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The Bishop of *BANGOR's*  
**SERMON**  
Preached before the  
House of **LORDS,**  
On *January 30. 1733.*

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*Die Jovis 31<sup>o</sup>. Januarii, 1733.*

**O**Rder'd 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 *Bangor*, for his Sermon preached before this House yesterday at the Abbey-Church, *Westminster*; and that he be desir'd to cause the same to be printed and published.

**W. COWPER, Cler' Parliamentor'**

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## S E R M O N

Preached before the

House of **L O R D S**

I N T H E

Abbey-Church at *Westminster*,Upon **W E D N E S D A Y**, *January 30. 1733.*Being the Day appointed to be kept as the  
Day of the Martyrdom ofKing **CHARLES** the First.

By the Right Reverend

**THOMAS** Lord Bishop of *Bangor.**Shirlock*  
L O N D O N :Printed for J. PEMBERTON, at the *Golden Buck*  
against St. *Dunstan's* Church in *Fleetstreet.* 1734.

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## M A R K III. 24.

*If a Kingdom be divided against itself, that Kingdom cannot stand.*



H O' these Words are read in the Gospel, yet they have not their Authority merely from thence; but for the Truth of the Observation contained in them, there lies an Appeal to common Sense and Experience. Our Saviour, indeed, by using this Maxim, has approved it; and he cou'd not appeal to the Judgment of all Men in this Case, without at the same time declaring his own.

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As Observations of this Kind depend on a great Number of Facts; so are there in the present Case a great Number to support it. The many Kingdoms and Countries weaken'd or ruin'd by intestine Divisions, are so many Proofs upon Record of the Truth of this Assertion. And did we of this Country want to have this Truth cleared by such Instances, it wou'd be but reasonable to produce the Proofs. But we have Examples of our own Growth, and stand in need of no Assistance from foreign History. This Island has often changed its Inhabitants; but the New ones never got Possession, till the Old ones made way for them, by their mutual Hatred and Animosities; and the Nation has, under very unpromising Circumstances, maintained itself against foreign Enemies, whenever it was so happy as to preserve Peace and Tranquillity at Home.

The late unhappy Times of *Charles* the First were attended with this, almost peculiar, Felicity, That no foreign Nation was at Leisure to take Advantage of our Divisions. *Europe* was in Arms; and the great  
2 Powers

Powers too much in Awe of each other, for any one to conceive Hopes of Success, had his Ambition inclined him to lay hold of the Opportunities, which our Distractions offered. But tho' there was no Enemy to ruin us, yet ruined we were. Such is the Malignity of intestine Division!

When national Quarrels grow extreme, and appear in Arms, it is easy to foresee the sad Consequences; and the coldest Imagination may be able to paint to itself the Miseries that must follow. And whoever looks back upon the many Years of Distress, under which this Country laboured in the late Times; let him view them with impartial, or with partial Eye; will see enough to convince his Judgment, how fatal a thing it is, for a Kingdom to be divided against itself. It will therefore be of little Use to enlarge on this Part of the Argument; and I the more willingly pass it over, as it will save you and me the Pain of viewing various Scenes of Woe, which that Time, fruitful in Misery, would present before us.

But there are other Evils, less discernible, which spring from the same bitter Root,  
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and naturally prepare the Way for the greater Mischiefs to follow after: They are the first Symptoms of publick Confusion, and as they influence greatly the Virtue and Morality of a Nation, they are in a more especial manner the Preacher's Care.

National Divisions are sometimes founded in material Differences, such as affect the Well-being and Constitution of a Government; and sometimes owe their Rise to Accidents, and Trifles unworthy of the Concern of the Publick. In this respect therefore every Case must stand on its own Bottom, and is subject to no general Observation. But all Divisions, how different soever in their Commencement, grow in their Progress to be so much alike; partly from the common Depravity of Men, who have not Virtue enough to act honestly in an honest Cause; partly from the Cunning of designing Men, who seldom want the Art to direct the publick Dispute to the Service of their private Views; that there are evil Effects, which may be generally ascribed to all Divisions, as the Fruit which they naturally produce.

1. The Zeal and Warmth, which attend publick Quarrels, are apt to get Possession of Men's Minds and Affections so far, as to render them in great measure unable to form a right Judgment of Things and Persons.

