



Bodleian Libraries

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

This book is part of the collection held by the Bodleian Libraries and scanned by Google, Inc. for the Google Books Library Project.

For more information see:

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks>



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0) licence.



Anglicanae Regiae Britannicae
QUE DEUS CONTIUNXIT NEMO SEPARET
Scotia
Anglia
Dutchman's Rebellion

Anglicanae Regiae Britannicae
LUDOVICUS MAGNUS ANNA MAIOR
Dutchman's Rebellion

FLAMINIUS ANNAE
A.D. 1706
REGINAE S. BRITANNIAE SUE TABULAM INVENTIT POSUIT SACRAVIT ROBERTUS
Patris Regnantis
Annus Mirabilis
Balanc Europe Britannicae
Patris Orbis
The Battle of Ramilly May 12. 1706.

Anglicanae Regiae Britannicae
DEUS TRADIDIT EVM IN MANUS FEMINE
Anglicanae Regiae Britannicae

Anglicanae Regiae Britannicae
ET TANDEM BONA CAUSA TRIUMPHAVIT
Anglicanae Regiae Britannicae

The Siege of Barcelona rais'd, May 12. 1706. Ostend surrender'd June 27. 1708. Gucht. J.

Seculum Davidicum Redivivum
O R,
The Divine Right
O F T H E
R E V O L U T I O N
Evinc'd and Apply'd:
I N A
D I S C O U R S E,

Occasion'd by the Late Glorious Victory at
Ramilly, and the other Successes of the Arms of
Her Majesty and Her Allies, in the *Spanish Netherlands*,
under the Command of His Grace the Duke
of *Marlborough*; and by the other Successes in *Spain*
under the Conduct of the Earls of *Peterborough* and
Galloway.

The Sum whereof
Was Delivered in a Sermon on the General Thank
giving-Day, *June 27, 1706.*

By *ROBERT FLEMING.*

2 Sam. 16. 18. *Whom the Lord ——— and all the Men of I
rael choose, His Subject will I be.*

L O N D O N,
Printed for *Andrew Bell* at the Cross Keys and B
ble in *Cornhill.* MDCCLVI.

Author's Name and Address

O R

The Divine Right

OF THE

REVOLUTION

Printed and Published

DISSEMINATED



Author's Name and Address

BY ROBERT P. LING

Author's Name and Address

DEDICATED

TO THE MOST

ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCESS,

HER GRACE THE DUTCHESS

OF

MARLBOROUGH.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

WHILE THE *Best of Queens* IS

SO NOBLY EMPLOY'D, IN

UNITING HER *Britannick*

Nations, AND SO SUCCESSFUL, IN AS-

SERTING THE LIBERTY OF *Europe*, AND

THE RIGHTS OF *Men*; AND WHILE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

DEDICATION.

the *Great Marlborough* is Gathering Fresh *Laurels*, and Erecting New *Trophies* abroad, to the perpetual Honour of his *Prince* and *Country*, as well as of *Himself* and *Family*, and to the Lasting Advantage of the *Protestant* Interest, and All Her Majesty's *Allies*: To whom should a Book, penn'd by that Light, and enliven'd by that Warmth, which flows from them both, Be Dedicated; But to Her, who has so Eminent a share in the Favour of the *One*, and is the nearest Relative of the *Other*.

It is from hence, That the Author has assum'd the Boldness, to think, That Your Grace would not be displeas'd with a Treatise, which is Sacred, next to *God* and *Truth*,

DEDICATION.

Truth, to Her most Excellent
Majesty, and the most Illustrious
Marlborough.

In this Confidence, and with
this Hope, this small Piece is, with
all Humility, inscrib'd to *Your*
Grace, by One, who sincerely
Honours the Renowned Name,
Illustrious Family, and Noble
Relatives of the *Hero* of *Britain*,
and *Conqueror* of *France*; And
who is, with most profound Re-
spect,

May it please Your Grace,

Your Grace's most Humble,

and most Obedient Servant,

Robert Fleming

DEDICATIO.

To Her most Excellent

~~Majesty, and the most Illustrious~~

~~Majesty, and the most Illustrious~~

In this Confidence, and with

this Hope, that the most Excellent

all Humility, in Obedience to Your

TO THE READER.

IN order to prevent those Reflections which may be thrown upon me, through Mistake or Prejudice, I thought it might not be amiss to premise these following Considerations, in relation to this Discourse.

1. That I had no Design, at first, of Publishing anything of this kind: But my Thoughts having grown upon me, I apprehended that such a Discourse as this, might not be unseasonable at this time; to establish all Loyal Subjects in the firm Belief of the just Right Her Majesty has to the Crown, and to incite them to Honour and Serve Her more and more; and, if possible, to open the Eyes of misled Men so, as to lessen the Number of those, who are disaffected to the Government, from a foolish and visionary Nation, of Uninterrupted Lineal Successions from Adam, and I suppose from Cain too, seeing he was his eldest Son. In exposing this Notion, perhaps I may be thought to be sometimes not only too pleasant, but even satyrical also. But the Reader will see, that it is only then, when I could not well avoid it. For otherwise it is what I never affect; as I can honestly say, that I am not prejudic'd

To the Reader.

dic'd against the Person of any Jacobite in the World; tho' I am a real Enemy to that Cause.

2. But when I speak against pretended Adamitical and Noachical Successions, I suppose no Person will be so ridiculous as to think that I am against the Hereditary Succession of Princes, or the Title that such have from Father to Son, or that I do so much as impugn the Jus Divinum of such Princes, where Succession is the Establish'd Constitution of a Nation: for I own the British Crown to be thus successive, as that of Poland is Elective. But then I do not derive this Right of Successive Monarchs from Adam or Noah, but from the National Constitution, as it is settled by the Agreement and Determination of the Legal and Proper Representatives of these Nations, in a Free Assembly.

3. And I suppose, it must be the Result of a wilful Prejudice, if any Man should charge me as abetting or favouring the former Times of Rebellion and Confusion; seeing no Man that is in his Senses, can suppose that an Army can be a just Parallel of a Legal Convention or Parliament. It would therefore be a ridiculous Inference, to conclude, That because I assert that those Princes have the best of Titles to a Crown, that possibly can be, who are chosen and inaugurated by the Proper and Legal Representatives of a Nation, in a free Assembly; that, I say, it should be inferr'd from thence, That I had any design to insinuate, or were indeed so nonsensical, as to infer, That a Man can derive the same just Title, to the supream Power and Authority, who assumes it, without any such Choice of the Nation, declar'd by their proper Representatives.

4. And

To the Reader.

4. And, in case any Man think, that I derive my Notions of Government from Mr. Sidney or Mr. Lock; I must own my Ignorance of their Writings so far, as to declare, that I never read ten Sentences in the former, nor ten Pages in the latter. This may perhaps be to my Dishonour, seeing they were, both of them, Men of Eminent Parts. But I have ever kept so close to Divinity, that I never car'd to dip too deep in Studies so different from it, as this seem'd to be: and therefore, tho I have seen these Books again and again, in Booksellers Shops, I contented my self with casting my Eyes upon the Title Pages, and the General Argument of both. Nor had I touch'd upon this Subject now, had I not been insensibly drawn to say something this way, pursuant to the Scope of the Text. Whither therefore my Notions be materially the same or not, with Sidney's and Lock's, I am not concern'd; having drawn mine wholly from Scripture, and those Reasons of the Divine Procedure, with respect to Mankind in General, as well as the Israelitish Nation, in particular, which I look upon to be calculated for all National Societies, that would approve themselves to be compos'd of Free as well as Reasonable Creatures. And I think I have been so far from laying down any thing this way, that is either unreasonable or indefensible; That I am of Opinion, that we cannot otherwise satisfie either our Reason or Conscience, in the National Changes and Revolutions, that happen so frequently in the World; than from the Principle or Principles which I have laid down. But, as this is my First Essay of this kind, so I design it shall be my Last; unless

To the Reader.

unless I be oblig'd, in Self-Defence, to vindicate what I have said.

5. And sure it must be pure Malice it self, that can incite any Man, so much as to insinuate, that I am for any Material Change in the Establish'd Church, any more than in the State. I were not indeed a Dissenter from it, if I did not think, that some Circumstantials might be altered for the better. But seeing the Guides thereof are of another Mind, I can differ from them in such Circumstantials and Ceremonials, and yet Honour and Esteem them, in other Respects: for I am sure, I agree with them, in all the Essentials of the Christian Faith, which I am more concern'd for, a thousand times over, than for the Rituals of any Party whatsoever. But I have already so * vindicated the Protestant Dissenters, in this, as well as in other respects, that I do not think that the Jacobites themselves will care to meddle with me on this Head.

6. Some well-meaning Men may perhaps think I have done amiss, that I have mentioned so many Mistakes in the present Copies of the First Book of Chronicles. But seeing Mr. Whiston did this before me, I see not, why I might not be allowed to do it again. And sure, if they be to be found there, it is no fault to observe them; if it were but to rectifie, as I have said, the narrow and hurtful Notions of such honest but weak Men. And, as we are not to lie or prevaricate, out of a pretence of

* See the Dedication before Christology.

To the Reader.

honouring Revelation, or even God himself: So I think such sort of Escapes of the Scribes, tend rather to the Honour of God and Revelation. For, by this means we see, That at the same time that God suffered Scribes to mistake, he took effectual Care, that no material or useful Truth should be lost; so that here, as well as in other Cases, God's Strength is seen in, and set off and illustrated, and, I may say also, made perfect by humane Weakness. It was fit that every Person and Thing that is Humane, should be discover'd to be more or less imperfect. The Hebrew and Greek Letters and Words are Humane Things, as well as the English Version of these; but the Sense conveyed through them is divine. And this God has ever preserved and taken care for; so as that it is now as purely derived to us, as if a miraculous Presence of God had been with every Amanuensis and Scribe, that wrote, down from Moses, to our Time. The Scripture-Revelation is therefore the more remarkable, even upon this very account, that there are such Escapes in our Copies; as being still either in minuter Things; or, if in Doctrinal Points of Consequence, yet so, as that these are so preserv'd in the main, as that we have the same Points as fully declared, as we can reasonably desire, in other Places, about which there can be no Dispute.

7. One thing further, I would inform the Reader of, viz. That, in case he took upon any thing in this Treatise, as too Florid and Juvenile; or, as it may be said, Poetical, for the Pulpit; I do readily agree with him, in the same Opinion: For tho a Man may be permitted, even there, to be something

To the Reader.

thing more florid, upon such an Occasion, than at other times; yet I durst not even then allow my self to give Reins to my Imagination, as to some things which are now Printed. Tho therefore I preach'd the same Doctrine, that is here prosecuted, and said the same things then, for Sum and Substance, both as to Matter, Method and Improvement; yet I allow'd not my self, to run out in that way, as to many Words and Periods, wherein now it appears. But, what would not have suited the Pulpit, may yet, I hope, be allowed of from the Press; especially when we consider, not only the Solemnity of the Occasion and Day, but the Nature of my Subject likewise; which, I could not think of, far less expatiate upon, without finding my Mind fill'd with the Bright Idea's of Hero's and Heroical Actions. And, if my Mind was unavoidably led out, to harmonize thus both with the Text, and present joyful Occasion, it was impossible, but that it must be suppos'd, so to dictate my Words, and so to direct my Pen, as to oblige me to run out, at least now and then, in such strains, as I should not easily have given way to, at another time, or upon a different Subject.

8. But, after all, when I consider not only in what a Hurry I pen'd this Discourse, but how hastily I am oblig'd to publish it, with respect to that Decorum that is to be observ'd upon such Occasions, in reference to the Time and Season; I question not, but that there may be several Omissions, as well as other Imperfections, that may be taken notice of in it; which, perhaps, might have been easily avoided, had I written and publish'd it with the same Deliberation,

To the Reader.

ration, that I have done some other things. I must therefore beg the Reader, to make due Allowances, if he meet with such Mistakes, and to act to me, in this, as he would desire I should act to him, were he the Author, and I his Reader; which is no more than Christ requires of him, according to the Common Standard of Justice; and which therefore I cannot think any true Christian can, in Reason or Conscience deny me.

I Chron.

I Chron. XI. 9, 10, &c.

*So David waxed Greater and Greater :
For the Lord of Hosts was with Him.
These also are the Chief of the Mighty
Men, whom David had, who strength-
ned themselves with Him in his King-
dom and with all Israel, to make him
King, according to the Word of the
Lord concerning Israel.*

*And this is the Number of the Mighty
Men, whom David had. Jashobeam
an Hachmonite, the Chief of the Cap-
tains, &c.*

AMONGST the many Emblematical Repre-
sentations which have been made of Illustri-
ous Princes and Heroes, the most Natu-
ral and Proper seems to be that, where the
Conqueror is set forth, nobly mounted on a prancing
Bucephalus, trampling upon livid Envy, vizarded De-
traction, and snaky Malice ; with his Prisoners Manac'd
and Chain'd, marching slowly along (together with the
other Spoils of War) with such Looks, and in such
Postures, as discover an equal Mixture of Vexation and
Dejection ; whilst Crowds of People, mix'd with his
Guards, are seen to Run and Dance along, accenting
thus their loud Huzza's, and repeated Acclamations,

B with

with Gestures suited to so joyful an Occasion ; at the same Time that swift and blooming Fame discovers her self hovering above her Darling, at once Trumpeting forth his Praises, and Wreathing his Head with fresh Lawrels. The triumphing Hero mean while going forward with a stately Mien and shining Countenance, managing himself with such an exact Decorum, as discovers an equal mixture of Majesty and Love, and gives sufficient Indication of a Mind so compos'd, and a Soul so temper'd, as neither to be unduly elevated with Human Applause and Prosperity, nor indecently pleased with the Trouble and Disgrace ev'n of his worst Enemies.

But such Emblematical Representations are more curious than lasting ; and therefore ingenious and inventive Minds have made it their Study, to try all sorts of Methods, to perpetuate the Memory of Illustrious Persons and Heroick Actions. For this end, not only have curious Pictures been drawn, both in Fresco and Colours, but Coins and Medals have been struck ; Inscriptions ingrav'd on the most durable Brass and hardest Marble ; Statues and Images set up ; Columns, Obelisks and Triumphant-Arches erected ; and even the vastest Fabricks built, such as Temples, Circus's, Pyramids and Mausolæums.

Thus, in former Ages, have Artists of all sorts been employed, and have industriously labour'd, at several Times and in different Ways, to outvye one another, in order to reach this end. But, tho' Limners and Painters, Medalists, Minters and Founders, Sculptors and Ingravers, Statuaries and Architects, have done their utmost this way ; yet the Pen has ever carried away the Prize from them all. Hence it is, that *Achilles* and *Ulysses* owe more to poor *Homer*, than to all *Greece* besides. The once vast Cities of *Niniveh* and *Babylon* could not have preserved the least Account of their Founders, had not the Historian supply'd the Defect. For the want of this the prodigious *Pyramidical Fabricks*
have

have forgot even the very Names of those Princes that built them. And were it not for the Pen of *Moses*, Men had at this Day been equally at a Loss, as to the Origin of the World it self, and of Human Race that now inhabits it. Whereas, by the Benefit of the Mo-
saical Account, we know who were our first Parents, who the first Inventors of Arts, and who the first Founders of Kingdoms. By virtue of this, the great *Seth* wants not his supposed Pillars, * mentioned by *Josephus*, but is known without them, as is likewise the greater *Enoch*. Nor do the famous Patriarchs, Princes, Prophets, Apostles, and other Illustrious Persons of former Ages, stand in need of any other Monument to perpetuate their Memory, than that of the Sacred History, by which their Names are sufficiently immortaliz'd. And, were it not for the Writings of some Authors, that now remain, neither the Great *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, or *Cæsar*, had so much as been known or heard of at this Day.

I readily grant, that as all other Arts, so that of Writing has been exceedingly perverted; insomuch, that at sometimes even the Best of Men have been represented as Monsters, and the greatest Tyrants painted forth as if they had been the greatest Hero's. But then certainly it deserves our serious Observation, that Divine Providence has ever interpos'd so far, as, more or less, to clear up the Memory of the Innocent, and to discover the Wickedness of others. And thus God constantly, in some measure or other, and often very Remarkably and Wonderfully, has ever made good his own Word. † *That the Righteous shall be in everlasting Remembrance, but that the Name of the Wicked shall not.*

But, whatever mean and ill-natur'd Authors may be supposed to do, I am sure, that generous Souls must necessarily find themselves under a kind of Divine Im-

* *Antiq. Lib. 1. C. 34* † *Psal. 112. 6. Prov. 10. 7.*

pulse from within, to * *render to all Men what is their due, Fear to whom Fear, and Honour to whom Honour* : And therefore all such Persons must needs reckon themselves oblig'd, and find themselves incited, to celebrate Virtue and virtuous Persons, but especially those, whose Bravery and Worth is so Extensively and Diffusively Influential, as justly to intitle them to the Character of true Hero's and publick Benefactors.

