THE

Lord BISHOP of GLOUCESTER'S

SERMON

Preached before the RIGHT HONOURABLE the

HOUSE of LORDS,

JANUARY 30, 1760.

Die Jovis 31mo *Jan*^{rii}, 1760.

Ordered,

BY the LORDS Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled; That the Thanks of this House be and are hereby given, to the Lord Bishop of *Gloucester*, for the Sermon by him preached before this House Yesterday, in the Abbey-Church, *Westminster*; and he is hereby desired to cause the same to be forthwith Printed and Published.

ASHLEY COWPER,
Cler. Parliamentor.

A

SERMON

Preached before the Right Honourable

The LORDS Spiritual and Temporal

In PARLIAMENT aſſembled,

IN THE

Abbey Church, Weſtminſter,

On *Wedneſday*, *January* 30, 1760.

BEING

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

BY

WILLIAM Lord Biſhop of GLOUCESTER.

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ISAIAH xix. 13 -- 14.

The Princes of Zoan are become Fools, the Princes of Noph are deceived; they have alſo ſeduced Egypt —— The Lord hath mingled a perverſe ſpirit in the midſt thereof.

THE Prophet is here foretelling the diſgraces and calamities which GOD was then about to bring upon a ſinful people, at that time the moſt renowned for the wiſdom of their civil Policy of any upon the face of the earth. *The Counſel of the wiſe Counſellors of Pharaoh is become brutiſh*, ſaith the Prophet: for this judgment (as we ſee by what follows) was attended with every circumſtance of *brutality*, by which civil policy is moſt diſgraced; *I will ſet* (ſays GOD) *the Egyptians againſt the Egyptians: and they ſhall fight every one againſt his Brother, and every one againſt his Neighbour; City againſt City, and Kingdom againſt Kingdom.* How near a reſemblance this prophetic denunciation of GOD's vengeance, in the ancient world, bears to the hiſ-

tory of our late calamities, every one will perceive who is not an utter ſtranger to that diſgraceful epoch of our ſtory; when the *Brothers* of the ſame Houſe, and the *Neighbours* of the ſame Village, hoſtilely ſeparated into oppoſite Camps; when the Inhabitants of adjoining *Cities* and *Counties* cantoned themſelves, in mutual enmity, under different Leaders; and when the two *Kingdoms* of Scotland and Ireland renounced the protection of their common Sovereign, and inſulted and invaded his imperial Crown. For when a breach is once made into a well-framed Conſtitution, perfected by the wiſdom, and regulated on the experience of old Policy, the confuſion, that follows, is always more outrageous, and generally more without remedy than diſorders in the looſer and leſs perfect forms of Government; as when a Sea-bank has once given way in any part, it thenceforth ſerves the more to increaſe the diſorders of the torrent within, the more ſkilfully it had been erected to keep them out.

The confuſions foretold in this Prophecy are repreſented as inflicted by the avenging hand of God.— *Behold the Lord rideth upon a ſwift cloud, and ſhall come into Egypt — The Lord ſhall ſmite Egypt, he ſhall ſmite and heal it.*

In like manner the total deſtruction of the engliſh Conſtitution, and the ſudden and ſur-

priſing recovery of it, when things were moſt deſperate, have been ever conſidered by all ſerious men, as a manifeſt indication of the hand of God, which firſt in juſtice *ſmites*, and then, as mercifully *heals*.

And all who believe the *moral government* of God, how much ſoever they may differ concerning his mode of adminiſtring it amongſt Particulars, and how obſcure ſoever his ways may appear in the tracts of private life, yet concur to acknowlege and revere his viſible interpoſition in the revolution of States and Empires.

In the early days of this returning Solemnity, while men's thoughts and expreſſions were under the influence of recent paſſions, this part of the celebration might not perhaps ſo well anſwer the ends of a public humiliation: when blackened characters and impious compariſons equally offended Charity and Religion. But theſe were the unruly workings of a ſtorm juſt then ſubſided. Time, which ſo commonly corrupts other religious Inſtitutions, hath given a ſobriety and a refinement to the returning celebrations of This.

And as Providence, in its moſt aſtoniſhing Operations, is ſeen to work by *ſecond Cauſes*, the prudence of thoſe who have of late ſupplied this place

hath been more uſefully employed in inveſtigating and collecting theſe *cauſes*; from whence, as ſalutary leſſons may be gathered for the uſe of civil life as are to be found in the hiſtories of any public revolutions, where mere human agency is ſuppoſed to have effected moſt.