Without a right Judgment in these respects, 'tis impossible for Men to be of any Service to their Country. For a Foundation for publick Good can never be laid in a wrong Judgment of Things and Persons. And yet, when Contentions run high, so hard is it, even for the coolest Heads, to form right Judgments, that it is hardly possible for them to get right Information in any thing: The very Language of the Country is perverted by the Zeal of Parties; Honour and Honesty are Words which lose their natural Meaning, and become merely relative to the Notions of him who uses them; and when a Person is represented to us under these fair and engaging Characters, nothing can be certainly concluded, but that the Man so highly praised, and his Orator, are both of a Side.

With as little Justice are Terms of Re-  
proach dealt about, tho' commonly with a

more liberal Hand, as the Resentments of Anger and Contempt are usually keener and more active, than those of Love and Esteem. Men of Discernment on all Sides see the Folly and Iniquity of this Practice, yet they carry on the Work, without giving Credit to themselves, for the sake of the Multitude, who are greatly influenced, and often prepared for Mischief by these Devices. If we look into the large List of Malignants, Delinquents, and Persons suspected, or, perhaps without Suspicion, charged as Papists, in the late Times, we shall find among them some of the wisest and best of the Nation; who, could they have had the Influence in publick Affairs, which their Worth and Merit entitled them to, would have saved both their King and their Country from Oppression. But these Men were made useless: And in like Circumstances the best Men will always be so; for it must ever be their Choice rather to sink under such Artifices, than to thrive by the Use of them; and the Times leave them no other Choice.

As it is with Persons, so it is with Things. To see how obstinately and perversely Men

approve or disapprove almost every thing by the vitiated Taste of Party, one wou'd think that Truth and Reason had left the World, or that Men were universally fallen blind. But neither have Truth and Reason left the World, nor are Men, otherwise than wilfully, blind. But when the Appeal is made, as in popular Cafes it is to the Multitude, the Leaders find it much easier to direct their Passions, than their Understandings. And what Reason is there to expect, that Men shou'd take the Direction of their own Eyes, when they refer themselves to the Opinion and Approbation of those, who have none?

This blind Attachment to Things and Persons tends gradually to destroy the very Notions of Right and Wrong, and to render Virtue and common Honesty of little or no Significancy in publick Affairs. The lower Part of the World soon grows to be insensible of the Difference; and by an Habit of following a false Rule of judging, they become incapable of making use of the true one. And when designing Men observe, that by doing right they cannot please their Adversaries, by doing wrong they cannot

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offend their Friends, they will soon disregard a Distinction, of so little Use either to their Interest or Reputation. And hence proceeds that Hardness of Mind, which no Reason, no Conviction can subdue.

How fatal an Influence this must have upon the Virtue and Morality of any People, will appear by following this Evil a few Steps further into some of its natural and obvious Consequences.

2. One great Guard to Virtue, and placed in the Minds of Men by the Hand that formed them, is the Sense of Shame when we do ill: Of the same Kind, and a Twin of the same Birth, is the Pleasure arising from the Praise of having done well. When Men thro' the Corruptness of their own Hearts, get rid of these natural Impressions, they are, in the Opinion of the World, profligate and abandoned. Of this kind the Instances are but few. But then to make these natural Passions of any Service to us, they must be kept true to their proper Objects, Good and Evil; and whenever the Judgment is so corrupted as to lose sight of this Difference, the Love of Praise, and the  
Fear

Fear of Shame will become not merely useless, but mischievous and destructive. And this must be the Case, whenever a false Standard of Reputation is set up. And when a Nation or Kingdom is divided, Honour and Reputation will be dealt out by a false Measure, and fall to their Share, who are best able, or most forward to serve and promote the Measures of the intemperate Zeal, which possesses the one or the other Part of the Division. Thus true Honour and Virtue are robbed of their natural Forces; and the Sense of Shame and of Praise are seduced into the Service of a Faction; and so far perverted, as oftentimes to prove Motives to Actions base and dishonourable.

3. When Praise and Reproaches are distributed with so little Justice, it has another very ill Effect in hardening Men against Reproach even when they deserve it most. Reproach, when it falls indiscriminately on the best and the worst, loses its proper Effect; and bad Men will take Advantage of the ill Judgment of the World in abusing the best, to despise all Censure, how justly soever passed on themselves. This will by degrees make Men insensible of the Pleasure of  
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doing brave and generous Actions for the Good of their Country; they will grow steeled and obdurate in their Minds, and with a profligate Contempt of the Opinion of the World, enter calmly and without Remorse into any Mischief, to which Interest, Revenge, or any other mean Passion shall invite them.

