Neighbourhood, of Persons combined together, under one Head, for common Advantage: the Views of the several Members of it may well reach thus far; but ordinarily scarce farther. And therefore Love to our Country hath been ever considered, not merely as an important and excellent Virtue, which it always is, when genuine and judicious; but as filling the whole Compass of reciprocal Duty, which it usually doth, provided we proportion it rightly to the various Relations, which we bear to each Person in the Society. Now this is the Affection, which the Psalmist so warmly recommends in the Text: *Peace* being well known to signify, in Holy Writ, all Sorts of Prosperity; and *Jerusalem* being the Centre of Unity of the *Jewish* People, both in religious Affairs and Civil. *For thither the Tribes went up, to give Thanks unto the Name of the Lord: and there was the Seat of Judgment, even the Seat of the House of David*^b.

^a Luke x. 29, &c.

^b Psal. cxxii. 4, 5.

During

During the latter Part indeed of the Time, that their Government subsisted, they had most of them a Zeal for their Country, which excluded Charity towards the rest of Mankind. But this was a Corruption, not a Precept, of their Religion. For no Law of any other Nation ever enjoined so strictly both Justice and Mercy to Strangers as theirs: though it did provide against needless Intercourse with them, to prevent Imitation of their evil Customs. It is true, they were commanded to extirpate the Inhabitants of *Canaan*. But these were grown to such a Height of monstrous Idolatry, unnatural Lusts, and shocking Barbarities, as the Wisdom of God saw to be incurable. And he chose the *Israelites* for *his Ministers, Revengers to execute Wrath upon them*^c, that they might learn to abhor what they had been employed to punish. This done, their Commission expired: for it reached to no other Nation. And in fact, they were as quiet Neighbours to the Heathen round them, and as dutiful Subjects to their *Chaldean, Persian and Grecian* Masters, as any other People. Nor did the Text more plainly require them to *pray for the Peace of Jerusalem*, than the Prophet *Jeremiah* doth,

^c Rom. xiii. 4.

to seek the Peace of the City, whither they were carried Captives, and pray unto the Lord for it^d.

We need not therefore scruple to imbibe Love of our Country from the Sacred Writings of the *Jews*: and much less have we Cause to imagine, as some would persuade us, that this is a Virtue not prescribed to Christians. It is true, that as the *Romans* had long been ravaging the World, and the *Jews* in our Saviour's Days were evidently ruining themselves; both of them prompted to what they did by a narrow-minded and unjust Vehemence for their national Interest and Honour: he earnestly recommended, as it was necessary, not the particular Passion, of which they had already too much; but the general Disposition, which they wanted, of good Will to all Men. For that is the only sure Foundation of social Behaviour: and while it restrains Persons effectually from doing any Thing wrong in favour of their Country, will incite them powerfully to do every Thing right. In teaching this Doctrine therefore, and indeed throughout his whole Conduct, he shewed the kindest and wisest Regard to his undeserving Fellow-Citizens: for

^d Jer. xxix. 7.

whom,

whom, ill as he was treated by them, he fully appears to have had the most affectionate Concern. Witness his Tears and pathetic Expostulations: *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the Prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee: how often would I have gathered thy Children together, even as a Hen gathereth her Chickens under her Wings, and ye would not^c. If thou hadst known, or as it rather should be translated, O that thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy Day, the Things, which belong unto thy Peace^f. Witness again his peremptory Command, even after he had been crucified there, that Repentance and Remission of Sin should be preached in his Name to all Nations, beginning at Jerusalem^g. The same heroic Sympathy his great Apostle St. Paul expresses, after the severest Usage, in the strongest Manner, for his Brethren, his Kinsmen, according to the Flesh, declaring solemnly before Christ and the Holy Ghost, that he had great and continual Sorrow and Heaviness in his Heart on their Account^h. He hath not indeed exhorted the Christians, whom he favoured with his Epistles, to the Love of their several Countries:*

^c Matt. xxiii. 37.

^f Luke xix. 41, 42.

^g Luke xxiv. 47.

^h Rom. ix. 1, 2, 3.

for they were all under one Dominion, and designed by Providence to remain so. He hath not exhorted Magistrates to study the Welfare of those, over whom they presided: for there were no believing Magistrates; and it might have been deemed presumptuous, and ill intended, if he had laid down Directions for others; or foretold explicitly so soon, that the Gospel would come to have Authority on its Side. But he hath sufficiently, though obliquely, intimated to Rulers, what their Office requires of them; and urged private Subjects most convincingly and awfully to such Behaviour, as will render Communities quiet and flourishing.

Love of our Country therefore is an undoubted Christian Duty. And we shall both be directed and encouraged in the Performance of it, if we consider, as the Text leads us,

- I. Wherein the Public Welfare consists.
- II. How we are to express our Regard to it.
- III. What Advantages will flow from expressing it as we ought.

I. Wherein it consists. Now plainly the Happiness of any Society is that, which the
Persons,

Persons, who compose it, do or may enjoy in it. And therefore wide Extent of Dominion contributes nothing to the Happiness of a State: for such unwieldy Bodies are seldom or never kept long in good Health. Much less is military Glory the Point to be had in View, any farther than is needful to secure a peaceable Possession of all important national Rights. For such a Purpose, War is lawful: and they, who hazard their Lives in it, worthy of high Honour. But in all Cases it is accompanied with dreadful Evils: of which we are apt to consider the heavy Expence, as if it were the only one; and forget the Sufferings, and miserable Deaths, of such Multitudes of human Creatures, though every one of them is a Murder committed by the Authors of this Calamity; besides the innumerable Distresses of Relations and Friends, the Devastations, Inhumanities, and Wickednesses of every Kind, which never fail to be its Attendants. Then if the Event of all should turn, as God grant it always may, to the Disadvantage of the Aggressors, here is much Mischief brought on their Neighbours, only to bring more on themselves. Or suppose their Success be ever so great, the Injury done by them will be great in Pro-

portion : they will receive little real Good from it, and have paid very dear for that, even in this World : and in another, God will take effectual Care, that no one shall have Cause to rejoice in having broken his Laws, and used his Creatures ill.

The next Pre-eminence, commonly imagined to constitute the Prosperity of a State, is that of Wealth ; and its usual Source, Commerce. Now undoubtedly Riches are a valuable Instrument, both of common Defence, and separate Enjoyment. But then they are also a dangerous Incentive to Luxury and Debauchery : by which Persons grievously distress themselves, their Families, their Acquaintance, the Public, in many Ways, alas ! but too well known. And many, whom Affluence doth not immediately seduce into gross Vices, it leads however to Indolence and Ignorance, to the Admiration of Trifles and Follies, and thence to the Neglect, and afterwards the Contempt and Ridicule, of virtuous and prudent Conduct. This wrong Taste being once formed, high Honours and pompous Appearances are thought necessary by some ; the idlest Gratifications and Vanities, by others : the Means to procure and support them must be found ; and when their Incomes fail,

fail, as the largest, with such Management, will fail; they must supply the Defect by any Baseness or Iniquity, that they can; at least any such, as general Practice, in a Time of general Corruption, makes a Shift to keep in tolerable Countenance. This Example in the upper Part of the World is followed of course by the lower: their Industry lessens, their Expences increase, their Principles are depraved, they and their Families ruined; they seek for Relief in Fraud, Violence, or Intemperance, and plunge themselves by each deeper in Misery. Even of the Regular and Diligent, the Home Labour is much of it employed on Things useles or hurtful; the foreign Trade, in importing Superfluities. This Procedure must as necessarily empoverish the Public, as it must any single Person, or Number of Persons: for the whole Number of them is the Public. And in such Circumstances, whatever present Shew of Strength and Plenty there may be, is fallacious: like the over-full and florid Look of a diseased Body, caused by a too indulgent Regimen; and under the superficial Appearance of redundant Health, betraying to the Skilful evident Symptoms of the most fatal Distempers, already begun, if not far advanced.

Another

Another Thing, constantly and justly mentioned, as a main Ingredient in political Happiness, is Liberty: an invaluable Privilege; but often misunderstood, and still oftener abused. Absolute Liberty, to do what we will, is absolute Power. If one alone, or a few, have this, the rest are in Slavery: if all have it, the whole must be in Confusion. Liberty therefore, in order to preserve it, must be restrained by Law, in whatever Cases the Exercise of it may affect others. And Regulations by Authority are necessary, not only to prevent mutual Encroachments, but to ascertain each Person's Claims and Expectations; and to instruct every one, what he is to do, and what to avoid, for the common Benefit. Now legal Provisions for these Ends ought to be just and equitable, suited to the State of Things, known and fixed. And those, which a Nation makes for itself by its chosen Representatives, are so very much the most likely to have these Properties; that living, as We do, under a Constitution purposely contrived for making, on every Occasion, such as we want, is the greatest of Civil Blessings, provided we turn it not, by our Fault, into a Curse.

But

But to prevent this, besides Care and Impartiality in framing Laws, there must be a general Observation of them: else they were enacted in vain. Even such, as are in their Nature the most variable, must be observed while they last. For not only the total Neglect of them will frustrate their beneficial Intent, and open a Door to yet worse Irregularities; but the partial, besides having this unhappy Effect in its Degree, will introduce a very dangerous Kind of Inequality: good Subjects must be Losers by their Obedience, and bad ones Gainers by their Transgression.

Still more essentially doth the common Welfare consist in the Practice of such Rules of Conduct, as are in themselves, and therefore always, obligatory: in abstaining from Violence, Fraud, promiscuous Lewdness, Intemperance, Extravagance; in performing carefully the proper Business of our several Stations; in providing diligently what is needful for ourselves, and those who belong to us; in relieving the Poor with prudent Bounty; in behaving with Respect to Superiors, with Condescension to Inferiors, with Friendliness to Equals, with peculiar Affection to those, whom either Nature or voluntary Ties have united to us more closely.

These

These are the main Things, on which social Happiness depends. A Nation may be small and weak and poor; and yet the Persons who compose it, may enjoy their Beings very comfortably. But however great and powerful and rich it is, Folly and Wickedness will bring Misery on each Particular; which, put together, is general Misery: and will besides gradually weaken and dissolve the whole. For the principal Supports of a State, confessedly are, the Numbers, and Health, and Strength, and Industry, and Probity, and Concord, of the several Members of it: all which good Morals promote, and bad undermine.

But as human Laws, in Multitudes of Instances, cannot punish, and much less prevent, the Breach of moral Obligations: the chief Security of Regard to them, in any Society, must proceed from Reverence of the Divine Laws. And as the Precepts of Christianity are vastly more determinate, accompanied with Communications of far greater moral Powers, and enforced by Sanctions of unspeakably stronger Terror to Sinners, and sweeter Consolation to pious Minds, than the Dictates of Nature, unassisted by Revelation: establishing a practical Belief of the Gospel is securing and completing
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the Provision for National Felicity. This will, in all Cases, restrain Men from what is wrong, animate them in what is right, make them easy and happy under every Suffering. Besides, Profession of the same Faith and Hope, and Participation of the same Worship and Sacraments, must give so peculiar a Sacredness and Endearment to the Bonds of civil Union, that Zeal in the common Cause of our Country and our Religion, at once, will be intrepidly active, and indefatigably persevering^h. *For my Brethren and Companions Sakes, I will wish thee Prosperity: yea, because of the House of the Lord our God, I will seek to do thee Good*ⁱ. Then to all the Advantages, flowing naturally from Piety, we cannot doubt but God will superadd his Blessing, and withhold it from the Profane: for his own Words are, *Them that honour me, I will honour: and they, that despise me, shall be lightly esteemed*^k. Nor must a further Consideration ever be omitted, for it is a very important one: that unless true Religion be cherished and practised, false Religion will insinuate itself and prevail. For the Mind of Man must have some: as the Experience of all Ages proves, and our own particularly; amongst

^h D'on. Halic. Ant. Rom. l. ii. c. 23. ⁱ Psal. cxxii.
8, 9. ^k 1 Sam. ii. 30.

whom the Increase of Infidelity is accompanied with that of Popery: an Evil, which ought to be highly formidable to us; as it must of Course, if ever it gain Power enough, not only overturn our present happy Establishment, but introduce the cruelest Tyranny over the Souls and Bodies and Estates of Men.

Having now seen, wherein the public Welfare consists, we should all with great Seriousness consider,

II. How we are to express our Regard to it. The Manner, prescribed in the Text, according to our Translation, is, *Praying for the Peace of Jerusalem*: according to others, Asking or inquiring concerning its Peace. Both imply, having it much at Heart. And whatever we have deservedly at Heart, ought jointly to engage our watchful Solitude, and our earnest Petitions. I shall now begin with the first.

Pretences to public Spirit, if they are not sincere, usually cover hurtful Designs. Therefore we should examine ourselves closely, for Self-deceit is wonderfully frequent, *of what Spirit we indeed are*¹: whether private Passions or Interests, concealed under specious Appear-

¹ Luke ix. 55.

ances, do not influence our Discourse and Behaviour, perhaps our very Thoughts. And, so far as we have Need to know, we should make the same Inquiry concerning others also: forming our Opinions of them with Charity, yet with Caution. But, supposing the common Good be ever so really Our Object and Theirs: unless we understand well the Tendencies of Things, we may do it irreparable Harm, instead of furthering it: and therefore should always be, according to St. *James's* admirable Direction, *Swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to Wrath*^m: impartially diligent to learn the Truth, where it is our Business to judge and act; backward to meddle, where it is not; reasonable and moderate in all Matters. But let us consider our Duty more distinctly, in Relation to the several Articles, that were specified under the preceding Head.

As Defence against Enemies is an essential Ingredient in public Happiness: Rulers are bound to provide for it with Vigilance, and Subjects to contribute to it with Chearfulness; far from repining at necessary Burthens, though heavy ones. But we ought to oppose with double Vigour, from Principle as well as Inte-

^m James i. 19,

rest, the deliberate, and habitual, and perfidious, and insolent Disturbers of Mankind: yet always remembering, that the only lawful Aim, even in the justest War, is an equitable Conclusion of it. *The Lord give Strength unto his People, the Lord give his People the Blessing of Peace^a!*

Again: as national Wealth, and private Plenty of the Conveniencies of Life, are desirable in Communities, but Luxury and Extravagance destructive to them: all Persons, in their Stations, ought so to promote the former, as to discourage the latter at the same Time: which they will do most successfully, by setting Examples to others of decent Frugality, and Attention to their own Affairs; by honouring worthy Characters, though in mean Circumstances; and expressing, in every proper Way, Dislike and Contempt of Baseness, Debauchery, Profusion, Admiration of undeserving Things, Neglect of important ones; be they, who are guilty of such Faults, ever so distinguished by their Rank or Accomplishments.

Further: as Liberty is a Blessing of inestimable Value in Society, it ought to be asserted with the utmost Resolution and Watchfulness,

^a Psal. xxix. 10.

Men will shelter themselves under plausible Appearances and favourite Names; and be supported by Parties, which they have artfully raised or careffed. At the same Time, they, who think they have the tenderest Love for their Country, perhaps will find on Reflection, that in Truth they love only the Faction, in which they have listd: or though it be their Country; if they have not had Tenderness enough for it, to examine coolly what Conduct its Interests require, they may accelerate its Ruin, by increasing the Fierceness of Contention, and lending the Reputation of their good Meaning to colour over the bad Designs of others. Free Nations therefore, as they are the happiest beyond Comparison, if the general Advantage be the general Object: so they are peculiarly uncomfortable, and exposed to Danger from within and without, if Divisions inflame Men one against another, or the Attention of each be confined to himself.

Still the *Wise in their Generation*² may imagine, that however impossible it be for the Whole to prosper without the mutual Affection of the Parts, they shall prosper the better for throwing off a Principle, that will be always

² Luke xvi. 8.

interfering with their Interest or Inclinations. But they cannot attempt to throw it off, or even contradict it in a single Instance, without severely condemning themselves in their Hours of Recollection. Or if they could, they will be detected, in Spight of all Disguise, and abhorred by others, and most by the Worthiest: which gives the hardest Hearts much greater Uneasiness, than they are willing to own. Besides, through the Mercy of Providence their wicked Schemes often fail of answering their Ends: and first to do wrong, and then be disappointed of their Aim in it, is double ignominy. Punishment also not uncommonly overtakes even the securest Criminal. But supposing the selfish Wretch to succeed: that Success will tempt or provoke many more to imitate him in hurtful Designs and unfair Methods. If they act in Opposition to him, he may suffer, as he deserves, by the Example he hath set: if they act in Conjunction with him, ere long somewhat will disunite them. Or however, bad Precedents naturally produce worse, and so they multiply continually; till at last the Authors and Encouragers of Mischief are in their Turn involved in it. But were they to escape for Life, yet their Posterity, whose Advance-
ment

ment perhaps is the main Point, which they have in View, must partake, it may be largely, in whatever the Commonwealth is brought to suffer: besides the hereditary Disgrace of springing from such Ancestors. And, if ill People of every Rank would consider, what Figures their Predecessors in Wickedness make now in daily Talk; and are likely to make hereafter in History, if they be of Consequence enough; and in how very different a Light Men of Probity are seen, when the transient Mists, that Artifice, Prepossession and Resentment have raised, are dispersed: surely it must have a beneficial Influence on their Conduct.

Or if none of these Considerations can affect them, there is yet another of infinite Moment. This Life, at best, is short: and most of the busy Actors on the Stage of the World have probably but a small Part of it to come, before a strict Account of their Behaviour in it is demanded. And will it be well for us then, think we, that, for the Sake of Purposes not to be owned, we have brought unjust Reproach, Uneasiness, Distress on our Brethren; and disquieted, weakened, impoverished, undone our common Parent, whom Nature and Reason and Revelation jointly require us to love and to serve?

serve? Or must it not be inexpressible Happiness, for those in low Stations to have discharged the Duties of them with faithful Affection, both to their Rulers and their Fellow-Subjects: and for those in the highest to be able to say, with the excellent *Jewish* Governor, *Think upon me, O my God, for Good, according to all that I have done for this People?*

If these be solid Motives, let us all be moved by them: first, to use the utmost Caution, that we do no Harm to our Country; next to try, what Service we can do it; but especially to endeavour, for that we every one of us can, by virtuous Lives, united Hearts, and fervent Prayers, to call down the Divine Benediction on our national Counsels and Undertakings. If indeed we consider worldly Appearances only, we have great Cause to fear: if we reflect on our many heinous Iniquities, we have still much greater Cause. But when we call to Mind, what Deliverances God hath often and lately bestowed on us, what Warnings and what Time he hath given us to repent, how slow and unwilling he appears to let our Enemies proceed to our total Destruction, it cannot but kindle in our Breasts a most reviving Persuasion, indeed

Neh. v. 19.

Israel

a full

a full Assurance of Hope^b, that would we but yet be unanimous and religious, we might yet by his Blessing be safe and prosperous. And may the Lord so bless us, that we may see Jerusalem in Prosperity all our Life long^c: but let Them be confounded and turned backward, as many as have evil Will at Sion^d.

^b Heb. vi. 11.^c Psal. cxxviii. 6.^d Psal. cxxix. 5.

A full figure of this, that would we put
yet to unlearn and religious, we might get
by his blessing the late and prospering. And
may the Lord direct us, that we may be
labour in righteousness all our life long; but let
them be rewarded and reward backward, as
expressed here with Hill at Zion.

11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

SER.

S E R M O N IX.

(Preached *April* 25, 1749, on the
Thanksgiving for the Peace.)

P S A L. xxix. 10.

— *The Lord shall give his People the Blessing
of Peace.*

WE are met this Day to thank God for a Mercy, that hath long been the Object of our earnest Wishes, and solemn Prayers; that we have often had but small Hope of obtaining, and yet now have possessed many Months, with an increasing Prospect of its Continuance: on which Account our Joy is still more reasonable, though it must, from the Constitution of our Nature, be less warmly felt, than it was at first. Accordingly we have just been expressing it in the Divine Presence. And Instruction from this Place was not previously

ously necessary, to excite our Gratitude for a Benefit, so visible and so important. But it may contribute, not a little, to fix in our Breasts a more durable Sense of what we have acknowledged: and, which is the End of all, direct us to such Behaviour, as will secure and improve the Happiness, we enjoy.

I shall therefore at present,

I. Set before you the *Blessing of Peace*.

II. Shew you, that it is the *Gift of God*.

III. Press you to remember, that only *his People* are intitled to it: and consequently to consider, whether We are such; and to labour that we may, in the highest Degree.

I. I shall set before you the *Blessing of Peace*.

Man appears, from the harmless Make of his Body, the conversable Disposition of his Mind, the Tenderness of his Affections, the Sovereignty of his reflecting Principle, the Necessity of Assistance in his numerous Wants, and the Rules of Life prescribed him by express Revelation, to be formed for a social inoffensive Creature. Now the natural State of each Being is the happy one. And the Happiness of Peace is like that of Health: it spreads through the whole

not only against open Assaults, but every Practice, that may secretly and silently impair it; yet with religious Care, neither to *use* it, nor unwarily assist others to *use* it, *for a Cloke of Maliciousness*^o; nor hazard the Destruction of it, by Attempts of improving it to a visionary Perfection. Therefore Power, in a requisite Degree, must both be allowed and diligently supported: They, in whose Hands it is placed, must both be obeyed and humbly respected, *not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience Sake*^p; even the Subordinate, much more the Supreme: their whole Conduct must be viewed with Modesty and Candour; their good Actions and Intentions acknowledged with due Thankfulness; their Mistakes and Failings, imagined or real, borne with that Mildness, of which we have All Need, to excuse our own. And the same equitable Temper should always be preserved between private Persons, one towards another; were their Differences about public Affairs of ever such Moment, whereas they are frequently nominal or trifling; and were they ever so sure of being in the right, whereas possibly both of them have Reason to distrust it. This is the Method, and it is the only one, by which we

^o 1 Pet. ii. 16.

^p Rom. xiii. 5.

can ever hope to see *Jerusalem built as a City, that is at Unity in itself* 9.

Further yet: as good Laws, and the Observation of them, are necessary to the public Welfare; all, who have a Share in Legislature, ought to contrive or assent to such, and oppose others, without suffering any Consideration to bias them: all Magistrates ought to execute them with Uprightness and Courage, yet with Humanity; and all Subjects, to obey them disinterestedly, and procure Obedience to them zealously.

But the Laws of Morality require peculiar Attention, for our Country's Good, as well as our own. Every Person, who transgresses these *teaches his Neighbour, teaches his Family, an evil Lesson against himself* 10, in Points of the greatest Consequence. And every Government, which connives at such Transgressions, when it can safely punish them, connives at the Ruin of the People intrusted to its Care. But especially every free Government, guilty of so culpable Remissness, be it to court Popularity, be it to serve what present Turn it will, undermines the only Ground it hath to stand upon. For without Virtue, Liberty cannot subsist.

