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The Duty of promoting the PUBLICK
P E A C E.

A
S E R M O N,

Preached before the Right Honorable the

L O R D M A Y O R,

T H E

ALDERMEN, SHERIFFS, *and* CITIZENS
of L O N D O N,

I N T H E

CATHEDRAL CHURCH of St. PAUL,

O N

Thursday January 30. 1723-4.

Being the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of

K I N G C H A R L E S I.

By *WILLIAM CROWE*, A. M.

Rector of the united Parishes of St. Mary Magdalen's
and St. Gregory's near St. Paul's, and Lecturer
of St. Martin's Ludgate.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *W. Taylor* at the Ship in Pater-noster-row. 1724.

Cur' special' tent' die Jovis
13^o. die Februarii, 1723.
Delmé Mayor. *Annoq; reg' nost' Georgii,*
magnæ Britannia, &c.
decimo.

IT is ordered, That the Thanks of this Court be given to the Reverend Mr. C R O W E, for his Sermon preached before the LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and CITIZENS of this City, at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, on *Thursday*, the thirtieth of *January* last, being the Anniversary Fast for the Martyrdom of King *Charles* the First; and that he be desired to print the same.

S T R A C E T.



ADVERTISEMENT.

By the same Author

ORATIO in *Martyrium* Regis C A R O L I, I. Coram *Academia* C A N T A B R I G I E N S I habita in Templo Beatae M A R I Æ, 30 die *Jan.* 1720. 4^{to}.



T O

The RIGHT HONORABLE

Sir Peter Delmé, Knt.

LORD MAYOR

OF THE

CITY of LONDON.

My LORD,



HE generous, disinterested manner, in which your Lordship was pleased to do me the honour of calling *me* to this service, who was an utter

ii *DEDICATION.*

ter stranger to your Lordship otherwise than by general character, may well deserve this public acknowledgment, and justify my addressing this sermon to your Lordship, which was preach'd at your command, which you heard with so much patience (notwithstanding its *length*, and other greater imperfections) and have now, with the concurrence of your honourable *brethren* the *court of ALDERMEN*, authorized the publication of.

My LORD, I cannot but esteem it an happiness to this city, and to myself (since *providence* hath called me to some station therein, and so rendered me more immediately concerned in its welfare) that the government of it should fall into your LORDSHIP'S and your worthy PREDECESSOR'S hands at a *dangerous* and
trying

DEDICATION. iii

trying *junction*; when there hath been a detestable contrivance on foot to dispossess his MAJESTY of his crown, to overturn the *present happy settlement*, and to extinguish the *protestant religion* among us: For what less could be the consequence of setting a POPIISH PRETENDER on the throne of these kingdoms?

Your *Lordship* will see from my honest, tho' plain sentiments in the following discourse, that I have a just abhorrence of such proceedings, that I am none of those (the number is, I fear, too great) who are so unconcerned for their *countrey's* welfare as to laugh at its danger, to make a jest of plots and *conspiracies* against it, and ridicule an attempt to deprive us of both our *religious* and *civil liberties*. Sure, my *Lord*, this
is

iv DEDICATION.

is a spirit of *infatuation*.---- 'Tis to me matter of equal astonishment, that there should be *any* (who call themselves *protestants*) so *abandoned* as to engage in such an horrid design; or *others* (not accessory to that guilt) so *regardless* of the common interest as to be unconcerned at the same. For I can hardly believe any, at this time of day, so wilfully *blind*, as not to see what was intended.

Your Lordship's known good affection to the *government*, and strict adherence to its interests, as it must needs give you the greatest abhorrence of such practices, so, in the present administration of your *office*, it naturally brings to my thoughts the character of *one*,* who, in the beginnings of those troublesome times, fitting in the same CHAIR, did, as appears

* Sir *Richard Gourney*.

DEDICATION. ▼

pears from the *noble historian*, discharge the duty not only of a *faithful*, and *upright*, but (which the *season* required) of a *vigilant*, a *prudent*, and an *active magistrate*. I only with Your LORDSHIP may exert the same qualities with much better *success*, than *he* did.

May God open all our eyes to see (at least *in this our day*) *the things that belong to our true peace* ! May he continue to *preserve* us, notwithstanding such a perverse unwillingness in some to be preserved ! And may he long continue Your LORDSHIP a support and ornament to this great *city*, for the maintenance of its *peace* and good order, for which you have such a just concern ; and for the increase of its wealth, wherewith you enrich it
in

vi DEDICATION.

in that which is the principal branch of trade, *merchandise*, to a much larger extent, than any single person in the kingdom.

I am,

My LORD,

your Lordship's most obedient,

and humble Servant,

WILLIAM CROWE.





PSALM CXXII. 6.

*O pray for the peace of Jerusalem,
they shall prosper that love thee.*



THE *occasion* of this solemn Anniversary, in its nature so altogether extraordinary, which arose from such slight beginnings, grew to such an excessive height, spread it self to such a vast extent, and at length ended in an issue so tragical, and mischievous in all its consequences; a calamity so comprehensive, that it some way or other involved all orders and degrees of men throughout the three kingdoms, and wherein mens passions as well as interests were so deeply and universally engaged, as renders it still grievous to be remembered, and yet impossible to be forgotten, must needs administer a very nice and trying subject to the *Preacher*, whose knowledge in matters of this kind seldom reaches so far, as to enable him to judge with exactness; whose profession obliges him not to dissemble, palliate, or give any artificial turns and disguises to things, but to deliver his sentiments with openness and impartiality; and yet (which can hardly consist with this) obliges him also to be tender of *giving offence*, * not to exasperate peoples passions, or inflame their heats, but to assuage and qualify them: and to whom it is desirable (if it may be obtained) to send away his hearers in such a

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calm,

* 2 Cor. VI. 3.

calm, easy, and satisfied disposition of mind, as is suitable to the end of a religious assembly, and to the temper of Christianity.