From this Principle, and for this End, even the Spirit of God directed the Sacred Historians of Old, to bestow due Elogies upon those noble and brave Men, that render'd their Church and Country happy by their Prowess and Gallantry. An eminent instance of which, we have now before us, in this Chapter of the First Book of *Chronicles*, where a Catalogue is given of the most eminent Officers of *David's* Army. And so peculiarly does the Historian, nay God himself, evidence his concern to perpetuate the Memory of those Gallant Soldiers, that he thought it proper to give us this List of their Names twice over; for we find the same Register, tho' with some small variation, in the Second Book of *Samuel*, Chapter 23. from the Eight Verse to the End.

But, to come to the main of the Subject; we have Three Heads to Discourse of distinctly, *viz.*

I. *David* Himself.

II. His Worthies.

III. The Special Providence of God, in relation to both Him and Them.

I. Concerning *David*.

In order to form the better Idea of this great Prince, we must previously consider the State and Constitution of the Nation of *Israel*, as Establish'd and Settled at first. And to understand this perfectly, it is necessary to run as far backward as even the first Origin of Men.

* Rcm. 13. 7.

Whether the Human Race was design'd to come in the room of the Apostate Angels, I shall not now inquire: But two Things I am equally certain of, *viz.* That the *Eternal Logos*, or *Son of God* (who has now assum'd our Nature, and is known to us by the Name of *Jesus Christ*) was the Immediate Efficient both of the World and Man; and that He did at first design to erect the Family of Mankind into a *THEOCRATY*, or rather *LOGOCRATY*, that is, into a *Divine Government*, under his own immediate precedency as *King of Men*.

But *Satan* having prevail'd upon our First Parents to joyn Interests with him, against their Natural and Rightful Prince, the Design seem'd to be wholly broken and laid aside for a Time. But *Christ*, who could neither be out-witted nor defeated by the Grand Apostate, grafts a new Plan upon this very Occurrence; a Contrivance so admirable and noble, as swallows up all Human Thought, and which therefore I dare not allow my self to launch forth into at this Time, but hope to be able to present the World with an uncommon, tho' Scriptural Account, of this Subject, in its proper place.

All that I shall say here is, That the *Logos*, mov'd with Pity to poor lost Man, with just Indignation against *Satan*, and a deep Concern for the Father's Honour and His own Reputation, resolves to make Human Nature triumph over the Diabolical, and for this End engages Himself to become the *Fæderal Head of Men*, and thus to act *Adam's part* over again, tho' another way, in order to regain what he had so soon and so shamefully lost.

Man being thus in a *lapsed and sinful State*, but rendred *salvable*, by virtue of this Undertaking of the *Logos*; hence a perpetual Struggle and Conflict follow'd between *Him* and *Satan*; the *Usurper* labouring to preserve his New Conquests, and the *Logos* to regain them; the Corruption of Human Nature inclining Men to continue under the *Tyrant*, at the same Time that Reason,

Duty and Interest ought to have engaged all of them to quit his Interests, and fall in with that of their true and rightful *Lord*.

In what manner, and with what various success, the Kingdoms of Christ and Satan have struggled and gone on in the World, History may, in part, inform us, if wisely considered. I shall, at present, confine my self to a few Strictures.

Adam and his Posterity being brought under a Dispensation of Grace, by Virtue of this Undertaking of the *Logos*, discovered in the *first Declaration* thereof, *Gen. 3. 15.* which is commonly called the *first Promise*: The Offer of Christ appears plainly to be this, *viz.* to take Men under his *Protection* and *Guardianship*, in order to *Govern* and *Save* them. For which end, as he was to rule them as *Reasonable* and *Free Creatures*, and as such consequently that were *Salveable*, tho' *Sinners*; so likewise to erect them into *Regular Societies*, under the immediate Government of those, whom he should judge most proper to act under him, as his Vice gerents on Earth.

Whilst *Adam* liv'd, there could be no Competition; and, had the *Logos* been for a *jure Divino Uninterrupted Lineal Succession* of Princes down from him, his *eldest Son Cain* must have been Prince of the whole World, notwithstanding his Impiety, and consequently Moral Incapacity, of being a fit Person to be *Vice gerent* under the *Logos*. I shall not inquire here, whither *Cain* and *Abel* were not Competitors, as to Superiority and Precedency this way, when they brought their Offerings before God: tho' I am apt to think that this was the Case, and that it was upon this *Appeal*, and the Preference given to *Abel*, that *Cain* murder'd him; as *Esau* did afterwards design to have served *Jacob*, had not God prevented it. But let this be as Men please, sure I am, that his younger Brother *Seth* was prefer'd before him, and that he was reckon'd *Adam's Successor*, tho' born after *Abel's Murder*, and *Cain's Expulsion*
from

from *Adam's Family*, as we see, *Gen. 4. 25.* And I do humbly suppose that *Eve's Words* denote as much, when she calls his Name *Seth*, i. e. *Fixed, Constituted* or *Appointed*, giving this as the Reason, *Because God has appointed me another Seed, instead of Abel whom Cain slew.* And perhaps it is this *Seth* that is mention'd *Numb. 24. 17.* from whom all Mankind are denominated: for both *Cain's Posterity*, and that of all the other Children of *Adam*, was totally destroyed by the Deluge, so that he might well give Name to the *Post-Diluvians*, seeing from him *Noah*, and consequently all others of them, did spring. However certain it is, that *Adam* had many Children, nay, and Grand-Children, besides *Cain* and his Family, before *Seth* was born, as is plain to any that will compare *Gen. 4. 14.* with *v. 25.* so that the *Logos* was so far from tying himself up to the next to *Abel* in point of Birth, nor yet to *Abel's Posterity*, in case he left any, that he made choice of *Seth*, who was born, at least, an hundred Years after *Cain* and *Abel*. For we must not judge of *Adam*, as of his *Posterity*, seeing he was Created in the full vigour of Manhood; whereas they had Infancy, Childhood and Youth to run thro', before they reach'd it. And therefore I look upon it as a very precarious Supposition, that all the *Patriarchs* mentioned in the 5th Chapter of *Genesis* were the eldest Sons. For the design of *Moses* is only to give us the Names of those who were the *Heads* of *Adam's Posterity* in the Line of *Seth*. When therefore he says, that *Seth lived 105 Years and begat Jared*, it does not say that *Jared* was his First-Born; any more than he would have us to think that *Seth* was *Adam's First-Born*, when he says, *And Adam lived 130 Years and he begat a Son, in his own Likeness after his Image, and called his Name Seth*; adding, *And the days of Adam, after he had begotten Seth, were 800 Years, and he begat Sons and Daughters.* For tho' from these words, abstractly considered, we might be apt to think,

that *Adam* had no Children until he was 130 Years old, yet we are assured from the fourth Chapter, not only that he had *Cain* and *Abel*, but a vast number of Children besides, if not Grand-Children also, as we see v. 14. where *Cain* expresses his Fear, *lest any one that found him should kill him*; which supposes not only that *Adam* had other Sons (unless we should fall in with the foolish Notion of the Pre-Adamites) but such also who were so grown up, as to be singly a Match, if not also an over-match for him : Nor is there any reason to wonder how Mankind came to be so numerous by this time. For *Adam* and *Eve* being Created, in all the Vigour and Perfection of Humane Nature, it is probable that *Cain* was born the same Year, and was 129 Years of Age, when *Seth* was born. And if we should suppose that *Adam* and *Eve* had but one Child in two Years, to what a vast Multitude might Men have risen against the 130th Year of *Adam*'s Age? And yet there is reason to think that they had at least one Child for every Year, for *Eve* might perhaps sometimes have Twins. But let us only suppose, that *Adam* had but 10 Children in 30

* A. M.	Men.	rity might multiply into no fewer than 100,000, in 130 Years. Nay, <i>Cain</i> himself, who perhaps was not a Year younger than his Father, might be multiplied into as many as this amounts to; so that we need
30.	10.	
60.	100.	
90.	1000.	
120.	10,000.	
130.	100,000.	

not wonder, if he built a City after his Expulsion from his Father's Presence and Family, where as yet the *Shechinah* manifested himself. And if *Cain* might had 100,000, descended from him at this time, and if we suppose that *Adam* had 50 Children of his own Body instead of 10, in 130 Years (which is no unreasonable Supposition) Mankind may be conjectur'd to have amounted to several Millions when *Seth* was born. So that I do not think it any way improbable, that there were as many
Men,

Men, Women and Children then: in the World, as there are now in *England*. But to return.

As it is certain that *Seth* was a younger Son of *Adam*, and yet chosen and appointed to be the *Second Patriarch* or *Emperor* of the World: So it is not incredible that some of his Successors, if not all, were younger Sons likewise. For it is, I think, a very precarious Notion, that those old Patriarchs were mere Children for 60 or 70, or 100 Years, because we read not of their begetting their Successor till about that time at soonest. Whereas, if my Notion take place, that the Prince was *Elected* without regard to Age, as God did direct and appoint, we need not have recourse to so idle a Dream. And I am sure that this way we shall attain to a much clearer Idea of the vast difference of the Patriarchs, in relation to the Age of the Fathers; when we read,

That *Seth* was born when *Adam* was aged ——— 130.

Enos born when *Seth* was aged ————— 105.

Cainan when *Enos* was ——— ————— 90.

Mahalaleel when *Cainan* was ——— ————— 70.

Jared when *Mahalaleel* was ——— ————— 65.

Enoch when *Jared* was ——— ————— 162.

Methuselah when *Enoch* was ——— ————— 65.

Lamech when *Methuselah* was ——— ————— 187.

Noah when *Lamech* was ——— ————— 182.

For, if indeed *Mahalaleel*, *Jared* and *Methuselah*, were the eldest Sons of their Fathers; yet it is unlikely that *Enos* or *Cainan*, but especially *Enoch*, *Lamech* or *Noah*, were such.

Objct. But why should this be incredible, when it is said of *Noah*, that he was 500 Years old before he had his three Sons.

Ans. I look upon his Case to be very singular this way; and that *Noah* being grieved with the Universal Wickedness of the old World, and assured of the Coming of the Deluge, might be under a peculiar Direction from God, to act a different part from all
hs

his Predecessors. For from these Considerations he might justly be induc'd not to marry so soon as others, and having three Sons, to order Affairs so, that they might not marry until that very time that the Flood came, that so he and his Wife, and his Sons and their Wives, might have no Incumberance of young Children when they should be in the Ark, where they were to have Work enough of a different sort.

But however this be, still the further we proceed downwards, the more eminent Instances we have of God's over-ruling Matters so, that the *younger Brother* should be chosen to be *Prince* before the *Elder*. For *Shem*, who had the first Blessing, and consequently was the Successor of *Noah*, and the *Second Patriarch* and *Prince* of the *Post-Diluvians*, was, if not the youngest Son, yet younger than *Japhet* *. And of *Shem's* Sons *Arphaxad*, † tho' the third only, was he in whom the Blessing, and consequently the Precedency, was continued. And, in like manner, there is just reason to conclude, that *Abram* was a younger of Son of *Terah*, as it is certain *Isaac* was *Abraham's* Second Son, and that *Jacob* was remarkably preferr'd to the Right and Dignity of the *Primogeniture*, even contrary to his Father's Design.

Thus likewise of *Jacob's* twelve Sons, *Joseph*, tho' the youngest but one, came to have the Precedency and Authority, and after him *Moses*, by a special Choice and Commission from God.

But, lest any Umbrage should be given of an *Hereditary Governor*, who might pretend to be Ruler, in Right of his Father; the *Logos* (who had hitherto ever over-ruled things so, that Men might even own him to be their Supream King) did so order Matters, that *Joshua*, a Man of another Tribe, than that from whence *Moses* sprung, should succeed.

* Gen. 10. 11.

† Comp. Gen. 10. 21, 22. with Chap. 11. 10, &c.

And, in like manner, when he died, God took care to chuse a Vice-gerent, from time to time, that should have the first and principal Hand, in all Matters of Consequence. Thus *Caleb* succeeded to *Joshua*. And, after him, God raised up successively, and at different times, *Othniel*, *Ehud*, *Deborah*, *Gideon*, *Abimelech*, *Tola*, *Jair*, *Jephtha*, *Ibzan*, *Elon*, *Abdon*, *Samson*, *Eli*; and lastly, *Samuel*.

Now, seeing the *Logos* had, from the very beginning of time, ever acted so, in the choice of the first Ruler, as never to allow of any thing like an exact *Lineal Succession*, no wonder that he kept strictly by this Rule, with respect to *Israel*, whose King he himself was in a most proper Sense. And therefore, tho' he did not restrict the Nation from modelling themselves into a *Monarchy* like other Nations; yet he expressly guards against their having the Choice of him, and reserves this to himself. * *When thou art come into the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein; and shalt say, I will set a King over me, like as all the Nations that are about me: Thou shalt in any wise set him, (i. e. such a Person) King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose, &c.* So that God was resolv'd, whether a *Judge* or a *King* should be set up, that still he should be chosen by himself, and therefore should never be his Rival, but his Lieutenant, Deputy or Vice-gerent only.

When therefore the Elders of *Israel* did demand a King, they durst not go about the Election of one themselves, † but came to *Samuel*, requiring him to give them one, i. e. to consult God, as to the Person that was most proper to rule them in that Capacity.

* Deut. 17. 14, 15. † 1 Sam. 8. 4, 5.

Now, at first view, one might be apt to think that they did nothing in all this but what was justifiable, and may therefore wonder why *Samuel*, nay, and *God himself* was so angry with them.

But if we consider things a little more closely, we shall find that there was here no less than a secret Combination against God and the Constitution of his Government. Had they indeed come, and desired *Samuel* to consult God whither they might not be allow'd to have a King after *Samuel's* Decease, they had acted a dutiful part: But to come resolved to have a King, and to limit God only to the Person, and that whilst *Samuel* was alive, was materially to throw off the immediate Government of God. They were weary of a Divine Government, where Holy Prophets bare rule under God and for him. And therefore they lay hold, upon the *Popular Handle* of the Mismanagement of *Samuel's Sons*, and improve it politically, to over-turn the *Theocracy* it self, with a design to lay a Foundation of Licentiousness, and of acting as they pleased, by changing the *Philosophical* or *Divine Judge* or *Ruler*, into a *Military* and *Secular Prince*, in hopes of obtaining a Freedom this way of acting, as other Nations did in Matters that related both to Polity and Religion.

No wonder then, if *Samuel* saw thro' their specious pretence, and was displeas'd with them; and that *God*, who knew their Hearts and secret Designs, should say in answer to *Samuel's* Prayer, * *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not Reign over them. According to all the Works which they have done, since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt, even unto this day, wherewith they have forsaken me and served other Gods: So do they also, (i. e. in this Particular) unto thee; i. e. this is their Design at pre-*

* 1 Sam. 8. 7.

sent, in what they desire of thee, that they may lay a Foundation of over-turning that *Divine Constitution of Government* which I have brought them under, in order to their acting the same lawless and licentious part that other Nations have done. So that their Rejecting of thee from being *Judge*, is ultimately level'd against me, and is materially a rejecting me from being their King.

And, by this we see, how concern'd God was, that no Prince should be his Rival, as to Supream Regal Power.

But this appears yet further in the Sequel of this History. For, in order to deter them from persisting in their desiring *an unlimited Prince* (for this was what they would have been at) God gives *Samuel* a Charge to paint forth the Miseries that such a *Despotick Ruler* would bring upon them and their Posterity; which *Samuel* does accordingly. * *This will be the manner of the King that shall reign over you; He will take your Sons, and appoint them for himself, for his Chariots, and to be his Horsemen, and some shall run before his Chariots, &c. And he will take your Daughters to be Confectionaries, and to be Cooks, and to be Bakers. And he will take your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your Olive-yards, even the best of them, and give them to his Servants, &c. And ye shall be his Servants, (i. e. Slaves, for there were no other sort of Servants of old.) And ye shall cry out in that day, because of your King, which ye shall have chosen you; and the Lord will not bear you in that day.*

So that it is plain, that it was an *unlimited King*, or, in other words, a *Tyrant*, that they were so madly set upon, and that God was so justly enraged against them, upon the Account of. From whence two

* 1 Sam. 8. 10, 11, &c.

Corollaries do necessarily follow. 1. That God was ever an *Enemy* to an *unlimited* and *absolute* Government. 2. That there have ever been a Degenerate and Licentious Generation of *High-Flying Persons*, who, rather than be tyed up by the Rules of Religion and Morality, have chosen to buoy up *Arbitrary Princes* and *Tyrannical Government*, in hopes of being Arbitrary themselves over the Populace. And how degenerous and wicked were *the Elders* (*i. e.* the Heads or Princes) of *Israel*, at this Time, who did not only demand such a sort of Ruler * as this, at first, but persisted in this demand, notwithstanding all that God had said to them, by the Mouth of *Samuel*, to the contrary? Of which we have this Account. † *Nevertheless, the People* (*i. e.* the Elders, their Heads and Representatives) *refused to obey the Voice of Samuel; and they said, Nay, but we will have a King over us; that we also may be like all the Nations, and that our King may judge us and go out before us, and fight our Battles.* Alas! Divine Arguments did not relish with these debauch'd Elders. *Samuel* had told them, that such a King as they desired, would *enslave* their Sons and Daughters, and destroy *Property* as well as *Liberty*, by taking their Estates from them. What then, say they secretly, we will labour to please the Prince and assist him in his lawless Designs and Actions; so that tho' the Populace be enslaved, we shall live in Grandeur and Power. And thus it is plain, that those *High-Flying Gentlemen*, who were for Arbitrary Government, were *equally false* to God and to the Nation in general; as their *Successors* have ever been since, in all Nations and Ages, under whatever Denomination.