9 Psal. cxxii. 3.

10 Eccelus ix. 1.

Nor indeed without Piety can Virtue subsist: For our good Affections are so weak, our bad Inclinations so vehement, and the Temptations of the World so numerous and inticing, that we need every possible Preservative. And evidently the Fear of God is the most awful Restraint from doing ill: and the Love of God the most delightful Inducement to do well. True Religion, therefore, must be established by the Authority of the Legislature, but with the tenderest Regard to scrupulous Consciences: and upheld in Reputation by the Countenance and Example of the Great. Its Ministers must be industrious, and their Superiors must see that they are, in teaching and defending it, and adorning their Doctrine by respectable and amiable Behaviour. Its Professors must be assiduous Attendants on its Exercises in the Congregation, and serious Practisers of its Injunctions at Home.

But particularly, in both Places, they must be earnest with God for their Country's Prosperity, and fervently *pray for the Peace of Jerusalem*. Many can do little else: but all can do so much for it. In some of our Endeavours to serve the Public we may err: in this we are sure to be right. Often we know not, what is best for it: Our heavenly Father always doth.

Possibly in Times of Difficulty and Danger we may be tempted to despair of the Commonwealth: Praying for it will remind us, that its Fate is not in the Hands of Men, but of the Almighty. In all Times, Resentments, Interests, Prejudices, frequently blind and mislead us: devout Applications to Heaven will compose our Passions, purify our Intentions, obtain us Light to guide our Steps, and enlarge our Views. Perhaps we have been diligent enough, or more than enough, in the Use of other Means, conducive, as we imagined, to public Good: but have never, humbly and heartily, used this. And yet, if we believe a righteous Judge of the World, we must surely believe, that he takes Notice of the Addresses, which his poor Creatures, with pious Affections, offer up to him. Or could we doubt it otherwise, we are fully assured of it in his Sacred Word. Not that naming our Wants informs him, or Acts of servile Submission delight him, or unfit Importunities prevail on him: but that praying *in Spirit and in Truth*, while it seems intended to influence Him only, hath a powerful Influence on Us: and by strengthening the Sense it expresses, how dependent we are on his Mercy,

• John iv. 23.

and

and what Qualifications are needful to obtain it, fits us at the same Time to receive it, and grow better by it: whereas bestowing his Favours on those who are too negligent of him to ask for them, might neither be suitable to the Holiness of his Nature, and the Honour of his Government, nor indeed contribute to their final Advantage. Why then should not we address ourselves to the Lord of all, not in outward Form only, but inward Reality; not merely at distant Seasons appointed for it, like this, but every Day of our Lives; that he would graciously protect the Community, of which we are Members, and instruct and excite us to perform properly our Duty towards it? His own Declaration, even after he had promised a Blessing, is: *I will yet for this be inquired of by the House of Israel, to do it for them*^a. And the Direction of his Prophet is, *Ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not Silence, and give him no Rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a Praise in the Earth*^b.

Affectionate Vigilance therefore to do each his Part for the Service of the Whole, and constant Prayer, that God would *prosper the united Work of his Hands*^c, are the genuine Demon-

^a Ezek. xxxvi. 37.

^b Il. lxii. 6, 7.

^c Psal. xc. 17.

strations of that Regard, which we owe to the public Welfare. Let us now consider,

III. What Advantages will flow from expressing it in this due Manner. *They shall prosper that love thee.* Worldly Prosperity is designed to partake of the Uncertainty of all worldly Things: but, so far as any Thing on our Part can secure it, a virtuous and pious public Spirit must. Princes, Magistrates, Teachers of Religion, military Men, private Persons of all Ranks and Professions, who thus express the Love of their Country, will be loved by it, and love one another. Such Union will give them both the highest Pleasure, and the greatest possible Strength: nothing will be done to betray or thwart the general Interest, but every Thing imaginable to promote it: they will be bold in Dangers, persevere through Difficulties, furnish mutual Assistance at any Hazard: Allies will know they can trust them; Enemies will respect and dread them. Indeed they will have no Enemies, but such as oppose Truth and Right: and therefore, when they are driven to War, they will consider themselves as fighting the Battles of God. But usually they will enjoy Peace, at Home as well as Abroad, and taste the Comforts of it without Alloy:
each

each delighting in the other's Good; each feeling the Tranquillity, the Wealth, the Honour of the Community, as his own; and rejoicing with humble Thankfulness, that His Share in the Production of it hath not been wanting. If such Happiness be seldom seen, the Reason is, that such Dispositions towards it are seldom general. But let them be ever so uncommon, and Affairs for Want of them ever so unprosperous; whoever sacredly preserves them in himself, and faithfully exerts them when he can, *his Soul shall prosper*, as St. *John* expresses it: be filled with the Consolation, that he hath meant and endeavoured well, though surrounded with Examples and Temptations to the contrary; and that none of the Calamities, that have happened or may happen, can be laid to his Charge. Were he to be intirely deserted by other Men, he would support himself by our Saviour's Reflection: *Behold, the Hour cometh, yea is now come, that ye shall be scattered, every Man to his own, and shall leave me alone: and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me*^v. Some, however, in the worst of Times, will probably bear Witness to him on Earth: but God will certainly look down upon him

^z 3 John, ver. 2.

^v John, xvi. 32.

with Approbation from Heaven; and blefs him with a pleasing Confciousnefs of his Favour, the Foretafte of future Reward.

Let us now, on the other Hand, contemplate the Effects, I do not fay of downright Ill-will to the Public, which few perhaps can be wicked enough to harbour knowingly, but of Indifference, and preferring other Considerations to its Advantage. If Persons in Stations of Trust, fupreme or subordinate, regard Empire, abfolute Power, Profit, Pleafure, Indolence, as their Felicity: Inferiors will in Proportion be facrificed, oppreffed, exhausted, neglected. If thefe Inferiors are principally intent on their own private Gratifications of any Kind: even where they have no Share in the Government, they will hurt it by ferving it remiffly or unfaithfully, and be miserable by unwilling Subjection. But where the Government is mixed, and divided between the Sovereign, the Nobles, and the Representatives of the Commonalty; as it cannot be carried on at all in that Form, without Professions, on every Side, of a patriot Spirit: fo in the Degree, in which thefe Professions are falfe, there will be a wid Door open for fupine Mifmanagement, selfish Projects, Corruption, Treachery: the vileft of
Men

whole of the Civil, as that doth of the Animal Constitution; and furnishes Vigour and Pleasure to every Part, without being distinctly perceived in one more than another: for which Reason we are apt to overlook the Felicity of both, till the loss of them for a Time renews our Sense of their Value; and even such Experience usually doth not long preserve it in our Memory. Therefore to discern sufficiently the Advantages of Peace, we must recollect the Miseries of War.

To these we seldom attend farther, than we immediately feel them. And the Generality feel only the Expence: which indeed is a sore Evil, and hath been for many Years past, and must be for many to come, a heavy Burthen to us. Persons of low Degree are sadly straitned by it in their Enjoyment of the common Comforts and Necessaries of Life. Their Superiors, it is true, need only undergo a Retrenchment of their Superfluities: which they might bear, if they would, without much Uneasiness, or any Harm. But as too many of them are pleased to reckon their Grandeur and Luxury, their Follies and their Vices, the most inseparable Privileges of their Rank; they must, by retaining these, be distressed equally with others,

when the Demands of the State are larger than ordinary. And as their usual Resource is the very bad one, of supplying a Fund for Extravagance and Immorality, by refusing Acts of Piety, Charity, and Justice; they force Multitudes round them to suffer with them and for them. Frequently indeed the Load of Taxes may not be the Cause of this dishonourable Behaviour: but even then it is a plausible Pretence and Excuse for it. Nor doth the Mischief stop at particular Persons: but the Public, exhausted by Payments, and sunk under Debts, becomes incapable of exerting itself, even for its own Preservation, when future Occasions require.

Yet, melancholy as these Things are, an Article much more shocking, and which ought to be the first in our Thoughts, is that of the various and continual Toils and Hardships, that must be endured by such Numbers of poor Creatures, exposing themselves in Defence of others, through so long a Course of Time: the Loss of so many Thousands of Lives by Sickness and in Battle; the Grief of so many Relations and Friends, the Miseries of so many destitute Families: Part of these, our Fellow-subjects; not a few of them possibly very dear to one or
other

other of us; a second Part, our Allies; the rest, called indeed Enemies: but it may be scarce any of them in Fault for that Enmity, how much soever their Rulers are; and all of them, in Truth, our Brethren; of the same Blood, and, in Essentials, the same Faith, though taught them with a Mixture of dangerous Errors.

Further still: War not only weakens and afflicts a Community in these Respects, but interrupts the Freedom of Commerce, retards the Propagation of Knowledge, prevents useful Improvements, takes off the public Attention from domestic Concerns, furnishes Occasion for Abuses, obstructs the Remedy of Inconveniences, till they grow inveterate and hard to cure; in short, disorders and unhinges the whole System of Civil Affairs. Then besides, which is a vastly more alarming Consideration yet, all the Time that Hostilities last, who can tell how they may end? and had ours ended, as they easily might, in our being absolutely overcome, and obliged to accept the Victors Terms,— what would they have been!

But War is also a State of no less Wickedness, than Calamity and Terror. Whenever it breaks out; one Side, at least, must have acted

grievously contrary to Humanity and Justice; contrary too, in all Likelihood, to solemn Treaties: and that from no better Motives, than little Resentments, groundless or distant Fears, Eagerness of gaining unnecessary Advantages, restless Ambition, False Glory, or Wantonness of Power. To such detestable Idols are whole Armies and Nations deliberately sacrificed: though every Suffering, thus caused, is a heinous Crime; and every Death, a Murder. Nor will the Side, which at first is more innocent, fail in the Progress to be guilty of many shocking Transgressions, in common with the other. The whole Body of a People are apt to grow uncharitable, un pitying, implacable: and the Soldiery will plunge of Course into Cruelty, Rapine, Profaneness, Lewdness, Intemperance: not to add, that when the poor Wretches have once changed the ordinary Employments of Life for this, they will be in great Danger of never settling honestly and soberly to them again. Some of these Things, to worldly or inconsiderate Minds, may appear small Matters. But every benevolent, or merely prudent Person, will esteem them very great ones: and every pious Heart will most seriously mourn, that *the worthy Name, by which we are called,*

is blasphemed among the Gentiles^a, through the Sins, and peculiarly the Enmities, of those who profess the Gospel; instead of its producing that *Glory to God, Peace on Earth, and Good-will amongst Men*, which Angels proclaimed at our Saviour's Birth^b.

Still this dreadful Evil, big with so many more, becomes, by the obstinate Iniquity of Men, sometimes unavoidable. It must be the Will of the common Father of All, that Societies, as well as single Persons, be restrained from committing material Injuries: else destructive ones would be committed perpetually. Now certainly amicable Methods are to be tried in the first Place: but often the only effectual Method of Restraint is by Arms: and then, *the Minister of God, the supreme Power, must not bear the Sword in vain*. Often again, Treaties made to support Allies, if unjustly attacked, are probable Means of preserving Peace: and when that proves otherwise, the Assurances promised must be given, in order to restore it. But above all, when a Nation is directly attacked itself, Defence is undeniably necessary. And our Case, in the late War, was compounded of

^a James ii. 7.

Rom. ii. 24.

^b Luke ii. 14.^c Rom. xiii. 4.

all these. We have therefore the Comfort, that our undertaking it was justifiable: and our Manner of carrying it on, I trust, no Way peculiarly blameable. But it could never be lawful to refuse any equitable, any tolerable Conditions of Agreement, for putting an End to so much Guilt and Misery. Whether those, which we have accepted, are desirable, is not a Question to be discussed here. You have decided it for yourselves in the Affirmative, by joining in this Morning's Service: and the People in general have shewn their joyful Concurrence in the same Opinion. If some well-meaning and able Persons have thought otherwise, Diversities of Judgments are always to be expected in such Matters: and if the Ill-wishers to our happy Establishment are sorry and angry, we have the more Reason to be glad. Let us therefore proceed to observe,

II. That the *Blessing of Peace* is *God's Gift*.

This will need only a short Proof: but requires a much more serious and practical Consideration, than we commonly allow it. Every Enjoyment is from His Bounty: every Suffering, His Infliction. The whole Series of Causes and Effects, all the Connections of all Things,
were

were originally appointed, and are continually superintended by Him. He brings forth, in each Generation, such Persons, to act, according to their own free Choice, their various Parts on the Theatre of Life, as he foresees will answer, sometimes by their great Abilities and good Dispositions, sometimes by the contrary, his holy Purposes of Judgment or of Mercy. And the Influence of this one Arrangement on the Restoration of our present Tranquillity, may have been, and probably hath been, unspeakably great. But be the Tempers, Qualifications, and Designs of Men what they will: He can, unperceived by themselves, put Thoughts into their Minds, to incite, withhold, divert them to another Object, just as he pleases. Then besides, the intire Frame of inanimate Nature, as it was produced, is also actuated by Him: and he could by its original Formation, or can now by the slightest Change in the smallest Part of it, occasion, obstruct, alter to any Degree, the most important Events. And lastly, the same wise and gracious Motives, which induced him to make the World, must certainly induce him to be attentive to it. And the Attention of an infinite Mind must comprehend the Regulation of every Thing, even

the smallest: but Affairs of such momentous Consequence, as Peace and War, cannot fail to occupy a distinguished Place in the Scheme of Providence.

These Deductions of Reason our Condition of late Years hath obliged me more than once to lay before you: but still they need to be inculcated. Passages of Scripture too, confirming them, I have produced to you in great Numbers: but it is very easy, and would God it were not necessary, to add yet more. *I form the Light, and create Darknes: I make Peace, and create Evil: I the Lord do all these Things*^d. *The Heart of Kings is in the Hand of the Lord, as the Rivulets of Water: he turneth it whithersoever he will*^e. *The Lord is thy Keeper, the Lord is thy Defence upon thy right Hand*^f. And on the contrary, *shall there be Evil in the City, and the Lord hath not done it*^g?

Frequently indeed we perceive no Marks of the Interposition of God in what passes. But we are both inadvertent and short sighted: ignorant, not only of the secret Springs and material Circumstances of many human Actions, but yet more, beyond Comparifon, of principal

^d Is. xlv. 7.

^e Prov. xxi. 1.

^f Psal. cxxi. 5.

^g Amos iii. 6.

Purposes in the Divine Administration. Yet this however we know, that he is incessantly conducting the Affairs of the present World, towards a full Display of his Wisdom, Justice and Goodness, in the next: though often by Steps invisible to our Eyes, and improbable to our Imaginations. *For his Judgments are unsearchable, and his Ways past finding out*^b. Therefore in all Things we should believe a Providence; but in many we may see it: and very plainly in our own Case; to whom true Religion and Liberty have been so wonderfully preserved, in the Midst of such imminent Dangers; and Quiet and Safety so unexpectedly restored, when *the Help of Man* was confessedly *vain*^c. Nor did God only bestow the Blessing, but it is He who continues it: and every Day's Peace, as well as every Day's Bread, is a Gift from him.

Surely then we have Cause, not for Joy alone, but Thankfulness too, from the Bottom of our Hearts. And if we ungratefully disown, or negligently forget, the Author of our Happiness, what is it likelier, what is it fitter he should do, than deprive us of it again? We may think perhaps, that we have fully discharged

^b Rom. xi. 33.

^c Psal. cviii. 12.

our Consciences towards him by our Attendance on the present Solemnity. And God grant we may hear, it hath been every-where universally attended. But supposing that: outward Acknowledgments singly are downright Pageantry and Mockery. Nay, inward Sense of Obligation along with them, if it bring not forth suitable and lasting Obedience, is imperfect, inefficacious, delusive Homage, which our Maker cannot accept. *Herein is my Father glorified, saith our blessed Saviour, that ye bear much Fruit*^k. And thus we are to understand that awful Denunciation: *If ye will not hear, and if ye will not lay it to Heart, to give Glory unto my Name, saith the Lord of Hosts, I will send a Curse upon you, and I will even curse your Blessings*^l. Accordingly the Text very clearly intimates,

III. That to entitle ourselves to *the Blessing of Peace*, we must be *his People*: own his Authority by observing his Laws.

The Practice of Religion and Virtue makes Nations industrious, frugal, rich, healthy, populous, unanimous, public-spirited, fearless; yet at the same Time, just, prudent, friendly;

^k John xv. 8.

^l Mal. ii. 2.

which

which are the very Qualities, that constitute them formidable Enemies, desirable Confederates, inoffensive Neighbours; and, so far as any Thing can, will secure them Peace. But Wickedness impoverishes, enfeebles, dispirits, depopulates, disunites; extinguishes Concern for common Good, inflames selfish Appetites and Passions; renders Men rash and provoking, yet indolent and despicable. It seems hardly needful for Providence to interpose, otherwise than it hath done in the Original Appointment of Things, to exalt a People of the former Character, or depress one of the latter. But when it is, we may expect it to be done. For God will reward what he loves, punish what he hates. And though his Recompences are neither perfect nor proportionable, they are real and considerable, even here. Experience hath found it: Scripture hath foretold it. The *Jewish* Nation indeed prospered or suffered, according to their Doings, more constantly and equally, than others. But still, not only *these Things happened to them for our Ensamples, and are written for our Admonition*^m: but in the same Ages, God visited the Heathen also for their Iniquities; *and lengthened their Tranquil-*

^m 1 Cor. x. 11.

*lity, when they broke off their Sins by Righteousnessⁿ. Christian States, we confess, as they were not in Being, are not mentioned, in the Gospels or Epistles: but Godliness hath the Promise there of the Life that now is, as well as that which is to come^o; and the Revelation of St. John, a prophetical Work, describes whole Kingdoms, and yet larger Portions of the Earth, as undergoing the severest of temporal Judgments for the Abominations, which they had committed. We ought to be deeply affected therefore by every Declaration of God's Purposes in this Respect throughout his Word. And the Sum of them is: *If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the Good of the Land. But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the Sword: for the Mouth of the Lord hath spoken it^p.**

Which then is Our Case? Are We God's People? Are we even sensible what that Phrase implies? That we believe, not a presumptuous Scheme of falsely-called rational Religion, framed by our Fancies, but the *Mystery of the Gospel^q*: that we practise, not an arbitrary System of polite Morals, indulgently relaxed to fit easy

ⁿ Dan. iv. 27.

^o 1 Tim. iv. 8.

^p Is. i. 19, 20.

^q Eph. vi. 19.

upon our Inclinations, but all those Duties, in their genuine Strictness, which *the Grace of God, that bringeth Salvation, came to teach: denying Ungodliness and worldly Lusts, living soberly, righteously and godly in this present World, and looking for that blessed Hope, and the glorious Appearance of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar People, zealous of good Works*¹. Do we know ourselves by this Picture? Or is not the very different one, which I have so often been obliged to set before you, still our true Resemblance? Are we not regardless in general, both of a present Providence and of future Rewards? Have not many of us cast off with Scorn, and most of us contributed to loosen, those Ties of Faith and Worship, which in every Country else, and in this till of late, have always been held necessary, even to civil Welfare? They, who have not rejected Religion, do they not however, Numbers of them, slight the Exercises of it, wholly in private, and to a great Degree in public? Nay, such as appear pretty regular in them, and seem to have a real Sense of Piety, have they any

¹ Tit. ii. 11—14.

Zeal for it, any Sorrow for the Decay of it? Do they not feel and express more Dislike and Contempt of those whom they think, and perhaps but think, *righteous overmuch*^o, than of the most thoughtless about their spiritual State, not to say, the most abandoned? Are we not in common Life dissolute, expensive, negligent of our Affairs, our Families, our very Children, at least in the most important Point, their Principles; overrun by an epidemical Rage for hourly Pleasures and Amusements, with an utter Contempt of Consequences; which, after infecting almost universally the upper, and next to them the middle Part of the World, is yearly spreading wider among those, whose Parsimony and useful Industry is the Wealth of the Nation? Are we not also in our political Capacities, how irreconcilably soever we differ, lamentably alike: void of Reverence to Authority, subordinate or supreme; attentive chiefly, if not only, to selfish or Party Considerations, varnished over with transparent Pretences of Public Good; vehement about disputable Matters, unconcerned about confessedly necessary ones; each Denomination, each Order and Rank, bitterly accusing the other, and none

^o Eccl. vii. 16.

ever thinking in earnest to amend themselves : extremely afraid of hurting Liberty by restraining Wickedness, but not at all of being undone by indulging it; wonderfully jealous of the Power of our own Church, which hath and desires less, than ever any other in any Age; but perfectly easy about the daily Growth of Popery, the most tyrannical Empire over Soul and Body that can be, and the most peculiarly formidable to this Country? *My People is foolish, they have not known me: they are wise to do Evil, but to do Good they have no Understanding*†.

Can such a Nation hope for the Favour of Providence? Could it flourish, even were there no Providence? Evidently it is impossible. Sentiments of Religion and Virtue are the Seeds of all Happiness, the Security in all Danger, the Support in all Affliction. These are decaying apace, and wearing quite out. Habits of Prudence, formed by a careful Education, might in some poor Measure supply their Place. But we have them not. In Trifles indeed we are bred up to a strict Observance of Rules and Forms and Fashions: but in Points of Consequence every one is left, from his early Youth,

† Jer. iv. 22.

to do as he pleases; and They most, whose Example will be most followed. General Dislike and Shame however might restrain Persons, when they come out into the World, from several Vices, against which they had no Preservative before. But with us, there are few Vices or none, of which any Body needs be ashamed: the most notoriously guilty of the worst, are as well received in all Places, if not better, than other Persons. Yet, even in such a State, strict Laws, vigorously executed, might deter, at least from the more immediately mischievous Crimes. But we are destitute of this Guard also. A great Part of our Laws, from the universal Remissness of the Times, are scarce executed at all: and, from the Nature of our Constitution, cannot be executed so effectually, as where Power is less bounded. Still this Constitution, with its many Defects, especially under a Prince, who, God be thanked, most cordially wishes the Continuance and Improvement of that and every Advantage to his Subjects, amply compensates for many Inconveniences; and preserves many valuable Privileges, not enjoyed elsewhere. But then such inward Disorders must by Degrees impair and undermine it, till at length it will fall: possibly the
sooner,

fooner, the more safely we think we can follow our own Devices. Peace may be no Blessing to such, as will abuse it: and the Scripture hath told us long ago, that *the Prosperity of Fools shall destroy them*^a. After all, it would be something, if when we had reduced ourselves to the same Condition with the rest of the World, in point of Freedom at Home, by our Unworthiness and Incapacity of it, we had a Prospect remaining of Security from Abroad. Other Nations, neither free nor virtuous, though internally miserable on both Accounts, continue for a Time, perhaps a considerable one, to answer Purposes of God's Wisdom, externally potent, courted and dreaded. But what Consolation can We draw from hence: exhausted and burthened as we are; with so little to hope, as Experience hath shewn us, even from the friendlier Part of our Neighbours; and so much to apprehend from the nearest and most powerful, who hath repeatedly attempted our Destruction, whose Strength in the only weak Article will be recruited with Zeal and Indignation, to whose Designs we have always been the chief Obstacle, and whose Success in them

^a Prov. i. 32.

must be fatal both to our religious and civil Interests?