Agreeable to this difficulty of the subject hath been the managery of it, various and not altogether unexceptionable. The topic that first offers itself, and which seems the most beaten on this occasion, is the sinfulness of *rebellion*, and the duty of *submission to the higher powers*. A very just and seasonable topic, no doubt, on *this day*, which affords an instance of the grossest treason, the most flagrant breach of civil duty, that perhaps ever was committed. But the inconvenience, in speaking to it, is this: Both the principle and measures of the subjects obedience have been unhappily controverted, which yet justice seems to require should be rightly stated on this occasion: but he that shall state them the nearest to truth, will, I am persuaded, give the least satisfaction to the generality of his audience.

On the other side, to touch, tho' with the lightest hand, any failures in the administration, any excesses of power, or errors on the part of the *Crown* (to the doing of which also in the judgment of many this day might naturally lead) this is a task still more difficult and invidious than the former, and may be deemed by some a saucy prescribing to authority, a breaking in upon the precincts of sovereignty, which are generally held too sacred for promiscuous approach, too delicate to lie open to the inquisition of private judgment.

Again, to attempt, as is often done, an *historical view* of the transactions of those times, to describe the monstrous guilt which casts such an horreur around this day, with the miseries that led to, accompanied and followed thereupon; this would be of no use at all, unless attended with proper reflections, and applied to some *special point*, or *purpose*: and *that purpose* (you will permit me to say) as the application is commonly made in discourses of this kind, is both partial, and uncharitable. Such accounts, as they naturally afford very harsh and severe;

so they have in fact frequently produced very unreasonable, nay unjust reflections. For such reflections, however deserved by the *immediate* authors of those evils, who have accordingly long ago answered for them at another tribunal, are very unjustifiably pointed in such a manner, as to light upon their *descendants*; who, tho' they may be very far from inheriting the same sentiments with their fathers, may yet fairly be presumed to retain too *tender* a sense of their *memories*, to hear *them* with patience annually loaded with reproaches, especially when they find (as is generally the case) themselves also reproached in *them*, and concluded under the like infamy.

I would not be misunderstood: I think the wicked practices of any age justly may, nay ought to meet with the censure and condemnation of the succeeding: But then it should be a prudent and circumspect censure; a censure rather of the *actions*, than of the *men*; abstracted as much as may be from the *persons*, to be sure from *professions*, and *religious persuasions*. For 'twas not so much any particular sect, as such; but a combination of desperate men of *all* sects in religion, (or rather of no sound religion at all) that are chargeable with this days iniquity: and therefore to throw it (as many do) upon any *one* sect indiscriminately, is, I think, unjust, tends only to widen and perpetuate our unhappy divisions, and administer eternal fuel to feed resentment and animosity.

You see the exceptions against treating the subject in this way. And for this reason, perhaps, many (the better to keep clear of the forementioned inconveniencies) divert more widely from the *immediate* business of the day into some known topic in *divinity*, that seems to bear a distant aspect towards it; such as the case of *prosperous wickedness*, and *afflicted virtue*: and attempt, it may be, to adjust and reconcile such, seemingly, unequal dispensations of providence; or set forth the judicial consequences of these our *Forefathers* transgressions upon us their *children*, forasmuch as God doth sometimes (we learn from Scrip-

ture) *visit the iniquities* of one generation upon another. But 'tis obvious to observe, that in order to bring this (otherwise foreign, tho' wholesome) topic home to the case in hand, that *case* must *itself* be stated with some degree of exactness, at least in its capital circumstances: and so the former inconvenience returns again, and the subject becomes near as difficult in this view, as in the foregoing.

I pretend not to recount the several methods of treating this subject: they are unquestionably more than I am apprized of, much less capable of speaking to. Neither do I presume, by any means, in what I have said, to blame those who have gone before me. My intention is only from the difficulties of this province (difficulties, perhaps, that arise not so much from the nature of the thing, as from our prepossessions concerning it) the more effectually to bespeak your favourable allowance to my imperfect discharge of it, and to shew (what certainly the forementioned variety may suffice to shew) that a more than ordinary measure of candour is necessary and reasonable in a cause where the *affections* of the audience are interested equally with their *judgment*.

And that I might the better deserve this candour, I have chosen a view of the subject that seems the least liable to exception of any, and which, to all unprejudiced persons, must appear to carry the best tendency, as well as to take in the most good uses on this argument; I mean, the treating it as a forcible admonition to the *love of our country*, to *peace and unity*, and to the cultivating a *charitable, benevolent, and public spirit*: for to this the Psalmist pathetically exhorts us in the words of the text, *O pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper that love thee.*

Concerning the *title* of this psalm, *a song of degrees or ascensions*, (which is also the title of *fifteen* successively, beginning with the CXXth.) there is great variety

riety of opinion ; and 'twould be needless to engage in an enquiry, where there seems no possibility of arriving to any certainty.

It may seem much more material to enquire into the *occasion* on which the psalm was composed. *That*, according to the general opinion, was *David's* bringing up the *Ark* (after it had lain for several years neglected) with great ceremony and triumph to the *tabernacle*, which he had pitched for it at *Jerusalem* ; for, as yet, the *temple* was not built. And this opinion may seem countenanced by the *2d.* and even supported by the *4th.* verse, where the expression, to go up unto the TESTIMONY of the Lord, plainly points to the *Ark*, in which, we know, the *Testimony* was lodged, as God had appointed *Moses*.§

But, besides that the words in the *1st.* verse, *let us go up unto the HOUSE of the LORD*, seem to suppose the temple then built, which was not in *David's* time when the *Ark* was brought up ; I cannot but observe from the history (as we have it recorded *1 Chron.* 16. 7. &c.) that the psalm composed by *David*, on that occasion, was not this, we are now considering, but another, *viz.* the *105th.* in part, and the *96th.* intire, concluding with the *1st.* verse of the *107th.* according to the order of the present collection, as you will find them connected in that chapter.