JAMES the I^st^. received the crown of England, with the ſeeming advantage, but indeed with the real inconvenience of ſucceeding to a race of powerful Monarchs, who had been enabled, by a concurrence of various accidents, to make bold incroachments on the liberty of the Subject, and the old genius of the Conſtitution. Theſe incroachments had been almoſt ſanctified by the regal glories of the laſt of that haughty line. But James inſtead of providing againſt the hazard of ſo critical a ſituation (big with impending miſchiefs) by reſtoring the ballance to its level, took the advantage of the Crown's overweight, to advance thoſe occaſional acts of intemperate Prerogative into a regulated Syſtem of deſpotic Power.

In theſe Myſteries of State he took care to initiate his Son; who received them, when he came to the ſucceſſion, with much more good faith than they were delivered to him by his Father; and, conſequently, with more fatal effects to himſelf. For what

what was only Policy in the Father, became Religion in the Son; and State-craft is made of much more ductile matter than Church-bigotry: at leaſt it knows when to bend and when to be inflexible; whereas the latter, (a policy *not of this world)* is apt to do both one and the other unſkilfully and perverſely. Thus James favoured the Hierarchy as it was a buttreſs to the Crown; Charles revered it as the ſacred Inſtitution of Heaven: The Son therefore, to preſerve the Being of the Order, fatally conſented to their excluſion from Parliament: But the Father would certainly have avoided this error, and ſtopped the ruin in its firſt movement; ſince Biſhops out of Parliament, he knew, could be of little ſervice to his Prerogative: on the other hand, as ſurely may we conclude, that had he found them already out of Parliament, he would never have riſked his Crown for their preſervation; which the virtuous Son reſolved to hazard for their ſakes, with the greateſt complaiſancy of Conſcience.

If the civil rights of the people were ill underſtood, or little attended to, it was the leſs wonder that their religious rights ſhould be as groſſly miſtaken. Theſe Princes thought that all ſhould conform to the *Religion of the State*; and that, for every man to worſhip God in his own way was an inſolent and factious invaſion of the Supremacy.

Leaſt

Leaſt of all will it be thought ſtrange that, amidſt theſe errors in Government, neither of theſe Princes ſhould attend to that large acceſſion of Property and Power, which was ſilently, but rapidly, devolving on the People. So that by the time Charles was moſt intent on the deſpotic Syſtem of his Father, the People were become rich by a long commercial peace; and therefore leſs diſpoſed to bear, and more able to repel, what they eſteemed oppreſſion.

Under theſe circumſtances, they modeſtly and conſtitutionally, for fourteen years together, proſecuted a vindication of their Rights, in the Courts of Juſtice and in the Courts of Legiſlature. They ſought redreſs by Law, but the fountain of Juſtice, by running thro' the Palace, was become corrupted. They ſought redreſs in Parliament, and this was generally obtained; but as often violated or evaded as it was obtained: till, at length, the very door of redreſs was ſhut againſt them, and a long remiſſion of Parliaments deprived them of the laſt ſupport of the miſerable, the *hope* of relief. For the ill-adviſed Monarch choſe to reign without Parliaments; poor and needy, in the ſtile of a Cappadocian Deſpot,

Mancipiis locuples, egens æris——

rather

rather than be the opulent Head of a free and a free-giving People.

The Treaſury being thus kept exhauſted, all men ſaw that on the leaſt commotion whether at home or abroad, a Parliament would be forced upon the Court. And the Country Party, as it was called, did not neglect to accelerate this remedy, by taking advantage of the indiſcretions of a great Churchman, to kindle and inflame the liturgic heats in Scotland.

But as what was then called PURITANISM (and which in the ſubſequent confuſions ſplit into many Sects of various denominations) was ſo intimately connected in the quarrel, and did ſo largely contribute to the miſeries of theſe times, it may not be improper juſt to recount its origine and progreſs; the claims it made, and the treatment it received.

In the early times of our Reformation, unhappy ſcruples aroſe amongſt ſome popular Clergymen, concerning the Government of the national Church. But they underſtood ſo little of religious rights, that, as ſoon as they were formed into a Party, they thought themſelves obliged in conſcience to overthrow the eſtabliſhed Hierarchy; and to erect what they called, their DISCIPLINE, in its place. Their firſt attack was by *remonſtrances to Parliament*;

ment; and when that failed, they entered into criminal cabals, to extort what, they found, would not eafily be given. But this factious Spirit, meeting with the able and vigorous adminiftration of Elizabeth, was timely fuppreffed; and the very attempt againft fo popular a Government, made them generally odious.