Think not, that *I am become your Enemy, because I tell you the Truth*^w. Would God it would permit me to say every Thing, that was pleasing to you. Think not, that I delight, or even mean, to foretel Evil: I mean only to caution you against it. And who shall or will, if the Ministers of God's Word do not? And what must follow? *I have seen, saith He himself, in the Prophets of Jerusalem, an horrible Thing:—they strengthen the Hands of evil Doers, that none doth return from his Wickedness.—They say unto them, that despise me, the Lord hath said, Ye shall have Peace; unto every one, that walketh in the Imagination of his own Heart, no Evil shall come upon you.—Behold a Whirlwind of the Lord is gone forth in Fury: it shall fall grievously on the Head of the Wicked.—But if they had stood in my Council, and caused my People to hear my Words, then they should have turned them from their evil Way*^x. Think not, that, however, such Language might be spared on this Day of Rejoicing. It might so indeed, had we either been hitherto innocent, or were now duly penitent. But, being such, as God

^w Gal. iv. 16.

^x Jer. xxiii. 14, 17, 19, 22.

knows we are, Admonition of our Faults is indispensably necessary, to excite our Thankfulness, that we are not punished in proportion to them: and Warning of our Dangers, to remind us of proving our Gratitude by that Obedience, which alone will obtain us Protection. Would we but make this Use of the present Solemnity, then it would be a Day of Gladness indeed: a Day, *much to be observed unto the Lord through all our Generations*¹, for laying the only Ground-work of public Happiness. And therefore I must repeat to you on the Conclusion of this War, what I earnestly recommended to your Consideration at the Beginning of it, that when *Asa* King of *Judah*, was returning Home, both with Peace and Victory, the Prophet *Azariah* went out to meet him, and said: *Hear ye me, Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin. The Lord is with you, while ye be with Him; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you: but if ye forsake him, He will forsake you*².

Other Methods to support a tottering or raise a sinking State, without Reformation, frequently overturn it: and at best are only Palliatives, temporary Expedients, to delay a little its final Ruin. *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, — They*

¹ Exod. xii. 42.

² 2 Chron. xv. 1, 2.

have healed the Hurt of the Daughter of my People slightly, saying, Peace, Peace, when there is no Peace^a. There is no Peace, saith my God, to the Wicked^b. And not only the sacred Writings have said this; but Heathens have said it who knew them not; Infidels have said it, who regard them not: innumerable Facts have proclaimed it in every Age. But above all it holds in limited Governments, like ours. There must be public Virtue, or they cannot stand. There must be private Virtue, or there cannot be public. There must be Religion, or there can be neither. There must be true Religion, or there will be false. There must be Attendance on God's Worship, or there will be no Religion at all. Not four Years ago it was universally doubted, whether we had Principle enough, of any Kind, left, to make an Effort for the Preservation of every Thing valuable to us. Most happily more appeared, than was expected. Yet God knows how it had proved, if the Trial had gone but a little further. And for God's Sake let us provide, as much as ever we can, against the next. How soon it may happen, is beyond human Foresight. But in the mean While, we have some Leisure,

^a Jer. vi. 9, 14.

^b Is. lvii. 21.

not only for personal Amendment, which is equally possible in all Seasons, but for concerting Schemes, and executing, as well as framing, Laws for public Reformation. In War, many Things, confessed to be right and necessary, are put off, because the Attention must be confined to the immediate Danger. And if they are put off in Peace too, because there is no immediate Danger, when are they to be minded; and what will be the Consequence, if they never are?

I would by no means excite a rash and ignorant Zeal, to be meddling where we see not to the Bottom of Things: much less a factious one, to cramp and embarrass, disquiet and inflame. These Practices must be hurtful: they may be pernicious: and the first Article in true Patriotism is conscientiously abstaining from them. Taking unwarrantable Steps, in Opposition to such as we may think, whether too hastily or not, bad Men and bad Measures, is only introducing additional Wickedness of our own, and giving others a Pretence for continuing, and even increasing theirs. Or should we succeed against them: yet such, as act ill to get Power to act well, seldom or never use

it to that Purpose, when they have it, whatever they may intend beforehand.

The Rule then is, that each perform his own Duty steadily and calmly; rejoice, and acknowledge it with Thankfulness, when others perform theirs; and be very moderate, when he apprehends they overlook or transgress it: endeavour to rectify what is wrong, so far as it belongs to his Station; but *never exercise himself in Matters, which are too high for him*^c; nor watch more solicitously over the Conduct of the State, than over his own Heart and Life. He, that neglects the latter, will seldom be thoroughly in earnest, and seldomer yet impartial, about the former: or though he were, will have much less Weight, than a better Man. The one is incumbent on us all; the other on very few: in the one we need never mistake or fail; in the other we must frequently. Therefore let us earnestly *pray for the Peace of Jerusalem*^d: but remember that the surest Way of *seeking to do it further Good*^e, is first to be at Peace ourselves with God and with Men.

Pressing you to general Reformation, as the Means of general Happiness, may seem a very hopeless Expedient. But it is the only one,

^c Psal. cxxxi. 2.

^d Psal. cxxii. 6.

^e Ver. 9.

which

which Heaven hath pointed out, or will bless. Whether you will make Use of it, depends on yourselves. We are *charged, before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the Quick and the Dead at his Appearing and his Kingdom, to preach the Word; be instant, in Season, out of Season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all Long-suffering and Doctrin^e*. We do accordingly, *as Ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us, pray you in Christ's Stead, Be ye reconciled to God^s*: and when we have done so, *we have delivered our Soulsⁿ*: but we beg you, think of your own. The fewer will amend, the more Need there is, that we should add to the Number. Our doing it may be of some Benefit to others, we know not how great: but at least will be infinitely beneficial to ourselves. We shall be happy, whatever They be: happy, even at present; though less, than if all were so. Probably, indeed, when Times of Trouble come, we shall suffer with them: but possibly not, or however not so much as we apprehend: *For the Lord knoweth how to deliver the Godly out of Temptationⁱ*. Or if he determine otherwise, he will *enable us to bear it^k*:

^f 2 Tim. iv. 1, 2. ^g 2 Cor. v. 20. ^h Ezek. xxxiii. 9.
ⁱ 2 Pet. ii. 9. ^k 1 Cor. x. 13.

and *suffering* now according to his Will¹, is a Title to more Enjoyment in a better Life. This World is not our main Concern. They, who take it for their Portion, will be every one anxiously providing for his own separate Advantage in it; and consequently every one injurious to his Neighbours, and uneasy in Himself: but let Felicity hereafter be the Point in View, and Tranquillity here will be the Result. *The Peace of God, which passeth all Understanding, shall keep our Hearts and Minds through Jesus Christ^m.* Even if we suffer, not only in common with others, but more than others; if we are despised, hated, ill-treated, for what ought to procure us Honour and Friendship, our Piety, Integrity, Regularity: still the Spirit within us will support us; *we shall receive an hundredfold now in this Time, with Persecutions; and in the World to come, eternal Lifeⁿ.* Say ye to the Righteous, that it shall be well with Him: for they shall eat the Fruit of their Doings. Woe unto the Wicked, it shall be ill with Him: for the Reward of his Hands shall be given him^o.

¹ 1 Pet. iv. 19.^m Phil. iv. 7.
^o If. iii. 10, 11.^a Mark x. 30.

Doubtless

Doubtless good Persons will be sorry, as they have Cause, for what the Public must undergo, unless Reformation prevent it. But at the same Time they will acquiesce, as they have Cause, with entire Complacency, in the Justice of Providence: and the more, as the severest Dispensations of it are bringing forward continually, though by unseen Ways, that blessed State of Things, even on this Earth, of which, however else improbable in itself, the Attributes of God afford us Hope; and his Prophets, Assurance. Nay, those Nations themselves, whom by his Punishments he makes miserable for being bad, may by that very Misery be made good, and then happy. *I will leave in the Midst of thee, saith God to Jerusalem, an afflicted and poor People, and They shall trust in the Name of the Lord. The Remnant of Israel shall not do Iniquity, nor speak Lies. It follows, They shall feed and lie down, and none shall make them afraid.*

Such a Cure, though effected by such Discipline, would be an unspeakable Blessing. But surely we are not resolved, that no other shall do. God is trying at present milder Methods: and the Language of his Proceedings is, *How*

‡ Zeph. iii. 12, 13.

shall

shall I give thee up, Ephraim? How shall I deliver thee, Israel?—Mine Heart is turned within me, my Repentings are kindled together^a. But still in the Midst of his Mercies, his Threatnings remain in full Force: and we have a solemn Warning, that if, when we hear the Words of his Curse, we bless ourselves, and say, we shall have Peace, though we walk in the Imagination of our Hearts;—the Lord will not spare us, but his Anger and his Jealousy shall smoke against us; and all the Curses that are written in his Book, shall lie upon us^r. For a long Time we seemed to think, that we might securely trust in our own Wealth and Strength, our own Policy and Bravery, let us behave to our Maker as we would. He hath given us, through a Course of Years, ample Conviction of our Mistake, if any Thing will convince us: and he hath given us now Time to act upon that Conviction. Let us therefore at length intitle ourselves to trust in Him: turn our Minds to fear God, honour the King, love the Brotherhood^s, that is the Public: cease from our profane Discourse, our unbelieving Presumption, our uncharitable Contentions, our selfish Projects, our dissolute Pleasures, our idle Amusements, our

^a Hof. xi. 8.^r Deut. xxix. 19, 20.^s 1 Pet. ii. 17.

fashionable Affectations, our destructive Expences : beg Pardon of our Guilt, through Jesus Christ; and Assistance of our Weakness, through the Spirit of Grace : govern our Lives by the Rules of the Gospel ; and both awe and cheer ourselves by continual Thoughts of that *Day*, when God will judge the World in Righteousness, by that Man, whom he hath ordained^c. All this is the indispensable Duty of every one, were he to be single in performing it : there are some, God be thanked, who practise it now : the Addition of a few, that would be exemplary, might win many more : and were but the Imitation general, hear the Promise made to it. *Thus saith the Lord thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel : I am the Lord thy God, which teacheth thee to profit ; which leadeth thee by the Way, that thou shouldest go. O that thou wouldest hearken to my Commandments : then should thy Peace be as the River ; and thy Righteousness as the Waves of the Sea^d.*

^c Acts xvii. 31.

^d Is. xlvi. 17, 18.

The Lord is the Lord the Redeemer, the Holy One of
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 thee to do good, which health thou to the poor,
 that thou shouldst say, O that thou wast
 like to my Covenant-people: that shouldst say
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AN
ANSWER
TO
Dr. *Mayhew's* Observations
ON THE
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A N S W E R

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Dr. Mather's Observations

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A N

A N S W E R

T O

Dr. *Mayhew's* Observations.

DR. *Mayhew's* Book is written, partly against the Church of *England* in general; partly against the Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in settling Ministers of that Church in the *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut*; partly against appointing Bishops to reside in his Majesty's *American Colonies*. The first, though not formally proposed by him as one Head of his Work, appears to be in his View throughout the whole of it. And if Satisfaction be previously given to candid Persons on this Point, they will be better prepared for considering the other two.

^a The Quotations out of Dr. *Mayhew's* Observations are taken from the *English* Edition, which contains 147 Pages. The *American* hath 176.

He objects against the Constitution and Worship of the Church of *England*, as unscriptural^b. Now even had he attempted to bring Proof of this, it would only lead into a long Dispute, very little connected with his professed Subject, and into which, he declares, *it was by no Means his Design to enter*^c. But instead of Proofs, he contents himself with bold Assertions, reproachful Names, and ludicrous Representations; a likely Method indeed to please the Prejudiced, and carry the Thoughtless along with him, but not to persuade the Considerate and Judicious. Whatever the Doctor may think of our Church, it hath ever been highly honoured by foreign Protestants. The *Lutherans* prefer it to the *Calvinist* Communion, the *Calvinists* to the *Lutheran*, the *Greeks* to both: which may sufficiently justify the Expression, understood in a Latitude not uncommon, that all other Persuasions esteem it next to their own^d. And further, most, if not all of them, blame the *English* Dissenters for separating from it. The Doctor seems to entertain the worse Opinion of it, because the Members of the Church of *Rome* likewise esteem it more than they do others^e. But we have to reply, that they hate it more also,

^b Pag. 128.^c Pag. 126.^d Ibid.^e Pag. 127.

as the most dangerous Enemy to their Cause, and strongest Bulwark of the Reformation. If there be some Appointments in it, which the Scripture doth not require; so have there been from the first in the Church of *New England* too, as may be seen in the Appendix to the History of that Country, written by Mr. *Neale*, a dissenting Minister: and so there are in all the Churches of the World. Ours hath not many Things of this Kind, nor lays great Strefs upon them: and to think indifferent Things unlawful, is as unreasonable and superstitious, as to think them necessary.

He speaks with Horror of its *enormous Hierarchy, ascending by various Gradations from the Dirt to the Skies*^f: and resembling that of the *Romish Church, in which one great Prelate presides over the whole*^g. What he means by the former Words, besides indeterminate Abuse, perhaps he could not easily explain. That there are different Ranks of Men in civil Government, was never held to be an Objection against it: and where is the Harm of it in Ecclesiastical? In the *Presbyterian* Hierarchy, one is raised considerably above another, though the Preference usually may be temporary: and their

^f Pag. 128.

^g Pag. 67.

Acts of Power have been as enormous, as those of the *English* Bishops formerly; and are much greater than those of the *English* Bishops now. In his favourite Comparison of our Church to the *Romish*, the Doctor quite mistakes the Matter. Not one, but two Prelates, preside over the Church of *England*; and four over her Sister Church of *Ireland*: which grievously spoils the Similitude, that he would make out. And all these *preside in Subordination to the King*, as he well knows; though he disingenuously hints a Doubt of it by his ironical Words, *I hope*^b; at the same Time that, I believe, he would deny it to be in Subordination to the King, that He presides over *the West-Church in Boston*. As to *the Dirt*, which he mentions: If some Clergymen of our Church are very low in the World, so are some of every Church; nor do they deserve Scorn for it, but Compassion. And that any of ours are so high, as to do Harm, or cause Fear, by their Elevation, the Persons, amongst whom they live, find not: and he, who is placed so remote from them, had better judge by the Experience of others, than by his own heated Imagination.

^b Pag. 64.

Bishops, in his Language, are *the mitred lordly Successors of the Fishermen of Galilee*¹. Now if Mitres offend him, our Bishops wear none. If they are stiled Lords, it is because, by the ancient Constitution of our Country, they sit in the upper House of Parliament: where, I believe, they are thought as useful Members as the rest. And I know not, whether the Doctor's Modesty would propose, that our Constitution should be altered in this Respect, or whether a much wiser Man could foresee the Consequences of such an Alteration. Men may be Lords, without being lordly: and they, who have professed to abhor the Name, have carried the Disposition of domineering to the Height; and lorded it over the Consciences and the Liberties of others, as much as any who have worn higher Titles. What Intimation lies concealed under the Terms, *Fishermen of Galilee*; and whether, in the Doctor's Opinion, all Ministers of Christ are to follow some Trade, he hath not explained, nor told us what his own is. But certainly reviling his Brethren is a very bad one.

He also charges the Church of *England* with Persecution; and particularly with driving out

¹ Pag. 128.

the Ancestors of the present Inhabitants of *New England* into that Country^k. Now it is a Matter of Notoriety, that the Lawfulness of Persecution is no Doctrine of our Church: and there are few of its Members, if any, now, who approve it, or do not detest it. But we must acknowledge, that, when the Errors of the Church of *Rome* were cast off, this was not immediately perceived to be one by almost any of the Protestant Communions. The Church of *England* was but like others; and the Dissenters from it had not the least Degree more of a tolerating Spirit, perhaps not so much. There were amongst them peaceable Men, and so there were amongst us. But in general their avowed Aim was, not Exemption for themselves, but the Destruction of the Ecclesiastical Establishment^l. On this they were treated too severely, and they returned the Treatment to the full, as soon as they were able, in the total Overthrow of Church and State. Far from exaggerating, I chuse not to mention the Particulars of their Behaviour. Every good Man must lament the Faults of both Sides; but to inveigh against one with Bitterness, and leave it

^k Pag. 129.

^l See this fully proved in *Maddox's Vindication of the Church of England*.

to be imagined that the other was innocent, which the Doctor doth, I hope he will see on Recollection is extremely unjust.

In the *Platform of Discipline, agreed upon in the Synod of Cambridge in New England in 1648*, and published by Mr. Neal, in his History of that Country, it is declared, that *Heresy is to be restrained and punished by the Civil Magistrate; and that if any Churches grow schismatical, or walk contrary to the Rule of the Word, he is to put forth his coercive Power, as the Matter shall require*^m. Accordingly Mr. Neale himself very honestly confesses, that *the Churches of New England were formerly very uncharitable to those who differed from them, and had no Notions of Liberty of Conscience, but were for forcing Men to their public Assemblies by Fines and Imprisonments*ⁿ. On their putting to Death several Quakers, as they did before and after the Restoration, till an Order from King Charles the Second prohibited them^o, he hath these Words: *Now it appeared, that the New England Puritans were no better Friends to Liberty of Conscience than their Adversaries; and that the Question between them was not, whether one Party of Christians should oppress another, but who*

^m Vol. II. p. 306. ⁿ Vol. II. p. 248, 249. ^o Vol. I. p. 334.

should have that Power^p. Nay, the Quakers, affirm, that *they who had loudly cried out of the Tyranny and Oppression of the Bishops in Old England, from whom they fled, when settled in a Place, where they had Liberty to govern, made their little Finger of Cruelty bigger, than ever they found the Loins of the Bishops^q*. Dr. Mayhew indeed saith, that *Severities are used against the Quakers, much less under the Notion of their being Dissenters from the public Mode of Worship, than of their being Disturbers of the Peace and religious Assemblies^r*. But still Severities were used against them on the former Account; and they justly observe in Mr. Neale, that *Offences of the latter Kind have never been thought worthy of Death by any civilized Nation^s*. But the Doctor asks, *supposing the New Englanders to have persecuted the Quakers, From whom did they learn this Practice? Episcopalians certainly should lay their Hands upon their Mouths^t*. Now the plain Truth is, that all Protestants learnt this Practice from the Church of Rome, and all should lay their Hands upon their Mouths. But the Doctor hath no Right to open his as wide as he pleases, and require us to shut ours.

^p Vol. I. p. 329.

^q *Grove's Preface to Bishop's New England judged.*

^r Pag. 79.

^s Vol. I. p. 331, 332.

^t Pag. 80.

God be thanked, the Members of our Church are grown wiser and milder; the Dissenters in general, I am fully persuaded, are so too: and it is high Time, that such of both Parties, as are not, should. But Performances, like the Doctor's, cannot surely contribute to this good End amongst either. He assures us indeed at the Beginning, that he hath a *Regard to Truth and Justice*, with an *Aversion to Controversy*^u; and at the End, that *he honours candid and moderate Men of all Denominations, and would not unnecessarily give Offence to any Person of the Episcopal Persuasion*^w. One must suppose, that he believes himself; and as far as is possible, I would believe him also. Some Persons are strangely subject to sudden Gusts of Passion, and say and do Things in them, for which they are heartily sorry the next Hour. But were this the Doctor's Case in Writing, he would blot out the injurious Expressions which had dropt from his Pen. Therefore his Malady hath a deeper Root in his Frame, and influences him more constantly, though it may be without his perceiving it. For I am exceedingly unwilling to think, that he inserts his qualifying and healing Clauses with an artful Design to procure

^u Pag. 7.^w Pag. 145.

himself a Dispensation for his Outrages. However that be, his Professions, that he doth not intend to do what he hath been doing just before, and doth again soon after with all his Might, are Protestations against Fact which cannot be admitted.

But whatever Concessions a Gentleman of this Turn makes to his Adversaries, are to be received with great Regard, for one may be sure they are not too large. Let us therefore begin with these, in considering his Remarks on the Charter and Conduct of the Society.

He owns, that *it hath a Right to plant Churches, to support Missions and Schools, &c. in many of the British American Colonies*; and adds, that *no one, who hath ever read the Charter, can possibly imagine, that its Care and Charity ought to be confined to the Heathen Slaves in, or the Savages bordering on, the Plantations**. Yet many have been led both to imagine and to assert this, merely from its Name. It is hoped, that for the future they will confess and remember their Mistake. He owns likewise, that in three Districts of *New England*, i. e. *New Hampshire, Rhode-Island and Providence*, *much less Care hath been taken for the Support of*

* Pag. 12, 13.

a public Worship, than in the rest^r: and that a few Missions from the Society might be needed in these, particularly in Rhode-Island^z. And he blames them as unnecessary, only in the Massachusetts and Connecticut. Nay, he declares, that in these it is by no Means his Intention to charge that venerable Body with any wilful known Misconduct, or improper Application of Monies, even though any incautious Expression should at first View have the Appearance of such an Accusation^a. Again he saith, I would by no Means be understood, as charging so respectable a Body with any wilful criminal Abuse of Power^b. Accordingly, after declaring his Design to shew, that they have in some Respects counteracted the Ends of their Institution, he adds, however contrary to their Intention^c. He hath also these express Words: That the Society have chiefly sent their Missionaries into those British Plantations, where they were much needed, according to the true Design of their Institution; and that they have hereby served the Interest of Religion in them, is by no Means denied: it were very criminal to deny them the Praise, that is justly due to them in this Respect. I honour the Doctor for the Instances of Candor; and if he had preserved

^r Pag. 36.

^a p. 46.

^a p. 7.

^b p. 93.

^c p. 9.

the same Temper throughout, should either have had no Controversy with him, or have engaged in the friendly Debate with Pleasure : whereas now the frequent and copious Effusions of a bad Spirit in his Work make such Animadversions upon him unavoidable, as I should otherwise gladly have spared.

His Charge on the Society is, that they have *maintained Episcopal Churches, where other Protestant Churches were before settled, and the Administration of God's Word and Ordinances provided for*^d, with a *formal Design which they have long had, to root out Presbyterianism, &c. in the Colonies.* Now this Design, *in Pursuance of which, he saith, they have in a great Measure neglected the Ends of their Institution*^e, is falsely ascribed to them. They have never formed a Scheme to root out Presbyterianism, &c. in the Colonies, either by Force, which the Doctor could not mean, though the Word most naturally suggests it, or even by Argument and Persuasion. Undoubtedly they would be very glad, if all the Inhabitants were of the Communion of the Church of *England*: as undoubtedly the Doctor would, if they were all of his Communion. But they have sent no Persons to effect

^d Pag. 15.

^e p. 86.

this. He attempts to prove the contrary from the following Instruction, given by them to their Missionaries: *That they frequently visit their respective Parishioners; those of our own Communion, to keep them steady in the Profession and Practice of Religion, as taught in the Church of England; those that oppose us, or dissent from us, to convince and reclaim them with a Spirit of Meekness and Gentleness*¹. His Words on that Occasion are: *This clearly shews, what they are after. It will also be observed here, that WE are considered as Parishioners of the Missionaries, no less than professed Episcopalians. And we are often spoken of as such by them in their Letters to the Society, as appears by the Abstracts. How assuming is this*²! But surely it may be retorted, How unfair is this! The Instruction plainly relates, not to Missionaries settled in *Presbyterian* or congregational Parishes, for there were none so settled when it was drawn up, but for Incumbents of episcopal Parishes, though with a Mixture of Dissenters. And they would of Course understand, that endeavouring to *convince and reclaim* the latter was not to be their stated and principal Business, but occasional

¹ Collection of Papers, printed by Order of the Society, p. 24.