Another probable account may be, that this psalm was composed by *David*, (if he was indeed the author of it) upon his having subdued the *Jebusites* (his adversaries in the kingdom) and dispossessed them of the city *Jerusalem*, where they had long inhabited, and which, from them, had originally the name of *Jebus*.* And, indeed, those words in the *third* verse, *JERUSALEM is builded as a city that is COMPACT TOGETHER*, are well adapted to the state of

§ Exod. 25. 21, 22.

* Josh. 18. 28. Jud. 1. 8.

it upon the foregoing alteration, when *David* had reduced the castle *Zion* (which he took first, thence peculiarly termed *his city*) and afterwards the town adjoining to a better degree of *union*, enlarging, and, as it seems, making both *one city*: all which may be gathered from 1 *Chron.* xi. 4, &c. compared with 2 *Sam.* V. 6, &c. tho' still this may be thought a precarious ground for such a conjecture.

All, perhaps, that can, with any certainty, be concluded about the *occasion* of the psalm, is, that it was designed for public use on some *festival*, either *extraordinary* or *stated* (of which last kind we know there were, at least, *three* in the year †) when the whole body of the *Jews* went up by their tribes to the house of the Lord, as it is expressed in the 1st. and 4th. verses, which plainly bespeak the *solemnity* of a public *procession*.

Whatever the occasion was, it appears, from the tenour of the psalm itself, to have been a *joyful* one, and so quite the reverse of that which *now* brings us together. However, the words, I have pitched upon, are equally suited to either, as pertinent to a public *fast*, as to a *thanksgiving*. And seeing the dissolution and ruin of our *Jerusalem* (which was on this day totally effected) is chargeable wholly on those who were the avowed *enemies* of its *peace*; I know not on what I can discourse to you more seasonably than on the *duty of consulting and preserving that peace*, which, that I may do pertinently to the present occasion, I shall speak to these three heads.

- I. Lay before you the nature and extent of the *duty* here enjoyned, together with the obligations and motives that engage us to the observance of it.

† Exod. 23. 17. Deut. 12. 5, 6.

II. I shall shew that the woful miscarriages, which we this day lament, were entirely owing to the gross neglect, or wilful violation of this duty.

III. I shall point out of some of those good *uses* and matters of instruction, that may accompany the right *observation* of this mournful *Anniversary*; and, if you'll give me leave, suggest such *cautions* as have a tendency to establish us in the duty of the text, and to prevent the like mischiefs hereafter.

I foresee this subject is like to run me into a more than ordinary length; but I hope the *occasion* will excuse it, and engage your patience.

I. The first head requires me to explain the *nature*, to ascertain the *extent*, to enforce the *obligation*, and to press the *motives* that engage to the observance of this duty. The particulars are many, and such as might well deserve enlargement; but having so much to offer on the two following heads, more immediately suited to the day; I must shorten this first, and chuse rather to treat it imperfectly, than to burden your patience, beyond measure, especially since the present temper of of your minds will hardly relish any thing in the coolness and indifference of a *common place* in divinity.

1. For the *nature* of the duty, I shall only observe to you, that by *Jerusalem*, (however some interpreters perplex the place by labouring for a more recondite and spiritual sense) the psalmist plainly intends nothing more than our *country* in general, the *community* to which we belong, or the *public* at large, considered both in its *ecclesiastical* and *civil state*. Next, that *peace* stands here not barely for the *rest*, and *quiet*, but, (which is consequent thereupon) the *wealth*, and *strength*, the *prosperity*, and *flourishing estate* of a nation. And this very fitly,

fitly, as *peace* is not only in itself the greatest blessing, but that which alone secures to us the enjoyment and continuance of all other blessings. *Lastly*, that the *Psalmist*, by exciting us to *pray* for this, (wherein the *act* of duty is made to consist,) does the more emphatically exhort us to the *actual* prosecution and furtherance of it. For *prayers*, if sincere, always suppose a concurrence of *endeavours* : since he that petitions heaven for a thing, without contributing his own part towards it, only mocks God with the greater formality, and doth himself, as it were, forbid the success of his own prayers, by his *indifference* to what he prays for. The duty then implies the *seeking, ensuing, and labouring for peace*, as the *Psalmist* expresseth it elsewhere ; or, as in this very psalm, to LOVE *Jerusalem*, to wish it prosperity, to seek to DO it good.

And this noble principle, which we justly term *public spirit*, is the most generous, and amiable, that belongs to the human nature, and seems accordingly to have been the most extolled in the writings of the wisest, and hath been, in fact, the principal ingredient in the character of the greatest men that ever lived : inasmuch, that, wherever *this* is wanting, all other good qualities forfeit their merit and lose their grace and lustre. — But I shall say no more of the *nature* of this duty, since that will appear more fully in the next particular, *viz.*

2. the *extent* of it.

This must needs be very large. It appears plainly to be so with respect to its *subject*, inasmuch as it reaches every part of the human capacity, and branch of behaviour. Let us consider it also with respect to its *object*. Now *the public*, we know, comprehends both our *ecclesiastical*, and *civil constitution*, includes as well our *religions* as *secular* concerns. And that the *Psalmist* himself intended it in this latitude, appears from the 8th, and 9th verses, *For my BRETHREN and COMPANIONS sake I will now say, PEACE be within thee*, there is the *civil* interest. *Yea* (adds he) *because of the HOUSE OF*
THE

THE LORD OUR GOD, I will seek thy good: there is the religions.