But, tho' these *Representatives* of *Israel* were so *treacherous* both to the *People* and their *Sovereign*; yet the *Logos*, their True and Supreme King, did not allow

* 1 Sam. 3. 4, 5. † Ver. 19, 20.

them the whole of their Demand. A King indeed he let them have, but in such a manner as shew'd an equal mixture of Anger against the *Primores Populi*, the Heads of the People, and Pity for the poor *Populace*, who were thus betrayed and design'd to be ruin'd: And he did, at the same time, so act in this Matter, as to shew a just Concern for his own *Prerogative*; for he did so mannage the Matter, as to let them all know, that if they had a King, it should be wholly owing to himself, and his own Choice; and that therefore he was resolv'd not to allow them to have an Arbitrary Prince, but such a one as should be a mere Deputy only, tho' with the Title of a King.

In order to reach all which Purposes; 1. The *Logos* takes State upon him, and orders *Samuel* to tell them in general, that they should have a King in these words, * *Hearken unto them*. But then, 2. In order to show a Contempt of Them and Their future King both, he adds, † *Make them a King*: As if it had been too great for himself to do it immediately, and therefore their *old and despised Judge* has orders to do it. And, that all this might be the more remarkable, in the 3d place, *Samuel* has orders to command them all immediately to go Home and mind their Business. *Go ye every Man unto his City*, says he: As if he had said, Tho' ye shall have a King, yet, as ye have no right to elect him, so God will not do it as yet.

Well! a King they will have, and a King they shall have; but such a King, with reference to whom it shall be said at length, || *O Israel, thou hast destroyed thy self, whereas in me was thine help. My Logos was a security to you. But where now is your King, that he may save you in your Cities; and where are your Princes, of whom ye were so fond, when ye said, Give us a King and Rulers. I gave thee a King in mine Anger,*

* 1 Sam. 8. 22. † Ibid. || Hof. 13. 9; 10, 11.

and I took him away in my Wrath. I have rendred these words more agreeably, in some things, to the *Targum*, than our Version. But however the Sense is materially the same in both.

What sort of a King *Saul* was, and how he reign'd, I need not say, seeing the Sacred History gives us a sufficient Account of him. However, these few Things I would observe concerning him. (1.) That it was an odd occurrence, * that he should be sent out to seek Asses, and missing them, should have *Israel* given into his Hands in their stead; † as if Providence meant Sarcastically thus to represent *Israel* as Asses, in being so fond of Arbitrary Government. And indeed, what more proper Emblem can there be of Jacobite Slavery-men, than to represent them by such dull and slavish Animals, whose Souls and Backs do equally demonstrate them to be Beasts of Burden? (2.) That tho' the People were fond of such a King, as we have taken Notice of, yet God would allow them a Limited one only. And it is remarkable, that he calls him by no higher Name, where he is spoken properly of, but that of *Captain over Israel* ||, as if his Power were li-

* See 1 Sam. 9. 3, &c.

† Were such Persons capable of the Honour of bearing a Coat of Arms, who are against the Use of them, I should think, that I could not *Blazon* their *Escutcheon* better, than with the Charge or Bearing of a great and lubbardly *Ass*, *couching down between two Burdens*, according to the Description which *Jacob* gives of *Issachar*, Gen. 49. 14. as our Version renders the words. Nor is the Reason unsuitable to this Tribe of Men, which follows of that Ancient one, viz. Ver. 15. *That finding that Rest was good, and that the Land was pleasant, he very fairly and quietly bowed his Shoulder to bear, and thus became a Servant unto Tribute, (i. e. a Tool to Imposition and Slavery.*

|| See 1 Sam. 9. 16. and Chap. 10. 1.

mitted this way to Military Affairs. (3.) That God did at first reserve to himself the sole Choice of the Person that was to be their King, and therefore ordered the People to cast Lots upon this occasion, tho' God had pitch'd upon *Saul* before; that thus all Men might see that *Saul* was chosen to be a *Vice-King* only, under the *Lord of Hosts*. And this choice is so manag'd, as, 1st. to be usher'd in with God's renewed Declaration, that though he comply'd in part with them, yet he look'd upon this Desire of theirs, * to denote a Rejection of himself. 2dly. That he so manag'd the Lots, that one of the most unlikely Persons of all *Israel* should be made choice of, to the great Vexation, no doubt, of most of the Elders or Princes, who lookt upon themselves to deserve this Honour more: Therefore no wonder, if a great many *despised Saul* (as we are told they did) notwithstanding his *goodly Appearance* †. But God had a Mind to lay that at the bottom of the Monarchy, which should shew the Folly of all Pretenders, either to *Adamitical*, *Noachical*, *Abramitical*, or any sort of Successions that might afterwards pretend to a Natural or Hereditary Right: Therefore he so orders matters, that all the Eldest Tribes of *Israel* should be cast, and that the youngest Tribe should carry the Lot, and that of all the Tribe of *Benjamin*, the very least Family, if we may believe *Saul* || himself, should be made choice of; and that, of all that Family, *Saul*, the Son of *Kish*, a young and unexperien'd Man, should be the Person upon whom the Lot fell. (4.) That though *Saul* was thus chosen King (a), yet he continued a Shepherd, as to his Imployment, until God having once chosen him, honoured him (b), by doing a very memorable piece of Service for the Nation. (5.) That *Saul*, though publicly chosen before, was not solemnly Inaugurated to

* See 1 Sam. 10. 17, 18, 19. † See Chap. 10. 27. and Chap. 11. 12, 13: || See Chap. 9. 21. (a) See Chap. 11. 5. (b) See Ver. 6, 7, 8.

be King, until God had thus honour'd him to do this solemn Service *. (6.) That in doing this, a solemn Contract is made †, first between *Saul* and the *People*, and then between both *Him and Them* on the one hand, and their *Supream King the Lord of Hosts* on the other : Which is ratified in an Awful and Terrible manner, by *Thunder and Rain*, as well as declar'd in a very plain and pungent Discourse by *Samuel*. (7.) That notwithstanding of *Saul's* being anointed King, yet God honoured *Samuel* all his Days with the *Supream Regency*, as the *Civil Judge of Israel* ; who was in this respect, though not in *Military Command*, *superior* even to *Saul* himself ‖, as every one must own, that will attentively consider that part of the Sacred History that concerns them both. (8.) That at length *Saul*, though *divinely chosen* (a), did so *forfeit* his *Right and Title to the Crown*, as to be entirely rejected by God, even in his own Life time, and to have another chosen in his stead.

And here I cannot but take particular Notice of that memorable Sentence, which *Samuel* pass upon *Saul*, and by which he did *depose* him from being King. (b) *Rebellion*, says he, *is as the Sin of Witchcraft, and Stubborness is as the Iniquity of Idolatry* (so I chuse to render the words) *Because therefore thou hast Rejected the Word of the Lord, he hath also rejected thee from being King*. From whence these Corollaries do naturally and necessarily follow. 1. That even a *Jure Divino King* may come to forfeit his Title to his Crown and Throne. 2. That he forfeits his Right then, when he subverts the Fundamental Constitutions and Laws of his Country, in Religious or Civil Concerns, especially if in both : for as this is Rebellion in him, so it is as great a Sin in a King, as either Witchcraft or Idolatry,

* See Chap. 11. 14, 15. † Chap. 12. throughout. ‖ See Chap. 13. Chap. 14. Chap. 15. Chap. 16. (a) See Chap. 13. v. 13, 14. Chap. 15. 22, 23, &c. Chap. 16. 1, &c. (b) Ch. 15. 23. whether

whether in Prince or Subject. 3. That where this his Rebellion is notoriously proved, he may not only be Arraign'd and Convicted for it, but have his Title openly declar'd to be null and void. 4. That this being done, another may be chosen and anointed King, even during the Life of the former; as we see *David* was, whilst *Saul* liv'd. These are the Positions that are all of them founded on the Divine Procedure, in the Case of *Saul* and *David*. And seeing they have been followed and made good by the wise Representatives of these Nations, in the late Glorious and Happy Revolution, I hope none will quarrel with me, for taking Notice of them here.

But now it is high Time to come to *David*, *Saul's* Successor, of whom I shall say the less, because I have been so large upon what proceeds.

I shall not therefore spend time in recounting his Personal Qualifications. Nor shall I give you any Historical Relation of his Sufferings and Actions. Far less shall I run out in an Encomium upon his Virtues and noble Performances. For he, that will consider the Sacred History, will be able with ease to form an Idea of him, in all these Respects.

All therefore, that I propose to my self to do here is, to consider, 1. What his Title was to the Crown of *Israel*; and, 2. In what respect he came to deserve the Character of being a Prince according to God's own Heart.

I. His Title to the Crown.

I suppose no Man, will dispute *David's* just Right to the Crown of *Israel*, that owns the Truth and Authority of the Bible.

Nor can any Man that owns this, doubt of his being in the most proper Sense, a *Jure Divino* King. For certainly if ever there was any such, *David* may lay claim to this high and glorious Character.

But whence had he this Right and Title to the Throne of Israel?

Not certainly by a *Successive Claim*, either from *Jacob* or *Saul*. Not from *Jacob*, for he was not so much as descended from *Ruben*, the eldest Son. Not from *Saul*, for he was Anointed King, during his Life, and took the Government actually upon him, after *Saul's* Death, tho' he had Male Issue alive.

Nor was he chosen, because he was the *most noble* and *first Person* of his Tribe; for he was the *youngest Son* even of his own Family.

And, tho' he made himself *Illustrious* afterwards, yet when he was first chosen by God, he had done nothing that made him so much as known in the Nation.

His Right therefore to the Throne of *Israel* stood in these two things, *viz. God's Choice* of him and *the Peoples*.

I. God chose him, and that in a most remarkable manner.

The Account is this. * *And the Lord said unto Samuel, How long wilt thou mourn for Saul, when I have rejected him from reigning over Israel? Fill thine Horn with Oyl, and go, I will send thee to Jesse the Bethlehemitite: For I have provided me a King among his Sons.* The Prophet obeys, though with some difficulty at first.

Well! *Samuel* views all *Jesse's* Sons †: *Eliab* the Eldest, a Man of a noble and majestick Mien, another *Saul* for Stature, passes before him first, and *Samuel* himself is charm'd with him. But he is rejected. Nor do *Abinadab*, the Second Son; nor *Shammah*, the Third, find any more acceptance. *Jesse* and *Samuel* are both astonished. Well! *seven* more of his Sons pass before him; but neither is any of them the Person that God had in view. It seems *Jesse* never dreamt that his

* 1 Sam. 16. 1, &c. † Ver. 6, 7, &c.

youngest Son David should be preferred before his *Elder Brethren*: Therefore was he absent, keeping the Sheep. But he is the Person: Therefore is he sent forth and *anointed King*. And, as a Divine Ratification of this, it is observed *, *That the Spirit of the Lord came upon him from that day forward*; and that, at the same time, † *The Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul*, and, instead of that, *an Evil Spirit from the Lord troubled him*.

I shall not detain you with the Sequel of the History of *Saul and David*.

I shall only observe this one thing; that, though *David* was anointed King by *Samuel*, and was therefore declared to be such *Jure Divino*; yet, even this Divine Choice did not constitute him King, in a full or proper sense, until it was Ratified and Confirm'd by the *People's Choice*. And therefore let us seriously take notice,

2. That, though *God's Choice*, declar'd by *Samuel's* anointing him, and ratified by the *Regal Spirits* being given him, did mark him out as the Person that was to be King, and that he was even then *virtually* or *potentially* so, yet *David* was not, *pleno jure*, i. e. fully, actually, and properly King, until Chosen and Inaugurated by the *People*; that is, by their *Elders, Heads* or *Representatives*.

How this was brought about, the Sacred History does sufficiently inform us. It was done *gradually*. For, upon *Saul's* Death ||, *David* came to *Hebron*, where he was *Elected* and *Anointed King* of the *Tribe of Judah*, by the *Heads* of that *Tribe*; *Ish-bosheib*, the Son of *Saul*, (a) being, in the mean time, King over all the other *Tribes*: during whose Life *David* pretended not to be, in a proper Sense, King of *Israel*.

* Ver. 13. † Ver. 14. || 2 Sam. 2: 4. (a) Ver. 8, 9, 10.

But, at length, upon his decease, * *The Elders of Israel*, who, by virtue of their *Representative Power* and *Commission*, are otherwise spoken of by the general Name of *all the Tribes of Israel*, join'd together, and came to *David*, in order to make him King over all the other Tribes. But how do they do this? Not Hand over Head, as we use to say, rashly or suddenly, out of a mighty pretence of Love, Veneration, and Loyalty. No, no, they were faithful to their Trust, concerned for the Constitution, and zealous for their Own and the People's Rights. And therefore they enter into a *Formal Contract, Stipulation, and Agreement* with *David*, which they ratify by mutual *Engagements* and *Promises*, and, as would appear, reciprocal *Oaths*, entred into in a publick, *solemn* and *sacred manner*, as in the Presence of God; taking him to Witness, of their sincere Concern to act mutually to one another, as became them in their several Stations and Relations. And upon the bottom of this *Contract* between *David* and *Them*; they proceeded to *Anoint him King over Israel*. All this is, though briefly, yet plainly enough, expressed in these words. † *So all the Elders of Israel came to the King to Hebron, and King David made a League with them in Hebron, before the Lord. And they anointed David King over Israel.*

And now, if God did so far suspend his own Right and Authority of Electing and Inaugurating a King, upon the Peoples Choice and Inauguration of him, even during the continuance of the *Jewish Theocracy*; certainly it is an Argument *a fortiori*, from the most forcible Consideration, that the *best Title* that any *Prince* can have to a *Throne*, is his being *Chosen* by the *People*, declaring their choice by *proper Representatives*. For if God did leave *David's Title imperfect*, until this was

* 2 Sam. 5. v. 3. compared with ver. 1. † 2 Sam. 5. 3. 1 Chron. 11. 3.

done, by what can we (who live now in these last days) judge of the Right of Princes, to whom *no Samuel* is sent immediately from God, with a Commission to Anoint and Proclaim them such? Certainly by this, and this only, that the *Primores Populi*, the *Heads* and *Representatives* of a Nation, have chosen such or such a one, and set him solemnly apart to the Regal Office,

And therefore the Determination of *Hushai* in this Case, (abstracting from the occasion of his mentioning it) was as certain a Maxim of both Reason and State, as any thing can be supposed to be; when he says, *Whom God and this People, and all the Men of Israel choose, his will I be, and with him will I abide.* * Only two things are to be distinguish'd here, *viz.* The Maxim it self, and his *Secret Reserve*, as it is cautiously couched in his wording himself.

The Maxim is this, *That private Men are to own, as King, whatever Person God by his Providence marks out as such, when this is fully determined by the choice of the People.* For, of the first of these we can only judge by the later; especially now, when we cannot expect a *Samuel* to be sent to mark a Man out this way.

But then the Politick Man says not only, *whom this People will choose*, (*i. e.* those that were with *Abfalom*) but adds, *Whom all the Men of Israel will choose*: by which he plainly, tho' covertly, insinuates, that, in order to clear up *Abfalom's Title* fully, it was necessary that there should be a more unanimous and universal Concurrence of the Body of the Nation, in and by their Representatives; which was not yet, nor could be, until the event of the War between the Father and Son should determine it. So that *Hushai's Words* had a *double Aspect*. For, *First*, If they be understood together, with, and inclusive of this Mental Reservation,

* 2 Sam. 16. 18.

(by which he sav'd his Conscience) the meaning is, That neither God by his Providence, nor the People by their Representatives, had chosen *Absalom* to the Crown. But if taken, as the heat and fervor of speaking might insinuate his sense to have been, especially to a young unobservant Prince, elevated at that time with success and popular Applause; his words seem to include, not only that this was his Opinion, That *Absalom* was as rightfully King now as his Father had been before, but also an Argument for it, taken from the very Constitution of all Regular Kingdoms, as well as as that of *Israel*, in a more peculiar manner, *viz.* That God by his Providence, and the People by a general Choice, had given *Absalom* the same rightful Title to the Crown, which *David* formerly had, and that consequently *David* had as really forfeited his Claim to *Absalom*, as *Saul* had done before to *him*. And that this might be supposed to be his only sense, (tho' the other really was) the cunning States-man ushers this Determination in, with a loud, (a) *God save the King, God save the King*, (not telling what King he meant) and concludes it with this Emphatical Application, (b) *Whom should I serve? Should I not serve in the presence of his Son? Sure I will, says he. As I have served in thy Father's presence, so will I be in thy presence.* One would think, what more positive words could be used than these. And yet, if taken as a Conclusion from the words before, as inclusive of the Mental Reservation mention'd, they denote the quite contrary to that which otherwise they seem only to express; nay, and that so remarkably too, that as the first part of the applicatory words, being an Interrogation, concludes nothing at all, one way or other, so the last and only binding part, because promissory, seems to be so cunningly worded, as to be wholly adapted to the

(a) V. 16. (b) V. 19.