² p. 89.

only and incidental. If the Doctor should happen to speak of the Episcopalians residing in his Parish, as Part of his Parishioners, and say, that he should endeavour *to reclaim them with a Spirit of Meekness*; would this be a Proof, that he was fixed there with a *formal Design to root out Episcopacy* in it? If there be Instances, in which Missionaries, who have no legal Parishes, have used the same Language; (for he quotes none, and I remember none) it only follows, that they have expressed themselves improperly, and should be set right when it is observed.

Another Evidence produced by the Doctor is, that *in the Account of the Society, published in 1706, after speaking of the independent Congregations in New England, they say: "Several other Ways of Division and Separation did so much obtain in other of our Colonies and Plantations, that this made it more necessary to think of providing for a regular and orthodox Ministry,—to promote, as much as possible, an Agreement in Faith and Worship."* This, he saith, *can mean nothing, more or less, than Uniformity, or a general Conformity to the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship of the Church of England*^h. I have not been able to procure

^h Pag. 86, 87.

this *Account*, or to learn by whom, or whose Order, it was compiled. But the Passage quoted from it, expressly speaks, not of independent, or any Congregations in *New England*, but of *other Ways of Division and Separation in other Colonies*, and therefore is nothing to the Doctor's Purpose: besides that, *as much Agreement as possible in Faith and Worship* might be far less than a general Conformity to the Church of England; which it might be impossible to obtain, and yet as near an Approach to it as could be obtained, might even, in his Opinion, be more desirable, than letting them continue in their present Way. For how bad that was, appears not.

The real Conduct of the Society, with Respect to Provinces and Parishes not episcopal, hath been, to contribute towards supporting public Worship and Instruction amongst such Members of the Church of *England*, as cannot in Conscience comply with the Worship and Instruction of the other Congregations in their Neighbourhood, and yet cannot wholly maintain Ministers for themselves. The most of these will usually be in the more considerable Towns; and for that Reason it is, and not with a View of making Converts, as the Doctor pre-

tends,

tends¹, that episcopal Ministers are settled in so many considerable Towns of *New England*. But they are settled no where, till a competent Number of our People inhabiting near, request it, and subscribe what they are able. Nay, these Requests have often, both formerly² and lately, been rejected, or postponed for many Years together, when the Number did not appear to be sufficient, or the Society apprehended, that too much of their Money was going this Way. And were it but known, as it seems to be in some Measure to the Dissenters themselves¹, how continual and importunate the Calls and Expostulations of such Persons are, the Impartial would wonder, how the Society could withstand so many of them, as it hath done. These are plain Evidences, that Missionaries are not sent to *New England* for the Purpose of making Profelytes to Episcopacy. Accordingly, which is a further Evidence, they have no Directions, public or private, given them to make any, or to preach at all upon disputable Points: but on the contrary, one Rule laid down for them is, *that they keep always in View the great Design of their Undertaking; viz. to promote the Glory*

¹ Pag. 46.
&c.

² See *Humphreys's* historical Account, p. 61,

¹ See Mr. *Hobart's* serious Address, p. 133, 138.

of God, and the Salvation of Men, by propagating the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour^m; and another is, that the chief Subject of their Sermons be the great fundamental Principles of Christianity; and the Duties of a sober, righteous and godly Life, as resulting from those Principlesⁿ.

Nor can the Missionaries easily misapprehend the Intentions of the Society, thus manifested. Several of them have indeed spoken highly, sometimes perhaps, as it is but natural, too highly, of the Increase of their Churches; and have mentioned it with great Pleasure in their Letters, and no Wonder. But they have not ascribed that Increase to the Pains which they have taken to bring Persons over to it, but rather to the Satisfaction which our Service had given to Persons, who of their own Accord, from Curiosity or other Motives, attended it. Or if they now and then do mention themselves as making Converts, they do not ever, to the best of my Remembrance, mention this, as the End for which they were appointed. Dr. *Johnson*, one of the oldest of them, professes it not to be so, in these Words: *He [Mr. Hobart] is much mistaken in saying—we make it our chief and grand Business to proselyte Dissenters to the*

^m Collection of Papers, p. 20.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 23.

Church of England.—Our chief Business is, to minister to those who are Church People; and if this proves the Occasion of increasing the Number, it is but what may naturally be expected, when they, by that Means, have Opportunity to see how great the Advantage is on our Side^o. And Mr. Beach, one almost, if not quite, as old, saith, It is not the Design of the Charter, that the Society should send Missionaries to convert Presbyterians to the Church: and—it is a base Reflection to say they do.—They never send Missionaries to convert Protestants to the Church of England, but to minister to Church People: and if Dissenters by that Means are added to the Church, they do not think by this any Evil is done. This is the Truth, and all the Truth^p. Accordingly a very respectable Missionary uses the following Words, in a Paper not printed, which I have seen. “I believe very few Instances, if any, can be produced of any Missionary’s beginning with any Dissenter, with a View of reclaiming him to the Church. I have long known the Affairs of the Society, and know of no such Instance.”

^o Pref. to Mr. Beache’s Vindication, or Address, 1749, p. 5, 6. ^p Second Vindication, or Address, 1751, p. 67.

Therefore

Therefore Mr. *Apthorp* might well *aver*, as the Doctor tells us he is said to have done, *that he desires not to make one Profelyte from the congregational Church*^a. The Doctor however thinks, that *there seems to be some Difficulty in reconciling this Declaration with the Hopes expressed in his Letter to the Society, of future Accessions to his Congregation.* But may there not be Accessions to it by the Settlement of more Members of the Church of *England* in those Parts, or by a Change of Sentiments in Persons of other Persuasions, without Mr. *Apthorp's* interfering? The Doctor, unable or unwilling to perceive so obvious a Solution, charitably helps him to come off, by supposing, that *perhaps it was from the College, not from the Church, that he flattered himself with such Accessions*: adding, *in which he is supposed to have been not a little disappointed.* But hath Mr. *Apthorp* attempted to make any Profelytes, either from the Church or the College? if not, why is a poor needless Evasion ascribed to him; and a Disappointment supposed of Hopes, which he doth not appear to have entertained? Why should not his Declaration, and suitable Behaviour, be rather deemed another Proof, that the Missionaries

^a *Ib.* p. 63.

understand their Business to be, not profelyting Dissenters, but officiating to our own People? The Doctor believes indeed what may seem a Presumption of the contrary, *that scarce ten Families in the Town of Cambridge usually attend the Service of the Church lately set up there*^r. But it was represented to the Society, that 50 Families in the Town and Neighbourhood were desirous to attend it. And should they prove to be much fewer, yet several Members of the Church of *England* send their Children to *Harvard* College there: and such a Place of Worship, as they and their Parents approve, may be reasonably provided for them, without any Design of profelyting others. There is indeed a College in *New England*, where Students have been forbidden to attend episcopal Service, and a young Man hath been fined for going to hear his own Father, an episcopal Minister, preach. But in *Harvard* College, it seems, a better Spirit prevails: and it is more likely to flourish, both for that Moderation, and for the new Church built near it.

The Doctor saith that in some other Places *the Supplicants for Missionaries have not exceeded 8 or 10, or 12 Heads of Families*^s. But if this

^r Pag. 48.

^s Ib.

be true, they have petitioned in the Name of others, as well as their own. And supposing the Society to have been misinformed about their Numbers, this may happen notwithstanding good Care; and by no Means proves them to have a Design, which other Circumstances prove they have not.

But the Doctor apprehends, that whatever the Number of these Petitioners any where may be, Conscience is but seldom their Motive, and therefore they should not be encouraged. Indeed, he scarcely seems to conceive how it can be their Motive; and wants to be told, *what there is that should give Offence to good Protestants*^t in the Presbyterian or congregational Churches. We must not call them Independent, for he saith *the Episcopalians affect to reproach them under that Name*^u; though Mr. Neale, himself an Independent, uses it frequently, and it is more proper, and not reproachful at all. Nor must we call them Assemblies or Communion; for he hath rebuked Mr. *Apthorp* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* for doing it^w, though he doth it himself. In these Churches therefore, he wants to know what there is that can give Offence: and so lets him-

^t Pag. 66.

^u p. 36.

^w p. 67.

self again into his darling Topic, of abusing the Church of *England* in Comparifon. However, he recollects that he hath heard fome Epifcopalians fay, and been told that others have faid, *that they fhould much prefer the Communion of the Church of Rome*^x to that of the Diffenters. And indeed none are fo likely as he, and fuch as he, to provoke thofe into faying it, who would think very differently in their cooler Hours. But fupposing this to be their fettled Judgment; would he have them left to turn Papifts, if they will, becaufe they are not fo good Proteftants as they fhould be? The Church of *Rome* and its Society *de propaganda*, would have Ground to thank him for eftablifhing this Notion. But if fome of his own Communion fhould fay that they had rather be Anabaptifts or Quakers than Churchmen, would that be a Reason why they fhould have no Minifter of his Communion amongst them? I fhould imagine juft the contrary. Perfons of different Parties in Religion may think too Ill of each other, without wifhing Ill to each other at all; and fo may mean very well, though they judge greatly amifs. Or even if they mean Ill, they

^x Ibid.

have so much the more Need of such Instructors as they esteem, to set them right.

But the Doctor, *to do* the Episcopalians Justice, doth not suppose that these Sentiments generally prevail amongst them. And he admits that some of them may possibly, without going these Lengths, have conscientious Scruples about the Means of Religion in his Communion^y. But he puts the Word *possibly* in *Italics*: which intimates, that he thinks it barely possible. And this Possibility he extends no further, in what follows, than to allow that there may be *some Things or Circumstances which they cannot intirely acquiesce in, or approve of*. Now would he account us to be sufficiently charitable, if we conceded only such a Possibility of Conscientiousness to the Dissenters from the Church of *England*? If not, why is he so exceedingly sparing in his Concessions to us? We hold it to be probable, we hold it to be evident, that many Dissenters who are far from thinking us worse than Papists, yet cannot in Conscience use the Means of Religion in our Communion. And surely we are intitled to as favourable an Opinion from them. Without maintaining that *they have no Gospel Ministers, or Sacraments, or Ordinances,*

^y Pag. 68.

or Churches^z, we may apprehend, whether rightly or wrongly is not to be disputed now, but sincerely however, that Episcopacy is of Apostolical Institution, and that Scripture affords as good Proof of this, as of the Appointment of Infant Baptism and the Lord's Day. We may apprehend that after the ceasing of extraordinary spiritual Gifts, Forms of Prayer were always used, more or less, throughout the Church of Christ, and are needful for the Observance of the Scripture Rule, *Let all Things be done decently and in Order*^a. Without judging those who reject both these, (for *to their own Master they stand or fall*^b) we may judge it unlawful for us to join in the Rejection of either. Nay, were we only to think their Ministry, compared with that of our Church, to be unedifying, and make that our Plea for preserving a Separation from them, we should but follow the Pattern which many of the *English* Dissenters have set.

The Doctor indeed assigns very different Motives, for the Non-compliance of our People: *Levity, Petulance, Avarice, groundless Disgust at the stated Minister, Dissatisfaction about Pews and Rates, or at being under, or likely to come*

^z Pag. 63.

^a 1 Cor. xiv. 10.

^b Rom. xiv. 4.

under Censure for immoral Practices. But he doth not affirm positively that either [he means any] of these hath always been the Case without Exception^c. Here again he is remarkably careful, that his Concessions to the poor Episcopalians shall not be too liberal. And to keep on even Terms with him, we do not affirm positively that none of these hath ever been the Case. But we must insist, that the favourable Presumption is the preferable one, and that Mens Professions, concerning their own Inducements, are to be credited, unless the contrary appears; which, according to the best Intelligence that could be got, we believe it hath not ordinarily done, in the Matter now under Consideration. On one of these Heads, *Avarice*, the Doctor explains himself, by saying, that *till a Law was made, obliging the Episcopalians to pay ministerial Rates in common with others, but for the Support of their own Clergy, Episcopacy made a great Progress; and that if they had been exempted from all ministerial Taxes as the Quakers are; almost all who loved their Money better than any Thing else, might in the Course of a few Years have adorned the Communion of the Church.* But what needed

^c Pag. 47.^d P. 49.

they who loved their Money better than any Thing else, turn Episcopalians to save it, when turning Quakers would have served the same Purpose more effectually? And have any Episcopalians turned Quakers, when they found their former Change would secure them no longer? If not, this Suggestion is unauthorized and unwarrantable. He declines giving *any recent Instances* of Mens acting upon the Motives which he alledges, because if you will believe him to be so tender, old ones, given by another Person, may be less invidious. Of these he produces two, from a Letter of Dr. *Colman*, of *Boston*, written above 50 Years ago to Dean, afterwards Bishop *Kennet*. And he observes rightly, that the Dean in his Answer expresses his Belief that they are true. But he plainly believed it only on the Information of Dr. *Colman*, a perfect Stranger to him; nor can any Inquiry into the real Truth be made now. And I beg Leave to observe in my Turn, that according to Dr. *Mayhew's* own Account, for I have no other, the Dean thought the Society was authorized to *plant episcopal Churches*, where, though there was a *settled Ministry*, there were also good Numbers, who could not in Conscience conform to the Ways of Worship different

rent from the established Church of England^e. Therefore asserting, that the true and only Design of the Society, in sending Missionaries to the *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut*, hath always been to provide for such Persons, is not a new Plea, set up to serve a Turn. The Dean had good Opportunities of knowing its real Purposes; and so worthy a Man as Dr. *Maybew* allows him to be, would not have written as he hath done, if he had suspected any further insidious Scheme. Indeed the Society, far from having formed a Project to episcopize (as the Doctor calls it) that Country, had but three Missionaries in it seven Years after; and the following ones went upon no other Errand than the first.

After saying that the abovementioned Causes produced Factions and Parties, and they produced episcopal Separations, the Doctor goes on to say, that *divers of the Missionaries have been much injured, (which there is no Reason to suppose) if they have not been very busy in fomenting these Divisions; yea, been at the Bottom of them^d*. But I take the Liberty of maintaining, that there is *great Reason to suppose* they have been injured. For in all such Dis-

^d Pag. 50—55.

^e Pag. 57.

putes it never fails, but each Side injures the other; and the Missionaries would be very sure of having a double Load of Calumny thrown upon them. Still, that some of them may have been to blame in this respect, is not only possible, but considering human Nature, too likely. And if any where it can be proved that they have been *busy Bodies in other Mens Matters*^s, or used bad Arts to promote a good Cause, they ought to be reprimanded, and if they amend not, removed. But the Doctor, conscious that Misbehaviours of particular Persons would not come up to his Point, charges the Society itself with *manifesting a sufficient Forwardness to encourage and increase small disaffected Parties in Towns, upon an Application to them*. And this, he saith, *appears*^h. But how it appears, he hath not said, nor can I imagine. The Society hath never been made acquainted with any of the little Quarrels in the Towns of *New England*; and were they to know them, they are too remote to give Directions about them; unless the Doctor can make it *appear*, that they have given their Missionaries a general Direction to inflame them all as much as they can.

^s 1 Pet. iv. 15.

^h Pag. 47.

Perhaps he may think that no other Causes can be alledged, than such as he hath produced, for the Increase of Episcopalians in those Parts. But this would be a great Mistake. Though the first Planters of *New England* were Separatists from our Church, many Conformists to it came afterwards to settle there; and some of them, as I am credibly informed, were to be found fifty Years ago, in almost every Town of considerable Standing. These new Comers were despised and reproached for their religious Principles by their Neighbours; most of whom had been taught to think the Church of *England* nearly as bad as the Church of *Rome*. Thus attacked, it was natural that they should endeavour to defend themselves, and procure such Books as would enable them to do it better. Some of the more candid and inquisitive amongst the *Presbyterians* and Congregationalists ventured to hear their Defences, and to read their Authors; were convinced by them, and became Churchmen. As their Number grew, it was natural that they should endeavour to procure themselves Ministers, and on their Request the Society helped them. This occasioned a further Augmentation, to which also contributed greatly the wild Enthusiasm that prevailed in several of
the

the *New England* Churches, even before Mr. *Whitefield* came amongst them, but was mightily increased by him and the strolling Teachers that followed him; as did likewise their extending spiritual Censures to mere Trifles, with their endless Contentions and Confusions on the settling of Ministers, and on various Occurrences besides; all which Things disgusted and wearied out many of their People, and induced them to seek a peaceable Refuge in our Communion. If these are known Facts, as I am assured they are, they will go a very great Way towards accounting for the Growth of the episcopal Party; and the Doctor should not have suppressed them, and ascribed it wholly to such bad and such low Motives as he hath done, in order to throw an Odium upon the Society, as encouraging what it abhors, for the Attainment of a Design which it never framed.

But the Doctor seems to intimate, that *even upon Supposition*, that the Episcopalians in *New England*, who pleaded that they had no Ministers whom they could attend, were *conscientious People*, yet they were not *much to be pitied*, or *really Objects of Charity*¹. Surely he could not mean this. At least, I should have great Com-

¹ Pag. 69:

passion for a Number of Dissenters in the same State. Thus much however he allows, that *if any Persons in England, in their private Capacity, should think it*, which again rather implies that he in their Condition should not think it, *a Deed of Charity to support episcopal Churches in New England, for the Sake of those comparatively few conscientious People, to whom the Means of Religion, to be had in the Protestant Dissenting Communions, are no Means—they have a Right to do it.* But he insists that the Society hath not, *their whole Fund and Revenue being otherwise appropriated*; which he undertakes to prove from their Charter.

Now I acknowledge that the Case of the *New England* Episcopalians, is not particularly described and provided for in the Charter. But so neither is the Case of any other *Indians*, than such as are the King's *Subjects, and People living in his Plantations and Colonies*, for to these only the Letter of the Charter extends; and in respect of others, Mr. *Apthorp* might justly say, that *Indian Conversions are undertaken by the Society, as it were, ex abundantia.* Yet Dr. *Mayhew* is so far from blaming the Society for applying Part of their Benefactions to the Instruction of such *Indians* as only border on his Majesty's

jefty's Dominions, that he blames them greatly for not applying more of it to that Use. Now if their Case, which existed when the Charter was granted, and yet is not named in it, may however be looked on as comprehended within its Intention, and obtain Relief by Means of it in Consequence of the general Principle on which it is founded, much more may that of the Episcopalians, which did not exist, and was not foreseen, and therefore no Wonder it was not named. Though it was not expressly mentioned before it was in Being, still if, when it came into Being, it was included under the Reason and Equity of the Purposes which are expressly mentioned; paying Regard to it must be understood to be allowed by the Charter, and virtually directed in it. For the Rules of Law require that Grants of Princes, and particularly Grants in Favour of Religion, be interpreted as liberally as may be^k. And thus far, I conceive, Mr. *Apthorp* rightly asserts, that *the Society have a discretionary Power of making Alterations in their Institution*; nor do I believe that he meant to carry it further, however un-

^k See those Rules in *Wood's Institutes of Civil Law*, Introd. c. 13. §. 3. N^o 13. 17.

mercifully Dr. *Mayhew* hath treated him¹ on the Supposition that he did.

If it be doubted, notwithstanding the above-mentioned Argument *à fortiori*, whether the Case of the *New England* Episcopalians comes within the Charter or not, I beg the Reader's Attention to the following additional Considerations. The King sets forth in it as a principal Reason of granting it, that *for Lack of Support for Ministers, many of his loving Subjects want the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments.* Now must not they who lack Support for such Ministers, as they can with a good Conscience attend, want the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments? Would not the Generality of the *Presbyterians* and Congregationalists in *New England* think they wanted it, if there were no other than episcopal Churches there? and why may not Episcopalians think in a like Manner? And can one imagine, that when the King's Subjects abroad, Conformists to the Church established in *England* by Law, were, without their own Fault, and merely through their Situation and their Poverty, unprovided of such public Means of Religion as their inward Persuasion required, it could be

¹ Pag. 110—116.

agreeable to his Royal Will that they should be excluded from the Benefit of this Charter? But further, the King recites that Part of his People, through the forementioned unhappy Circumstances, *seem to be abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity*, and others are in Danger of being *perverted to Popish Superstition and Idolatry*; and both these Things he was desirous to prevent. Now doth not the Doctor think the Episcopalians, when they have no Ministers in whose Ministrations they can acquiesce, must be grievously liable to the one or the other? Particularly, must not those of them be in great Danger of Popery, who, as he tells us, prefer that to the Worship of the prevailing Party in *New England*? And must it not be presumed that the Charter would have guarded explicitly against these Evils, had they been foreseen? But further still, the King declares, that *he thinks it is his Duty as much as in him lies, to promote the Glory of God by the Instruction of his People in the Christian Religion*. Now will not this be more fully effected if the Episcopalians in *New England* are instructed, than if they are not instructed? And lastly, the King proposes, that *for accomplishing the Ends intended by the Charter, a sufficient Maintenance be provided for*

an

an orthodox Clergy to live amongst his Subjects in these Parts. I do not lay the greatest Stress on this last Clause, because it specifies only what Sort of Clergy should be sent, not to whom they should minister. And yet, if the Intention was that only Clergymen of the Church of *England* should be employed, (and public Authority, I believe, hath never directed others to be employed) it must surely be intended likewise, that all the Laity of the Church of *England*, who could be benefited by them, should.

Here indeed the Doctor objects, that *Orthodoxy, in its most common Use, hath no Reference to ecclesiastical Polity*^m. But supposing that, why may not the Charter use it in its original and not uncommon Signification, of right Notions in religious Matters, whether they relate to Faith, or Morals, or Worship, or Church Government? The Head of an episcopal Church cannot be deemed indifferent about any of these; especially in forming a Corporation, into which, I believe, no one Dissenter was by the Charter admitted. But he objects again, that *King William, though as Head of the Church of England, there was a Necessity of his externally con-*

^m Pag. 60.

*forming to its Rules and Discipline, cannot be supposed by orthodox Ministers to have intended those of the Church of England in Distinction from others*ⁿ. Thus he is pleased to represent, for the Sake of his Hypothesis, our glorious Deliverer as a mere *external*, and consequently hypocritical Conformist: though it is well known, that on his Death-Bed he was attended by Ministers of our Church and no other, and received the Sacrament from a Bishop's Hands. Nor, I presume, is the Doctor ignorant, that he settled 100*l.* a Year on an episcopal Church at *Boston*^o; which clearly shews, that he thought episcopal Churches proper Objects of Royal Bounty, even in Places where there was a settled Ministry of another Sort before. And his Successors to this Day have thought in the same Manner. But had he been ever so rigid a Nonconformist, every Word of his Charter must have been interpreted, not by his private Opinion, but by the Spirit of the Laws and the Constitution.