Now, tho' nothing can be plainer in *general*, than that peaceable intentions and dispositions, and a peaceable conduct of behaviour, are every man's indispensable duty with regard to *both* these; yet, considering their importance, you will indulge me a word upon *each*.

As to our *civil* constitution: 'tis a melancholic thing to every sincere lover of peace, a friend of his countrey, and human society, to observe how little regard men (even sometimes those, who act with honour and integrity in all their private concerns) have for the public, how light a sense they entertain of the duty they owe their countrey, and upon what slight considerations they prove false to, or desert its interest; notwithstanding *that* duty, and *that* interest be, in truth, superiour to any other. Of this we have a most deplorable instance in the times, which *this day* brings to our remembrance: and you will pardon me, if I say, we have had near as remarkable an one (tho' not so heinous, indeed, in its intention, or circumstances) in *our own* times. Need I say? I mean that prodigious *scheme* of the most enormous *avarice*, barefaced fraud, and avowed oppression, that perhaps any age can parallel, which hath for a long while so unhappily exercised our passions, and insatuated our understandings. An *evil*, in its *nature* so delusive and unaccountable, that we at first mistook it for a *blessing*, and never felt it 'till 'twas seemingly over; but which in its *consequences* appeared so extensive and permanent, that perhaps no man alive expected to see the utmost of it, and we wanted, for a time, the poor satisfaction of discerning how compleatly we were ruined: an *evil*, of which I need say no more, and can, indeed, say no worse, than that it well nigh ruined our *morals* with our *estates*, and left *virtue* as well as *credit* a *bankrupt*: tho' as the *latter* of these (God be praised) is now happily reviving thro' the wisdom of the present

administration ; so, we may hope, the *former* will at least keep pace with it.

The duty recommended in the *text* would greatly contribute to both these : 'twould, without doubt, effectually prevent all such *evils* as spring from a *violation of the public interest*, since it utterly prohibits not only a *mischievous*, but even a *selfish* spirit. And sure, he that can be destitute of all regard for the community whereof he is a member, hath little title to the benefits of it ; but ought to be turned out again to that wild, savage, and independent state, in which (if any such there ever was) mankind are supposed to have lived, antecedent to society and government.

Wherefore, as to our *civil* relation, we cannot but be sensible how justly 'tis incumbent upon every one of us in our several capacities, sincerely to design, and industriously to promote what we are persuaded to be the true interest of our countrey. Of *this* indeed every one is by no means a competent judge : nor is it necessary he should. However, here is one *general* point, one common principle, which he can never be at a loss for, and therefore ought never to lose sight of ; I mean the *consulting public peace*. And this will best guide him in every particular to act (as he is obliged to do, to the best of his judgement, and the extent of his station) pursuant to the forementioned end ; indulging always as little as may be to private views, much less to private resentment.

But there is *one particular* of *civil* duty, which I cannot help mentioning, because the requiring of it hath, without reason, been so distastful of late ; I mean *the taking an OATH of fidelity to the GOVERNMENT*, For I cannot but say, it seems to me to argue the utmost perverseness in any man, who is satisfied of the *lawfulness* of an *establishment*, and enjoys its protection, at the same time to deny giving it *this necessary* security, and reasonable test of his allegiance. But more, far more

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inexcusable is *he*, whoever he be, that makes no conscience of observing what he hath sworn, and of fulfilling that *bond, wherewith he hath bound his soul*, tho' the strongest, and most solemn imaginable. Surely such mens consciences are, as the apostle terms it, *cauterized, or seared with an hot iron*; and are so far from having any regard to the public *peace*, that they have apparently none to *faith, and truth* amongst men.

I am next to say a word about our concerns of the *religious* kind. Now of these I shall only observe in brief; that the *fundamental*, and confessed doctrines of christianity (if we will but be content to apprehend them in the simplicity of *scripture*) are sufficiently evident; and that the matters, which generally *divide* us, are, in comparison of these, of small weight. Wherefore I would earnestly recommend as well to those who *dissent* from us, as to those of *our own* communion who are for *widening the breach*, that generous and truly christian declaration of St. Paul*, That *the kingdom of God is not meat and drink* (consists not in light and *indifferent* matters) *but righteousness and PEACE*; things of the last moment and importance.

Indeed, if we attentively consider it, for any one dogmatically to set up his own opinion as the standard of another's, is both unjust and insolent. It resembles the tyrannical humour of that infamous *robber*, whose wanton cruelty, by *lopping, or stretching*, reduced *all* those unhappy travellers, that fell in his way, to *the same size*. The very injustice of which procedure were (one would think) sufficient to convince every one of his obligation to peace. For, however an *union in opinion* may be, as indeed it seems to be, *impracticable*, both from the natural *diversity* of mens *judgments*, which is incurable, and from the accidental *clashing of interests* (tho' for this the text suggests a remedy; effectual, if any

* Rom. xiv. 17.

can be so; but) which, while it continues, will lay an almost unavoidable bias upon the judgement; yet still an *union in affection* is both *practicable*, and desirable, and therefore by all means to be endeavoured after: for, I am apt to think, there are few *religious differences* but what *humility* and *charity*, a just and tender regard to other people's sentiments, as well as to our own, and a mutual *forbearance* of each other (provided it were indeed *mutual*) would tolerably accommodate; at least among *protestants*: for as to *papists* indeed, the difference is such as can never be adjusted; especially since they are avowed enemies to our *civil*, no less than to our religious constitution: and, whilst they continue of that spirit, *liberty* and *slavery* are every whit as *reconcilable* as a *PROTESTANT CHURCH* with a *POPISH PRINCE* for the *head* of it.