Mental Reservation, which I took notice of before. For they may naturally be thus understood, *As I have served in thy Father's presence, so will I be in thy presence, i. e.* To serve his Interest still, and undermine thee.

This Account serves to let us see, how a cunning States-man may act, in such a manner, as that the World shall believe he means honestly, the very contrary of that which he has really and only in view; nay, that he may do all this so, that when his words are scann'd, he may be able to set them in such a light, as that no Man can justly charge him with a Lye, or any thing that is directly a Falshood.

But to return, let *Hushai's* Application of this be what Men please, still his Maxim abstracted from this, is, in it self, what all Men must be obliged to own and settle upon at last, as the the only certain Foundation of Allegiance to Princes. Whereas, if we quit this, we shall never be able to find any solid Foundation to fix upon, which will not be the Subject of endless Disputes, and the occasion of perplexing Men's Minds and Consciences.

And therefore, in defiance to all the *Jacobites* in the World, I say, that our *late Glorious King* had, and our present *Glorious and most Excellent Queen* has, as just and uncontested a Title and Right to the Throne of these Nations, as ever *David* had to that of *Israel*, or any other Prince whatsoever, from the beginning of the World; and this, I say, even upon the Supposition, that they could prove the Legitimacy of the Birth of a certain Prince and Princess.

The Voice of the People is the Voice of God, in this Case, declared as remarkably and illustriously in the Coronation of her Majesty, as it was in that of *David*.

And

And therefore let not such Men think to gull the Nation, with their silly distinction of a Sovereign *De Jure* and *De Facto*, and their dark and confused Comments upon the same.

For, in opposition to all such, I advance this Maxim; That whosoever is Sovereign *de facto*, so as to be set up and owned by the Representatives of a Nation in a free Assembly, is *de jure*, Sovereign of that Nation and People; nay, and has a better Title to the Crown this way, than he that could prove himself to be lineally descended from the *first* Branch of *Adam* or *Noah's* Family, *i. e.* from *Cain* or *Japhet*, if he had no such Election or Inauguration by the Representatives of the Nation.

But the best of Princes have had Detractors and Calumniators, and such as made it their Business to undermine their Government. Even *David's* Reign was not without (c) *Sons of Belial*, *i. e.* Lawless Persons, who either did not own him at all, or were of such profligate Consciences as to fall in with him, in order the more effectually to ruin him: And therefore no wonder if there should be *Jacobites* and *Nonjurants*, and some of them *pretended Zealots* for the Government, during the present *happy* Reign of *Queen Ann*.

But now to proceed, having seen *David's* Right to the Crown, and proved him to have been a *Revolution-King*; and that therefore he had the *best of Titles* to a *Throne*, *viz.* That which flows from a *National Choice*: let us proceed to consider him so far as that part of his Character will go, which God himself does bestow

(c) See 2 Sam. 16. 7. 8. Chap. 20. 1, 2. Chap. 23. 6. See Chap. 22. 5. and Psalm 18. 4. where what we render *ungodly* is in the Hebrew *Belial*.

upon him, when he is called (d) a *Man after God's own heart*.

II. *David's Character, as he was a Man after God's own Heart.*

David was certainly a very holy and good Man, in the main: and therefore this Character may be given him, in some respect, as such. But, if we consider, that this is given him in opposition to *Saul*, and in reference to his Qualifications for Government, we shall find that this Encomium is bestow'd upon him, rather as he is to be considered as a *Good Prince* than as a *Good Man*; tho' this Consideration of him be necessarily supposed, for he could not have been, in a proper sense, a *Good King*, if he had not also been a *Good Man*.

However, seeing this Character doth relate to him more especially, formally and directly, as he was a King; I shall accordingly consider it principally with reference to him *as such*.

Now, I take *David's* Excellency as a Prince, and upon the account of which he is thus Characteris'd, to have stood in this one thing, *That he was ever faithful, in the main, to the Theocracy it self, i. e. to the Constitution and Establishment of that Nation, according to the Institution and Laws given forth by God to Israel, by the Mouth of Moses the great Legislator of that People.*

For in other respects *David's* Vices, as a Prince, seem to have exceeded those of *Saul* his Predecessor. For all that *Saul* did to forfeit the Kingdom, for himself and Posterity so far as we can find upon Scripture Record, was, 1. His having usurp'd the Office of *Samuel*,* who was not an ordinary Prophet, but such a one as was God's Mi-

(d) 1 Sam. 13. 14. and Acts 13. 22. * 1 Sam. 13. 8, &c. nister

nister of State above him, as Judge in *Civil Respects*, as I observed before. For this he is charged by *Samuel*, as guilty of *Rebellion*; even tho' there were several things that might have alleviated the Fault, such as the present Terror of the People, * who went melting away from his Army for fear of the *Philistines*; *Samuel's* (a) own neglect in not coming within the time prefixed by himself; || and the supposition that this would be a piece of good Policy to prevent the Desertion of the Soldiers. I know some Commentators suppose that *Saul* usurped the Priests Office: but I see no reason to charge him with this, † seeing not only the *Ark* was in the Camp at that time, but *Ahiah* the Priest likewise. So that the whole of his Crime was this, (d) that he did not wait until *Samuel* came to order and direct his Proceedings, but went on precipitantly, of his own Head, without him, which was interpretatively, to act without knowing the Mind of God, or owning him as his King and General. Secondly, Nor was *Saul's* other Crime any other than a Repetition of his Disobedience. And that was, in his sparing *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites*, (e) together with the best of their Sheep and Oxen. For this he is finally rejected from being King, tho' in all other respects he had punctually obeyed the Order which God had sent him by *Samuel*.

Now, upon a transient View of Matters, one would be apt to conclude, that *David's* Sins were more and greater than both these, and much more highly aggravated. For (not to mention his bloody design against the whole Family of *Nabal*, Sam. 25. 22, 32, 33, 34.) 1. What more base and barbarous Action could be, than his debauching *Bathsheba*, (f) the Wife of *Uriah* the *Hittite*, &c. a good Man and true Patriot of his Coun-

* V. 6, 7. (a) V. 8. || V. 11, 12. † See Chap. 10. 18. 19. (e) See Chap. 10. 8. (e) 1 Sam. 15. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, &c. (f) 2 Sam. 11. 3, 4.

ty, as well as one of *David's* Worthies and his old and constant Friend and Companion in Exile and Sufferings; especially now that he was engaged in his own Service against the *Ammonites*? But, as if this had not been base enough, How mean a part did *David* act, in labouring to hide his Sin, (a) by trepanning the innocent but gallant *Urijah*, to Father his Bastard; First, by sending for him from his Post, (b) and then making him drunk for this end? (c) And, as if all this Wickedness had been nothing, how horrid was it for him to contrive the Murder of this excellent Person; nay, and to send the Message in a Letter, by *Urijah's* own Hand; and to be pleas'd with the Account of his Death? (d) Secondly, And tho' the *Ammonites* had treated *David's* Embassadors very basely and scandalously; (e) yet the Revenge that *David* took upon them for that Affront, was such, as look'd rather like a *Nero* than a *David*; especially when we consider that the poor People were altogether innocent this way, the Affront being Personal to *David*; and the King and his *Privy-Councillors* only guilty of it; besides that some Consideration ought to have been of good old *Lot*, from whom the *Ammonites* were descended, and by whom they were related to *Israel*. But if all the poor *Ammonites* did deserve to die; yet why should they have been put to death in so barbarous and inhumane a manner? For, I must declare, that I hardly remember to have read of any Persecutor, that ever exceeded *David's* Cruelties; which seem to have been such, as if he had been insatiably delighted with Humane Misery. For this Account is given of him twice over. (f) And he brought forth the People that were therein (i. e. in *Rabbah* the Capital City) and put them under Saws, and under Harrows

(a) V. 6, 7, 8, &c. (b) V. 13. (c) V. 14, 15. (d) V. 19, 20, 25, &c. (e) 2 Sam. 10, 2, 3, 4. (f) 2 Sam. 12, 31. 1 Chron. 10, 3.

of Iron, and under Axes of Iron, and made them pass through the Brick-kiln. And thus did he do (not only to the Inhabitants of Rabbah, but also to those of) all the (other) Cities of the Children of Ammon. So David and all the People returned to Jerusalem. Thirdly, Nor can we forget his Ingratitude to the Memory of his old dear and generous Friend *Jonathan*, in giving away part of his Son's Inheritance to his treacherous Servant *Ziba*, even after the honest and innocent *Mephibasheth* had so fully cleared himself of the Imputation of Disloyalty laid to his Charge. For to tell him, after all this, in a hard, arbitrary and wrathful manner; (g) *Why speakest thou any more of thy Matters, I have said* (sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas) *Thou and Ziba divide the Land*; I say, to speak to him at this rate, did not look like the brave *Jonathan's* Friend and Brother-in-Law. To these four let us add his Pride and Haughtiness in numbering of the People, (h) which was ordered in such an arbitrary manner, that even *Joab* himself (who was none of the best of Men) as well as his other Captains, were forced to comply with him against their own Inclinations.

And now, that I have mentioned this last Sin, viz. That of numbering the People, a question will very naturally offer it self to Mens Thoughts upon this Head, viz. Whence it comes to pass, that this Sin should be represented in Scripture, as the greatest that ever *David* was guilty of. For, that it is represented as such in Scripture, none can doubt, that considers, 1. That even *Joab* and his other Captains opposed *David* in this Act, nay, and abhor'd it so much, that they ventur'd to displease their Prince, by leaving the Work unfinish'd. Therefore it is said, (i) That *Joab counted not Levi and Benjamin, for that the King's word* (i. e. his Order this way) *was a-*

(g) 2 Sam. 19. 29. (h) 2 Sam. 24, 1, 2, 3, &c. 1 Chron. 21. 1, 2, 6. (i) 1 Chron. 21. 6.

dominable to Joab. 2. Whereas we find not that *David's* Conscience did at all flie in his Face, upon the Account of any of his other Sins, (excepting only that of the Murder of *Urijah*, which yet was not, till after that the Prophet thunder strook him, by Commission from God :) We see that he fell into a terrible Agony of Mind, after he had seriously consider'd what he had been guilty of, as to this particular. The Account is this. * *And David's Heart smote him, after that he had numbred the People; and David said unto the Lord, I have sinned greatly, in what I have done. And now I beseech thee, O Lord, take away the Iniquity of thy Servant, for I have done very foolishly.* It is true, this was not, until after the sad Message which the Prophet brought him. But then we find him more alarmed than he had ever been before, upon any Account whatsoever. But 3dly. The principal thing, that discovers the hainousness of this sin, is, the terribleness of God's Displeasure against *David* himself, and even the People also, for allowing and permitting themselves to be numbred. When *David* had murder'd *Urijah*, and taken Possession of his Wife, after he had debauched her †; the Punishment he met with, was the death of his Adulterous Child; the assurance that his Son should defile his Wives openly, as he had defil'd his Neighbour's Wife secretly, and that the Sword should never totally depart from his House. These threatnings being alleviated, by the Assurance, || *That his sin was so far pardon'd, as that he should not die for it.* But God's Anger is discover'd in a more terrible manner against this sin, insomuch, that the People are order'd to be punish'd upon this Account. Therefore he has an Offer made him (a) of Three sorts of Judgments, viz. Whether seven Years of Famine, three Months of Oppression by an Enemy, or three Days Pestilence? And it was one of the greatest and severest Punishments

* 2 Sam. 24.10. † 2 Sam. 7.8,9,10, &c. || V. 13. (a) 2 Sam. 24.13. that

that could be inflicted upon a Good Prince, that he must pass the Sentence himself, and thus openly own himself to be the principal Cause of all the Miseries and Calamities that were to follow this Choice, for which he must Answer, and of which he must bear the Blame. And though *David* made a very religious and wise Choice, considering his strait in the Matter, yet this did not hinder * but that 70 Thousand People were cut off by the Pestilence.

Object. But is it not said, † That *David* did that which was right in the Eyes of the Lord, and turned not aside from any thing that he commanded him all the days of his Life, save only in the matter of *Urijah* the Hittite.

Ans. No Man, I suppose, can understand this, in such a sense, as if *David* had never been guilty of any Sin, but that one, which is specified. And, therefore, the force of the Objection lies only in this, That this was his greatest Sin. And I grant it was, if we consider its Aggravations. But then this Sin was not formally the Sin of *David*, as a Prince, but as a Man. And, as such, it was the greatest Sin, nay the only Sin that was committed by him, without Provocation, or any thing that lookt like a Rational Temptation. In the Case of the *Ammonites*, as well as of *Nabal*, he had very great Provocation given him. And in the Case of *Mephibosheth*, he had been mis-inform'd so long, that the Calumny had left such a deep Impression upon his Mind, that he could not easily get it over. But in the Case of *Urijah*, he had not the least just ground of Proceeding as he did. But still it is to be remembered, that tho' his numbring the People, was not such a Moral Evil, yet it was a more immediate Sin against God, as being directly against God's Regal Office and Authority.

* Ver. 15. † 2 Kings 25. 5.

Therefore, in all Governments, *Treason* against the Sovereign is more guarded against, and more severely punish'd, than even Murder it self. When therefore the Sacred Historian speaks of the Case of *Urijah*, as *David's only Sin*, (*i. e.* the only one in a superlative Sense) He means it in reference to *Moral Evil*, in opposition to *Abijam* (of whom he is immediately speaking) and *Rehoboam*; insinuating thus, that both these Princes were guilty of many Murders and Adulteries, and such like Sins. But this does not hinder us from concluding, that *David's Sin, in numbring the People*, was, in another sense, the greatest Sin that ever *David* was guilty of; nay, and the *only Political Sin* worth Observation, that *David* is chargeable with: So that if we do but bear this plain distinction in Mind, *viz.* That in the Case of *Urijah* he sinn'd *formally as a Man only*, whereas in *numbring the People*, he sinn'd *formally as a King*; and therefore that this latter was a *more direct, immediate and publick Breach of Trust*. I say, if we consider this, my sense will easily be understood, when I assert, that this latter was his greatest Sin, as being committed *most immediately* against *God's Authority*, contrary to the *Trust of David his Viceroy*, and to the *Detriment of the National Constitution* and the *Rights and Interest of the People*.

Now, seeing in this sense and in these respects, it is certain, that this was the greatest Sin that *David* was ever guilty of; let us proceed to answer the Question more directly and fully, by considering, whence it was that this Sin should be so odious to God, and so severely punish'd by him, even above his Sins of Adultery and Murder, nay and all his other Sins put together. And here then I shall only say, as I hinted but just now, that this last Sin of *Numbering the People*, was an *Usurpation of the Authority of God*, as he was the *Great King of Israel*. The other Sins were great and heinous, but they did not immediately affect the *National*

onal Establishment and Constitution. Whereas this Sin was an *Invasion* of the *Prerogative of the Logos*, the *Supreme King*, who brought the People out of *Egypt*, and still rul'd them, and who had chosen *David* to act indeed under him, but not to *usurp* his *superior Authority*, or to do any *Overt-act* this way, without first asking and receiving his *Leave and Allowance*. And hence likewise it came to pass, that the People came to suffer justly, because of their concurrence with *David* in this matter; which tho' *Passive*, was yet a *virtual Approbation* of *David's Invasion of the Prerogative and Authority of the Logos*, who was, in a true and proper sense, the *only supream King of Israel*.

But, seeing this was the only Sin of this kind, that ever *David* was guilty of, and that he did sincerely repent of it, and obtain'd *Pardon* for it at last: Hence it was, that *David* is even *Characterized*, notwithstanding this, as the best King that ever *Israel* or *Judah* had to boast of.

And therefore we may easily see, what the *Excellency of David* was, upon the Account of which he is so fam'd, as to be made the very *Standard*, according to which succeeding *Princes* were judg'd of, as to their *Goodness*, as such. For *David's* faithfulness to his *Great Master*, and consequently to the *Constitution of the Government and the Rights of the People*, did principally appear in this; That he never did, in the least, attempt either to *Rival* his *Great Master* himself, (except obliquely and interpretatively, in the numbering of the People) or give the least *Incouragement* to set up any *Rival or Competitor* against him; which was that very thing, that the *Logos*, the *Sovereign of Israel*, was, of all things, the most jealous of.