Hitherto, the fault lay entirely on their fide; who feditiouffly aimed at an *Eftablifhment* when they fhould have been content with a *Toleration*. But in this unfuccefsful ftruggle for more than was their due, they loft (as is commonly the cafe in party-quarrels) what they might claim with the very beft pretence. For when their Enthufiafm (as a new Sect) was reafonably abated, and their factious temper (as an old one) had been vigorouffly repelled; they feemed well content to accept what they had at firft wantonly rejected. But, they now met with an exafperated Government too ready to return their former infults; which, inftead of conceding to this more fober requeft, enacted a number of penal laws againft them, to inforce their compliance with the eftablifhed Worfhip.

When James fucceeded to the Crown of England, he came South with the utmoft prejudice againft thefe *Difciplinarians*, from whofe Brethren in

in the North he had ſuffered many and very ſcandalous indignities; ſo that he was enough indiſpoſed to remit the rigour of theſe penal Laws. His Son deteſted them, as the declared enemies of his Favorite Prelacy; and therefore, throughout the former part of his reign, they were treated with ſuch ſeverity, (the Laws having made their enemies their judges, or, at leaſt, their judges were become their enemies) that many of them abandoned their native Country for new ſettlements in America.

Men's civil and religious rights being in this condition, it is natural to believe, that, when the Country-intereſt firſt made head againſt the Court, the Patriots and the Puritans would meet half-way, to act in concert againſt oppreſſive Authority; their grievances, and, what is more, their principles, as to the doctrine of reſiſtance, being exactly the ſame.

And now, Religion and Liberty become the united cry, the Scene began to open. The diſturbances in Scotland forced the King back, upon Parliaments. The firſt that was called would have reſtored the Conſtitution, and preſerved the rights of the Crown, had he not unſkilfully diſſolved it. The next, into whoſe hands he fell, never remitted of their public labours, till they had de-

ſtroyed the King, the Conſtitution, and Themſelves.

It unfortunately happened, that the Sovereign's frequent breach of faith had made the Patriots ſo diffident of his Word, that they would find no ground on which to begin a reformation, but that whereon, if ever they became factious, they might erect a tyranny of their own: I mean, that fatal, unconſtitutional Law, which impowered the Parliament to ſit, till it ſhould be pleaſed to diſſolve itſelf.

When this point was ſecured, they began, indeed, as if they had no other view than to reform thoſe enormities of Prerogative, which had well nigh overturned our free Conſtitution, and rendered it deſpotic. And in this generous labour all the greateſt and wiſeſt in thoſe two auguſt aſſemblies heartily united, who, afterwards, became the temporary Guard, and ſtill continue, in the records of fame, the moſt ſhining Ornaments of that unhappy Monarch's military Court.

The King had now made ample ſatisfaction for all his former miſcarriages: And our free State was fully vindicated, in a regular and parliamentary way. The two Houſes had now obtained all the ſecurity for the enjoyment of their recovered rights, which

which the nature of the Conſtitution would afford; and were, therefore, in all reaſon now to perform their own promiſes, of making their Maſter, as ſoon as he ſhould be pleaſed to give them this ſecurity, one of the greateſt and moſt glorious Monarchs of his time.

But the King made his conceſſions with ſo ill a grace, that they only ſerved to remind the Public of his former breaches of faith, and to revive their diffidence in the royal Word.

This ſupplied the leading Members with a ſhew of neceſſity for ſome *further ſecurity* againſt the King's return to his old mode of Government. But all that, by the nature of the Conſtitution, could be given, had been given already. Yet this did not make theſe Leaders deſiſt: they deemed it pardonable if they themſelves made *one* breach in the Conſtitution, when it was to prevent the Crown from ever making another; and therefore, with great confidence in their Cauſe, they demanded the MILITIA.

When Charles, who, till now, granted all they required, had got them at this advantage, the making breaches in the Conſtitution, the very thing which gave them all their advantage againſt him, he ſuddenly ſtopt ſhort. He found himſelf

in a condition to divide the People with them; and, what was more, to draw the wiſer and worthier part of the Parliament along with him. An appeal was now made to the Sword, and a war immediately enſued.

At this fatal period, when *Patriotiſm* had degenerated into *Faction*, the King for once acted ably, and ſeized the lucky opportunity of putting his Parliament in the wrong.