I have dwelt so long on the *two first* particulars of this head, that I have no room to add any thing on the *two remaining*, *viz.* the *obligations* to this duty, which are the strongest, and lye the deepest in our nature; and the *motives* which are the most powerful and engaging that can be.

Indeed *these*, (as things are best seen by comparison) will appear in the most convincing light, and the duty I have thus largely insisted on, be still more effectually enforced from the

II. Second head proposed, *viz.* the dreadful evils which the neglect and violation of this duty brought upon us in the middle of the last century; so dreadful, that this day is thus solemnly set apart on purpose to lament them.

And here expect not that I will take upon me to describe the series of calamities and desolation, which beset those distracted times; to trace them from their first latent *rise*, then bolder *advances*, through their adventurous *progress*, to that formidable *height* they arrived
at,

at, and at last, the astonishing *accomplishment* of them in the unnatural, premeditated murder of *one of the best* (tho' by far the unhappiest) *princes* that have sat upon this throne, confessedly one of the best *men*, that ever sat upon any. To paint this horrid scene of misery and wickedness, (so wild and romantic, that had we not the faith of history to assure us thereof, it might pass for fiction) hath employed too many skilful pens, to leave any room for mine. I shall only insist, pursuant to my text, that the authors of all these miserable confusions, were the enemies of the public peace. And need, you think, I labour in the proof of this point? Do not the bitter *fruits* we have tasted sufficiently testify, what *root* they sprung from?

But that I may not seem unreasonably to load *one* side with blame and wholly to acquit the *other*; I am ready, in the entrance, to own that there were some notable *provocations* given on the part of the *crown*; that there had been some few things practised confessedly illegal and unwarrantable, some immoderate stretches of the prerogative, and incroachments on the people's liberties; many proceedings too harsh and rigorous for *English* freedom to brook; (witness some judgments in the *star-chamber* and *high commission* courts) many more, highly impolitic and unseasonable; particularly such precipitate, unreasonable, and frequent *dissolutions* of parliaments, as gave an *excusable* jealousy that this branch of the constitution was designed to be, in a manner, laid aside. And no doubt but some hot and intemperate men might do some things under false *colour* of the royal authority, or abuse it to countenance some unjustifiable acts, of which the *crown* had all the *odium* and blame. I make this free profession, because I would willingly deal impartially; and am far from the opinion of those who justify all that the *King* did, in order to shew, that what his *enemies* did cannot be justified.

But

But what course did they take to remedy all these occasions of complaint? Was it such as might be expected from lovers of the public peace, and their country's welfare? Nay, when the King had receded from every branch of power which did not strictly belong to him, and had made many large concessions beside; was their behaviour suitably dutiful? Was it not one continued series of turbulency and unreasonableness?

To misrepresent (I here speak the behaviour of the *faction* from the assembling of the *last parliament*) knowingly to misrepresent the most innocent, well meant, or indifferent actions; To misinterpret the doubtful and suspicious, construing *error, design; and necessity, will* : Grossly to aggravate those that were truly blameable, and heighten whatever had been done amiss in the administration to such a degree, as to improve the same into a wilful, *purposed* breach upon the constitution; To set out with a resolution of persecuting to the death all that had, and of terrifying all that were likely to oppose their wicked intentions; To vex and harras the distressed *King, diffident* and *irresolute* of himself, (for these I think were his chief *political* faults, and sure, all seem to allow, he had as few *moral* ones, as any man) destitute at the same time, thro' their very means, of all wholesome advice, and exposed to the most pernicious; (for this was their master-piece, *first*, to rob him of his best counsellors, and then obtrude those upon him who were sure by their direction to betray all his counsils, and to put him upon such measures as they might afterwards make their advantage of, and sorely clamour against) To neglect and postpone the important concerns of the nation, which called for immediate dispatch; (witness the affair of the *Irish massacre*, notwithstanding the King's earnest and repeated solicitations concerning it, and notwithstanding their own pretended zeal for the *protestant* religion, and abhorrence to *popery*) to postpone I say, things

things of the last necessity and dwells eternally on *past* miscarriages, tho' they had been all rectified and redressed in the amplest manner; To sow and foment the seeds of discontent and jealousy throughout the whole kingdom; To inflame the minds of the giddy multitude with cries of imaginary grievances and apprehensions; Openly to encourage riots, tumults, and then suggest that themselves were in danger from the *malignants* (as the cant-term was); In a word, to do every thing, that might first *prepare* and promote, and, at last, when matters were ripe for the worst, to sound an *open* alarm to insurrection and rebellion: — Was this a spirit of behaviour, I do not say, becoming true patriots, and the supreme council of the nation, but was it not plainly the spirit of professed incendiaries, the conduct of sworn adversaries to the public peace, the procedure of such as had resolved to hurl all things into confusion, unable otherways to bring about their execrable designs?

Did they not pursue these furious measures purposefully, because they knew, that, if they should once enter upon any sober consultations, people's heats would naturally abate, and the ferment (which was so necessary for *their* work) could no otherwise be kept up, than by dwelling still on the same topics that excited it?

'Tis manifest then, that these men were very grossly wanting to the duty I have been insisting on: so grossly, that we may justly wonder how men that acted thus flagrantly could ever accomplish their ill ends; since there was by no means (yet at least) an universal defection in the nation.

But 'tis no strange thing in life (experience shews us) for the worst of men under specious appearances and professions to get into power, and to abuse the same to the worst purposes. And the success of these men
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may perhaps be somewhat accounted for from these three distinguishable parts in their conduct.

First, They made no conscience of *lying* and *calumny*, and all the artifices of *misrepresentation*: (artifices too commonly successful) whereby they abused the credulity of all the *inconsiderate* part, (which is no small one) and of such as were not purposely on their guard.