To have a genuine Idea of this, we need only remember, in the 1st place, That the *Decalogical Law* was the very *Foundation of the Jewish Government*, and the *Essential part of its Magna Charta*, or the *Foundation upon which its whole Erection was built*

up: And then, 2dly. That the very *Central* or *Fundamental* point of this *Decalogical Law*, and consequently of the *Temporal Appendices* thereof, *vis.* the *Ceremonial* and *Civil Laws*; that, I say, this was, what is laid at the bottom of all, as it is exprest in these words, * *I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, and out of the House of Bondage; and therefore thou shalt have no other Gods before me.*

Now *David* was untainted, in this respect, and ever manifested himself zealous this way; and therefore *God* (who has declared himself *jealous* † of his *Prerogative* and *Honour*, so as never to bear with any that either *assumes it himself*, or *gives it to any other thing whatsoever*) did pass by his other *Infirmities* the more easily.

Whereas, upon the other hand, *Jeroboam* is characterized with the blackest *Mark*, notwithstanding his other excellent *Qualifications*, because he invaded *God's Prerogative*, in the point of *Worship*, by setting up the *Calves* of *Dan* and *Berbel*; being ever specified thus, *The Man that caused Israel to Sin.*

And indeed this is the very *Counter-Character* to that of *David's* being a *Man after God's own Heart*. So that these two do mutually illustrate each other, as giving us to understand, that a *Prince* that is zealous for the pure *Worship* and *Service* of *God*, and the *People's Liberties* and *Rights*, is a *Man according to God's own Heart*: But that a *Prince*, who corrupts the *Worship* of *God*, by introducing or patronizing *Idolatry*, in order to inflave the *People*, † (which was the Reason of *Jeroboam's Apostacy*) is a *Man that causeth the People to sin.*

* *Exod.* 20. 2, 3. *Deut.* 5. 6, 7. *Psal.* 81. 10. † *Isa.* 42. 8.
 † See *1 Kings* 12. 26, 27, &c. and *Chap.* 14. 7, 8, &c. and *Ver.* 15, 26.

And therefore the Princes that succeeded *David* and *Jeroboam* are estimated and judg'd of, as Good or Wicked, more or less, according as their Reigns bare a greater or lesser Resemblance to the one or other of these.

Thus it is said of *Asa*, * That he did that which was right in the Eyes of the Lord, as did *David* his Father, &c. and that he did only fall short of him in this one thing, That the High Places were not removed. So likewise *Amaziah* is thus Characterized. † And he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord; yet not like *David* his Father, but like his Father *Joash*. For the High Places were not taken away; for the People did yet Sacrifice and burn Incense on the High Places. And, in like manner, a Judgment is made of *Abaz* his Wickedness, from the contrariety of his Government to that of *David*. ‖ And he did not that which was right in the sight of the Lord his God, like *David* his Father. But he walked in the ways of the Kings of Israel; yea, and made his Son pass through the Fire, according to the Abominations of the Heathen, whom the Lord cast out from before the Children of Israel. And he sacrificed and burnt Incense in the High Places, and on the Hills, and under every green Tree.

And thus as *David* is set up as the standard of his Successors, *Jeroboam* is the Man, with whom succeeding Evil Princes are compar'd, when ever any Character is given of them. Thus it is said of *Omri*, (a) That he walked in all the way of *Jeroboam*, the Son of *Nebat*, and his sin wherewith he made Israel to sin, to provoke the Lord God of Israel to Anger with their Vanities. And thus of *Ahab* his Son it is said, (b) And *Ahab*, the Son of *Omri*, did Evil in the sight of the Lord, above all that were before him. And it came to pass, as if it had been a Light Thing for him to walk in the Sins of

* 1 Kings 15. 11, &c. † 2 Kings 14. 3, 4. ‖ 2 Kings 16. 3, 4.
 (a) 1 Kings 16. 26. (b) Ver. 30, 31, &c.

Jeroboam the Son of Nebat; that he took him to Wife Jezabel the Daughter of Ethbaal, King of the Zidonians (where by the way, observe, How great a Sin it was for an Israelitish King to match into an Idolatrous Family) and went and served Baal and worshipped him, &c. And thus also of Jeroboam, Ahab's Son, it is said, * *And he wrought Evil in the sight of the Lord, but not like his Father, and like his Mother: For he put away the Image of Baal, which his Father had made; nevertheless, he cleaved unto the sins of Jeroboam, the Son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin; from these he departed not.* And the same Judgment is made of Jehu, who was so zealous to destroy the Idolatry which Jezabel had introduced into Israel. † *And they (i. e. Jehu's Servants) brake down the House of Baal, and made it a Draught-house unto this Day. Thus Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel. Howbeit from the sins of Jeroboam, the Son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, Jehu departed not from after them, to wit, the Golden Calves that were in Bethel and Dan.—For Jehu took no heed to walk in the Law of the Lord God of Israel, with all his Heart; for he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin.*

I might illustrate these opposite Characters of David and Jeroboam, by more Instances; but these are abundantly sufficient to my purpose. I shall therefore only further propose two Passages to be considered, to shew, how zealous the Great and Supream King of Israel was ever of his Honour, and how concerned to manifest his Abhorrence of any Invasion upon his Prerogative this way. The 1st is, that of the glorious Success that God gave to the Arms even of the wicked King Ahab, against Benhadad, meerly to confute the senseless Notion of the Syrians, || *That the God of Israel was God of the Hills only, but not of the Plain or Valley Country.*

* 2 Kings 3. 2, 3. † Chap. 10. 28, 29, 31. || 1 Kings 20. 23, &c.

In opposition to which, a Prophet is sent to *Abab* with this Message; Thus saith the Lord, * *Because the Syrians have said, the Lord is God of the Hills, but he is not God of the Valleys; therefore will I deliver all this Multitude into thine Hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.* The 2d is, that astonishing Providence, of casting off the whole Nation of *Israel*, upon the Account of their obstinate Perseverance in Idolatry; For that this was the principal, and, in a manner, the only cause of their Rejection, we may easily see, if we consult the † seventeenth Chapter of the second Book of *Kings*, to make no mention of other places of Scripture.

And now that I have proceeded so far, I think I may safely lay down these Things as natural Conclusions from what I have said. 1. That where God has blest a Prince and Nation with pure and reformed Religion, an Apostacy from thence into Idolatry, is a virtual Renunciation of the True God. 2. That therefore, where a Prince turns Idolater himself, and attempts to force the People to become so likewise, and breaks and overturns the Constitution and Fundamental Laws, in order thus to pervert a Nation; The People have not only a Right to oppose him, but to Reject him too, as ever they would expect impunity and security themselves.

And therefore, upon the other hand, we are obliged to conclude, 1st. That those Princes that are Faithful to God, as the King of Kings, and faithful to a Reformed People, committed to their Charge, so as to make no Invasion upon the Prerogative of the one, nor the Rights of the other; That, I say, such Princes are *Persons according to God's own Heart*, and ought to be honour'd, obey'd and celebrated, as the

* 1 Kings, Chap. 20. Ver. 28. † See 2 Kings 17. 6, 7, &c. Ver. 29, 20, 21, &c. and Ver. 25, &c.

best o Princes. 2dly. That where Princes are thus faithful in the main, to the National Establishment and Constitutions; their Personal Vices, though as gross as *David's* were, cannot be a just Foundation of supposing that they have forfeited their Regal Dignity, but ought to be born with, and excused, as far as the Nature and Circumstances of things will bear; seeing the Instance of *David* teaches us both to reason and act thus.

And, if both the Premises laid down, and these Conclusions infer'd, be certain and true, as I am sure they are, what Reason have we in these Nations to be duly sensible of our peculiar Mercies and Favours.

We, that were so wonderfully sav'd from an Inundation of Idolatry and Misery, in the late Glorious Revolution.

We, that are now so happy, both in Religious and Civil Respects, under the Best of Princes; with respect to whom we have nothing to Lament, but that she is Mortal.

But, as it is not easy to talk much of a Melancholy Subject, so I desire to skreen my Mind from so mournful a One.

And therefore I shall only say this, to divert such Thoughts, that we have reason to thank God, that we have such comfortable Expectation, as God and our Parliaments have given us, that even the Demise of so virtuous and good a Queen, is not like to introduce Popery and Slavery upon us.

In the mean time, let us thank God, and universally Rejoice in our present Happiness, and Pity, rather than Abhor, those senseless Animals who are fond of exchanging a *British* and *Protestant* Queen, for a *Popish* and *French* Prince.

And, let us beg of God, that our Gracious Sovereign's Life may be precious in his sight, and that She may never fall by the Snares of a *Popish* and *Jacobite* Party.

I could with Pleasure run out much longer upon this Application of *David's* Character, to our present Queen. But, as I may have occasion to touch upon this afterwards, in the Conclusion of this Discourse, so I have so much more Work to run through, that I am willing to hasten forward.

I shall therefore only add this one Thing further, to what I have said upon this part of my Discourse; That in case any Person have a Mind to Quarrel with me, as to what I have said in Praise of our late *Revolution*, and of the *late King*, and our *present Gracious Queen*, as *Revolution Princes*, with a Design to enter the Lists with me, from this Topick, That the Relation which the *Jewish* Nation had to God as their Sovereign, was so peculiar, as that it cannot be applied to any Government since: I would have them to know, that perhaps I understand the *Jewish Peculium* as well as some others. And I shall venture to say further, that I understand it so far, that I am sure never did any Man understand it so little, as some that have of Late pretended the highest this way. But this is no proper Time or Place to expose the Dotage of those pretended Protestant High-Flyers.

All therefore that I need to say now, upon this Head, is, That whatever were the Peculiarities of the *Jewish* Government, as a *Theocracy*; yet these two Things, which I have insisted upon, in the Instance of *David*, (*viz.* his Title to the Crown, and his Essential Character, as a Good King) were not so peculiar to him, in reference to that Nation, but that they are Applicable, materially considered, as I have done, to all rightly constituted Christian Kingdoms, but especially to Ours.

And therefore, seeing Christ now is, as really, the only supreme Sovereign of these Nations, in a Divine and Superlative Respect (his Laws being so incorporated with Ours, as to be indeed, in some respect, their Foundation as well as Security) though not so Formally and Politically, as he was of *Israel* of old, I am not sensible that I have misapplied Matters this way in the least.

And

And I am sure, whatever I have fail'd in, it was not in my equalizing our present Queen to *David*, unless it was in falling short of her Praises; who is so much more a *Queen after God's Heart*, than he was a King, as she has never been guilty of any of his Crimes, either in relation to *Morals* or *Politicks*. For neither can any Man charge Her with what is Mean or Ungenerous, nor with the least Action that has so much as a Tendency towards an Incroachment upon God's Honour and Authority, or that looks like an Invasion upon the National Establishment or Rights of Her People.

But I shall now proceed to the Second Head of our Text: And therefore, as I have hitherto considered *David*, I shall now discourse,

II. Concerning *David's Worthies* or *Hero's*, or, as they are called in the Dialect of that Time, His *Mighty Men*.

I have already in general taken notice of the *Divine Care* to Register the Names of those Brave and Gallant Officers, that promoted and maintain'd the Revolution of Old, and *David's Right* to, and Possession of the Crown, in spite of all the opposition that was made thereunto, whether by *foreign Enemies*, or by *Saulites* and *Sons of Belial* at Home.

I need not set down either of those Lists here, seeing you may read them at your leisure in your Bibles.

Nor shall I trouble you with any Criticisms upon the little differences that may be observ'd to be between the Two Lists, far less with any Conjectures, as to their particular Offices or Services.

It will be sufficient for my purpose, 1st. To present you with some general Observations, in relation to the Order wherein they are placed: And then, 2dly, To take notice of the Character that is given to those of them that were the most Illustrious, and merited the First and Highest Posts of Honour and Service.

1. Some

1. Some Observations concerning the Order where-
in they are plac'd.

1. *Obj.* That *Joab* is so plac'd as not to be rank'd among them, tho' he was the first of them all, as being chief General. Why it should be so, I can give no reason, unless this be allowed as such, (which, I confess to me appears to have been the only one) *viz.* That *Joab* was a *Species* of himself, as being such a Man as was not fit to be rank'd with any other; For, indeed, he was such a Composition as we can hardly find a Parallel to him in any Age. His Virtues and Vices were in a manner equal. The first were so eminent as to raise him above all, whilst the other were so great, as that he seem'd not to deserve to be rank'd at all with the rest. Whilst therefore there was such an *Equilibrium* between these, no wiser Medium could be found out, than to mention him first and before all *David's* Captains, and yet to mention him so, by himself, and apart, as not to bring him at all into the Number of the Heroes of that Reign and Age.

And now that this is the just and exact Character of *Joab*, and that his Fortune (as we use to say) was exactly proportioned to the same, I suppose every one that has considered his History, must own that this must have been the reason of his being omitted out of this Heroical List. But in case any doubt should remain this way, I shall not grudge a little Pains in giving a short and compendious Account of him.

Joab was the Son of *Zeruiab*, *David's* eldest Sister. * Whither he was her eldest Son may be doubted, seeing in the publick Register *Abishai* is rank'd in the first place. It would seem either that *Zeruiab* had married dishonourably, or that she did not marry at all, but

* 1 Chron. 2. 16.

that her Sons were illegitimate, seeing *Joab* and his Brothers are an Exception to the stated Rule observ'd by the Hebrews in marking Persons out, as to their Descent, by the Father; seeing their Father's Name is constantly omitted. For whereas it is said of *Abigail*, *David's* youngest Sister, that she married *Jether*, † and had by him *Amasa*, no such Account is to be found as to *Zeruiab's* marrying at all. It is certain therefore that *Zeruiab* was not a Woman of the best Conduct this way. And therefore *David*, (a) when ever he shews his Anger against *Joab* and his Brethren, still calls them Sons of *Zeruiab*. But however, *Joab* and his Brethren rendred themselves illustrious by their Heroical Management. And tho' *Joab* was, as I think, but the second Brother, and inferior to *Abishai*, in point of Strength and Valour, as well as Honesty; yet his cunning and address was far greater; and by these he rais'd himself above him and all others. How he came to raise himself to be chief above all, (b) we are told here, in the Verses preceding our Text. *David* had made a promise, at the Siege of *Jerusalem*, that he that first scal'd the Walls and took the Castle should be his first General; and it was *Joab's* good Fortune to be the Man. And indeed his Wisdom, Conduct and Resolution, might well set him above others, in point of Fame and Honour, as well as Military Command, were it not that his Ambition hurried him into the Commission of Abundance of Wickedness. And *David* knew him so well, that he fear'd him indeed, but neither lov'd him at all, nor trusted him intirely. But such was *Joab's* Cunning and Interest, in the Army and with the People, that *David* never durst throw him off: nor had he ever a Man that was of that Fame and Interest, that he could venture to raise above him. Two indeed he had in his Eye successively, (c) viz. *Ab-*

† V. 17. (a) 2 Sam. 3. 39. Chapt. 16. 10. (b) V. 4, 5, 6.
 (c) See 2 Sam. 3. 21. & Chapt. 19. 13, &c.

ner and *Amasa* : But *Joab* knew his Mind too well, and found means to dispatch both of them. And indeed, his base murder of these two gallant and great Men, besides his killing of *Abfalom*, in spite of *David's* Orders, render'd him so hateful to his Prince, (*d*) that it was no wonder, that he left such a positive Command to *Solomon* to put him to death. And yet, had not *Joab* fallen in with *Adonijah* in his Rebellion, it is a Question whither he might not have oblig'd *Solomon*, as well as he had done *David*, to continue him *Generalissimo* still. However, tho' his Wisdom and Conduct, and other Qualifications were great, and his Office and Honour so great likewise, yet such were his Vices, and such his Guilt, especially his Concurrence with *Adonijah* in his unnatural Rebellion against his good Father, that we need not wonder that he is not number'd with the other Worthies of *David's* Army.