The Doctor pleads also, that *divers* of the *New England Laws*, relative to Ministers, in which they are designed as *orthodox*, have had the Allowance of the King^p. And had the Intent of these Laws been to enact, that they were or-

ⁿ Pag. 20.^o *Humphreys's Account*, p. 7, 313.^p p. 61.

thodox,

thodox; the Plea would have been of some Weight. But where the King only assents to a Bill, framed for another Purpose, in which this Word, used by them concerning themselves, is to be found, his Connivance at their Use of it, against which it might have been hurtful to object, can never shew, in what Sense he uses it of his own Accord in an *English Charter*. He saith likewise from Mr. *Hobart*, that *if we think none but the Clergy of the Church of England are in a legal Sense orthodox Ministers, we may be informed how that Matter was determined by the King in Council, in the Cause between Mr. Macsparran and Mr. Torrey*[†]. But the Council did not declare the Dissenting Ministers to be orthodox in the legal Sense, but in the Sense of the Donors of the Land in Dispute. And this Answer Mr. *Beach* gave long ago to Mr. *Hobart*[†]. But the Doctor hath chosen to repeat the Objection, without taking Notice of the Answer.

He urges also, that *if we deny the New England Ministers the Title of orthodox, we must deny it to the Ministers of all other Churches, except perhaps that of Rome*[†], and engross the

[†] Pag. 62, 63. [†] Second Vindication or Address, p. 69. [†] p. 61.

whole of that precious Commodity, as he scornfully calls it, to our own Party†. Now he knows in his Heart, that we think the Church of *Rome* far more heterodox than we do any of the Protestant Churches, yet he could not resist the Temptation of insinuating the contrary. I hope his Conscience will do him the kind Office of putting him to the Blush in private, for this and many like Instances of Disingenuity. As to other Churches, so far as their Opinions differ from ours, be it in Points more or less material, we do indeed think them mistaken, or, if the Doctor pleases, heterodox; but without the least Contempt of them, or Breach of brotherly Love towards them: and we allow them to think us so, without taking it amiss. But he hath thought fit to acquaint us, that Heterodoxy and Heresy are the same Thing". So that whoever dissents from Dr. *Mayhew* in any Point relative to Christian Faith, it seems, is accounted by him an Heretic. His *New England* Brethren, if indeed they acknowledge him for a Brother, are desired to consider the Consequences of this Way of thinking. *We have not so learned Christ*".

† Pag. 59.

" p. 20, 58, 61.

" Eph. iv. 20.

But

But the Doctor hath not yet done with Orthodoxy. *That precious Commodity*, he fancies, will afford him still further Advantages. And therefore he tells us, it is known, or at least generally supposed amongst them, that their *New England Ministers adhere much more closely both to the Letter and the Spirit of the doctrinal Articles of our Church, than most of the episcopal Clergy themselves*^x. Thus imaginary Notorieties and vague Suppositions, answer equally the Doctor's End of blackening the Episcopals in the Esteem of his Neighbours, by imputing to them Deviations from the established Faith, for which, if they were real, he would, *unless* (to use his own Words) *he is much injured*, like them the better. We can only deny the Charge and put him on the Proof, which we do. And he would seem to attempt a Proof in Respect of Mr. *Apthorp*, setting some Passages in a Sermon of his, and some of the 39 Articles, in a pretended Opposition^y: though it is visible at first Sight, that Mr. *Apthorp* speaks only against the Doctrine of unconditional Reprobation, and the Extravagancies of the *Antinomians*, and that the Articles quoted assert neither of them. But this Accusation served a double

^x Pag. 60.^y p. 76, 77.

Purpose; of intimating first, that Mr. *Apthorp* subscribed the Articles insincerely, and then affecting to bring him off by a Subterfuge, of which he hath no Need, that *possibly he hath altered his Opinion since.*

I have dwelt too long, in Complaisance to the Doctor, on the Term *orthodox*. Now I proceed with his Proofs of the Society's Misconduct. He alledges, that *Dr. Bray took great Pains to inform himself of the State of Religion in the Colonies; and deliver'd it, as the Result of his Inquiries, that he found no Need at all of Missionaries in Connecticut and the Massachusetts*². This again he quotes from Mr. *Hobart*; and again omits to take Notice of the full Answer which Mr. *Beach* had given to it fourteen Years ago, in these Words: "I grant
 " there was a Time, when, as *Dr. Bray* saith,
 " there was little or no Occasion of sending
 " Missionaries to the *Massachusetts* or *Connec-*
 " *ticut*, because there were then few or no
 " Church People who wanted a Minister. Yet
 " now the Case is very much alter'd; and as
 " there are some thousands, so they are like to
 " increase³." Had the Design of the Society,

² Pag. 41, 42.
 67, 68.

³ Second Vindication or Address, p.

in sending Missionaries to those two Governments, been to make Profelytes, they would have thought there was most Need, instead of no Need, to send, when there where fewest Church People in them. But they sent none for eight or nine Years, as Dr. *Maybew* himself observes^b: and they have sent them afterwards, just as the Necessities of the People required: not to propagat the Peculiarities of the Church of *England*, as he pretends^c, but to preserve a due Sense of Christianity, and perform religious Offices amongst its Members.

The Doctor alledges also, that *in some Churches, which according to the Abstracts have been represented as growing, flourishing, and increasing in Reputation, for near half a Century, the Number of stated Worshippers at this Day, very little, if any Thing, exceeds ten or twelve Families*^d. Yet he tells us himself, that in 1718, which is not half a Century ago, there were but *three Missions in all New England*^e: and every one of these far exceeds that Number of Families; as do the latter also, if we may believe Accounts, as credible as the Doctor's, who, though he denies those of the Missionaries to be true, confesses, that *the direct Proof of a Negative,*

^b Pag. 44.

^c P. 43.

^d p. 48.

^e p. 44.

in such Cases, is no easy Matter^f. The Society wish, and endeavour to be well informed, concerning the Number of Families in every Mission. If they are misinformed only in some few Instances, it is neither a great Marvel nor a great Objection. And if they apprehend many Missions to be more considerable than they are, since Episcopacy thrives so poorly, the Doctor hath no Reason to be alarmed about it. For supposing them to have engaged in the Enterprize which he imagines, they will certainly grow sick of it and abandon it. But indeed I doubt whether any one of them ever dreamt of what he is pleased to say *hath long been their formal Design, the true Plan and grand Mystery of their Operations in New England*^g.

Another Thing, asserted by him, is, that after episcopal Congregations *in some Places have become well able to support their own Ministers, the Society have still continued to pay these*: to which he adds, that *the only Reason, why he doth not come to Particulars, is, lest it should seem too invidious*; and that *this Conduct of the Society for some Years, proved no inconsiderable Means of increasing the Church Party*^h. Now the Society hath always been desirous to know,

^f Pag. 83.^g p. 49.^h Ibid.

when

when any Congregation became able to support itself without their Help; and have never continued their Contribution, when they have understood that to be the Case. If their Friends have been too slow in giving them Intelligence, which may have happened, and the Doctor will favour them with any, which on Inquiry shall appear to be well grounded, they will both be thankful to him, and shew the World that they are far from wishing to increase the Church Party by profuse Liberalities.

The Doctor exaggerates the Fault, with which he charges the Society, of misapplying their Money, by alledging further, that they have done no Good by it. He declares, that *he never knew an Example of any Profelyte from their Churches to ours, being brought back to a Christian Life: but that there are numerous ones of Persons, whose Morals, though exceptionable before, were much worse afterwards; that they often become loose, profligate, vain and censorious, seemingly placing no small Part of their Religion in railing at their congregational and Presbyterian Neighbours*¹. Now in Answer to an Accusation of the same Nature, brought by Mr. Hobart, Mr. Beach hath *seriously declared,*

¹ Pag. 82.

that

that he hath known many Persons who have greatly improved in Virtue by the Change^k. And other worthy Missionaries have declared the same Thing. The Doctor indeed will perhaps treat me for producing Missionaries, as he hath Mr. *Apthorp* for producing Members of the Society, as *Witnesses* in what he calls *their own Cause*^l. But the Testimony of its Accuser is not more admissible. The Zealots of all Parties, and those of his own at least as much as others, are mighty apt to speak with overgreat Severity of such as forsake them. And if the Doctor himself doth not place some Part of his Religion in railing at the Episcopalians, it is very hard to account for his practising it so much. But besides, the Question is not, whether Profelytes to the Church of *England* grow better, but whether the Members of the Church of *England* would not grow worse, if they had no stated Ministry to prevent it.

Inattentive to this, he urges further, that swearing, gaming, &c. are beyond all Comparison more frequent, since the Church of *England* prevailed there, than before^m. Yet Mr. *Beach* saith, he is persuaded, that solid Christian Virtue,

^k First Vindication or Address, p. 43.

^m Pag. 75.

^l Pag. 9, 70.

as well as Knowledge, increases, as the Church gains Ground in the Country; and thousands of People are really better'd by it in their moral Character^a. But supposing the abovementioned Vices are more frequent since that Time, so I fear these and others are in *England* since the Revolution and the Toleration. But would it not be very wicked to ascribe the Increase of them to either of these? Are the Missionaries Examples of Vice? The Doctor hath not dared to say it. Do they preach in Favour of Vice? Are they not as diligent and zealous to the full in teaching moral Duties, as the Ministers of his Communion, if not more so? And why then are the Immoralities, of which he speaks, to be imputed to them, or the Society, or the Church of *England*, when perhaps his own Friends are as much degenerated as any? He declares indeed, that *he will not affirm that this is greatly the Work of the Society*. But he hath done his utmost to make others think it; and, I suppose, imagines that Episcopalians deserve no better Treatment. In one Thing however he hath dealt very fairly. After expressing his Persuasion, that *there is less real Religion in those Parts of New England, where the Society's*

^a Second Vindication or Address, p. 65.

Money hath been expended, than there would have been, had it been sunk in the Ocean, he adds, 'tis not to be supposed that any Episcopalians can be of this Opinion; neither is any Stress laid upon it in the present Argument °.

Mr. *Apthorp* asserts that, instead of Harm, the *New England* Missionaries have done great Good there; that the religious State of the Country is manifestly improved,—though much indeed remains to be done in Manners and Piety. And here the Doctor, with his usual Charity, represents him as making a Concession, that this boasted Reformation very little, if at all, consists in the Improvement of Piety and Morals^p. Then he proceeds, without any Occasion given him, to a mock Defence of the *formal Air*, which he admits the old Divines of that Country had, compared with the *joyial Countenances* which he ascribes to the Missionaries^q. What the Doctor's Countenance is, I know not; but I wish he gave as good Proofs of a serious Heart, as the Missionaries in general do. That Religion wore a gloomy and uninviting Appearance amongst the Puritans there formerly, and now wears a more pleasing one amongst their Descendants, and that in Part they have learnt

° Pag. 96, 97.

^p p. 73.^q p. 74.

this Alteration for the better from the Members of the Church of *England*, the Doctor, I presume, will not deny, though he will not permit an Episcopalian to say it; and Mr. *Apthorp* did not mean to say more on this Head.

What he saith in the next Place, of the Improvements lately made there in the speculative Doctrines of Religion, the Doctor endeavours to construe into the licentious Insult on their *Fathers* and Teachers, *living and dead*; of which Mr. *Apthorp* had evidently no Intention, though he doth use a strong Expression or two, which probably were not meant even of the dead Teachers at large, but of the wild Sectaries with which that Country abounded*. At least they cannot be meant of the living Fathers, because he both owns and pleads, that the Faults, which he blames, are amended. And after abusing him for some Time, the Doctor himself allows, *it was too common a Thing for People in New England to express themselves in a Manner justly exceptionable upon these Points*; and that they may be indebted to the Society or their Missionaries in some Degree, for their doing otherwise now†. So that in the

† Pag. 75.

* See *Humphreys's* Account, p. 36, 37, 38.

† Pag. 78.

main he agrees with Mr. *Apthorp*, at the same Time that he inveighs against him; and probably wishes that far greater Changes were made in the speculative Doctrines of his Brethren, than the Society and its Missionaries would approve.

Mr. *Apthorp* adds, that *Hypocrisy hath worn off, in Proportion as Men have seen the Beauty of Holiness*: that is, in Proportion as the Face of Religion hath become amiable, and its Doctrines have been rationally explained; the two Things which he had mentioned immediately before. But the Doctor chuses to misunderstand him of the *Beauty of Rites, and Modes, and Forms*, in order to get an Opportunity of reproaching the Church of *England* again, as placing Holiness *in a Zeal for these*^u, which it notoriously doth not. I wish others were as far from placing it in a Zeal against them.

The last Instance of religious Improvement, in which Mr. *Apthorp* thinks the Missionaries have been Instrumental is the *exterminating of Persecution*. On this the Doctor observes, that *no Acts of Uniformity ever took Place in New England*^v. Very true, for they could not obtain them: else there was a Time when they

^u Pag. 79.^v Ib.

certainly

certainly would. But they made a Shift to persecute pretty effectually without them. He adds, that no Persecution *had been known amongst them for many Years before the Society was in Being*^z. But can he prove that they held it unlawful before that Time? He represents it as incredible, that *the Posterity of those who had persecuted their Fathers into America, should teach the present Generation their Charity and Moderation?* But why more incredible, than that the Posterity of those who had persecuted the Quakers in *America*, should now be Enemies to Persecution? The Act of Toleration was passed by Members of the Church of *England*. Mr. *Locke*, a Member of the same Church, was, of all *English* Writers, the greatest Advocate for Toleration. The Esteem of it increased continually. The Generality of our Missionaries, I hope, carried that Esteem with them into *New England*. Their Need of Toleration there, must recommend it still more to their good Opinion; the Necessity of allowing it to them must gradually reconcile others to an Approbation of that Allowance; and better Motives, I doubt not, co-operated with these; Which had the strongest Influence, I do

^z Pag. 80.

not undertake to determine. But surely the Doctor goes too far, when he saith, *Wherever we learnt Christian Charity towards those who differ from us, we did not learn it of the Church of England.* Where else they learnt it, he doth not say; and they certainly might learn it from her, unless they disdained to learn any Thing from her. Where he learnt it indeed will be very needless to enquire, till he gives better Proofs of his having learnt it at all. For one who uses his Pen in such a Manner, seems but too likely, notwithstanding a few Expressions of gentler Import here and there, to use other Weapons, if he had the Command of them. Yet I do not suspect him of *hoping to shoot Episcopalians as freely as Pigeons*; though he saith it is credibly reported, that *some of the warm Episcopalians hope for the Time when they may treat Dissenters so*^y. Mr. Beach on the other Hand, had actually heard some of the Presbyterians say, *it was Pity that all those, who first set up the Worship of God according to the Church of England in that Country, had not been hanged, as the Quakers were formerly at Boston*^z. Such hot headed Creatures, I am persuaded, say much more than they deliberately

^y Pag. 81.^z Vindication or Address, p. 28.

think; and are too few, on either Side, to deserve the Notice of the other. The *New England* Episcopalians in general, so far as I can learn, sincerely desire to live amicably with their Neighbours. And amongst the *English*, with whom my Acquaintance hath been pretty extensive, and without whom the others cannot be formidable, I know not a Man of the Clergy or Laity, and do not believe there is one in a hundred, perhaps I might say a thousand, who wishes to overturn the present Toleration of the Dissenters. I should be glad of an Assurance, that They wish no worse to the Church Establishment. The Doctor saith, *they do not in all Respects find the kindest Usage from us, being subject to divers temporal Inconveniencies*^a. I suppose he hath principally in View the Test Act. Now without digressing to enquire whether this be justifiable or not, they who approve of restraining them so far, may heartily disapprove any further Restraints; nay, many of them have given the strongest Evidence that they do. And perhaps as many Episcopalians in *New England* are excluded from Offices without Law, as Dissenters here by Law, on Account of their Religion. But enough of this.

^a Pag. 80.

The Doctor argues moreover, that even supposing the Missionaries in *New England* to have done Good there, *though it may be some Apology, it will not justify the Society, if it hath occasioned the Neglect of a much greater Good to the Heathens, or unprovided Colonies^b, who had an exclusive Right to the Money which hath been sunk in the episcopal Gulph^c.* But the exclusive Right hath been disproved, and there hath been no designed Neglect. The Heathens meant must be either the *Inaians* or the *Negroes*. Now the Doctor owns, that *as to the Indians, there have been, and still are, some great Discouragements in attempting to christianize them.* But he saith that *according to divers Appearances, the Society have had this Work less at Heart than that of propagating Episcopacy in New England^d.* I hope he would not have the Complaint made by the *Indian Sachem* in June 1700^e, reckoned amongst these Appearances, for the Society was not incorporated till a Year after. But he saith, that *the Accusation of neglecting the Natives in America, hath been in some Sort allowed to be just by the Society themselves;* and brings for Proof of it, Bishop *Williams's* Sermon before

^b Pag. 72.^c p. 92.^d p. 98.^e p. 107.

them in 1705^f. Now, unhappily for the Doctor, Bishop *Williams* doth not speak of the Society, in the Words which he quotes, but of the *English* Nation. Nor could he speak of the Society, as neglecting the *Indians*, and yet less as neglecting them to propagate Episcopacy in *New England*; for the Society had not subsisted five Years, and had but one, if any, Missionary in that whole Province. But the Bishop's Words founded so plausibly for a Charge upon the Episcopalians, that he could not forbear misapplying them. He affirms, that *it would not be difficult to justify this Complaint by an Appeal to any of the later Sermons before the Society*. I conceive it would, and he hath not attempted it. In one Place he expresses a Doubt, whether the Society have so much as *begun to use Methods of converting either the Negroes or the Indians*. But in another he owns, that *they have made some Essays from Time to Time towards the Conversion of the Savages; but very feeble and sparing ones; compared with the Zeal of the French to popize the Indians, or with their own Zeal to episcopize New England*^g. Now indeed they have shewn no Zeal to episcopize *New England*; and it is much easier (I go on

^f Pag. 98.^g p. 134, 135.

with the Doctor's Language) to popize than to christianize the *Indians*. Teaching them a few Words and Ceremonies, of which they know not the Meaning; giving them a few Trinkets, and inspiring them with a mortal Hatred against the *English*, makes them good Christians enough to serve the Purposes of the *French*; and no Wonder that such Conversions are affected with Ease. Our Society cannot undertake to make Profelytes in this Manner. Besides, it hath not such Numbers to employ, such Funds to maintain them, or such Authority to require their Perseverance in the Work. Many of their Missionaries are under Vows of absolute Obedience, none of ours are; and therefore they will engage to go only where they chuse, and will stay no longer than they chuse. Reasonable Persons will be moderate in blaming them, if they consider the manifold Disagreeableness and Danger of such an Employment; but at least they will be far from blaming the Society for not sending Missionaries, when they cannot procure them. And that they have failed to use their best Endeavours for procuring them, the Doctor doth not assert.

Instead of this, he first insinuates without Proof, what would be nothing to his Purpose

if

if true, that *the Missionaries have frequently given the World too pompous Accounts of their Efforts, and spoken hyperbolically of their Difficulties, and been too soon discouraged*^z; then goes on to make Remarks on Mr. now Dr. *Barclay's* Mission about 25 Years ago, as if nothing worth Notice had been attempted before. He is careful indeed to tell us, that an Order of Council was made very early [in 1702] for sending two Protestant Ministers to the *Indians* of the Five Nations; that this Order was communicated to the Society, and referred to a Committee^a. But that any thing was done, or tried upon it, or about the same Time with it, he hath not given the least Hint. Yet he might have known, and probably did know, from Dr. *Humphreys*, to whom Mr. *Apthorp* refers his Readers, not only that the Society sent a Missionary that very Year, the first after it was formed, to endeavour the Conversion of the *Indians* bordering on *South Carolina*, and that *the Governor and other Gentlemen there, thinking it not to be a proper Season*, disposed of him another Way¹: but that in Pursuance of the above Order, the Society, after inviting unsuccessfully a *Dutch* and an *English* Minister,

^z Pag. 99.^a p. 108.¹ Ib.

who lived in the Neighbourhood of those Nations, to undertake their Conversion, prevailed on the Rev. Mr. *Thoroughgood Moor* to go upon this Design in 1704, who applied to the *Mobocks*, and acquainted them, *that another Minister was daily expected for the Oneydes, and one for every other Nation, as soon as proper and willing Persons could be found; that they seemed at first highly pleased with the Care thus taken of them; but would give no determinate Answers to his Offers of instructing them, nor at last any Answers at all, though he used all the Means he could think of to get their Good-will: so after near a Twelvemonth's Trial he left them, and was soon after lost at Sea*^{*}. The Doctor might also have known, if he did not, that Mr. *Barclay*, a different Person from the abovementioned, being sent Missionary to the same *Indians* in or before 1709, *tried all the Methods he could, to engage them to be instructed in our Language and Religion, but with very small Success; that several indeed would seem for a Time to be converted, but soon after they would return again to their first savage Life*[†].

* Pag. 286—291.

† Ibid. p. 215, 216.

His passing over in Silence the following Account is yet more observable. In 1710, the Request of the four *Sachems*, who came over to *England* that their Subjects might be instructed in Christianity by resident Ministers, being thought to favour a new Attempt, the Society agreed to send two Missionaries to the *Mohock and Oneydes* Indians, with a Salary of 150l. Sterling each, together with an Interpreter and Schoolmaster to teach the young Indians. Accordingly Mr. *Andrews* was sent as Missionary, and an Interpreter and Schoolmaster were assigned him. He was presented to the *Indians* with great Solemnity, and received by them with great Marks of Joy; but the Parents obstinately refused to let their Children learn *English*. Therefore both Parents and Children were instructed in the *Indian* Tongue, as well as the Nature of it would permit. But in a short Time they grew weary of being taught. Their Fathers would not suffer their Boys to be corrected or displeased, in Order to their learning any Thing. As they grew up, they took them along with them, when they went out in Bodies to hunt, for several Months together, and they could not be brought to a settled Life. They took and dismissed Wives at their

Pleasure; were continually making Expeditions, and practising Cruelties one upon another; left their aged Men and Women to perish; got drunk whenever they could, and in their Drunkenness were mad and mischievous to the highest Degree. They who had learnt something, shewed in their Lives no Regard to it; and even the four *Sachems* became Savages again. *French* Jesuits from *Canada* instilled into them Jealousies by false Assertions, which Popish Missionaries never scruple; and some of the *Juscararo* Indians, driven from *North Carolina*, which they had perfidiously attacked, filled them with such groundless Resentments by unjust Representations of what had passed there, that they forbid Mr. *Andrews* to visit them at their Habitations, would no longer come to the Chapel or the School, nor suffer him to speak of Religion to them when he met them occasionally; but insulted and threatened him and his Companions, who were in Danger of their Lives whenever they ventured out of the Fort, where they dwelt. At length therefore he represented to the Society, that he despaired of any further Success. Yet they would not hearken to his single Narration and Opinion, but requested Mr. *Hunter*, Governor of *New York*,

to make Enquiry, whether continuing his Mission was likely to be of Use. And on the Governor's confirming the Accounts which Mr. *Andrews* had given, they recalled him, after a Trial of six Years^m.