Next, They horribly perverted justice and the law, screening the most notoriously criminal, even the riotous rabble (because they were applicable to their ends) from its censure; and again, at other times, stretching it to the condemnation of the most innocent. Thus they made, what should have been the guardian of the public rights and liberties, a tool to minister to their resentments, a meer instrument to execute their several views. And by this engine of terrour, they intimidated all that were not masters of the greatest resolution, as well as integrity.

Lastly, They sheltered all this under the holy garb of *religion*; made a seeming *zeal* for that, the cover to their pernicious designs, and the *cause* of God's glory and service a pretext to justify the most impious practices. And hereby they wrought much upon the *best* men, who are the most susceptible of impressions in *this* way, and who had not, all of them the penetration to see through such complicated malice and dissimulation.

These seem to have been the principal engines they worked with. — And, indeed, some unhappy imprudences and oversights in the *King's* conduct contributed much to render these successful. I shall mention but *one*, which alone gave them the power to do the whole hurt they did; I mean, his passing the *act* for the *continuance* of that *Parliament*.

A power (I speak it under correction) not to be trusted to such bodies, let the *present* temper and constitution of them be never so good, and as suitable to the public ends, as *theirs* was contrary. For, where there is
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such a mixture of opposite tempers and interests, the very ferment of such councils must, by degrees, raise the dregs ; and some aspiring faction will never fail to draw the rest to it, when all check from *without* is removed.

And was it not then an unaccountable infatuation in the *Royal Councils*, for the King after he had so unnecessarily and unseasonably dissolved so many *Parliaments*, which had shewn a very good spirit towards their country, and no ill one towards him (tho' somewhat ruffled with grievances) now to consent to the perpetuating *that* Parliament ; which apparently discovered the worst with respect both to the public and himself.--- For by this fatal compliance he totally disarmed himself of all his *just* power ; and, in effect, set up so many rivals or partners with him in the throne ; whose title and tenure being utterly inconsistent with his, they were sure never to rest, till they had got the whole to themselves ; whereas a reservation of this one jewel in the crown had secured the rest.

And (to speak freely) had the *King*, throughout this whole difficult juncture, first maturely *weigh'd* (advising only with the most disinterested and dispassionate about him) what was *necessary* to be done, and then *pursued* the same with *resolution* and vigour ; had he acted to the full *extent*, as well as *within* the *verge* of his *legal* power ; had he swayed the sceptre, as with an *even* and indifferent *hand* betwixt himself and people, so also with a firm and *steady* one, and never suffered it to fluctuate with the ebbs of popular councils ; had he by acting thus resolutely convinced his enemies that they never could unsettle him from his just purposes (which was the thing they aimed at) : *that* intemperate spirit must needs, by degrees, have spent itself, and subsided, and the furious abettors thereof have been forced to fall in with more cool and reasonable councils, had it been only to keep up their own credit. At the worst, if the *King* had found it impossible to bring them to reason after all

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his concessions (which certainly were some of the greatest, for the time, that ever prince made) he might still have most effectually set bounds to their *behaviour*, by determining their *being* : And then a *rebellion*, if one had happened, would have wanted the *name* of a *parliament*, which was of such weight to countenance it. But 'twas a strange foible in that unhappy prince, at that time preposterously to take those very measures, which (however they might have suited the beginnings of his reign, when condescensions would have been received with thankfulness, and repaid with gratitude) were certainly the most improper for that licentious season; and again to neglect those, when there seemed the greatest necessity for them, which had been pursued so vigorously, when there was manifestly less : thus exercising a majesty either too imperious or elate, or too abject and below it self. But 'tis the grand difficulty in every thing to guard against extremes : a time of such distraction might easily have run a much more resolute prince than *King CHARLES the First* was, into great perplexities : and 'tis undoubtedly much more obvious for *us* now, who have the *event* to judge from, to discern past errors, than it could be at that time for the wisest in the world to foresee and prevent them. And yet, methinks, *this*, which I have been so long speaking of, seems too gross and palpable to have been overlooked. But as the same may serve for an unanswerable argument of the King's gracious nature, and of his upright intentions towards his people : so is it an eternal monument of that monstrous ingratitude, which could abuse such princely goodness and generosity, and of the malignancy of those men who were encouraged from hence to make their actions as lawless, as their duration was unlimited ; unjustifiably to draw all the branches of power into their own hands, and make that immeasurable, endless plea (the securing their own *privileges*, whereof themselves were the sole judges) a bottomless gulph to swallow

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up all the honours and revenues of the *church*, all the authority and jurisdiction of the *peers*, all the rights and prerogatives of the *crown*; in a word, the *religion*, the *laws*, the *liberties* of the kingdom.

But however grievous these things were (as undoubtedly they were very grievous) I cannot but think the *consequences* of them still worse, with respect to the public; I mean the driving the *royal issue*, and next immediate heirs of the crown into *foreign* countries. For there they imbibed principles inconsistent with our constitution, and destructive of the common good; as it afterwards in fact proved: so that the very *favour* and *kindness* of the *papists* towards the *sons* proved as fatal to *us*, as their *malice* had done to the *father*. - - - But enough, it may be more than enough, upon so ungracious a topic, wherefore, that I may not seem to have designed only the irritating your passions, without giving them the proper bent and direction; I proceed in the

III. Third and last place to suggest some of the good *uses* we may make of the foregoing considerations, or such *cautions* as may prevent a return of the like mischiefs for the future.

In entering upon this head, I cannot but observe, (what renders the doing of one's duty difficult on this occasion) that *this day* is, thro' the great intemperance of *parties*, (I speak indifferently of *all*) become, in the prophet's expression*, *a day of trouble, rebuke, and blasphemy*, and made matter of grievous provocation to one another. There are *some*, who have, apparently, too light a sense of this horrid act: and, tho', I charitably believe, there are none who would have the same repeated, yet some are said inhumanly to deride our *fasting*, and solemnization of this day. *This* is certainly a procedure too black, to admit the least colour of excuse.