2d. *Obs.* That there is here an excellent Pattern given to Princes in succeeding Ages, in this, That these Heroes are rank'd as well as rais'd, exactly according to their Merit, without any regard to their Quality and Birth, or even relation to the Sovereign. This is so plainly observable in the Catalogue it self, that I need not insist upon it. For the *Three First* Worthies seem to be but obscure Persons as to their Birth, in comparison of others. And it deserves our Consideration, that some are left out of this List, who were not only Persons of eminent Quality, and related to *David* himself, but such also as had distinguish'd themselves by their Actions; who yet are not inserted in either of these Lists. For instance, we read no of *Jonathan* the Son of *Shimeah* (otherwise called *Shammah*) the elder Brother of *David*, in either of these Catalogues, and yet we have this Account of him, (*e*) That he slew almost such another Giant, as *David* did formerly, and

(*d*) 1 King 2. 5. (*e*) 2 Sam. 21. 20, 21.

who defied *Israel* in like manner as *Goliath* had done. Now one would think that this might have intitled him to be rank'd with the other Heroes of this List. But perhaps his Youth, or want of Conduct in other respects, might obstruct this Honour, tho' otherwise he was a brave and gallant Person. For this List seems to have been so peculiar, that no Man could be adopted into the number, until he had by more than one Action signalized himself, so as to deserve this Honour. But I principally observe the *Impartiality* then used, that even so brave a Man as this *Jonathan*, tho' he was *David's* own Nephew, did not acquire it sooner than the meanest Man, in point of Birth. For had it not been upon this Account, I cannot see why he should have been left out, when *Elkanan the Betlehemite* should be inserted, for killing the Brother of him whom *Jonathan* slew; † and therefore I do suppose that this was not the only reason of conferring this Honour upon *Elkanan*. And here, by the way, I cannot but take notice of a strange Mistake in our Version, in rendring the words [*the Brother of Goliath the Gittite*] as if we should understand that this Giant, whom *Elkanan* slew, was the Brother of that of *Goliath* whom *David* slew. Whereas the Hebrew says expressly, that *Elkanan* slew *Goliath the Gittite*. And this same *Goliath* is said to be the Brother of the other three Giants of that City, viz. *Ishbi-benoch*, whom *Abishai* slew, *Saph* whom *Sibbechai* slew, and the other Giant, whose Name is not mention'd, whom *Jonathan* slew: For it is expressly said, (a) *That all these four were the Sons of Arapha or Rapha* (as the LXX render it *ραφα*) of *Gath*, or, as our Version has it, of the Giant of *Gath*. So that the *Gathish* Champion slain by *Elkanan* was not the Brother of the old *Goliath*, nor of any other of that Name, but was himself of the same Name with him that was slain by *David* near 50 Years before, as being specified to be the Son

† 2 Sam. 21. 19. (a) V. 22.

of *Rapha*, and the Brother of the other three Persons mention'd.

3d. *Obs.* That *David's* Worthies are rank'd so as to be distinguish'd and cast into three Orders or Classes. The *first* consists of *three*, who are called the *three Worthiest*. The *second* consists of *three* likewise, who are said to be *Worthy* indeed, and to exceed the *Thirty*, but not to *equal the first three*. And the *third* Clause contains all the rest, who are indeed brave and excellent Persons, but said to have fallen vastly short of the former six, especially the first three. So that, if we may be allow'd to speak in the modern Dialect, we may represent to our selves; the *first three*, as so many *Generals*; the *next three* as *Lieutenant-Generals* under them; and the *remaining Persons*, as so many *Field Officers* under both.

And now, having premised these Observations, I proceed to give,

2dly, The Characters of the *principal Hero's* of *David's* Reign and Age.

It cannot be supposed that I should take notice of all, seeing I have no Materials this way.

I shall therefore content my self to say something in Relation to the *two Ternaries* or *two Threes*, of the *Worthies* of the *first and second Orders*; according to the few and transient Hints that are given of them. And I begin with,

(1) The first *Three*, who are represented, as the *Worthiest* of all, of whom even the three following *Heroes* (tho' more excellent than all the other *Captains*) fell vastly short.

Now, though the *first Three* were so very excellent as to excel all others, yet even amongst them there is a very memorable Gradation. For he that is rank'd *first* of

of all, is so Characterized, as we are oblig'd to look upon him, as Superior to both the other; at the same Time that the *Second* is represented as, in some respects, superior to the *Third*. But this will appear more clearly, by considering their Characters apart. Let us therefore proceed to observe what the Scripture says of each of them. Now the first is called,

I. *Jashobeam* an *Hachmonite*, the Chief of the Captains; or (as he is called, in the first List) the *Tachmonite*, that sat in the Seat, Chief among the Captains, even *Adino* or *Eznite*.

Before I proceed further, I must labour to clear up this great Man's Name, seeing we find that he had various Names, or at least descriptive Titles. And without troubling my self, or others, with the various Glosses of Criticks upon the Names given him in the first Account, which we have in the Second Book of *Samuel*, with which I shall begin; I shall only present you with the result of my own Thoughts, after a serious Consideration both of the Hebrew Text and the best Versions thereof.

I reckon therefore, that the Proper Name of this great Hero, was *Adino*, and that he was called *the Eznite* or *an Eznite*, from the Town or Village where he was born.

This *Adino* being a Man not only of vast Strength and Courage, but of surpassing Wisdom, was preferred above all others, to be, as it were, the constant President, in all Councils of War, and perhaps in all other Councils whatsoever. And upon this Account, it would seem, he got the Name or Title of *Josheb Bashebeth Tachimoni*, which if rendred not syllabically, but according to the Sense, amounts to this Character, *He that sat in the Chair being the Wisest of all*; or, as we may say, more agreeably to the Genius of our Language, *The most wise President*. And by this Periphrasis,

phrafis, he seems to have been fo univerfally fpoken of and known, that his Proper Name was in a manner forgotten; therefore the firft Historian, when he had fpoken of him under this Defignation, adds, in a Parenthesis only, *This was Adino the Eznite*. The other does not in the leaft mention him by this Name at all. Nor needs this be wondred at, feeing we find it to be almoft a current Custom among our felves, to denominate a Man that has been long in an Eminent Poft, from his Place and Office, without fo much as mentioning either his Name or Title at all; as when we fay, *my Lord High Chancellor* did fo or fo, or there goes *my Lord High Treasurer* or *my Lord Keeper*, or *my Lord President of the Council*, &c.

And it would feem that *Jafhobeam*, or rather, (as the *Hebrew* words is) *Jafhobham* was a Contraction of the former Longer Appellation (by which this Man was generally known and fpoken of) in a Laconick fort of Dialect, though we are not able, at this diftance of Time, to give the Reason, why *Jofheb Bafhebeth Tachimoni* came to be thus contracted.

However, feeing in the *Hebrew* Text of the *Chronicles*, this *Jafhobham* is called *Ben-Chachmoni*, i. e. the *Son of Chachmoni* or *Hachmoni*, we come thus to understand the Name of his Father likewise. And feeing the Name of his Father fignifies *one that is very wife*, or *the moft wife of Men*, and that it fo fell out that this *Adino* was indeed fuch a one as to deferve this Character: Hence it would feem he came indifferently to be called *Ben Habmoni*, i. e. the *Son of Habmoni*, or *Tachimoni*, i. e. *the moft wife Man*, viz. of all *David's* Captains.

Let us then put all thefe together, and we have a full Description of this great Man, with refpect to the Defignations he was then known by. For as his Proper Name was *Adino*, fo he was the *Son of Habmoni*, born in the Town or Village of *Ezno*, whence he is called the *Eznite*; as he was alfo called *Jofheb Bafhebeth*,

beth, from his Office, i.e. *Constant President* of the Councils of War; being advanced to this Office, because, in allusion to his admirable Parts, as well as his Father's Name, he was *Tachkimoni*, the *most wise* Counsellor.

How great and wonderful a Person this *Adino Jafobham* was, in the Opinion of the *Jews*, if we may believe their Paraphrastical Exposition of these Names, seems to exceed all belief. But, seeing no Man can pretend now to be equally capable, as the ancient *Jews*, to expound these Mystical Names, I hope it will be grateful to the curious Reader, to hear what they say upon this Subject. Now, instead of preserving the Hebrew words, they give us a very strange Exposition of these Names, which is after this manner. * *Adino*, say they, was,

The noble Head of the Armies, (viz. of David) who sat upon the Seat of Justice, surrounded with all the Prophets and Elders; being, the Anointed with the Holy Unction, the Chosen Person, the most pleasant Man, one of the most beautiful Countenance and Comely Aspect, the chief in Wisdom, the most Prudent in Council, the strongest and boldest of all Men; and therefore upon all those Accounts, The Head of all the Hero's; being also Governour over all the Arsenals of War, and Military Arms and Stores; whose Word was a Law, and who was always Conqueror in the Day of Battle. And then it is added, as an Instance of this, He so manag'd his Lance, that he slew 800 Men at one time.

It is impossible for any Man, so to translate the *Chaldee*, as to render it exactly according to the Letter, and make Sense of it, at the same Time, in our Language. And it was this last that I principally considered here, though if I have mist it in any one Particular, the Matter is not great: For, let the Criticks render it which way they please, still it must be own'd,

* *Targum seu Paraph. Chald. in 2 Sam. 23. v. 8.*

that never did any *Panegyrick* buoy up the Character of any *Hero* higher than this *Targum* does that of *Adino*. So that we must look upon him to have been, in all Respects, the Miracle of his Age, and, in a manner, the most perfect and glorious Subject that ever any Prince or Nation had to boast of: For, if we may believe the Author of this Paraphrase, (and indeed the Original Text lays a great Foundation for what he says) he was,

1. The wisest Man that was then in the World.
2. The most Learned of that Age.
3. The most beautiful Person of all Men.
4. The best symmetry'd, and of the most Glorious and Majestick Aspect.
5. Of the most courtly, pleasant, and affable Disposition.
6. The greatest Orator.
7. The most consummate Statesman.
8. The most Impartial Judge.
9. The most religious Servant of God.
10. The most faithful Subject.
11. The truest Countryman.
12. The most useful Citizen.
13. The best and most faithful Friend,
14. The Man of the greatest Strength of Body.
15. The boldest and most daring Soldier ;
And therefore justly reputed to be,
16. The Darling of Heaven, and mark'd out by God for the greatest Honour, Success and Service ;
And consequently preferr'd by *David*,
17. To be his Chief Hero.
18. The Constant President of his Council, according to whose Advice War was entred into and carried on.
19. The Supreme Governour of all the Arsenals, Military Stores, Fortresses and Castles of *Israel*,
20. And

20. And the first Hero of the World, in the Opinion of *David*, with the universal Approbation of all Men.

21. Having the Honour to be Anointed, (as the *Targum* says) as a publick Mark of Honour put upon him; no Man pretending to Rival him in any of all these Respects.

22. Nay, being exalted so high (if we may believe the *Targum*) as to be constituted *Perpetual President* of the Great and August *Senate of Israel*, or their great *Sanhedrim*; seeing we are given to understand, that he was *Chairman* or *Preses* of the great Representative of *Israel*; which, according to the Hint given us in this Paraphrase, consisted in that Age, of the great and approved of *Prophets*, who represented *God* as *Supreme King*, and the *Elders of Israel*, who were of two sorts, *viz.* the *Hereditary Elders* or *Princes*, who were the *Heads* of the several Tribes, and the *Elective Elders*, who were chosen by the People, though in what way, we cannot pretend now to understand.

But, let these things be as they will, I am sure, that nothing can be more Great and August, than the Character given in this *Targum* of *Jonathan*, of the *Great Adino*; even though we should abstract from the Superlatives therein, and word Things with the greatest Caution imaginable. However it was my Business to represent this Person, just as this Ancient *Jewish* Author has done, as near as I could pretend to understand his meaning, in the main; without putting my self, or others, to the tedious Trouble of an over nice Critical Exactness; which is then only necessary, when the Subject is of real Importance, in reference to the Essentials of Religion.

However, one thing we cannot but take particular Notice of, *viz.* the Instance given us, in the Sacred History it self, of his admirable Courage which he

discover'd in incounting alone * with 800 Men, and his prodigious Strength of Body, and most wonderful Skill and Dexterity of War in defeating and slaying so many.

Object. But how is that Account reconcileable with that in the *Chronicles*, † where it is only said, That he slew 300 Men.

Answer. Our Criticks and Commentators are divided in their Opinions, in reconciling these two Accounts. For, 1st. Some think that these two Actions relate to two different Men. But that is a very gross Mistake, seeing he to whom the one and the other is ascribed, is said to be the First and Chief of the Three mighty Captains; nor are the Names really different, far less dissonant, as I have shewed. 2dly. Others therefore suppose, that these were different Actions of the same Person. But this is a very precarious supposition, especially seeing both are related in the very same Words, and to the very same Intent, *viz.* To give us an instance of *Adino's* vast Courage and Strength of Body; even that very *instance* by which he seems principally to have merited the Honour of being, ever after, prefer'd above all the other Worthies of *David*. 3. Some therefore are apt to think, that the Compiler of the *Chronicles* (who wrote long after the Author of the Books of *Samuel*, and excerpted this and many other things out of them) or rather some later *Scribe*, who wrote over his History, might mistake so far as to write שלש מאות, Three Hundred instead of שמונה מאות, Eight Hundred; greater Mistakes having been frequently committed by *Scribes*. And it must be own'd, that even the *Hebrew Bible*,

* 2 Sam. 22. 8. † 1 Chron. 11. 11.

which we have, does not want several Escapes of this sort ; of which Mr. *Whiston* has given us a pretty large Catalogue, which no Man can possibly give any other Account of, but as the Mistakes of *Transcribers*. And therefore, as I have said in print, once and again, those Orthodox Gentlemen, that place the Credit of Scripture-Revelation upon so narrow and indefensible a Bottom, as some do, and pretend that every Scribe was infallibly guarded from mistaking so much, as in a Letter, would do well to remember, that they do but disserve the Credit of Revelation, and help on that of Scepticism and Infidelity, by so precarious a Position as this ; seeing all we are to assert is this, That the Scripture was Divinity inspired at first ; and that it is so uncorrupted at this day, as to be the same materially and substantially that it ever was ; and that God's peculiar Care has been ever over it, for this end, and that so as not to suffer any thing therein, of Consequence, to be lost or misrepresented. This I believe, and, I think, am able to defend ; but I am equally sure, that no Man can defend the former.

I am not willing to make any Excursion here. But, seeing some weak Men may think I say too much, I refer them, if they can, to reconcile those Passages set down by Mr. *Whiston*, in his * *Short View of Chronology*. I shall only mention those few Passages that he takes notice of in the same *First Book of the Chronicles*, where our Text is. In *Chap. 3. v. 22.* there are only *Five* Sons of *Shemaiah* mention'd, and yet they are summ'd up *Six*. In *Chap. 6. v. 54—60.* There are only *Eleven* Cities reckon'd up, and yet the *Sum* is *Thirteen*. So that the Scribe, in transcribing the Names of these Cities, (the Account it self being taken out of *Jesh. 21. 9.—19.*) omits the Names of two, *viz. Gibeon* and

* Page 22, 23, &c.

Juttah, which are to be found recorded in that Original Register in the Book of *Joshua*, In *Chap. 6. 61.* It is said that the Sons of *Kobath* had *ten Cities* given them, and that all these Cities were given out of the half Tribe of *Manasseh*. Whereas the Original Register in *Josh 21. 20,—26.* (out of which it is certain this Account is taken) tells us indeed, that the Sons of *Kobath* had *ten Cities* given them, but tells us at the same time, that no more but *two* of them were taken out of the half Tribe of *Manasseh*; the other *Eight* being taken out of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Gad*; *four* out of the one Tribe, and *four* out of the other. In *Chap. 8. 33,—38. & Chap. 9. 39,—44.* We have the very same Genealogy of *Saul's Family* twice recorded; only, in the latter, the Name of *Abaz* is omitted, and therefore our Translators were forced to supply it out of the former. In *Chap. 23. 19. & Chap. 24. 23.* besides the repetition of the same Catalogue, as before; the Father's Name *Hebron* is omitted in the second of these Chapters, and the Order of *Jeriah* likewise, who ought to have been stiled *the First*, as he is in the preceding Chapter. In *Chap. 25. 3.* there are only *five* Sons of *Jeduthun* reckon'd up, and yet they are summ'd up so as to be made *Six*. And in *Chap. 22. 14.* there is, says *Mr. Whiston*, a strange Sum, said to be provided by *David* for the Work of the Temple; and the more strange, if we consider *David's* words: *Now, says he, behold in my trouble, (or, of my Poverty) I have prepared for the House of the Lord an hundred thousand Talents of Gold, and a thousand thousand Talents of Silver.* Now, as *Mr Whiston* observes, *David* speaks here, as if this Sum had been a small Sum, in comparison of what he intended, in case his Affairs had been more Prosperous, and himself in better Circumstances. And I must add this further Observation, that this vast Sum of Coin'd Money seems to have been but small, in comparison of the Bullion that was not melted down. for *David* adds, v. 16. *That of the Gold, the Silver,*
and

and the Brass and the Iron, there was no Number. Now the Sum of this in our English Mony, is (as Mr. Whiston reckons it) no less than *Seven hundred Millions of Pounds Sterling*; that is, says he, almost as much as amounts to the solid content of the whole Temple and Porch withal, had it been all Silver; nay, to more Gold and Silver than the whole Earth had upon it, till the late Discovery of the Mines in *America*. As to what Mr. Whiston adds, that *Josephus* * mentions only the 10th part of this Sum, I humbly suppose he is mistaken, seeing *Josephus* speaks of this indefinitely. And, when he adds, that in the *Syriack* no more is mention'd than a thousand Talents of each kind, I reckon he meant to say in the *Arabick*, for the *Arabick* does indeed render the Sum so; but the *Syriack* renders it as our Version does.