And in the wrong they ſurely were. Yet there was not, in the majority of thoſe who demanded this unconſtitutional ſecurity, any formed deſign of deſtroying the Monarchy; it was rather an ill-timed proviſion and over-care for the ſafety of Particulars.

I ſuppoſed it to be a truth unqueſtioned in Politics, "That the UTMOST Security which a Conſtitu-
" tion can give for the obſervance of a public regu-
" lation, is a GOOD Security." The private indemnity of the agents, --- of thoſe who had extorted theſe royal conceſſions, is another matter. The Patriots plainly underſtood they had mortally offended an unforgiving Maſter; and that, ſooner or later, they or their families might fall a ſacrifice to his reſentments: For well they knew, that, tho' the People were ſtill likely enough to interpoſe, in be-

half of *Patriotiſm* againſt the violation of Parliamentary Eſtabliſhments; yet they would hardly be brought to move in Court quarrels, on the private complaints of the *Patriots*.

This was Policy, indeed; but then it was not Patriotiſm. And when the queſtion is reduced to this, whoſe intereſt is to take place; the Public, or that of Particulars? the true lover of his Country will not heſitate in his reſolve. But the falſe Patriot did here, what is of the miſtery of his trade to do, he covered his own concerns under public pretences; and being well perſuaded that himſelf was in danger, he endeavoured to perſuade others, that the Public was ſo likewiſe. And he was but too ſucceſsful in his endeavours.

This may ſeem ſtrange; for nothing is more placable than a provoked People, when they have brought their Governors to reaſon. But the Patriots, as we obſerved, had a powerful Ally in this quarrel; who having yet received no ſatisfaction at all, were as well diſpoſed, as they were well able, to keep up the rage and inſolence of the People. And this, at firſt ſight, may appear ſtill more ſtrange, that the two Allies, who had united in a common quarrel; whoſe ſeveral rights had been alike invaded; who had laboured under equal ſufferings; and who, from their firſt confederacy, had

ſerved

ſerved the CAUSE with equal zeal and ſucceſs; that of theſe, the One ſhould have gained every thing which Patriots could deſire, and the Other only, (which, but to the malice of a Puritan, could be no ſatisfaction at all,) the excluſion of the Biſhops from their ſeat in Parliament. What leſs could be expected, when the Patriots had procured the abolition of illegal and tyrannic Courts; a Declaration of the people's Rights; and a triennial Parliament; than that the Puritans ſhould recover, what the law of nature had given them, a full toleration for their *Diſcipline* and mode of Worſhip? But ſo little was this part of the law of nature underſtood, that it is very probable, had a toleration been demanded by the Patriots, the King and his Divines had broken with the Parliament on that point, juſt as they did, on the abolition of Epiſcopacy: it is very certain, that had the King offered a toleration to the Puritans, they would have rejected it on the very ſame principle. For it was an axiom in the Theology of both, *That to connive at error was to partake in the guilt of it.* Hence the King was naturally inclined to perſecute Sectaries; and the Puritans, to overturn eſtabliſhments. Things being in this train, when the Patriots (now anxious for themſelves, as before for the public) inſiſted on further ſecurity for the royal conceſſions, they found an eaſy way of bringing the Puritans (who as yet had gained nothing) into

into their meaſures; which was, by making one of their *unconſtitutional* ſecurities to be, the ABOLITION OF EPISCOPACY.

But the ſword was already drawn; and not in behalf of the Conſtitution on either ſide; for the King, who now profeſſed to defend it, miſtook his own adminiſtration for it; and the Parliament, which levied war on a point *unconſtitutional*, was ſoon governed by men who profeſſed to overthrow it; ſo that the ſword was not likely to be ſheathed, till Tyranny on the one hand, or Anarchy on the other, had introduced a new ſpecies of ſlaughter in place of the old; and judicial murders had ſucceeded to the military.

It is true, that in the courſe of this mutual carnage, each party reciprocally offered, and accepted, propoſals of peace. But this was rather to cajole the People, (to whom that ſide would have become extreme odious, which had appeared averſe to laying down their arms) than from any real hope or deſire of obtaining it. However, partly thro' the experienced calamities of war, and partly from men's better knowlege of one another, by means of thoſe frequent meſſages and propoſals, the better ſort of Courtiers grew more averſe to deſpotic rule, and the honeſter patriots more diſguſted with popular devices; which might have produced ſome

good

good effect, had not these dawnings of returning sense and sobriety been suddenly overcast by the unexpected appearance of a third party, rising out of the ferment of the SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE, a swarm of armed Enthusiasts, who out-witted the Patriots, out-prayed the Puritans, and out-fought the Cavaliers; and, with the most rapid progress, overturned and desolated all before them, in their haste to establish the fifth Monarchy of King Jesus.