4. It is a farther Aggravation of this Evil, to consider, that this infamous Conduct seldom fails of being successful. When the Malignity of intestine Division is far spread, it becomes a Shelter for all Iniquity. Party Zeal usurps the Place of Christian Charity, and covers a Multitude of Sins. And when once Men find that there is so short a Way to Credit and Esteem, they will be tempted through Laziness, and a natural Depravity, which will be ever ready to lay hold on such Encouragement, to decline the honourable and laborious Methods of rising to Reputation in the World, and to trust their Hopes and their Fortunes to the Merit of their Zeal; which Hopes seldom fail them. For,

5. As Credit and Reputation, the natural Rewards of Virtue, are perverted and misapplied by the blind Spirit of Division:

So

So are the Rewards which the Publick has provided and destin'd to the Encouragement of true Merit, diverted into a wrong Channel: The worthiest are often driven into Obscurity, and others called into Employments and Preferments, in which they can do themselves no Honour, their Country no Service.

There is not a Place in Church or State of so mean a Consideration, but that the Publick has an Interest in having it supplied by a proper, and, in proportion to the Duty of the Office, an able Man. When this is the Case, the Work of Government is carried on regularly and steadily, and the Influences of it are duly communicated, and felt in every Part. As the Blood, which moves from the Heart, cherishes and warms the extreme Parts of the Body, as long as the little Vessels which convey it are in due Order: But if these small Channels are obstructed, or lose their proper Tone, Coldness and Numbness will ensue, and sometimes greater Evils, not to be born, nor to be cured but by the Loss of a Limb.

These are the Steps by which Division corrupts the Manners and Morality of a Nation.



tion. And what Hopes are there of seeing a People grow great and considerable, who have lost not only the Sense of Virtue, but even the Sense of Shame; who call Evil Good, and Good Evil; and are prepared to sacrifice their Reason, their true Interest, the Peace and Prosperity of their Country, to their own and their Leaders Resentments? Can it be expected that Men should form themselves by a virtuous and laborious Course of Life for the Service of a Country, where real Worth and Merit are so far out of Consideration, that the Affections and Regards of the People are tied, like the Favour of the *Roman Circus*, to the Colour of the Coat which distinguishes their Faction.

These general Observations, which I have laid before you, might be justified by numberless Instances, drawn from the History of the late Times: But perhaps they may weigh more standing single by themselves, than being coupled with Facts, in which the Passions of the present Age are not unconcerned. And sufficient they are of themselves to warn all honest Men how they begin or foment the Divisions of their Country.

But

But yet, to do Justice to my Subject, and the solemn Occasion of this Day, it is necessary to take one Step into the History of former Times, and to view the Works of Division in its utmost Rage.

I am sensible how difficult it is to speak of any thing relating to that unhappy Time which this Day calls to mind; and how hardly Truth can be born on any Side: Yet shall not this discourage me from bearing my Testimony against the unnatural and barbarous Treason of this Day, and the Acts of Violence which prepared the Way for it: A Treason long since condemned by the publick Voice of the Nation, in the most solemn Acts of Church and State.

I shall go on therefore to illustrate my Subject by some Examples, which the History of the late Times affords, and which will reach to the full Extent of the Observation of my Text, that *a Kingdom divided against itself cannot stand.*

To put a Stop to Innovations, to correct the Errors or Abuses in Government, to redress the Grievances of the People by the known Rules of Parliament, is the true and

ancient Method of preserving the Constitution, and transmitting it safe with all its Advantages to Posterity. But when this wholesome Physick came to be administer'd, as at length it did, by the Spirit of Faction and Division, it was so intemperately given, that the Remedy inflamed the Distemper; and the unhappy Contest, which began about the Rights of the King, and the Liberties of the People, ended fatally in the Destruction of both.

The Contest about Civil Rights was render'd exceeding hot and fierce, by having all the Disputes and Quarrels in Religious Matters, under which the Nation had long suffered, incorporated with it. By this means Conscience was called in to animate and inflame the popular Resentments. The Effect was soon felt: The Church of *England*, which had long been the Glory and the Bulwark of the Reformation, fell the first Sacrifice; and many who had served long and faithfully at her Altars, were driven out to seek their Bread in desolate Places. What came in the room of the Church so destroy'd, Time would fail me should I pretend to re-  
count;

count; so many and so various were the Forms of Religion, which arose out of the Imaginations of Men set free from Government.

The Bishops of those Days were generally inclined to save and support the Crown. The Consequence drawn from thence was, that Episcopacy itself was an Usurpation. My Meaning is not, that this Argument was ever used in the Form of Logick, to convince any Man's Judgment; but it influenced the Affections of Thousands, and prevailed so far as to exclude the Bishops, not only from this House, where they had sat from the earliest Foundation of the Monarchy; but from their Churches also, where they had been received and revered as Rulers and Governors, for as many Ages as can be counted from the Days of the Apostles.