I beg the Reader to compare these Relations, taken from authentic Papers, with the Doctor's unauthorized Suggestions, that the Missionaries told what Stories they would, and the Society believed them without Examination, or wilfully neglected this Part of their Business. Without entering into the subsequent Particulars of this *Indian* Undertaking, I shall only say, in general, that other Missionaries were sent afterwards, and with some Effect, down to the Year 1735, when the first mentioned Mr. *Barclay* went, of whose Mission alone the Doctor is pleased to take Notice, because he thinks it will afford Matter of Objection.

Accordingly he alledges, that Mr. *Barclay* had not *half a proper Support*, but *the Mission was starved*. For Mr. *Sergeant*, a Missionary from the Society incorporated in 1661, reports from a Letter of Mr. *Barclay*, that *he had but a scanty Allowance*, (i. e. from the Society) and *could obtain no Salary for an Interpreter or*

^m Ib. p. 295—311.

Schoolmaster^a. And Mr. *Barclay* himself saith in a Letter, *June 11, 1736*, that *he laboured under great Disadvantage for Want of an Interpreter, which could he but enjoy for two or three Years, he should be Master of the Indian Language*^b. Now when Mr. *Barclay* wrote these Letters, of which I know nothing but from the Doctor, he was not a Missionary but a Catechist only. And though he had, as he saith, but a scanty Allowance, *i. e.* 30*l.* a Year from the Society, yet he expected *further Encouragement* from them; and the Assembly of *New York* had also voted him 30*l.* a Year, which may account for the Smallness of the Society's Allowance. Only he had not received either of the Salaries^c. But before the End of the same Year, he wrote to the Society, that he had made himself Master of the *Mobock* Language, which probably induced them to think an Interpreter unnecessary. The next Year they raised his Salary to 50*l.* Why he desired in 1740 an Interpreter, as well as a Schoolmaster, appears not; but in the same Year a Schoolmaster was allowed him. That the Society should be cautious and frugal in the first Trial of a young Man, after so many Disappoint-

^a Pag. 101.^b p. 102,^c p. 102, 103.

ments, is far from being strange. And the Experience of an Interpreter for two or three Years, which is all that Mr. *Barclay* wished, could not possibly be grudged, in Order to save so trifling a Sum towards a more favourite Purpose, as the Doctor would have it believed. Nor did the Mission miscarry for Want of due Support, as he leads his Readers to imagine it did. What he quotes from Mr. *Apthorp*, that *from the latest Accounts we find this Mission much dwindled, or greatly interrupted*, relates to the State of Things brought on 18 Years afterwards by the late War. Mr. *Barclay*'s Mission was carried on with seeming Success till about the Year 1745, by which Time the *French* had infused such dreadful Imaginations into our *Indians*, and incited their own to such Violences, that it was no longer safe for Mr. *Barclay* to stay amongst them. There is therefore not the least Ground for the Doctor's Pretence, that the *Indians* did not think the *English* in Earnest, or that the *French* made their Advantage of any Negligence of the Society. Instead of despising what the Society was doing, they were alarmed at it, and employed both all their usual Arts and open Force to defeat it. However, Mr. *Oel*, a *German* Clergyman appointed
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by the Society, staid with the *Indians* during the War, in which they were faithful to this Country. And he, and *Paulus a Mobeck*, whom the Society made School-master, were still doing the best they could there when the last Accounts came. Mr. *Barclay* being settled at *New York* in 1746, Mr. *Ogilvie* was sent in his Stead to the *Indians* in 1748, who found that many of them were removed into the *French Territory*, and the rest so much addicted to Drunkenness, which hath since destroyed a great Part of them, that he had little Hopes, excepting from the Children, and not much from them, unless they were maintained in Houses appropriated to their Instruction. Now this Undertaking would not only be excessively expensive, particularly because the Parents must be well entertained as often as they pleased to visit their Children, but in all Likelihood fruitless, considering their Dispositions with Respect to their Children already mentioned. Mr. *Ogilvie* took one by Way of Trial, cloathed, maintained and instructed him. But his Friends fetched him away, lest he should learn to despise his own Nation. Notwithstanding all this, Mr. *Ogilvie* continued his Endeavours there, till he was carried off in 1758 for his Majesty's Service, by the Com-
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mander in Chief of his Forces in those Parts. There are still, or lately were, Hopes of his Return; in the mean Time, the Rev. Mr. *Brown* supplies his Place.

Besides these Attempts, and several other occasional ones by several Missionaries, one of which, by Mr. *Beach*, he saith, was frustrated by the Dissenters prejudicing the *Indians* against him⁹; there was a Resolution taken by the Society in 1743, to essay the Conversion of the *Moskito Indians*, which Mr. *Hobart* hath misrepresented. He saith, *the Society spent so much Time in endeavouring to persuade either the Indians themselves, or the Government of Jamaica, to support the Missionary, that though the Letter from the Indians requesting Assistance, bears Date May 19, 1739, yet Mr. Prince at the Time of his Death, July 25, 1748, had not reached the Place of his Mission*^r. Any Reader would conclude from hence, that the Letter from the *Indians* was either written to the Society, or instantly communicated to them, and that the Delay arose wholly from their Unwillingness to part with their Money on the Occasion. But the Truth is, that the *Indians* applied in 1739

⁹ Second Vindication or Address, p. 70.
cond Address, p. 141.

^r *Hobart's* se-

to Mr. *Trelawney*, Governor of *Jamaica*, without naming the Society, whose first Knowledge of their Application was in the latter End of the Year 1742: that on this they wrote immediately to the Governor, not to persuade any Persons to contribute, but solely to enquire whether the *Indians* were able or the *Jamaicans* willing, which was surely a justifiable Piece of Prudence: that as soon as they had his Answer, giving no Ground to hope for pecuniary Assistance, which was in a few Months, they agreed to send a Missionary and Schoolmaster; that Mr. *Prince*, then in *America*, being recommended to them for this Work shortly after, they agreed without Delay to accept him, if he brought proper Testimonials; but that Objections were made to him from thence, which could not be fully discussed under a considerable Time: that when his Character was cleared, he was directed to come over, and ordained; that he returned as soon as he could, but died on his Way from *Jamaica* to the Place of his Destination: that on hearing this, the Society ordered another Missionary to be provided, but no one could be got. Evidently there was no Backwardness in this Case; but Assistance was most readily sent to *Indians* not comprehended within

within the Letter of the Charter, not being in any of his Majesty's Colonies; on which Account the Treasury refused Mr. *Prince* the usual Bounty granted to Missionaries, and it was made up to him by the Society, who might easily and plausibly have excused themselves from engaging in this Matter, if they had not really had it at Heart.

From these various Attempts it appears, that the Society have always been desirous, always endeavouring, to make Impressions on the *Indians*. And from their bad Success with those on whom they bestowed the most Pains, it appears, that notwithstanding their seeming good Inclinations towards Christianity, and their Petitions to be instructed in it, on which the Doctor lays so much Weight*, they were either insincere, or quickly changed their Minds and grew intractable; so that appointing more Missionaries, if the Society could have found them, would probably have been little else than *sinking* more Money, if I may presume to imitate his Style, *in the Indian Gulph*†, instead of making *those Tribes in general professed Christians*, which he desires to have it thought would have been the Consequence. His Presbyterian and

* Pag. 100, 106.

† p. 109.

congregational Friends have had a much longer Space of Time for this Work than the Society; they have also lived in great Numbers amongst the *Indians*, which is another Advantage. Yet I fear the Fact is rather, that few *Indians* are left in *New England*, than that many are Christians. And though the Doctor tells us, that two Missionaries, lately sent from *Boston* to the Five, otherwise Six Nations, give *very encouraging Accounts of their Disposition*^a, one cannot help doubting, whether these Accounts will end in any Thing better, than the abovementioned like Accounts given to the Society. I heartily wish they may. But surely as yet, it is too early to insult us with the Superiority of their Success to ours.

The Doctor saith, Mr. *Barclay's Mission was starved*^w: I hope the contrary hath appeared. Much less was it starved to propagate Episcopacy in *New England*, for at that Time the Society had scarce any Missionaries there; yet in a great Measure it failed like the rest. And therefore it is very unjust to impute the Failure of any to that Cause, when it may be so naturally imputed to those which produced the same Effect before; and are likely, though not so

^a Pag. 105.

^w p. 104.

likely, to do it again. However in the Beginning of the Year 1756, the Society consulted some of their *American* Friends, whether a few *Indian* Boys might not be procured, and taught in the Colleges of *New York* and *Philadelphia*, and sent from thence to instruct their Countrymen. The Answers to them represented great Difficulties of obtaining Children, greater still of keeping them long enough; and no small Danger of national Resentment, if any Accident should happen to any of them. The Society notwithstanding, the College of *New York* being not as yet in a Condition to receive any such Children, resolved to give 100*l.* a Year towards educating some in that of *Philadelphia*, in which they had Hope also of further Assistance. But a fresh War soon broke out. Now in a Time of War, and it should be remembered, that there have been very frequent ones since the Incorporation of the Society, some taking their Rise in *Europe*, some only in *America*, little or nothing can be done, even with the friendly *Indians*, in Favour of Religion. On the late Peace with *France*, another *Indian* War hath unexpectedly followed. When God in his Mercy shall permit those Regions to enjoy Tranquillity again, it will be a proper Season to resume this Project.

In the mean while, our Society hath agreed with that of 1661, to send jointly a Lay Instructor to the Six Nations, as soon as it is safe, and to bear much the greatest Part of the Expence. The Doctor, it is hoped, will, on considering these Things, retract his Assertion, that *little more can be said, than that the Indians have not been wholly neglected by the Society* *. At least, as it hath never been charged with Remissness in this Article, either by the Government at Home, or by any of the successive Governors Abroad, this may surely be accounted as considerable a Presumption in its Behalf, as his Opinion is against it. And I dare say the Promises, which it voluntarily and freely made to the King on his Accession, will be faithfully kept, as far as the Means of fulfilling them can be found.

With respect to the Negroes, the Doctor is not particular in his Accusation of the Society, and therefore a general Answer will suffice. He observes justly, that *our West India Islands abounds with them* †, and so do some of our Plantations on the Continent. But in both they live under the absolute Government, chiefly of hard Masters; too many of whom forbid them

* Pag. 100.

† p. 95.

to be instructed in Religion, and others deprive them of Time for it, by making it necessary that on *Sundays* they should work for themselves. Where they are allowed to attend the Minister of the Parish, they are properly under his Care; and where Negroes abound most, the Parishes are in general so well endowed, that the Society have not, and need not have, Missionaries in them; but Provision, even for the lowest of the People, may be easily made without them. Where they have Missionaries, the Negroes are understood to be Part of their Flock, whom they have been strictly charged not to neglect. In those Places where there are no Ministers, it is impossible to appoint a separate Missionary or Catechist for the Negroes of each Family, and almost impossible to assemble those of distant Families together. The Proprietors of large Numbers of them are usually well able to get them instructed by some of their upper Servants, or a neighbouring Schoolmaster; and if they are unwilling, would be very apt to defeat the Endeavours of Persons appointed by the Society. If such in any Place, as are well disposed, will form any reasonable Plan for the Instruction of the Negroes belonging to them, or near them, which they may contrive much

better on the Spot than the Society can at a Distance, they will be sure to receive as much Help from it, as they can expect. The Society hath for many Years maintained Catechists for the Negroes in the two great Cities of *New York* and *Philadelphia*, with very good Effect. And of late they have been blamed for it, as overdoing, because the Inhabitants may well bear that Burthen themselves. However this may be, they can truly answer to the Doctor's Charge, that they have refused no Assistance towards the Conversion of the Negroes, which they have been asked, or saw how to give; and particularly, that they have withdrawn none since the Increase of their Missions in *New England*. On the contrary, they have extended their Care far beyond the literal Bounds of their Charter, and in 1751 appointed a very worthy Missionary, with a Salary of 70 *l.* a Year, to instruct the Negroes in *Africa*: where he continued five Years, and then returned to *England* on Account of his Health; having first sent over to the Society three Boys of good Families, to be educated here under their Direction. One of these is dead; the other two have been maintained, though as frugally as was proper, yet at no small Expence, and taught whatever would fit

fit them to propagate Christianity in their native Country, to which they are now on the Point of going back. The greatest Part of this the Doctor must have known from the Abstracts, but hath mentioned nothing of it. For it would have been hard to reconcile with his Accusation of the Society, that they have disregarded every Thing else, to propagate Episcopacy.

The last Head of his Charge of Neglect relates to the Colonies, unprovided of a competent Number of Ministers. Here he saith, that *though he will not affirm it for Truth, yet he hath been very credibly informed, that the People in some of the Southern Colonies, and particularly in those Parts of North Carolina, which were entirely destitute of Ministers, had made earnest and repeated Applications to the Society for Missionaries, sometimes without any Answer for Years together, and at last without Success: and that some sensible and serious Persons from that Country, several Years ago, he thinks, gave him the same Account; but that whether they did or not, they made such a Representation of their sad State for Want of Ministers, that at the Moment of his Writing, it was not in his Power to refrain from Tears in reflecting on it.* And then he

makes his usual charitable Addition, that *perhaps* the Society had it not in their Power to comply with these Solicitations, by Reason of their large Expence in the noble Design of supporting and increasing little episcopal Parties, or *Factions*, in New England². So the Doctor's credible Information of what he will not affirm for Truth, and his thinking he remembers what he is not sure he ever heard, is produced against the Society, to justify a Conjecture about their Motive for acting as they never did act. Indeed, that the poor People, over whose Case he hath wept so long after, would have accepted Ministers from the Society, is far from certain; nor is it likely from several Parts of his Book, that he would have reckoned the Want of episcopal Ministers any great Calamity. At least, I cannot learn from the Books of the Society, which have been consulted on this Occasion, that any Applications, made to them from *North Carolina*, have been rejected or postponed. But it appears, that they sent a Missionary thither in 1703, who was discouraged by the Inconveniences of the Climate and Country, by the intestine Feuds of the People, by the Profaneness of many of them, and the Indifference of others to all Re-

² Pag. 97, 98.

ligion; that on his Return they sent two more in 1707, who after a few Years were also wearied out; and again two in 1711, who used their best Endeavours for several Years, but succeeded no better, and at last quitted the Undertaking. Yet all of them were Men of very good Characters, as the Inhabitants acknowledged. On a fresh Application, a sixth Missionary was appointed in 1722, who died the next Year, and a seventh in 1725, who seems to have despaired like his Predecessors^a. Then the Inhabitants, I believe, were for a Time left to themselves, and very insensible of the Unhappiness of their Condition. But gradually the Society supplied them a-new; and for some Years past they have had more Clergymen amongst them, though at most perhaps but seven at once, than ever they had before; and therefore they have not been neglected for the Sake of episcopizing *New-England*, as the Doctor suggests. The Society hath acquainted them long ago, that if they were willing to do what they were well able towards maintaining more Missionaries, it would be glad to assist them. But instead of this, they have used those ill, in many Ways, whom they have had already.

^a See *Humphreys*, p. 128—143.

Particularly, though they have made Laws, both formerly and lately, for Salaries to Ministers, they have been temporary, and insufficient, and ill executed. And when the present Governor once thought he had put Things on such a Footing that the People might maintain their own Ministers entirely, the Society could not find Ministers to send over to him; which Dr. *Mayhew* himself will allow they would have done readily in this Case, if they had been able, because it would have cost them nothing. Indeed we have not Persons enough in Orders to serve the Parishes of *England* properly, and therefore it must be difficult to engage a sufficient Number for the Plantations. But the Difficulty is much greater to provide them for the Southern ones, than for *New England*, where many are content to come over and be ordained, provided they may return to officiate amongst their Relations and Friends. And this is one considerable Reason of the larger Proportion of Missions in that Province, which the Doctor ascribes entirely to a quite different Cause.

Relying on his Proofs, that the Society have misapplied a Part of the Money intrusted with them, he endeavours to compute how much it

is, and shews the same Inclination to exaggerate in this, as in every Thing. Having confuted those Proofs, I shall not follow him through the Dark into the random Calculations built upon them. He would have it thought, that in 25 Years the Sum hath amounted to 35,000*l.* with which, he saith, forty or fifty Missions might have been comfortably maintained amongst the Heathens and in heathenish Places, every Year, for more than 30 Years past^b. Now if fifty Missionaries are to be paid for 32 Years out of 35,000*l.* they will not have each 22*l.* a Year. And if only forty Missionaries were to be paid out of it for only 30 Years, they would have but 29*l.* a Year. The Doctor, I believe, would not undertake such a Mission with such a Salary. He saith, the 30*l.* a Year given to Mr. Barclay, was not half a proper Support for him, though he was only a young Catechist, and had 30*l.* more from the Assembly of New York^c. But no Matter how inconsistent the Reckonings are, provided each in its Turn will bear hard on the Society.

An additional Charge, brought by him, is, that the Society hath obtained Contributions by Sermons, representing the Work in which they

^b Pag. 95.

^c p. 104.

are engaged, to be merely the Propagation of Christianity, though a considerable Part of it hath been the Propagation of the Church of *England*; that in this they have imitated the Practice of the *Romish* Society *de propaganda fide*, though the Preachers before them have condemned it as unfair; that thus the Dissenters in *England* have been misled to encourage Designs against Churches of their own Communion in *New England*, and *some thousands of Pounds* have been drawn from them, which have in Part been applied to that Purpose^d. Now in Truth, the Society have made it their Business to do just what their Preachers represent them to have been doing, excepting that they have not been able to do so much towards the Conversion of the *Indians* and *Negroes*. Whilst there were but few Persons in the *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut*, destitute of such Modes of public Worship as they could attend, few or no Missionaries were sent thither, and the earlier Sermons took no Notice of this Case. When they increased, Provision was gradually made for them; the Preachers mentioned it in general Terms; the present Archbishop of *Canterbury* mentioned it very expli-

^d Pag. 26—33,

citly above twenty Years ago : and at the End of the Sermons, both before and since, Lists of the Missionaries, their Places of Residence and their Salaries, with Accounts of the State of their several Congregations, have been published annually. Surely this is far remote from fraudulent Dealing. And no one, that was at all attentive to the Proceedings of the Society, could be ignorant of this Part of them ; though Dr. *Mayhew* thinks Bishop *Butler* was, when he preached before it, which is incredible in the Nature of the Thing, and false in Fact. The Popish Society *de propaganda* never was blamed in Sermons before ours, for supplying those of their own Communion with the Means of their own Worship ; but for making it their principal Employment to bring over other Christians to that Worship, which ours hath not done. And if the Dissenters have contributed any Thing considerable to the Support of our Missionaries, they must be presumed to have done it with their Eyes open, and either to have chosen rather to assist Episcopalians in that Mode of public Worship, than let them be without any ; or to have liked the general Design of the Society so well, as not to be influenced by their Dislike of its Management in this Particular. But I believe the Truth is, that
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the Dissenters, at least for many Years past, have contributed little or nothing. I know not that any one of them is, or lately hath been, a Member and Subscriber, or hath made any Present, or left any Legacy to the Society. Nor have they been called upon, when the Crown hath appointed Collections for it. But some, if not many of them, have taken great Pains to dissuade Members of the Church of *England* from giving on such Occasions. And though I should mistake in any of these Points, yet, on the whole, the Society would certainly come off very well in Respect of the Dissenters, if they would neither do it Good nor Harm.

But further, probably much more Money hath been given to the Society by the Members of the Church of *England*, on Account of the Provision which it hath made for the Episcopalians in *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut*, than they would have given if it had made none. Many of those amongst us, who are zealous for the Support of Christianity abroad, are zealous also, though in a lower Degree, for the Support of our own Church there; especially in Places, where, without their Help it cannot support itself. And all such will naturally be more liberal to both Designs, when thus joined, if indeed they can be called two, than they would

would to one of them, if divided. Persons are not obliged to confine the whole of their Charity to that one Purpose, which they think the best, but may allowably distribute it amongst all which they think are good. Nor is uniting these two Purposes what the Doctor would represent it^e, preferring or equalling the Peculiarities of the Church of *England* to the Interests of the Gospel, any more than the yearly Contribution of the Dissenters to the keeping up of their smaller Congregations here, is preferring or equalling their Peculiarities to the Interests of the Gospel. They think, both may be kept up by one and the same Act, so do we. They contribute to maintain public Worship amongst their poorer Brethren, without designing to *presbyterianize* England; we contribute to maintain it amongst ours, without designing to *episcopize* New England. It would be absurd in us to charge them with the former; it is equally absurd in them to charge us with the latter. If indeed the Case of the Episcopalians in the *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut* doth not, by the Charter of the Society, come under its Care, Bounties to them are at present conveyed through wrong Hands. But I apprehend it doth, and think that hath been proved. At

^e Pag. 90.

least, the Givers in general have all along had the Opportunity of knowing that Part of their Gifts was applied to this Case by the Society, yet they have never signified their Disapprobation, and therefore it hath understood itself to have been answering their Intentions. Nothing hath been clandestinely kept back, or diverted another Way from what was professed. In these Circumstances, the Guilt of *Ananias* and *Sapphira* is very unjustly thrown out *in terrorem* by the Doctor^f, according to the old Custom of his Party, which I hoped had been quite laid aside, of discharging misapplied Texts of Scripture in the Faces of such as happened to offend them. But to return: It is very possible, that the Desire of supplying the *New England* Episcopalians with Ministers, may have produced Donations of as much Money to the Society, as it hath expended on those Ministers; now if so, other Parts have not suffered on their Account. And should these Benefactors be brought to think the Society an improper Channel for such their Bounty, or should it be forbidden to employ in this Manner any Share of what it receives, the Consequence might be, that they would withdraw a Proportion of their present Liberality, as the Society hath signified in a

^f Pag. 118.

Letter to the *New Hampshire* Ministers, it hath good Reason to think they would^z, and establish a separate Fund, by which Means the Condition of the Episcopalians might be little, if at all, worse than before, and the Doctor farther than ever from being pleased. For the new Managers would certainly be more zealous for promoting the Interests of the Church of *England*, than the Society have been, even in his own Imagination.

The Doctor supposes the Defenders of the Society's Conduct to argue, that it may allowably support Missions for converting the *New Englanders* to Episcopacy, because this is needful to facilitate the Conversion of the *Indians* to Christianity^h. Now they have said, and very truly, as the Charter of *William and Mary* doth, that bringing our own People to a *good Life and orderly Conversation*, is requisite to win the neighbouring Nations *to the Christian Faith*. They may have said also, and very truly, that the great Numbers and great Variety of wild Sectaries, in our Colonies, are a lamentable Hindrance to the Progress of our Religion. But I question, whether they have ever applied either

^z See *Beach's Vindication or Address*, p. 31, 32. ^h Pag. 119, &c.

of these Observations to the *New England Presbyterians* or Congregationalists; and yet more, whether any one of them hath so much as hinted, that they must be made Episcopalians, as a Step towards making the Heathens around them Christians. At least, the Bishop of St. *David's*, whom alone the Doctor hath quoted, intimates no such Thing. And till he produces some Authority for the Assertion, he must be understood to put this Plea into our Mouths, only as an Opportunity, partly of introducing his Wit, about sending to convert the *Scotch*, the *Genevans*, and the Man in the Moon, of which I leave him without Envy in full Possession; partly of suggesting in Scripture Language, that our Missionaries, *entering into the New England Sheepfold* under this *indirect* Pretence, *are Thieves and Robbers*. But then he is careful to subjoin immediately, that *he doth not mean to call them by these opprobrious Names, or to give them any personal Affront*¹. Good Man, who can suspect him of it?