The execrable Parricide which followed, must not, indeed, be charged upon the Patriots and Puritans; who, when it was too late, did all in their power to prevent it: However, without changing the nature of things, they cannot be totally acquitted of that horrid impiety; since their rejecting, out of selfish and perverse motives, the full reparation the King had made to the Public, because he would not agree to an *unconstitutional security* for themselves, was the direct occasion of all the mischiefs that ensued: For tho' no man be to answer for the evils which arise (thro' human perversity against the order of things) from the faithful discharge of his duty; yet no casuistry will acquit him, even of the undesign'd mischiefs which naturally spring from his unjust pursuits.

These confusions kept increasing, under different forms, each more frightful than the other, till this miserable

miſerable Nation, now became the ſcorn and opprobrium of the whole Earth, at length grew tired, rather than aſhamed, of its repeated follies. In this temper they haſtily recalled the Heir of the Monarchy: And as the cauſe of all their miſeries had been the inſiſting on unreaſonable conditions from the Crown, they did as men frightened out of one extreme, they never took breath till they had plunged into another: and ſo atoned for the unjuſt demands upon the virtuous Father by the moſt laviſh conceſſions to a flagitious Son; who ſucceeded to the Inheritance with all thoſe advantages of an undefined Prerogative, which an ambitious Prince could wiſh to ſet out with. A ſad preſage to the Friends of Liberty, that their labours were not yet at an end! Indeed, within leſs than half a century, the old family projects, taken up again by the two laſt Princes of this line, revived the quarrel. But it was conducted under happier Auſpices, and concluded in the final eſtabliſhment of a free Conſtitution.

And now, to reflect a little on this melancholy Story. Never did Piety and Politics, in their friendly combination for the public ſervice, project any thing more uſeful to Society and Religion, than the inſtitution of this annual Solemnity; which keeps awake an awful ſenſe of Providence, and

tends ſo naturally to cheriſh a generous paſſion for Liberty.

Never was there a period more fertile of important Leſſons for the uſe of civil Life than that which the courſe of this great Contention hath produced; and which, indeed, but for this, the wiſdom of Government, I conceive, would, long ago, have buried in oblivion.

Of the various inſtructions which both PATRIOTS and MINISTERS may gather from the crimes and follies of their anceſtors, I ſhall beg leave but juſt to mention two or three of the moſt obvious.

I. The PATRIOT may learn from the *immediate* cauſe of the War, that when, at any time, his generous and ſucceſsful ſtruggles for his Country have reſtored again the diſordered ballance of power in a free Community, he may learn, I ſay, to be content with that ſecurity for the enjoyment of his labours which the nature of the Conſtitution can afford; and to avoid demanding ſuch branches of the Prerogative in hoſtage, which, if given, would deſtroy that very ballance, for the preſervation of which, they are required. On this rock the Patriots of that time ran, and could at beſt but ſave themſelves, but not without falling into the odious and diſhonoured ſituation of their Adverſaries: For

what material difference was there between acting unconſtitutionally for the ſake of *monarchic* power, and for the ſake of *popular*? The iſſue will ever be the ſame as here: for when the patrons of Liberty have given this advantage to the enemies of it, as much of that popularity which they ſhall loſe, the other will gain; and ſo, the conteſt becoming more equal, Force alone muſt decide: which cannot but end in the ruin of the Conſtitution, after it is become a principle with both, to alter and unſettle it.

II. THE SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE, as it was called, will likewiſe teach the true Patriot to beware of all new Inſtitutions not ſtrictly *conſtitutional*, how ſpecious ſoever they may appear to the friends of Liberty, or equal to the friends of Juſtice. And could any thing be more ſpecious, or more equal, than that fair diſtribution of power and profit, which men called the NEW MODEL? The members of the two Houſes had ingroſſed to themſelves all the poſts and offices in the military. This raiſed ſuſpicions amongſt the people, that men who got ſo greatly by the war would never be very forward to put an end to it. Hereupon the Parliament, in a fit of affected generoſity, paſſed an *Ordinance*, that no member of either Houſe, ſhould be capable of receiving commiſſions in the army. But what followed? A de-

luge of Independant Republicans broke into that Camp, which was formed, or pretended to be formed, for the *defence of King and Parliament*. Such were the ſad effects of an UNCONSTITUTIONAL INDEPENDENCE! And all, to avoid a mere fantom, which the fooliſh panic of danger from a *dependence ſtrictly conſtitutional* had conjured up; that is, a *dependence* of the parts, on one another; a *dependence* as neceſſary for the regular motions of the moral machine of free Government, as the like ſubordinate combinations are, to any phyſical or artificial Body.