But why do I mention the Exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords, when so much more fatal a Blow was given to the Liberties and Constitution of *England*, by declaring the House of Lords itself to be useless, and excluding the Peerage from a

Share in the Legislature ; a Right derived to them thro' a long Series of Ancestors, from Time immemorial.

The Nobility were not free from the Infection of those Times ; and yet, to their Honour be it remember'd, That the execrable Fact of this Day cou'd not be carried into Execution, so long as the Peerage of *England* had any Influence in the Government. But when once they were removed, and this last Support of the sinking Crown taken away, the Crown, and the Head that wore it, fell a Victim to the Rage of desperate and merciless Men.

It is said ; and the Partiality I have for the Honour of my Country makes me willingly repeat it ; That few, very few in Comparison, were wicked enough, and bold enough to dip their Hands in Royal Blood. But then ; how fatal to Kingdoms is the Spirit of Faction and Division, which cou'd in the Course of a few Years throw all the Powers of the Kingdom into the Hands of a few desperate Men ; and enable them to trample under foot the Crowns and the Heads of Princes, the Rights and Honours  
of

of the antient Nobility, the Liberties and Properties of a free People, and to tear up the very Foundations of our once happy and envied Constitution!

Cou'd these Acts of Violence, and the Causes which produced them, be suffered to lye quiet in History, as so many Marks to point out to us the Rocks and Shelves on which our Fathers made Shipwreck, we their Sons might be the wiser and the better for their Calamities. But if we permit their Passions and Resentments to descend on us; if we keep the old Quarrels alive by mutual Reproaches and Invectives, what else are we doing, but nursing up the Embers of that Fire which once consumed these Kingdoms, and which may again burst out into a destroying Flame? But I forbear; and will forebode no Evil to my Country.

The Application of what has been said is so natural and obvious, that were it pardonable to omit it on this Occasion, I shou'd hardly mention it.

There is no Pleasure in viewing the Follies and Distractions of former Times; nor is there any Advantage, unless it is in order  
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to grow better and wiser by the Examples which History sets before us. In the present Case we have the Experience, which cost the Nation dear, to warn both Rulers and Subjects, how carefully they shou'd avoid all Occasions of Division. The true Way to do it, is for each Side to maintain its own Rights, without encroaching on those of the other: for the Constitution must suffer, whenever the Rights of the Crown, or the Liberties of the People are invaded. And tho' every *Briton* is to be commended if he is fond, and may be indulged, when he is overfond (if such a Case can be) of the Liberties of his Country; yet he ought always to remember, that as the People have their Liberties, so the King has his Rights, which are derived from the same Constitution, and the same Law, under which the People claim their Liberties: And indeed, the People have an Interest and Inheritance in the Rights of the Crown, which are so many Trusts lodged in the Hands of the Prince for the Defence and Protection of the People, and to en-

able him the better to carry on the necessary Works of Government.

To conclude: As we have a Prince on the Throne, under whose Government, tho' some have complained, yet none have suffered, in the least of their Rights, by any Act of Power; who has shewn himself not only careful, but even jealous for the Liberties of his People: Let us in Return yield him that Share in our Hearts and Affections which is so justly due to him; and is a Recompense, the easiest for good Subjects to pay, and yet the most valuable that a good Prince can receive.

*F I N I S*



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4. A Sermon preach'd before the Honourable House of Commons at *St. Margaret's Westminster*, *Mar.* 8. 1714.

5. A Sermon preach'd at the *Temple-Church*, *Nov.* 20. 1715.

6. A Sermon preach'd before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts at *St. Mary-le-Bow*, *Febr.* 17. 1715.

7. A Sermon preach'd before the Honourable House of Commons at *St. Margaret's Westminster*. *June* 7. 1716.

8. A Sermon preach'd before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor, &c. at *St. Bridget's Church* on *Tuesday* in *Easter Week*, *April* 23. 1717.

9. A Sermon preach'd at *St. Sepulchre's Church*, *May* 21. 1719. being *Thursday* in *Whitsun-Week*, at the Anniversary Meeting of the Children educated in the Charity-Schools in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*.

10. A Sermon preach'd before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor, &c. at *St. Bridget's Church* on *Easter-Monday*, *April* 22. 1728.

*All written by the Right Reverend Father in God,  
Thomas Lord Bishop of Bangor.*

71.03.17  
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