In all that I have hitherto said, I am far from intending to affirm, that the Society hath not laid out in the *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut* too large a Proportion of the Money put

¹ Pag. 123.

into their Hands, considering the Necessities of other Provinces. They have a discretionary Power within the Bounds of their Trust; and whilst they confine themselves to those Bounds, the Money which they receive is altogether at their free Disposal, and so far *their* own; however the Doctor is pleased to cavil at that Expression ^k, when used very harmlessly by Mr. *Apthorp*. But still they ought to use their Power judiciously, and in that they may have failed. For what Society of Men hath not? Even the Doctor's too blameless Societies ^l might possibly exhibit some Tincture of human Frailty, if they did not warily keep their Transactions unpublished, whilst those of ours lie open to all the World. Pressing Solicitors are always likelier to prevail, especially if they will contribute freely to the Undertaking for which they are Suitors, than those who are less earnest though better able. And such the *New England* Episcopalians have been, compared with the Inhabitants of other Colonies. When the earlier Applications were made by them, it could not be foreseen whether more would follow. So one Mission was settled after another, till they became insensibly numerous; and when many Requests

^k Pag. 116—118.^l p. 101, 134.

had been granted, it was the harder to refuse others, for which the same Plea could be made. Some Members of the Society approved this Increase, others thought it was going too far. And in Bodies of Men, whose Opinions differ, there must be mutual Condescensions, and Time allowed for one Side to come over into the Sentiments of the other, else they cannot proceed together. But in the last five or six Years, I believe, no new Mission hath been appointed in the *Massachusetts* or *Connecticut*, which had not been promised before, excepting that of *Cambridge*. And now for some Time past, the Society have excused themselves from complying with any Applications from that Quarter. Surely this alone is no inconsiderable Argument, that proselyting those two Districts to Episcopacy hath not been the Point in View.

What is past, as the Doctor observes, *cannot be recalled*. But if Mistakes have happened, they may be avoided for the future, and the Society is not above altering its Measures^m. Doubtless it would have liked, and might have expected civiler and fairer Treatment, than he hath vouchsafed to give it. But however, *fas est & ab hoste doceri*. It cannot desert and abandon

^m Pag. 133.

the Congregations which it hath taken under its Protection, unless they should become either too rich to need its Assistance, or too inconsiderable to deserve it. But more Care may be used to know, when either of these Things falls out. All Forwardness in Missionaries to molest Persons of other Persuasions, and all Encouragement of Parties and Factions in Order to serve Ecclesiastical Schemes, may be strictly prohibited, and on reasonable Complaint severely checked. The Eyes of the Society may be turned more attentively to the dark Corners of the Colonies, to the Methods which promise well for the more effectual Instruction of the *Negroes*, and to the Openings for doing Good amongst the *Indians*, which his Majesty's new Acquisitions will probably disclose. A friendly Correspondence may also be carried on between some of the Members of that Body, and some of the *Presbyterian* or Congregational Ministers, whose Dispositions are mild and ingenuous; and thus Animosities and Jealousies may by Degrees be extinguished, of which, I am persuaded, the Society is very desirous.

Therefore I proceed now to the last Part of what I proposed, taking into Consideration the Scheme of appointing Bishops to reside in our

American Colonies. The Church of *England* is, in its Constitution, episcopal. It is, in some of the Plantations, confessedly the established Church; in the rest are many Congregations adhering to it; and through the late Extension of the *British* Dominions, and the Influence of other Causes, it is likely that there will be more. All Members of every Church are, according to the Principles of Liberty, intitled to every Part of what they conceive to be the Benefits of it, entire and complete, so far as consists with the Welfare of civil Government; yet the Members of our Church in *America* do not thus enjoy its Benefits, having no Protestant Bishop within 3000 Miles of them; a Case, which never had its Parallel before in the Christian World. Therefore it is desired, that two or more Bishops may be appointed for them, to reside where his Majesty shall think most convenient; that they may have no Concern in the least with any Persons who do not profess themselves to be of the Church of *England*, but may ordain Ministers for such as do; may confirm their Children, when brought to them at a fit Age for that Purpose, and take such Oversight of the episcopal Clergy, as the Bishop of *London's* Commissaries in those Parts have been empowered

powered to take, and have taken, without Offence. But it is not desired in the least that they should hold Courts to try Matrimonial or Testamentary Causes, or be vested with any Authority, now exercised either by provincial Governors or subordinate Magistrates, or infringe or diminish any Privileges and Liberties enjoyed by any of the Laity, even of our own Communion. This is the real and only Scheme that hath been planned for Bishops in *America*; and whoever hath heard of any other, hath been misinformed through Mistake or Design. The *American* Dissenters from our Communion, would think it insupportably grievous to have no Ministers but such as received Ordination in *England* or *Ireland*, or to be withheld from the Use of any religious Rite, which they esteemed as highly as we do Confirmation; or to have their Churches destitute of a Superintendency, which they conceived to be of apostolical Institution. I should, in such a Case, be a zealous Advocate for them, as not yet enjoying the full Toleration, to which they had a Right. And surely they ought to ask their Consciences very seriously, why they oppose our Application for such Indulgence as they would claim for themselves; and whether indeed such Opposition is

not downright Persecution, and that in a Matter merely spiritual, without the Mixture of any temporal Concern.

The Doctor is a great deal too vehement to propose his Objections distinctly, therefore I will endeavour to do it for him. He saith, *the State of Religion is much better amongst those of his Communion in America, than it is even in England, under the immediate Eye and Documents of the venerable Bishopsⁿ*; and that, *should any be sent thither, it is to be hoped they will have better Success than the Bishops have hitherto had here^o*. Now certainly, the State of Religion here is far from being what we have Cause to wish it were. Whether it be worse than in *New England*, I am unable to pronounce; but supposing it to be so, the Doctor himself saith, *that a Rationale might be given of the Fact, without any Reflection on our Church^p*. And, the Question, relative to the present Point, is not, where the State of Religion is best, but whether it will not be better amongst the *American* Episcopalians, if they have Bishops to superintend their Clergy, and do the other Offices belonging to that Function, than if they have none. He calls Church Government by

ⁿ Pag. 39.

^o p. 40.

^p p. 39.

Bishops, *the Yoke of episcopal Bondage*⁹. And certainly Bondage is a dreadful Evil, and religious the worst of all. But what Yoke of Bondage do either Churchmen or Dissenters suffer in *England*, where Bishops have been so long? All Church Authority was formerly too heavy; but surely the Episcopal now is as moderate as any, and it is proposed to be reduced yet lower in *America*, and Dissenters will be no Way subject to it. He saith, *the Affair of Bishops hath lately been, and probably now is, in Agitation in England; and the Society spare neither Endeavours, Applications, nor Expence, in order to effect their grand Design of episcopizing all New England, as well as the other Colonies*^r. Now most of the Colonies were originally episcopal. And I cannot learn, nor I believe will the Doctor affirm, that the Inhabitants of any of them, be they of what Sect they will, groan under that Burthen, or have Reason to do so. The Imagination of a Design to episcopize the rest, I have shewn to be altogether groundless. But further, they may be episcopized without sending Bishops amongst them; and Bishops may be sent amongst them, without any Intention of episcopizing them.

⁹ Pag. 146.^r p. 89.

Dean Kennett, confessed to be a worthy Man^s, writing to Dr. Colman in 1712, concerning the Society's *Desire to have Bishops settled in the foreign Parts committed to his Care*, saith, as Dr. *Mayhew* himself quotes him, *I hope your Churches would not be jealous of it*^s. Certainly therefore, he did not know any Cause why they should be jealous of it. Archbishop *Tennison*, who, though a very good Churchman, is allowed to have meant no Harm to any Dissenters any where, left by his Will 1000*l.* to encourage the Appointment of two Bishops, one in the Continent, and another in the Islands of *America*. Bishop *Butler*, whom the Doctor praises so highly and so justly, was a hearty Friend to this Scheme, and left 500*l.* to the Society. Bishop *Benson*, whose Christian and Catholic Temper is well known to almost as many as ever heard his Name, bequeathed to it such a Legacy as he was able, *to be added to the Fund for settling Bishops in our Plantations in America*, hoping [these are his own Words] *that a Design, so necessary and unexceptionable, cannot but at last be put in Execution*.

The Doctor professes himself an Enemy to it, because *of the narrow, censorious, and bitter*

Spirit that prevails in too many of the Episcopalians in America". But may not he think too ill of their Spirit? I verily believe he doth. Or if he doth not, is there not an equal Share of the same Spirit in too many of the *Presbyterians* and *Congregationalists* there? And are *Invectives* and *Acts of Unkindness* the Way to mend it on either Side? Or may not the Appointment of proper *Bishops*, conduce greatly to mend it on the Side of the *Episcopalians*? But he fears, that *if this growing Party should get a major Vote in the Houses of Assembly, Tests might be obtained to exclude all but Conformists from Posts of Honour and Emolument, and all Men be taxed for the Support of Bishops and their Underlings; and therefore he cannot think of the Church of England's gaining Ground there to any great Degree, and especially of seeing Bishops fixed upon them, without great Reluctance*". Now this very Passage implies it not to have gained Ground, as yet, to any great Degree: in another, already quoted, he scarcely seems to think it grows at all; and in a third, though he falsely supposes the Promotion of it to be a *favourite Point*, pursued at a *vast Expence*, he still hopes in God it will never be car-

ried*. The Likelihood therefore of its obtaining a Majority, is by no Means considerable. Now if it were, would excluding Bishops be any mighty Guard against it? So that either the Admission of them will be very safe, or the Doctor must think of more vigorous Measures than have hitherto been used, to prevent the Increase of this malignant Faction. But supposing the Episcopalians were the Majority there, why should a Test Law follow? Is there any such Law in the Episcopalian Colonies? Or even though there were, can it be imagined that if a prevailing Party in *New England* were wild enough to propose, his Majesty would ever be advised to pass one for that Country? The Terror of being taxed for Bishops and their Underlings, as he civilly calls the Body of the Clergy, is yet more chimerical than the former; as an Act for that Purpose would affect a much greater Number of Persons, and in a still tenderer Point. Tithes are paid in *England* to the Clergy by Virtue of Grants, which laid that Burthen upon Estates many Ages before the present Possessors enjoyed them. But could an Act of Parliament be obtained now to impose a Tax never known before, of this or the like

* Pag. 90.

Nature, on this whole Nation, Dissenters not excepted, for the Maintenance of an ecclesiastical Hierarchy? No-body will pretend it could. And with what Modesty then can the Doctor suggest, that such a Thing might be feared in *New England*? Besides, would it have been a good Reason at the Revolution, for debarring the Dissenters from the full Exercise of their Church Government and Worship, that, if they obtained it, they might perhaps increase till they got a *major Vote* in both Houses, and then might enact no Mortal knows what?

But indeed the poor Man's Fears, if you will believe him, run to vastly further Lengths yet. He imagines already himself and his Brethren driven to the last Extremities by these savage Episcopalians, and vents his Lamentations in such moving Strains, that I must transcribe them; for they are the finest Flight of Oratory in his whole Book, though it is adorned with many. "Will they never let us rest in Peace, " except *where all the Weary are at Rest*? Is " it not enough that they persecuted us out of " the old World? Will they pursue us into the " new, to convert us here?—What other new " World remains as a Sanctuary for us from " their Oppressions, in Case of Need? Where " is

“ is the *Columbus* to explore one for, and pilot
 “ us to it, before we are consumed by the
 “ Flames, or deluged in a Flood of Episco-
 “ pacy? For my own Part, I can hardly ever
 “ think of our being pursued thus from World
 “ to World, without calling to Mind, though
 “ without applying [to be sure] that Passage in
 “ the *Revelation* of *St. John*: *And to the*
 “ *Woman* were given two *Wings* of a great
 “ *Eagle*, that she might flee into the *Wilderness*,
 “ into her Place, where she is nourished—from
 “ the Face of the *Serpent*. *And the Serpent*
 “ cast out of his Mouth Water, as a Flood, af-
 “ ter the *Woman*, that he might cause her to be
 “ carried away of the Flood.” Happily, soon
 after, the Doctor recovers from his Panick into
 some Degree of Composedness, and saith, it is
 not his Design however to dishonour the more
 moderate and Christian Spirit of the English Bi-
 shops since the Revolution, and particularly of this
 Day, by comparing it to the persecuting Anti-
 christian Spirit of many Prelates, antecedent to
 that glorious Æra of British Liberty. But why
 then such dismal Apprehensions? why such
 Outcries? where are the Persecutors? where is
 the Dragon? All the World must see, the

Doctor himself must see, that his Declamation is quite foreign from the Purpose; and on his first Recollection he should have been ashamed of it, and have struck it out. But paternal Tendernefs would not let him destroy so pathetic a Rant on so darling a Subject.

Not only the present Bishops, but the present Age is grown milder in religious Matters. Protestants in general, of all Denominations, in all Countries, but especially in the *British* Dominions, bear with each other far better than they did a Century ago; and the smallest Attempts towards an oppressive Enlargement of spiritual Power, would immediately be crushed with Indignation by our Legislature. The Dissenters here know it well; those abroad can hardly fail to know it; and so far as human Foresight can reach, both the Moderation of the Clergy, and the Watchfulness of the Laity over them, are much more likely to increase than diminish. But above all, a Bishop in *New England* would find abundant Reason to be cautious of exerting himself too far, and very thankful, if with all his Caution he could live in any tolerable Degree of Peace. Therefore the Doctor would not need to be at all anxious for the Liberty of his dear Country, though one were to be placed there.

there. But to make him perfectly easy, he may be assured, that this neither is, nor ever was, intended or desired; which must certainly be admitted as another Proof still; that episcopizing that Province hath not been *the favourite Scheme*, nor indeed any Scheme, of the Society. During the Course of more than fifty Years, that sending Bishops to *America* hath been in Agitation, I believe no single Person, there or here, hath once named or thought of *New England* as a proper Place for the Residence of one; but Episcopal Colonies have always been proposed. And this the Doctor might so easily know, that one cannot help thinking he must know it. But then alas, if he had owned it, what would have become, not only of his pompous Harangue already mentioned, but of his ingenious Suppositions, that Mr. *Apthorp* was *right-reverently inclined*^z, and that a certain *superb Edifice*, near *Harvard College*, was even from the Foundation designed for the Palace of one of the humble Successors of the Apostles²? So much Wit and Archness, how greatly soever the Doctor abounds in it, would have been too great a Sacrifice to make to dull Truth and Fact,

^z Pag. 149.² p. 89.

We confess indeed, that we cannot perceive why the *Presbyterians* and *Congregationalists* in *New England*, might not as safely breathe the same Air with a Bishop, as their Brethren in *Old England* do. However, we are unwilling to disquiet any of them, by importing and settling amongst them a Creature, which it seems they some of them account to be so noxious. Only we hope, that his occasionally travelling through the Country cannot infect it very dangerously. *Moravian* Bishops are authorized by Law to live, and act as such, where they will in our Plantations. *Popish* Bishops reside here, and go about to exercise every Part of their Function, without Offence and without Observation. *Dissenting* Ministers reside here, and hold their Meetings for Ordinations, and whatever Purposes they think fit; and these Assemblies give us no Umbrage. What we desire with respect to *New England*, is much less: that a Bishop may, not reside there, but resort thither from time to time, to officiate amongst those of our own Communion. His constant Abode will be in whatever Province is willing to receive him, with his Majesty's Approbation: who will certainly, for Reasons of every Kind, send such Persons in this Character, as
 are

are least likely to cause Uneasiness. Surely the Doctor and his Friends cannot thwart a Scheme of this Nature, and call themselves Patrons of religious Liberty.

It is possible, though it is strange, that when he wrote his *Observations*, he might misunderstand the Society's Intention, both in sending Missionaries to *New England* and desiring *American* Bishops. I hope it is now sufficiently cleared up; and if he is still dissatisfied, I intreat him to consider, for all Men ought, *what Manner of Spirit he is of*^b. He hath very good Abilities, and a Zeal that would be highly commendable, if it were duly tempered with Charity. But he seems to have naturally a most vehement Spirit, and to have imbibed, perhaps in his early Days, equally vehement Prepossessions against the very Name of Bishops, and every Thing connected with them. I am sensible that these Things plead in his Excuse: for they have often hurried Men, who on the whole meant well, not only into great unfairness of arguing, but far worse Faults. And though I have made use of some Freedom in setting forth his Mistakes and Partialities, yet if such Treatment, as he hath given Mr. *Apthorp*, was de-

^b Luke ix. 55.

signed for *the benevolent End of shewing him to himself*^c, surely my Treatment of Him will not be imputed to any unkind Motive. If he amends upon Admonition, he will deserve much Respect; if not, much Pity.

But however he may take what I have written, I hope others, particularly the Dissenters, both *English* and *American*, as many as happen to see it, will consider it calmly: and neither indulge Fears without Foundation, nor affect Fears which they have not, in order to hinder their episcopal Brethren from enjoying what they have a Right to. Our Inclination is to live in Friendship with all the Protestant Churches. We assist and protect those on the Continent of *Europe* as well as we are able. We shew our Regard to that of *Scotland* as often as we have an Opportunity, and believe the Members of it are sensible that we do. To those who differ from us in this Part of the Kingdom, we neither attempt nor wish any Injury. And we shall gladly give Proofs to every Denomination of Christians in our Colonies, that we are Friends to a Toleration even of the most Intolerant, as far as it is safe; and willing that all Mankind should possess all the Advantages, re-

^c Pag. 145.

ligious and civil, when they can demand either in Law or Reason. But with those, who approach nearer to us in Purity of Faith, and Brotherly Love, we are desirous to cultivate a freer Communication, passing over all former Disgusts, as we beg that they would. If we give them any seeming Cause of Complaint, we hope they will signify it in the most amicable Manner. If they publish it, we hope they will preserve Fairness and Temper. If they fail in either, we must bear it with Patience, but be excused from replying. If any Writers on our Side have been less cool, or less civil, than they ought and designed to have been, we are sorry for it, and exhort them to change their Stile, if they write again. For it is the Duty of all Men, how much soever they differ in Opinion, to agree in mutual good Will and kind Behaviour.

ADVERTISEMENT
THE following Letter was found
among the Papers of the late
Archbishop of York. It was written
in the year 1750, from the late Lord Walpole to
the Hon. the Secretary of State.

LETTER

To the Right Honourable

HORATIO WALPOLE, Esq;

Written Jan. 9, 1750-1,

CONCERNING

BISHOPS IN AMERICA.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Letter was found among the Papers of the late Archbishop *Secker*. It was written in Consequence of a Letter, dated *May 9, 1750*, from the late Lord *Walpole*, to the late Dr. *Sherlock*, Bishop of *London*; which was communicated by the latter to Bishop *Secker*, *Jan. 2, 1750-1*.

It is now printed in Obedience to an Order left with it under his Grace's own Hand (dated *May 25, 1759*) in these Words:

Let the Letter, written by me to Mr. Walpole, concerning Bishops in America, be printed after my Death.

THO. CANT.

L E T T E R

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HORATIO WALPOLE, Esq.

S I R, *St. James's, Westminster, Jan. 9, 1750-1.*

I Return You my humble Thanks for the Honour you have done me, in communicating to me your Letter to the Bishop of *London*. I have read it with all that Attention and Regard, which is so justly due to your superior Abilities, and long Experience, and meritorious Zeal for our present happy Establishment, and the public Welfare. But still I cannot see the Scheme, to which it relates, in the same Light that you do. And though, if ever he hath conversed with you on the Subject since, he hath doubtless said every Thing material by Way of Reply, which I can suggest, and much more: yet as he doth not seem to have laid any Thing further before you in Writing, I beg Leave

to trouble you with what hath occurred to me: which, as the Session is not yet begun, you may possibly have some Leisure to look upon.

The Thing proposed is, that two or three Persons should be ordained Bishops, and sent into our *American Colonies*, to administer Confirmation, and give Deacons and Priests Orders to proper Candidates, and exercise such Jurisdiction over the Clergy of the Church of *England* in those Parts, as the late Bishop of *London's* Commissaries did, or such as it might be thought proper that any future Commissaries should, if this Design were not to take Place. The Questions that arise on this Proposal, are: Is it a reasonable one in itself? And if it be, Are there any such Dangers of its being extended to introduce exorbitant Church Powers, or of its raising Uneasinesses Abroad or at Home, as may notwithstanding, at least for the present, be just Objections against it?

The Reasonableness of the Proposal, abstractedly considered, you seem, Sir, to admit. And indeed it belongs to the very Nature of Episcopal Churches, to have Bishops at proper Distances, presiding over them. Nor was there ever before, I believe, in the Christian World, an Instance of such a Number of such Churches,

or

or a tenth Part of that Number, with no Bishop amongst them, or within some thousands of Miles from them. But the Consideration of the Episcopal Acts which are requisite, will prove the Need of Episcopal Residence more fully. Confirmation is an Office of our Church, derived from the primitive Ages; and when administered with due Care, a very useful one. All our People in *America* see the Appointment of it in their Prayer-books, immediately after their Catechism. And if they are denied it, unless they will come over to *England* for it, they are in Effect prohibited the Exercise of one Part of their Religion. Again, if they are to have no Ordinations there, they must either send Persons hither to be ordained, or take such as come to them from hence. Sending their Sons to so distant a Country, and so different a Climate, must be very inconvenient and disagreeable; and taking the Small-pox here is said to be peculiarly fatal to them. The Expence also must be grievous to Persons of small Fortunes; such as most are, who breed up their Children for Orders: yet not sufficient to bring any Accession of Wealth to this Nation, that would be worth naming, were more of that Rank to come. But in Fact, very few of them

do. Therefore they must be supplied chiefly from hence. And not many in Proportion will go from hence, but Persons of desperate Fortunes, low Qualifications, and bad or doubtful Characters: who cannot answer, as they ought, the End for which they are designed. And it deserves Observation, that a great Part of them are *Scotch*. I need not say what Chance there is that Episcopal Clergymen of that Country may be disaffected to the Government. Now if instead of such, Natives of the Plantations were bred in their Colleges, with a View to Orders; notwithstanding which, their young Men of Fashion would still come to *England* for polite Accomplishments; this would afford convenient Opportunities to Parents of providing for some of their Children handsomely, and Encouragement to the Inhabitants to build and endow Churches, to furnish Parsonage-houses, and stock Glebes, which now run to Ruin for Want of it. And Clergymen whose Families were known, would be more respected, and have a better Influence than Vagabond Strangers. As to the Matter of Discipline and Jurisdiction over the Clergy, it would stand just as it hath done hitherto, only with this Difference, that the Exhortations and Directions
of

Right Hon. HORATIO WALPOLE, Esq. 345
of a Person invested with the Episcopal Character, would be more readily and carefully observed by the Parish Ministers, than those are which proceed from their Equals: and Misbehaviours might thus be more effectually prevented, than they can afterwards be punished and rectified. Nor is this a Point of Consequence only to themselves and their Hearers, but to the Public; as the Behaviour of the Clergy in general is. And if by reforming them, and introducing better Order into the Churches of our Communion, more of the Inhabitants should come over to it, as they naturally will, this would be a further public Benefit. For Members of the Church of *England* will think themselves more connected with *England*, than others. And supposing them not to be *Jacobites*, their Acknowledgment of the King's Supremacy will incline them to be dutifuller Subjects than the Dissenters, who do not acknowledge it,

But allowing the Establishment of Bishops in *America* to be reasonable in itself, the second Question is, Whether the Danger of increasing Church Power by Means of such an Establishment, be not a sufficient Objection against it? Now against Things evidently right and useful,

no Dangers ought to be pleaded, but such as are both very probable and great; and from confirming and ordaining, no Danger of this Kind, I presume, is apprehended. Yet these are the only new Powers that will be exercised. No other Jurisdiction is desired for the proposed Bishops than the preceding Commissaries have enjoyed; and even that, on this Occasion, may be ascertained and limited more accurately, if it be requisite. But here it is asked, How any Persons can undertake to promise, that no additional Powers shall hereafter be proposed and pressed on the Colonies, when Bishops have once been settled? And strictly speaking, indeed, nothing of this Nature can ever be promised in any Case. But if the Dissenters had been asked, on their applying for a Toleration, how they could undertake to promise, that when that Point was once settled, nothing further, nothing hurtful to the established Church, should ever be proposed and pressed on the Government by them, surely this would not have been sufficient to defeat their Application. And yet what could they have answered? Not more, if so much, as can be answered in the present Case: that no such Thing is at all intended; and that though it were, there would be no

Danger,

Danger, either of the Intention taking Effect, or causing any Disturbance.