Now, whither it was the *Compiler* of this First Book of *Chronicles* himself, or some after *Scribe*, as I rather think, that was guilty of such Mistakes; still it is certain, that such they are, and that they are to be found in all the Hebrew Copies now extant. And that they were there likewise, above a thousand Years ago, appears from the ancient Versions, where they are also to be found. And, in case the Greek Version, which now goes under the Name of the *Septuagint*, was the same that was Translated in the days of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, about 260 Years before Christ, we must conclude that the same Mistakes were in that Hebrew Copy, which they made use of. So that, it needs be no Wonder, if such an Error also, in point of Number, crept into the Hebrew Copies of this Book, as that of putting 300 for 800.

But in case any Person think that there is no necessity of solving this Difficulty, after this manner, I am very

* Antiq. L. 7. C. 11.

willing that he suppose the Case to be either, 1. That *Adino* and his Servants encountred a Body of 800 of the Enemies of *Israel*, and that he himself slew 300 of them with his own hand, and that the rest were dispatched by his Attendants ; it being usual to ascribe to the Commanding Officer, in a general way of speaking, what is done by his Order and under his Conduct. Or, 2. That *Adino* did so destroy a Party of 800 Men, as that 300 of them were slain upon the Spot, and the other 500 were partly cut off in the pursuit, and partly died of their Wounds, or were otherwise so fatigu'd, as to be knock'd down by the Country People who were Spectators of the Action : So that I do not deny, but that we may make a shift to account for the difference between these two Relations of the Action, even upon the Supposition that there were no mistake here at all.

But I have said enough of this first Great Man, *Adino*, otherwise called *Fashobham* or *Fashobeam* : I proceed therefore to the others, of whom I shall discourse as succinctly as I can.

II. The second Hero of *David's* Army, was *Eleazar* the Son of *Dodo*, the *Ahebite*, who was also one of the *Three* Mighties, or First Ternary of Worthies.

Now, what chiefly rais'd the Character of this Man, was his defeating a great Body of the *Philistines* *, and being thus the principal Occasion of gaining a considerable Victory to *Israel* ; which was so much the more remarkable, that the *Israelites* were before that fled away. So that this Man's single Gallantry and Bravery turn'd, as we use to say, the fortune of the Day. In the *Chronicles*, it is said that this Action was at *Pas-Dammim* ; which therefore has occasion'd our Commen-

* 1 Sam. 23. 9, 10.

tators to be guilty of a great blunder, when they suppose that this was the same place with † *Ephes-Dammim*, where *David* flew *Goliath*, merely because the Names sound something alike ; whereas, at that time *David* was not so much as a Soldier, and far less had such Officers under him as this *Eleazar*, who came not to *David* until he had fled from *Saul*, and taken up Arms in Self-defence. So that this Action, wherever it happen'd to be done, was not until after *David's* having taken up his Abode in the *Cave Adullam* (a) : for it was then that a great many Discontented Men came and joyn'd themselves to *David*. And we read here, that it was then and there that this *Eleazar* (b), together with the other two most Mighty Men, *Adino* and *Shammah*, joyned themselves to him, and became the principal Captains of his little Army of 400 Men.

III. The Third of the Three Mightiest Men was *Shammah* the Son of *Agee* the *Hararite* (c).

How he comes to be omitted in the First Book of *Chronicles*, I pretend not to be able to tell : However, I must own, that I see not to what we can attribute the Omission of so great a Man and Action, but to the mistake either of the Compiler of this Book, or his Scribe ; which we need the less wonder at, considering those errors or escapes of this kind, which we have already made mention of.

Now the Action that he is fam'd for, is just such another as that of *Eleazar*, viz. the giving such a turn to a Battle between the *Israelites* and *Philistines*, when the former had turn'd their Backs, as retriev'd their Loss and Dishonour, and made them Conquerors over their Enemies.

† I Sam. 17. 1. (a) See I Sam. 22. 1, 2. (b) 2 Sam. 23. 13.
(c) I Sam. 23. 11, 12.

But, besides those particular and eminent Services, that these three Mighty Men had the Honour of doing, 1 Sam. 23. 13, &c. and 1 Chron. 11. 15, &c. singly and apart, there is another Action, that is common to them all Three, *viz.* Their breaking through the Garison of the *Philistines*, which was in *Bethlehem*, and drawing Water out of the *Well* there, to evidence their Zeal for their General's Service.

And perhaps this joynt Service, might be the first Occasion of their being cast into one Class, as if they had been Three Sworn Brothers.

However, let this suffice, as to the Characters and Actions of these first Three Worthies. Let us proceed therefore and consider,

(2) The *Second Three*, who are represented as the next to the former, and above all others in Renown, for Courage and Strength.

And here I must observe the same thing, in relation to them, that I did before, with respect to the *First Three*, *viz.* That, tho' every one of them did exceed the *Thirty*, that followed; yet that they were not equal among themselves: for the *First* exceeded the *Second*, in Prowess, as well as Order, as the *Second* did also exceed the *Third*. And,

I. Let us consider *Abishai*, *Joab's* Brother.

Of him it is said, * That he lifted up his Spear against 300, whom he slew. And it is added, in the Account in the *Chronicles*, as well as that in *Samuel*, that by this Action he merited to have the chief Name and Authority among those of this *Second Three*, but

* 1 Sam. 23. 18, 19. 1 Chron. 11. 20, 21.

that he attained not to the First Three. Which how to understand I know not, especially if we add to this, *Abishai's* killing the great Philistine Champion, mention'd 2 Sam. 21. 16, 17. If we must fall in with that Supposition, that Commentators have hitherto been so zealous for, viz. That no Mistake ought to be admitted as to the Account of *Adino's* Action, as it is recorded in the *Chronicles*. For it is no more plainly said of *Adino* or *Jashobeam*, that he slew 300 Men, than it is said of *Abishai*. If then *Abishai's* Action was as great and memorable, as even that of *Adino*; whence is it, that it is said, that he did neither equal him, nor so much as come up to the other two, whose Actions and Characters are yet represented to fall considerably short of *Adino's*. I must therefore openly profess, that I incline to think that we ought not to go about the Bush, to find out Evasions as to the Difficulty before-mention'd, but frankly to grant that there must be a Mistake, as to this Matter (as well as with respect to the Passages I mention'd before) in our present Copies of this *First Book of Chronicles*, and that it ought to be supplied and restor'd out of the Original Account in *Samuel*, and accordingly read and understood. And if this be once admitted, as I think we may very well do, then there will be no wonder, if he have the first Honour, who slew 800 at once, when *Abishai* slew but 300.

II. The next Person to *Abishai* is *Benaiah*, the Son of *Jehoiada*, † who also was the Son of a *Valiant Man* of *Kabseel*.

So that it is the first Thing taken notice of as to this Man, that he was descended from a Race of Heroes,

† 1 Sam. 23. 20, 21. 1 Chron. 11. 22, 23.

or, at least, that both his Father and Grand-father were such.

But it seems that he himself exceeded them both, as well as all the other Captains of his Age, excepting only the former four.

His principal Actions, (after premising this general Eulogy of him, that he had done many great Things) are these; 1. That *he slew two Lyon-like Men of Moab, i. e. Two Men that were fierce, bold, nimble and strong, like Lyons, and perhaps had fierce and terrible Countenances, like that sort of Creature, as it is observed some Men have, as a natural Prognostication of their Natures; (a) as Men of other Tempers, are observed to be like other Creatures by some curious Men, who have treated of this Subject.* 2. That *he slew a Lyon in a Pit in time of Snow; when it was confin'd and hungry, and therefore the more fierce and rapacious.* 3. That *he slew an Egyptian, a Man of a prodigious Stature and Strength, tho' the Egyptian was armed and he without any other Weapon but a Staff, so that he was forc'd to wrest his Enemies Spear from him, in order to dispatch him.*

For these Actions *he had the Name, or a great Name, among three mighty Men, (i. e. the second three) insomuch that he was more Honourable than the Thirty; but he attained not to the first Three.*

For these, and the like Actions, *David set him over his Guard.* But *Solomon* did afterward raise him much higher, by making him *General* over all his Forces in the room of *Joub,* 1 King 2. 15.

But now, that I have mention'd *David's Guard,* I cannot but observe that this is of use to let in light into something that is otherwise like to be very obscure, as it has been hitherto to many, *viz. What those Men*

(a) See Bap. Port. Phys. Nat.

were that are called the *Cherethites* and the *Pelethites*. For by comparing 2 *Sam.* 23. 23. and 1 *Chron.* 11. 25. with 2 *Sam.* 8. 18. and 1 *Chron.* 18. 17. It is plain, that the *Cherethites* and the *Pelethites* were the *two Companies* of *David's Guards*.

Whence they got these Names, is not easie so much as to guess at. What appears most probable to me, is this, that these Names are given them from *two little Provinces* of the Country of the *Philistines* or *Phenicia*. For, we do not only read of a certain People called *Cherechites* or *Cherethims*, 1 *Sam.* 30. 14. but we read of them, as if they either belong'd unto or border'd upon the *Philistins*, *Isaiah* 25. 16. and *Zeph.* 2. 4, 5. And we have reason theretore to suppose that the *Pelethites* were their Neighbours, tho' we read not of them distinctly elsewhere.

They seem to me to have been *Philistins* or *Phenicians*, or a mixture of both (and we know that, in a large sense, these People were the same) that were *Profelyted* to the *Religion of Israel*; by which, as they became odious to their own Country-men, they labour'd by their *Zeal* to endear themselves the more to *David* and his People. And, it is commonly seen, that those who imbrace any Religion or Party out of Choice, become more zealous and active this way, than any others; which some do out of Sincerity, and others out of Policy only, that all Suspicion of them may be taken off: However, certain it is, that such sort of *Foreigners* have been commonly more trusted by *Princes* than *Natives*, and have frequently been found more true to their Interests, because they could have none of their own, separate from their Masters. And, in this esteem were these *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, both with *David* and *Solomon*.

The Original or Occasion of their Institution seems to have been this. When *Saul* and *Jonathan* were defeated and slain by the *Philistins*, in the great decisive Battle near *Gilboa*, it is particularly observed, that the thing which ruin'd the *Israelites* and gave the Victory to the *Philistines*, was the Skilfulness of the *Philistin-Archers* or *Bow-men* (b). *David* having observ'd this, is said to have had a particular Concern, (c) That the Children of *Judah* should be instructed in the exact use of the Bow. And it would seem to me, that he did particularly encourage those of the *Philistin-Nation*, that turn'd *Profe-lytes* to the Religion of *Israel*, by instituting them, not only into an Order of *Guards* to his *Person*, but likewise to be the *Instructors* and *Teachers* of the *Youth*, as to the use of the *Bow*, and other Weapons of War, wherein the *Philistins* had, for a long time, been far more expert than the *Israelites*.

And I do humbly suppose, that the Number of the *Cherethites* was 200, and the number of the *Pelethites* 300. For, being once assured that these were Two Troops or Companies of *Guards*, I cannot but think, that it was for them that *Solomon* made the 500 *Targets* to be carried out and in with him, when he appeared abroad in State. * For they were made with this distinction, that 200 of them were more weighty, and 300 less weighty, but all of them of beaten Gold. That these Suppositions are not precarious, appears from this, That when *Shishak* King of *Egypt* had taken away the *Golden Shields*, which *Solomon* had made, *Rehoboam* caus'd others to be made in their stead, of *Brass*; and then the Use of them is af-

(b) 1 Sam. 31. 3. (c) 2 Sam. 1. 18. * 1 Kings 10. 16, 17.

signed, thus: † *And he committed them to the Chief of the Guard, that kept the Entrance of the King's House. And when the King entered into the House of the Lord, the Guard came and fetch'd them, and brought them again into the Guard Chamber.* Now, seeing we have proved, that *David's Guard* was made up of the *Cherethites* and *Peletites*, and that *Benaiah* was Captain over them both; I see not, but that we have as distinct an Account of this Matter, as we can well expect; and I am sure a much more exact Account than we will find in many Commentators.

But, seeing I have been insensibly led into this Digression, I cannot but take Notice of another sort of Guards, that *David* had, at least for a Time †, I mean the 600 *Gittites* or *Gathites*, commanded by *Ittai*, who was likewise a Foreigner and Native of *Gath*, but banish'd thence; I suppose, because he and they were Profelytes of the *Israelitish* Religion *, and therefore zealous Lovers of *David*. I do therefore suppose, that *Ittai*, being a Person of Quality of *Gath*, from whence he was banished for his Religion; those 600 Men of his Citizens and Country-men, being Profelytes also, took this Opportunity of coming away; and put themselves, for this end, under the Protection and Command of *Ittai*. Now this having happen'd but a little while before *Absalom's* Rebellion, it is, upon this Account, that *David* urgeth *Ittai* and his Men to return, as being a *Stranger* and *Foreigner*, and an *Exile*, and come to him, as it were but *Yesterday*. Therefore, says *David*; should I put thee and thy Men to the Fatigues that we are like to endure, when ye are but just come to me from a long Journey? But honest *Ittai* had more Confidence in the Father and in his

* 2 Chron. 9. 10, 11.
 † See 2 Sam. 15. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.
 ‡ See Ver. 19, 21.

Cause, than in the Son, and therefore was resolv'd to give Proof of his Integrity upon this Occasion : So that hence it appears, that *Ittai* and his *Gittites* or *Gathites*, were never formally any part of *David's Guards* ; but were so occasionally at that Time. And therefore we read not of them afterwards. For when *David* caus'd *Solomon* to be anointed King, * we read of *Benaiah* the Captain of the Guard, who went with his two Troops of Guards, viz. The *Cherethites* and the *Pelethites*, and guarded *Solomon*, whilst he was Anointed King : But no mention is made of the *Gittites* : So that there is no ground to think that they were any part of *David's Guards*.

III. The Third and Last of this Second Three, was *Asahel*, the Brother of *Abishai* and *Joab*.

Of him, we have no particular Action mentioned. But it would seem that he had signalized himself most eminently upon several Occasions ; seeing, though he died young, he is yet preferred before all those eminent Men that follow.

All that we read of him particularly, is, that he was one of the most nimble and swift Men in the World, and therefore it is said, That he was *as light of Foot as a wild Roe* †. And it seems his Courage was equal to his Swiftnes, when he bore so hard upon *Abner*, who was questionless one of the bravest Men in the World. But his Courage was rath, as young Mens frequently is ; and this occasion'd his immature death ||, by the Hands of *Abner* ; which serv'd *Joab* afterwards for an Excuse, though a very frivolous one, when he basely murder'd that brave Man.

* 1 King 1. 36, 37, 38, 44. † 2 Sam. 2. 18. || 2 Ver. 21, 22, 23.

And now I have done with these Ancient Worthies. And it may be perhaps expected, that I should come to the Hero's of our present Age, and run a Parallel between these and those ancient Revolution Ones of *David's* Reign.

But as it is one of the most critical and difficult things in the World, to make Comparisons of this kind; so in this present Case, it is almost impossible. The Customs of that Ancient Time, were altogether different from ours, particularly in point of Fighting. Strength of Body, was a main thing then to raise a Man's Character; but it is Wisdom and Conduct now, accompanied with Resolution, that does all.

The only Man that has purchas'd the greatest Renown, for comparing the Characters of great Men, is *Plutarch*. But then, we must remember, that there was a much greater Resemblance to be found between the *Grecians* and *Romans*, than can be found between the Ancient *Israelites* and any present *European Nation*. And besides, he never attempted to compare the *Dead* with the *Living*, but only the *Dead* with the *Dead*.

However, I shall venture to say, that we have *Three great Men* now alive, that may not be unfitly compar'd with *David's first Three*; I mean that great Prince and Hero of our Age, the *Duke of Marleborough*, the gallant and generous *Earl of Peterborough*, and the noble and brave *Earl of Galloway*.

The *First* may not improperly be compared to that Wonder of his Age, *Adino or Jashobeam*; to whose Character, I know no Man now in the World that comes up so much, in point of Wisdom, Conduct, Resolution, Affability, Presence, Industry, Honour, Success, &c.

And, I think, the other two, may not unfitly bear the same Rank now, in the Book of Fame and Esteem of all Men, that *Eleazar* and *Shammah* bore, in the Age wherein they liv'd.

More I need not say, especially now, when Fame it self proclaims their Praises so loudly, that I cannot pre-

tend to tell you any Particulars, but what every one is sufficiently acquainted with.

But besides these, we abound so much with brave Officers, and gallant Soldiers, as well as wise Senators, that, were we to make a Catalogue of their Names, we might find Ten to One that *David* had.

And here, if I durst venture upon so daring an Undertaking, I might draw the Plan of such a Picture, as was never yet attempted.

There I should represent Her Most Excellent *Majesty*, seated above her Native *Britain*, with his Royal Highness the Prince by Her, shedding down propitious Influences upon all her People, and steddily holding the *Reins* of the *General Alliance*, and the *Ballance* of *Europe*; assisted thereunto by the Divine Conduct and Benediction, discover'd by Armies of Guardian Angels, surrounding her Person and Throne, and smiling, as pleas'd with the Office.

In the next place, should those Noble and Illustrious Ladies and Lords be seen, whose Glory illuminates the Court it self; as being the bright Ornaments thereof, reflecting and returning Light back again upon that Fountain of Honour, from whence it first broke forth.