I. Again, From the faults in Charles's Adminiſtration, MINISTERS OF STATE may apprehend, the folly of diſpenſing with the royal Word, for the ſake of ſome preſent expedient; which (beſides the public miſchiefs that follow the violation of a thing ſo ſacred) is indeed the cancelling their own beſt ſecurity. When the King's ableſt, and, upon the whole, not his worſt Miniſter, had, in the great wants of the Treaſury, encouraged his Maſter to break his faith, ſo often pledged to his Parliament, never more to exert any of thoſe branches of an over-ſhadowing Prerogative, which they had fulminated from time to time; he little ſuſpected that he was opening the way to his own ruin, by habituating his royal Maſter to think lightly of that promiſe of protection, which he had made to himſelf.

ſelf. And when he underſtood the whole ſeverity of his fate, which this had brought upon him, it was with no good grace that he exclaimed, *Put not your truſt in Princes, for there is no faith in them.*

II. Another leſſon the beſt MINISTERS OF STATE will not diſdain to learn, though it be from the Worſt; which is, never, (in their Maſter's diſtreſſes) to throw their own miſcarriages upon him, and to turn all his graces upon themſelves.

A faithful ſervant to his Prince (and ſuch a one the two Charles's had, and as well was he rewarded by the laſt) will procure friends for his Maſter, and provide for himſelf only thro' him: ſuch a Servant will give honeſt Counſels; yet if others be followed, he will excuſe, with all his wit and authority, the ſhare his Maſter had in them. But it was the hard fate of Charles the I^st^ to be commonly ſerved by Miniſters ſo ungenerous, that they were the earlieſt to decry unſucceſsful counſels; and tho' their own, to throw them upon the obſtinacy, the bigotry, and the uxorioufneſs of the Sovereign. A conduct which contributed to make the King as odious to the Public, as all the intrigues of the Long Parliament.

They took the like advantage of his misfortunes to preſs him for dignities and places of truſt and

power, at a time when these things afforded little benefit to themselves, yet were of infinite disservice to their Master. For these ill-timed favours not only exasperated the personal enmities against these Ministers, in Parliament, but indisposed that Body to any terms of accommodation with the King: for the Leaders there, had not impoliticly laid their account of sharing with the Courtiers, in the Sovereign's good graces, whenever a Peace should be brought about: but now they were made desperate by understanding, the King had nothing left to give.

Lastly, this struggle between King and Parliament, before each party flew to Arms, will serve to confirm a general truth of much importance to all: That, in civil contentions, what is called, the *Opposition*, is much apter to degenerate into faction, than a *Ministry* to run into despotic measures. For the very attempt of Party to decry an Administration, will, in time, render it sage; but the application of ministerial power against an Opposition, at once makes it popular; and popularity soon grows licentious. And thus in fact it happened here; Before either side had taken the field, the King's Ministry was grown public-spirited, and the Parliament was become a faction.

In conclusion, Let no honest man be too much scandalized at the frequent contentions to which free

free States are ever obnoxious. Civil commotions have the ſame uſe, and do the ſame ſervice in the political world, that ſtormy and tempeſtuous ſeaſons do in the phyſical. In the ſtagnation of a continued calm, the whole ſyſtem would ſicken and decay; but theſe periodic agitations ſtifle corruption in the ſeed, give freſh vigour to the vital parts, and enable all the active principles to perform their deſtined operations. It is true, indeed, when a ſtorm is let looſe upon either Syſtem, it ravages and deſtroys what it was meant to ſupport and uphold. The *Syſtem of Nature* has the omnipotent hand of Providence to curb the blind violence of ſtubborn matter, which but for that gracious protection would, in the fury of its courſe, reduce itſelf to it's former Chaos. The *Political Syſtem* has nothing but the Providence of Government to ſuſtain it againſt its own madneſs, from falling into Anarchy. But the Providence of Government is weak and bounded; and needs all the aſſiſtance of good ſubjects to ſtrengthen it's hands, and enforce obedience to it's inſulted Authority. It was the refuſal and the neglect of this ſalutary duty, at the fatal period we now commemorate, which was the direct cauſe of all the deſolation that enſued.

F I N I S.