But on the former of these Assertions our Sincerity may be questioned. For it is argued, that Bishops doubtless think the Powers, which they have in this Nation, to be strictly just and reasonable; and consequently must be desirous of their taking Place in the Colonies. Now for my own Part, and I believe my Brethren in general are of the same Mind, I have no Imagination, that Bishops are intitled to, or that it would be right to give them, every where, the same Powers, and Privileges, that we happen, by the particular Constitution of this Country to possess here. Several Parts of that Constitution might perhaps full as well have been formed otherwise. Whether our Share of it might or not, I have never set myself to consider; I hope, and am persuaded, it is on the whole as harmless and useful a Branch, as many others; and I endeavour, so far as I am concerned, to make it so. But were I to live where Bishops were only on the same Footing, on which it is now proposed they should be in our Plantations, I should no more attempt to raise them higher, than I should to overturn the established Form of Government in any other Respect. It may
indeed

indeed be prudent to suspect Clergymen, Ministers of State, all Men, to some Degree. But it cannot be prudent to refuse doing Things that are highly proper, on Account of little more than a Possibility, that an improper Use of them may be hereafter attempted. Some Bishops may be thought peculiarly fond of Church Power, and it concerns them when they are called upon, to defend themselves if they can. But at least I hope we are not all so fond of it, as to be aiming at that Point now, though we solemnly profess we are not. Yet I believe there scarce is, or ever was a Bishop of the Church of *England*, from the Revolution to this Day, that hath not desired the Establishment of Bishops in our Colonies. Archbishop *Tennison*, who was surely no High-Churchman, left by his Will 1000 *l.* towards it. And many more of the greatest Eminence, both dead and living, might be named, who were and are zealous for it: and yet have always been applauded by one Party, and censured by the other, for their Moderation. Or if Bishops, as such, must of Course be deemed partial, the Society for propagating the Gospel consists partly also of inferior Clergymen, partly too of Laymen. Now the last cannot so well
be

be suspected of designing to advance Ecclesiastical Authority. Yet this whole Body of Men, almost ever since it was in Being, hath been making repeated Application for Bishops in *America*; nor have the Lay Part of it ever refused to concur in them.

But though some, or many of the Advocates for this Proposal, were inclined to serve wrong Purposes by it, is there any Likelihood of its effecting those Purposes? Some have apprehended just the contrary, that it will tend to the Depression of the Hierarchy; as it will afford the Laity here an Example of *English* Bishops Abroad, with no other than spiritual Powers: which may tempt them to think of reducing us at Home to the same Condition. But I should be very willing, for the Benefit of those of our Communion in the Colonies, to run a greater Risque, than I conceive this to be. For the Fact is so notorious, that all our temporal Powers and Privileges are merely Concessions from the State; and the Act of Parliament for the Suffragan Bishops, under which several were made in the last Century, and others may now, exemplifies so fully the Possibility of Bishops without Peerages, and Consistory Courts; that we need have no Fear of any new Discovery

very

very to our Prejudice, from appointing a few such Bishops in *America*. But then the opposite Fear, of their growing up to what we are, would it be ever so great an Evil if it were to happen, seems as unlikely to happen, as most Things. I do not wonder indeed, that Persons who were in public Stations at the latter End of Queen *Anne's*, and the Beginning of the late King's Reign, should have strong Impressions remaining in their Minds of the Terrors of Ecclesiastical Influence, which was then so grossly abused to such wicked Purposes. But whoever attends to the present State of Things in this Respect, must see that there hath been a prodigious Change within the last thirty Years. Though too many both of the Clergy and the Laity are disaffected to the Government on one Account or another; yet of the former, even the lower Part are not near so generally possessed of the wild High-Church Notions, as they were. Nor was a Time ever known, when the upper Part were so universally free from them. And yet it is the upper Part only, that can do the least towards supporting any exorbitant Pretensions of Bishops in the Colonies. Then as to the Laity, I hope and believe the Administration and their Friends will always shew Countenance

tenance to the Clergy, as far as it is necessary; but there is visibly no Danger of their giving them any Encouragement, that may be hurtful. Amongst the Opposers of the Administration, few, if any, are at all more prejudiced in their Favour. And that Regard, which the Bulk of the People had for Religion and the Teachers of it, is greatly diminished, and diminishing daily, to a Degree, which I wonder wise Men are not alarmed at. For it is as important, even in a political View, that they should be able to do Good, as that they should not be able to do Harm. Nor do I find, that Bigotry to the Church prevails amongst the Members of it in our Colonies; or that there is any Chance of their making afterwards imprudent Additions to the Authority with which their Bishops will come to them at first. On the contrary, one Plea against the present Scheme is, that Bishops, even with the lowest Powers, will give them Jealousy and Offence. Now these two opposite Dangers cannot both be considerable; and I apprehend neither of them is: but surely the former is the less of the two. The Bishop of *London's* Commissaries, I believe, have gained no Accessions to what was granted them originally. And Bishops will be still more narrowly watched

watched by the Governors, by other Sects, by the Laity, and even the Clergy, of their own Communion. Nor will they have a greater Dread of any Thing, if either so good or so discreet Men are chosen, as I promise myself will, than of losing all, by grasping at what doth not belong to them. Nor will their Patrons here attempt to defend them, in what they cannot but know will ruin them. As they will be appointed by the Crown, which, unless I mistake, the Commissaries are not; they will be such Persons, as the Crown can best confide in. And if it be thought necessary, a Right of recalling them may be reserved to the King. Whereas I believe, he hath not a Right of ordering the Bishop of *London* to recall his Commissaries. Upon the whole, if the present Disposition of his Majesty's Ministers and Subjects in Relation to Ecclesiastical Authority continues the same, as in all Likelihood it will, there can be no Danger from Bishops in *America*. And if that Disposition should alter back to what it formerly hath been, which God forbid, they will be established with greater Powers, than are now desired for them.

It ought to be considered farther, that an Act of the last Session of Parliament, which
passed

passed without any opposition from any Body, hath expressly established *Moravian* Bishops in *America*; who have much higher and stricter Notions of Church Government and Discipline, than we have. Why then should there be such Fear of establishing Bishops of the Church of *England*? If for Want of these, the *Moravian* Bishops should ordain such Ministers for our People as they thought proper; or should they, by administering Confirmation, or by the Reverence of their Episcopal Character, be continually gaining Converts from us; it would be a very undesirable Thing on several Accounts; particularly on this, that most of them refuse taking Oaths, and bearing Arms. Besides, there have been Nonjuring *Jacobite* Bishops in our Colonies, not very long since, if there are none now. And Popish ones also, I apprehend, have Recourse to them from Time to Time. At least the Bishop of *Quebec* hath no small Influence in a very important new Settlement of ours. May not then the Neglect of having Bishops of our own, expose us to far greater Dangers than the Appointment of them can?

But still the Third Question remains, and is a very material one, Whether such an Appoint-

ment, however harmless and useful it might be otherwise, would not stir up dangerous Uneasinesses, Abroad or at Home? And here it is asked, if the Members of our Church in *America* would like to have Bishops among them, why have they never petitioned for them? Now surely their omitting it may well be ascribed, in Part to the Thoughtlessness of Mankind about their religious Concerns; which hath been so peculiarly great in those Countries, that some of them did not petition for Help, when they had no one Office of Christianity administered to them; and partly also to this, that probably too many of their Clergy think, they may both live more negligently, and have a better Chance for Preferment now, than if a Bishop were to inspect them, and ordain Natives to be their Rivals. But the chief Reason, I doubt not, is, that the Inhabitants of the Colonies, living at such a Distance, and not knowing when an Application to the Government might be seasonable, and being assured, that the Bishops here, especially the Bishop of *London*, and the Society for propagating the Gospel, would always be attentive to this Point, have left it to Them. And They, to whom it is thus left, have received abundant Proofs, that very great
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Numbers of the Laity of the Church of *England* in those Countries, of higher as well as lower Rank, earnestly desire to have Bishops settled there, and think it would be a most valuable public Benefit. Nor have they found Cause to imagine that any Opposition would be made to it from that Quarter. Indeed of Course it should be presumed, and none but the very strongest Evidence admitted to the contrary, that all Persons desire to have within their Reach, the Means of exercising their Religion compleatly: which those of our Communion in *America*, and they alone of all his Majesty's Subjects, have not. It is true, some of them have provided against enlarging the Jurisdiction of the Commissaries: but none of them have expressed any public Reluctance to the Appointment of Bishops. I have learned from some Papers of Bishop *Gibson*, that there was a Design in *Charles*. the Second's Time, to place one in *Virginia*; that Letters Patent for that Purpose are still extant; and that no other Reason appears, why the Design failed, but that the whole Endowment was to have been out of the Customs: whereas now it is not intended either to burthen the Crown, or tax the Subject. Nor can either be done hereafter but by Consent of

both. Nor is it apprehended, that either will be needful. Some considerable Gifts have been already contributed: and probably more will, when the Scheme appears likely to take effect. There are likewise other Methods that might be proposed. And if they who are against it, think it will miscarry for want of a Maintenance for the Bishops, they need not take the Trouble of opposing it. But to go on. For above forty Years past, the Inhabitants there must have had frequent Notices, by various Ways, that such a Design was in Agitation: yet I have not heard, that any of them who are Members of our Church, have ever signified the least Dislike of it. Of late indeed, the *Presbyterians* or *Independants* of *New England* have. But they cannot be intitled to object against placing Bishops in any other Province, but their own, in which there never was any Thought of placing them. Whether they would object against Bishops coming to officiate occasionally amongst those of the Episcopal Persuasion in that Province, I know not. If they should, and persist in it, that may be omitted. But it seems hardly possible that they should, unless the gross Misrepresentations, that have been so officiously sent them from hence have

have made them deaf to all Reason. It is true, they fled into *America* from the Oppressions of Ecclesiastical Power, exercised by Bishops. But they cannot fail to know how much that Power hath been long since lessened; and the Inclinations and the Principles of those, who are intrusted with it, altered for the better. If they were here at present, they would not think of flying from it. Why then should they be afraid of Bishops resorting to their Country now and then, without any Pretence of Authority over Them, but merely to perform some religious Acts in a few Congregations of Episcopal People, that are intermixed with them? This is no more than Dissenting Ministers do here by Law, and even Popish Priests and Bishops by Connivance.

But at least, before any Argument against the Scheme can be drawn from the Opinion of any of the Colonies, it ought to be fairly stated to them. This was the sole Intention of the Society for propagating the Gospel, in their late Order for sending Letters into *America*. They apprehended they might take the Liberty of transmitting a true Account of the Design, when others had taken that of transmitting a false one: and that endeavouring to procure

Evidence in Relation to so material a Point in their Cause, against the Time it would come to be tried, was not blameable. However, if they judged ill in attempting it, His Majesty's Equity, and that of his Council, may doubtless be depended on, that they will not reject this Proposal, as disagreeable to the Colonies, till a fair Inquiry shews, whether it be so or not.

But a farther Objection against it, is, That however it may be received there, it will immediately raise Animosities here; produce Declamations in Pulpits, Controversies in Pamphlets, Debates in Parliament; revive the Distinction of High and Low among Churchmen, and terrify or provoke the Dissenters. Now amongst the Clergy, I conceive it can make no Dispute: for every Man of Character amongst them, doth and must wish it Success. If indeed it were to be brought upon the Carpet, and the Administration were to oppose it, some Clergymen might be tempted to say indecent Things of them. But the present Question is not, whether this Affair ought to be attempted, if, after being fully weighed, it be disapproved by the Ministry: that undoubtedly would be very wrong: but whether there be Reason for them to disapprove it. And certainly there is

no Reason to fear inflaming and exasperating the Clergy, by declaring for it: on the contrary, scarce any thing would please them more universally. Nor, I presume, is the Danger from Pamphlets to be thought very great: for most virulent ones are published daily both against Church and State, which yet give the Government no Terror at all. Contests in Parliament indeed would be a Matter of more serious Concern. But there seems no Necessity that this Affair should ever come into Parliament. For as the Law now stands, Suffragan Bishops may be ordained with the King's Approbation: and the Bishop of *London* may send those, instead of Presbyters, for his Commissaries: and they may confirm and ordain, as well as exercise the Jurisdiction which hath been usual there. But even if the Scheme should be brought into Parliament, it can be opposed only on these two Principles: that Episcopal Power is a great Grievance in this Nation, and that it must rise to an equal Height, wherever Bishops are: of which two Propositions, plain Experience proves the former to be false; and I hope I have proved the latter to be so. Still some Members may be blinded by Ill-will to the Ecclesiastical Part of our Constitution. But

surely these are not very many. Besides, the Administration will easily quiet such of them, as are their Friends. Then the Tories must be for Bishops, if it be only to preserve their own Credit. And the Remainder will probably find themselves too inconsiderable to stir.

Therefore the only Danger left, is that of alarming and provoking the Body of the Dissenters. Now a few busy warm Men, are not the Body of the Dissenters. And though they may affect to speak in the Name of the Whole, yet the Whole will neither think it right nor prudent to do all that these Gentlemen are pleased to intimate: some of whom also, after arguing properly with them, have owned, that they had little or nothing to object against appointing Bishops in Plantations of the Episcopal Communion. Dr. *Avery*, if I am rightly informed, hath acknowledged this to the Archbishop, as Mr. *Candler* hath to me. And indeed there is no Modesty in saying, we who are not of the established Church, demand, as a Matter of strict Justice, the full Exercise of our Religion here: but at the same Time insist, that the King's Episcopal Subjects in *America*, with whom we have nothing at all to do, shall not, even in those Provinces where they are
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the established Church, have the full Exercise of theirs. Suppose the *Presbyterians*, or *Independants* in *America* thought as well of Confirmation as we do, and had not amongst them, a proper Officer to administer it: would not they think it insufferable to be denied such a one, and put under a Necessity of sending their Children hither for it, if they would have it? Supposing they were obliged only to send their Candidates for the Ministry, hither to be ordained; would they have been patient under it as long as we have been? Would they not have cried out loudly and incessantly for Relief? For my Part, I should have thought them so well entitled to it, as to have been a most hearty and zealous Advocate for them. It is not merely from my Attachment to the Church of *England*, that I am a Favourer of the Scheme in question: but from my Love of Religious Liberty; which in this Point, the Members of the Church of *England* in our Colonies do not enjoy. And I cannot imagine, how the Dissenters can pretend to be Lovers of it, and wish it to be withheld from their Fellow-Subjects. God forbid, that we should ever be moved, by this or any other Provocation, to wish it withheld in any Instance whatever from the Dissenters.

senters. And I believe there never was a Time, when the Clergy of this Land were in so mild a Disposition towards them. Whatever they may plead therefore, it is not Fear that induces them to oppose us on this Occasion; for they well know that we have neither Power nor Wish to oppress them, or their Brethren, in any Way. But it is a Wantonness of Spirit, which we have not deserved from them. It is an ostentatious Fondness of using their Influence with great Persons, to grieve Us, without serving themselves. And instead of being stirred up by their Friends Abroad to what they do, their Friends Abroad have been stirred up by Them. Now this is a Sort of Behaviour which an Administration had much better check by due Admonitions, than encourage its Growth: for how far it may grow, they cannot foresee. The Dissenters are sincere Well-wishers to the Civil Part of our present happy Establishment; and they are to be esteemed and loved for it: but not to be gratified at the Expence of those, who sincerely wish well to both Parts. I am heartily sorry, that all the Members of our Church are not loyal and dutiful Subjects to the King: but much the greater Part of them are; the Bishops and upper Clergy in particular: and surely their
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their Desires merit as kind a Regard in this Case, as those of the Dissenters and their Leaders. We indeed do not threaten if we are disregarded. But they have no more Right to threaten than we: nor need they be feared, if they do. Their Threatnings have been very safely slighted in a Point which they have much at Heart, I mean the Test: and so they may in this.

Permit me to add, that were those of our Communion, who are unhappily and unjustly prejudiced either against the King, or his Ministry, worse, in either of these Respects, than they are, still the Endeavour should be to make them better in both: for till that is done, our domestic Affairs will never be on a firm and easy Footing. Not that any Thing wrong or hazardous should be done to reconcile them: but every Thing that is right and harmless. Indeed such Instances of Kindness, when shewn them, I am grieved to say it, have not produced, and probably will not produce so great, and much less so speedy Returns as they ought: but some good Effect they must produce; and Perseverance in a due Regimen will at length compleat the Cure. On the other Hand, I apprehend, the Rejection of this Proposal will do
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the Government by far more Hurt amongst the Churchmen, than it can possibly do them Good amongst the Dissenters. When the Bishops are asked about it, as they frequently are, by their Clergy and others, what must they answer? We cannot with Truth express Disapprobation of it, or Indifference to it. And if we did, we should be thought unworthy of our Stations. Must we then be forced to say, that we are all satisfied of the absolute Fitness, the great Advantages, the perfect Safety of the Thing, and have repeatedly pressed for it; but cannot prevail? Would not this both sadly diminish our Ability of serving the Government, by shewing how little Credit we have with it; make very undesirable Impressions on many Minds concerning the King, and those that are in Authority under Him; as incapable of being won by the Arguments or Intreaties of those, who have so strong a Zeal for them, to do an innocent Favour to the Church? Still, if we cannot succeed by respectful Applications, I know it is our Duty to make the best of the Matter; and not disturb the public Welfare, because in this Particular we are unable to promote it. I would speak as gently of the Affair as ever I could, where there was Danger
of

of doing Harm: though I speak so earnestly, where I would fain hope to do Good. But no Mildness or Prudence, will wholly or nearly prevent the above-mentioned Consequences.

I am sensible it may be argued after all, that the Failure of so many Attempts on Behalf of this Scheme, is Presumption more than enough of their being some insuperable Objection against it. But there cannot well be any other Objection, than such as are known, and have been produced on the present Occasion. And if those have been sufficiently answered, we are not to yield up our own Understandings implicitly to the Judgments of other Persons in Times past: especially as those Judgments differ. For some great Men have continued as steadily to approve of Bishops in *America*, as others, to disapprove of them. And possibly the Reasons of the latter may in Part at least, have been only temporary, or they may have had too little serious Attention to religious Matters; or more Fear, than they needed, of bringing Difficulties on themselves by engaging in them. But whether any of these Things be so or not, in general it is certain, that many Designs have been long frustrated, or postponed, on one Account or other, which

which at length have been executed, and found beneficial.

I beg your Pardon, Sir, for being thus prolix: but I have gone through each Head as briefly as I could: and should you think me ever so much mistaken, you will do me but strict Justice in believing me to mean well; and to be, with the greatest Respect, and the most grateful Sense of your obliging Treatment of me,

S I R,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant,

THO. OXFORD.

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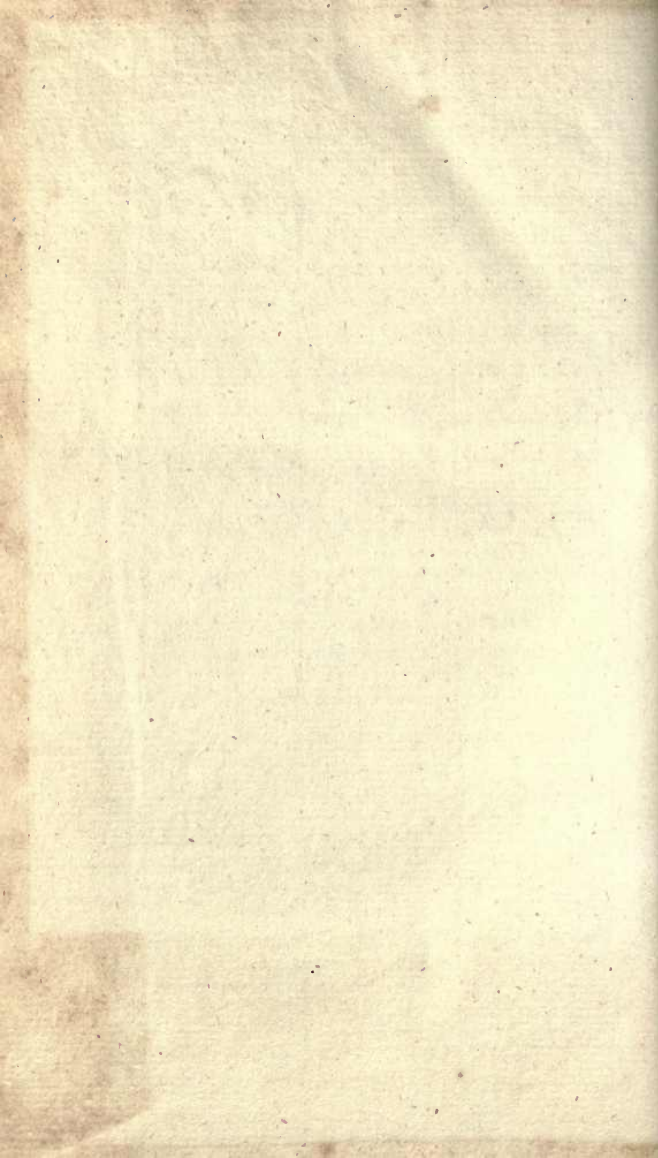
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