* Isa. xxxvii. 3.

There are *others* again, and those the greater part, who (to speak in the words of the same prophet †) *fast for strife, and debate, and cause their voices to be heard on high*, on this day, in bitter *invectives* against their brethren, making it an occasion of railing, and perpetual dissension - - Now *is this* (may I not ask again with the fore-mentioned prophet) *is this the fast that God hath chosen, a day for a man to afflict his soul?* Can such a practice render it *an acceptable day to the Lord?* I persuade myself the observing it in *this* way can do no good: nay, considering mens ordinary tempers, must needs have done much hurt, and cast the greatest blemish upon it. But *this* is not the fault of *the day* itself. I confess therefore, for my part, I am not for treating it in *this* manner. My subject is *peace*. I would not too roughly handle those *wounds*, and make them bleed a-fresh, which time hath *closed* at least, and which (if we could be persuaded to lay aside odious names of *distinction*) would quickly *heal*; though the ignominious *scars*, I fear, must remain for ever. Let not therefore any one's spleen arise within him (from what I have said above) against any christians *now* living. I would not be understood to lay such a load of guilt, much less *the king's murder* (for *murder* it was, tho' under the specious formality and mask of *justice*) upon any *one sect* in particular: Impute not that to the *persuasion*, which was owing only to the *men*. If this fact were chargeable upon the PRINCIPLES of any particular sect, the PAPISTS would be answerable for it: for *these* only, that I know of, avow the *dethroning and murdering of princes*, if they shall think the interest of religion requires it: and yet these men are generally the least taxed on this occasion. We may be assured then, that the *same* motives which determined the authours of *this* wickedness, would have determined any *other* persons influenced by the like motives, (and

† Isa. Iviii. 4, 5.

sure there are wicked persons of *all* persuasions) to do the same.

What those motives in general were, is not difficult to guess. Some might be prompted to engage, nay and to go some lengths, from a turbulent itch for *innovation*, an unnatural satisfaction in disorder and confusions: many more, because they hoped to find their several accounts therein; they had resentments to satiate, or ambition to gratify, or ruined and desperate fortunes to repair, and retrieve: far the greater part, (of those, I mean, who persevered) because they had in the prosecution of their several views advanced too far, (being insensibly trained on from step to step) to retreat with honour, or (as they might imagine) with safety. For justice, I think, requires that we distinguish the *first* steps, which in *many* might be innocent, from the subsequent acts and conclusion which never could.

And oh! that it had received no encouragement or furtherance from the *sanctuary* itself! - - - But it must be confessed, that many, too many among the *preachers* of those times, had no small share in contributing towards *this* calamity: *who*, instead of inculcating the sincere doctrines of the gospel and precepts of morality; instead of seasonable admonitions, grounded upon these, and directed with prudence and modesty, against the vices then most prevalent, too often vented their rude and pragmatistical notions about matters of state: some robbed *CAESAR* of his *due* authority, to pleasure angry malecontents, while some again raised that authority to an *extravagance*, which weakened it more effectually than the other: not considering, that *obedience* is ever best secured upon its true foundation; and *that* prince is sure in the end to have the greatest share of it who claims it for the *people's* sake. - - - In the meanwhile *this great CITY* (I speak it not to its discredit, any more than to that of my own function) agitated continually by this intemperate breath, which *moved* so
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licentiously upon the face of those troubled waters, engaged early and deeply in these destructive measures, blew the first trumpet to rebellion, and lifted up, as it were an ensign to the rest of the nation, whose eyes are always fixed upon the metropolis. To which sad causes we may add, that the same general seeds, from which the ruin of kingdoms hath ever sprung, did likewise concur in this; a disposition thereto from the very temper of the nation, swollen with pride, dissolved in luxury, corrupted with excess, surfeited with the sweets of long ease and plenty, and, as it were, sick of its own prosperity. And may I presume to say? there seemed much of the divine vengeance, and castigation of heaven throughout the whole.

*Thus, for the SINS of the PEOPLE, and the iniquities of the PRIESTS, they shed the blood of the just in the midst of Jerusalem. **

And now does not THIS view of this day strongly enforce all such uses of it, as are conducive to PEACE?

Two more especially the wisdom of the legislature, seems to have had under consideration, when they enacted the observance of it. One, to deprecate God's wrath, and avert those judgments which they could not but apprehend upon the shedding of sacred and innocent blood in so horrible and unexampled a manner: the other, to wipe off, by this public testimony of their abhorrence that stain of ignominy and reproach, which so foul an act, tho' perpetrated by a few, had yet, from the peculiar circumstances attending it, with some appearance of reason, fixed upon the whole body of the nation.

But, besides the two ends of appointing this anniversary, they were aware, no doubt, of the many other good purposes, to which it might be subservient, and

* Lam. iv. 13.

the several instructive *lessons*, which the perpetual and due *commemoration* of it could not fail to suggest.

The story of a KING *persecuted, debroned,* and at last MURDERED by his *subjects* maugre all the remonstrances of *religion, law, conscience,* and even *humanity* itself, must needs (they saw) when annually remembered, and as often detested (as one contrary illustrates another) imprint on mens minds high and very affecting notions concerning the *dignity and usefulness of government,* and the greatest respect, honour, and submission toward the *persons* invested with it. 'Tis true, these points have, as I hinted in the beginning, been *strained* by some, and carried to an extravagant height, on *this* occasion. However, to bear a *just* and sober regard to *government,* both for the *importance* of it, so necessary to society; and for its *institution,* (*so far divine,* as it is in the highest manner agreeable to the *will of God* both the *natural* and the *revealed*); and, in consequence of this, to render to *governours* all that *obedience* both of heart and hand, which the nature and end of their *office* require: *these,* as they are confessedly *duties* incumbent on every *christian,* indeed on every *man*; so they are plainly comprehended in the design, and forcibly inculcated in the sad solemnity of *this day*: which therefore stands distinguished in our calendar as a perpetual remembrancer against *sedition* and *rebellion,* which appear hereby in the most odious and detestable light imaginable. —

Who then could ever have expected that *these* should find fresh advocates, and that there should be such further need of inculcating the doctrine of *civil obedience* in the PRESENT REIGN? - - - Under a KING, who is adorned with all the *princely qualities,* requisite to render a kingdom great, or a people happy: - - - A King, who is at the head of the PROTESTANT INTEREST, (which we all pretend to value) and the most likely of any prince, we ever yet had, to
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make OUR CHURCH (what was ever esteem'd its greatest glory) the *bulwark of the REFORMATION*: A King, who hath more than once publicly professed (and keeps inviolably to that profession) *to make the constitution both in church and state the rule of his administration*; and under *whom* therefore (one would think) we could never have apprehended any attempt for *repeating* this day's tragedy: since, as he equals the *Royal Martyr* in his good affections and concern for the welfare of his people, so (you will allow me to say) he far surpasses him in *this*, that an inconsiderate ill-timed lenity and easiness will never render *him* a prey to the designs of crafty and wicked men; and that he has the spirit and resolution (which that unhappy prince in some measure wanted) to assert his *own just* rights, as well as the justice and goodness to be tender of *ours*.

Is it not monstrous then, that against *such* a King there should be found among his *subjects*, his *protestant* subjects, any so abandoned as to form a CONSPIRACY? ---- And is it not as strange, as *inconsistent*, that this should be formed by the avowed *professors of passive obedience, and non-resistance*? ---- And yet such a *conspiracy* there hath apparently been: a *dark and detestable* scene, so closely concerted, and carried on with such an *unexampled* series of artful intricacy and cunning; that one knows not which to admire most, the wicked policy of those who contrived it, or the wonderful penetration and dexterity of those who have happily discovered and unravelled this perplexed labyrinth. For sure I cannot be of *their* mind who make light of the *treason*, purely because 'twas so *covert* and deeply concealed, since whatever renders a plot *difficult to be discovered*, renders it withal the more *dangerous*, and therefore surely not the less *criminal*. And 'tis very far from any extenuation of the *conspirators* guilt that they appear such masters in their way.

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Must not every one, that sincerely *prays for the peace of our Jerusalem*, detest all such abominable contrivances to destroy it ?

But what was the *provocation* to this villainous attempt ? Not so much as the shadow of one. The *administration*, in every instance strictly *just* : considering the circumstances of things, and the insults on the establishment, beyond example *mild* : and by the confession of it's very enemies, resolutely *steady*. As it is to the *lenity* of it *they* owe the *opportunity*, so to it's *steadiness* *we* owe their being happily deprived of the *power* effectually to endanger it.

But what is the *pretence* at least ? for *rebellion* never wanted a pretence. Why, 'tis all (forsooth) in behalf of *ONE*, whom all allow to have nothing belonging to him, either *natural* or *acquired*, in the least promising : whose *extraction* is at best very dubious and questionable, notwithstanding his friends lay the whole stress of his merit upon *that* : and who (a thing of far greater consequence) hath by his *education* and *dependencies* the maxims of *superstition* and *tyranny* so riveted into him, that he can bring nothing but *bigotry* into our church, and *slavery* into the state : both of them *popish*, *i. e.* of the worst kind under heaven.

What shall we say to these things ? Can such an *infatuation* indeed prevail among *PROTESTANTS*, *ENGLISH Protestants*, voluntarily to give up *what* they have been incessantly struggling for, ever since the *reformation* ? --- *What* the *martyr* of this day chose to *dye* for (and so to be indeed a *martyr* too) rather than sacrifice the same either to the abominations of *popery* on the one hand, or to the extravagancies of *fanaticism* on the other ? --- *What* our late *glorious deliverer* King *WILLIAM* was called over to rescue from the most imminent danger ? and *what* his *PRESENT MAJESTY* King *GEORGE* was placed on the

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throne purposely to preserve and secure to *us*, and our *posterity*?

And oh! may the *divine providence* long continue him there, and bless him with a peaceable and prosperous reign, notwithstanding all the wicked efforts of restless faction, groundless malice, impotent revenge, and disappointed ambition to the contrary! *As for his enemies may GOD cloath them with shame*, the more effectually to bring them to a better sense of things; *but upon HIMSELF and HIS ILLUSTRIOUS ISSUE let the crown for ever flourish! flourish*, free from those *thorns*, wherewith unreasonable and ill designing men are so desirous to beset it. ----

To conclude; The *day* as well as the *text* will effectually remind us to *follow after the things that make for PEACE.**

That we preserve an unbiassed regard to the common good, not letting *private passions* or interests interfere with the *public* :

That we meddle not pragmatically in things without our station; but leave the affairs of state in the hands in which they are regularly placed : ----

That we be very cautious how we embark in any designs against a government *legally* settled and administered, notwithstanding any *private* grievances, and let the *pretences for reforming* be never so specious or plausible; since 'tis madness to hazard or give up what we have upon long experience found useful, for any thing in *fancy* or *prospect*, how inviting soever :

That we never cherish and foment *discontents* or *jealousies*; since there is no end of *faction*, no rule, or measure to guide *popular* councils, which once thoroughly inflamed, all the prudence in the world may not be able to allay,

* Rom. xiv. 19,