Neither should those great Men be past by, by whose Counsels and Administration our Gracious Sovereign moves, and the Nation, and even *Europe* in a great measure, act. For why should they be more omitted out of the Annals of Fame, than those of *David* were of old, who are twice recorded.

And it is memorable, that the very Order, which I propose here, is that which the sacred Historian follow'd; beginning with the Sovereign, and then enumerating his great Officers. * *And David reigned over all Israel, and David executed Judgment and Justice to all his People. And Joab was over the Host. And Adoram was*

* *Comp. 1 Sam. 8. 15. with Ch. 20, 23, &c.*

over the *Tribute*, or *Treasury*. And *Jehoshaphat* was *Recorder*, i. e. *High Chancellor*, or *Lord Keeper*. And *Zadock* and *Abimelech* were *Priests*. And *Serajah* was *Scribe*. And *Benajah* was over the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, as *Captain of the Guards*. And *Ira* was also *Chief Ruler*, or *Lord Chief Justice*.

But the *Military Officers* must be supposed to deserve a very particular *Commemoration* this way.

And, in the *Front* of these, the *European Field* is little enough for the *Great Marlborough* to be employed upon. There he is seen as high as the *Danube*, breaking the united Powers of *France* and *Bavaria*, where *Blenheim* and *Hochstedt* stand perpetual *Monuments* of his *Presence* and *Conduct*; and *Mindelheim* is, by the *Emperour's* Orders, erected for him, as a *Triumphal Arch* to his lasting *Honour*. Now he is seen (to omit innumerable other Occurrences) forcing his way thro' *Flanders* and *Brabant*, where at *Rammilly*, he attacks, fights and ruins, the best *Army* that *France* had ever to boast of. Anon he is seen entering into *Capital Cities* in *Triumph*; surrounded with numerous *Spectators*, rescued by his wise *Conduct*, and puissant *Arms*, while they contend who shall best speak forth his *Praises*.

But, tho' none can pretend to come near this great *General*, so as to be his *Rival*; yet, I would not omit some of his *Illustrious Companions* (for I pretend not to mention all;) And here, the *Noble Earl of Orkney*, who had so eminent a *Hand* in the *Battle of Hochstedt*, and by whose *Conduct* the great *Body of French Foot* in *Bleinheim* surrendered, should be sure to have an eminent place. Nor should *Brigadier Ferguson's* *Bravery* and *Service*, in the same *Action*, be omitted. Nor yet *Colonel Row*, whose *Gallantry* there was so eminently signalized. And, seeing both these last are now dead, I cannot be supposed, to be acted from any other *Principle*, in giving these hints of them, but that, of *Praising Virtue for Virtue's sake*. As indeed, it is from no other *Principle*, that I take notice of others that are yet alive.

For I find my self under the same Impulse here, that the Poet of old Spake of, when he said,

* *Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori,
Cælo Musa beat.*

That is, That a generous Mind is concern'd to hinder brave Men, what he can, from having their Names or Actions lost in oblivion. And this *Horace* reckon'd to be a bestowing, as it were, of Heaven and Happiness upon them.

But to proceed, Let us consider those that distinguish'd themselves so eminently in the late glorious Action of *Rammilly*. There, let us remember what publick Service was done by Major General *Murray*, by his ready and seasonable assisting his General, in the time of danger. Nor ought Collonel *Bringfield* be forgot, tho so unfortunate in the same Attempt. The young, but brave and daring *Duke of Argile*, claims very peculiar Eulogies, upon the account of his Conduct and Courage, at the Head of the *Scots* Brigade, in that particular and famous Action. And a regard ought to be had to the signal Merits of the *Lord John Hay*, who took the famous French Regiment of Foot, called *Regiment du Roy*, consisting of 1200 Men, sending them Prisoners, by a peculiar Invention, guarded with no more than a Serjeant and 25 Men. Nor ought that Bravery of the *Scots*, at forcing the Lines at *Schellenbergh* be omitted, when they stripp'd themselves before the Engagement, telling their Officers, *That they should either have no need of Cloaths, or get better ones in a little time.* And I cannot forbear to mention my brave Friend Collonel *Bothwick*, tho Providence did not see fit that he should survive the Action.

I have mention'd but a few of many; for I pretend not to take the Historian's Task upon me. And therefore I have not mention'd the Great and Noble *Duke of Ormond*, nor the daring and brave *Lord Cutts*, &c. for it were endless to mention all.

* *Hor. Carm. Lib. 4. Od. 8.*

And, upon the same score, I have confin'd my self to those of the noble *Brittish Isle*; leaving others to celebrate the *Great Prince Eugene of Savoy*; the *Illustrious Prince Lewis of Baden*, and the brave and gallant *Overquerque*; together with innumerable more, concerned with them in the same common Cause of Liberty; such as the excellent *Prince of Hesse Cassel*, the noble young *Prince of Friesland*, and that experienc'd Officer General *Hompesh*, &c. as likewise those that have been aiding to the common Cause elsewhere, such as the brave *Prince of Hesse Darmstadt*, and the bold *Count Nerigen*, his constant Companion; tho both of them were so unfortunate as to be early cut off in the Quarrel.

But now that I have mention'd them, let us cast our Eyes upon *Spain*. There also I would have described the *Young King* (after seeing Her Majesty here) safely waded over to *Liston*. He should next be seen, arrived at *Barcelona*, animating the Inhabitants by his Presence. The Heroical *Peterborough*, at the Head of his *Catilans*, should appear next, breaking in upon the French Army, like Lightning opening its way thro' a thick Cloud, and scattering and dispelling the same. And then let the *French* be represented flying in the Dark, whilst the *Eclipsed Sun* turns Day into Night, and adds to the Consternation and Terror of their precipitant Flight. Nor ought any of those gallant Officers be omitted, whose Courage and Bravery was so useful to the common Safety; such as that excellent Officer, *Lieutenant General Cunningham*, and the noble *Lord Donnegal*.

But that great General and Statesman, the *Earl of Galloway*, deserves a peculiar Representation by himself, whilst contending with difficulties on all hands, and yet turning them about with such Address and Prudence, as still to force his way forward to the heart of *Spain*, whilst the *Duke of Berwick* is glad to retire before him, and the *Spanish Cities* are as glad to have so fair an Opportunity of being under his Protection.

And while we mind the Soldiers by Land, let us not forget our Brave and Daring Mariners by Sea. Let Sir *George Rook* have his due Praise; nor let that Excellent Seaman Sir *James Wishart* be forgot. Let the bold and brave Sir *Cloudsly Shovel* be celebrated as he justly deserves. Let Sir *John Leak*, whose Conduct deserves the Praise of all Men, be honour'd accordingly; together with his faithful Assistants, Admiral *Bing* and Comma-dore *Walker*.

But it were an endless Work, as I have already said, so much as to name all. Nor have I mention'd these few exclusively of others, but because they lay more level to my Information,

All therefore that I need say, by way of Apology, in case of any Mistake, of any sort, is this; That I thought it Duty, to take some such notice of our *Hero's* and *Great Men*, as might be an Incentive to others, to do them more Justice, than my more narrow Capacity and Circumstances allow me to do.

But, whatever my Omissions may have been, I assert this; That it is a great Honour for any Man, to have had the least Hand in bringing about the late glorious Revolution, or in maintaining and promoting the ends thereof since.

As therefore, it was the peculiar Mark of Honour, that was put upon *David's* Worthies (as it is taken notice of here in the Text) That they were *the Men that were assisting to the making him King, and that secur'd him upon the Throne after he was such.* So I look upon it, as an eminent Part of the Character of our present Heroical Officers by Sea and Land; That they are firm and faithful *Revolution-Men*, i. e. true to the Queen, the National Constitution, and the Liberty and Property of the Subjects, in Opposition to the Romish Religion, and a French and Arbitrary Government.

And, as *David's* Worthies, by acting according to this Principle, and for these Ends, are said to have *strengthened themselves, in strengthening him, as arriving to Honour,*

now, Places of Trust, Grandeur and Riches, by so doing: So it is my sincere Wish, that all our *Revolution-Patriots* may be *thus rewarded*, and I am sure I can see the Preference of such deserving Persons, without any envying them as to either the Honour or Emoluments, which some of them do so amply enjoy, and which I think they do as well deserve,

But now, it is high time to have done with this second Head of this Discourse, in order to my saying something likewise to the third and last, which is that of,

III. The Providence of God, in relation both to *David* and his Worthies.

Having run out so far upon the former Heads, I shall labour studiously to be short here.

I shall not therefore say any thing in relation to the Nature or Properties of Providence in general, seeing, besides, that this would be improper at this time, and would swell my Discourse too much; ye may easily have Recourse to abundance of Treatises, where this Subject is largely and learnedly handled.

Nor shall I run out in a Recapitulation of all those memorable Appearances of God for and about *David*, in the many and signal Preservations and Deliverances he met with, and the remarkable things which were performed by the hand of God, which was so eminently present both with him and others, during his illustrious Reign.

All therefore that I shall say here, shall be summ'd up in this one Observation;

That how Honourable and Illustrious soever the Instruments may be, that God makes use of, for the good of his Church and People, or any Community of them, still we are oblig'd to ascribe every Success to God himself, in the first place.

This is so certain and uncontroverted a Proposition, in itself, that I cannot think but that every Man, that owns the Being of a God, and much more every one, of whatever Denomination, that owns the Christian Religion, must immediately assent to, and heartily and intirely fall in with.

And I think, the Words of our Text are such a Proof of its being universally own'd in *David's* time, as nothing can be more, seeing this is given, as the only principal Cause of all *David's* Felicity. For, if the first part of the Words be cast into the Form of a Question, thus; *How came David to wax still greater and greater? Whence had he this constant Flux of Success, at the same time that the House of Saul waxed weaker and weaker? The next part of the Words is an Answer, without any the least Alteration. How came he so to increase, do you say? Why, the Lord of Hosts was with him.*

If God have a mind to raise or ruin a Man, a Family, or Nation, who is there that can hinder him? For, as *Elihu* said emphatically of old; * *When he giveth Quietness, who then can make Trouble? And when he hideth his Face, who then can behold him? Whither it be done against a Nation, or against a Man only.*

As therefore *David* himself, and all the *Israelites* of old, agreed in this, as an uncontroverted Principle, That God was the chief Author and Efficient of that *Ancient Revolution*, and all those Blessings that attended *David* and his *Family*, and *Successors*, and the *Nation* in general: So let us give the supream Praise of all our Mercies, since the first dawn of the *late Revolution* in *November 5, 1688.* to God only.

It was his own hand that began it, and carried it on.

It was he that preserved and delivered the late King, in so many Dangers.

It was he that bless'd us with so excellent a Queen.

* Job 34. 29.

It was he that deliver'd her in so many Dangers; that has restor'd her to such a Degree of Health as she now enjoys; and that gives us the joyful Prospect of a further Confirmation that way.

It is he, that directs her Heart, and assists her Counsels; that has endu'd her with Wisdom to know, what our *Israel* ought to do; that fills her with Goodness, Clemency and Justice, in so eminent a manner; and that makes her the Darling of all her good Subjects, and even of Mankind in general.

It is he that has given such eminent Success to her Arms, and those of her Allies by Sea and Land.

It is he, that has yet preserv'd to her and us, that pious and excellent *Prince*, that lies in her Bosom, tho' so often threatned by Sickness.

It is he, that has given such eminent Qualifications, to that noble Prince the Duke of *Marlborough*; that directed him so early to prefer the publick Good before all other Considerations, and encourag'd him to embark with the first, upon the *Revolution-bottom*; and that has cover'd his Head in the day of Battle, and so remarkably sav'd him, to be further useful. And therefore both he, and all of us, have reason to use the Words of *David*, when he piously and gratefully ascribes all his Happiness and Success to God only. * *Blessed be the Lord, my Strength, who teacheth my Hands to war, and my Fingers to fight, &c. It is he that giveth Victory* (so the Word is in the Hebrew, which we render Salvation) *to Kings, and who delivereth David his Servant from the hurtful Sword.*

And this was perhaps rarely ever to be taken notice of more than in the late glorious Victory at *Rammilly*, where God sav'd this great Captain once and again, in the most remarkable manner. And tho' no Man can pretend to have any thing like an equal Honour with him in the Victory; yet, even this is to be principally

* Psal. 144. 1, 10.

ascrib'd to the Supream General himself, who is *the Lord of Armies*. And I cannot but upon this Occasion, and to this purpose, take notice of a Passage in a Letter, written from a Friend of mine, who saw the Action, and gives one of the best Accounts of it, that I have yet seen. *In this extraordinary Victory, says he, there is one thing further that is extraordinary; That there is not a Sentinel nor Officer, that I hear of, in our Army, that does not impute it, to the over-ruling Providence of God; and say, That so cheap a Victory, could never have been obtain'd, but by the extraordinary Assistance of God:*

And, if God ought to be lookt upon, as the principal Efficient in this, as well as in all the signal Mercies which we have been bless'd with, since the Revolution; I am sure, it is to him likewise that we ought to ascribe all our Successes elsewhere.

For we must be wilfully blind, if we do not see his hand eminently appearing for us, both in *Spain* and *Portugal*.

Was it not he that deliver'd *Gibraltar* into our hands, and that preserv'd it ever since?

Was it not he that beat back the French Fleet, under the *Count de Thouluse*, and so retard'd the Motions of the Enemy, as to give us time to come to the Relief of *Barcelona*? And was it not he that conducted our Ships safe, that animated the *Catilans* under so many Discouragements; and that enabled the Earl of *Peterborough* to do such Wonders, with so few Men?

And was it not he that directed the Earl of *Galloway*, to act so steady and prudent a part, under so many Difficulties? and that preserv'd his Army, and gave them such Success, during all their long and tedious March.

And here, seeing God is pleas'd to give Evidences of himself, and his special Presence, at certain times, by some peculiar Congruities; I cannot but take notice of *Three* such here, which, how little soever they may seem to be to some, when consider'd slightly, yet are not, I think, to be past over in silence.

The first is, The Congruity of time, as it were by Divine Concert, between the Defeat of the *French* at *Rammilly*, and before *Barcelona*; the first being upon the 12th Day of *May*, Old Stile; and the other upon the 12th of *May*, New Stile; as if God design'd to have Men to put a peculiar Mark on that Day, as the Day of God's beginning to cut *France* short of his Designs, in order to humble that proud and bloody Persecutor, seeing he has thus oblig'd both those that use the Old Stile, and those that use the New, to calculate * the begun Declension of *France*, from a 12th day of *May*.

* Some may perhaps, take occasion hence to tell me, That by this, I own that I was mistaken in my Discourse on the Revelation, when I gave it as my Opinion, That the Begun Declension of *France*, was not to be until the Year 1717, or thereabouts. To which I answer; 1st. That seeing I propos'd to assert nothing in that or the like Matters; but propos'd my Thoughts of future Time and Events, as Guesses or Conjectures only; all that can be inferr'd is this, That I guess'd a little wide of the Matter. And if I did, 10 or 11 Years is no such great matter. And I can honestly say, that I could heartily wish I were yet more mistaken; and should rejoyce, if instead of a begun Declension of *France*, this present Year might also bring about its Total Reduction; nay, and, if it might so please God, the Final Subversion even of the Papacy it self.

But, 2dly. What if my Apocryphical Conjectures upon this head, be not so dissonant with what I now say, as even this comes to. For tho I did suppose, that the House of Bourbon was eminently represented by the Sun, yet I said also, that the House of Austria was equally included, nay, I added, that I did not mean these exclusively of other Popish Princes, page 65. So that I meant, that the Fourth Vial in general, was not fully to be poured out upon these Families, until the Year 1717. which is quite another thing, than a particular Humiliation of one of those Princes. For, tho I did suppose, that the French King might be principally intended to be meant by the Sun, p. 72. yet I never propos'd him as the only Person, or his Kingdom as the only Kingdom represented this way. So that this Year 1706. may begin his Declension, and yet the Vial not be fully poured out, either upon him, or upon the other Popish Princes and Dominions (all which I take in together with him under this Vial, until Anno 1717.) What I said particularly as to the Declension of *France*, was in these words; It is true, he, (i. e. the French King) seems now to have got more Glory than ever, by the Accession of his Grandson to the Spanish Monarchy; but then, this is by an Eclipse upon the Austrian Family, which is expired in the first branch thereof. And who knows, but this Advancement may lay the Foundation

The second Observation that I make, is this, That the great Battle of *Rammilly*, was fought upon a Lord's Day, being *Whitsunday* this Year, and that the *French King*, who takes the Sun for his Device, had his Army broken, not only on that Day, but at or near that time of the day, when all good Protestants were engag'd in hearty Prayers to God, for Success and Victory to them. For it was during the stated time of Publick Worship, in the Afternoon that day, that God decided the Victory for us, and against the Enemy. And thus, while the Hands of *Moses* were lifted up, our *Joshua* and *Israelitish Forces* prevail'd, and the *French Amalekites* were defeated.

And, Thirdly, It is likewise memorable, That the *French* should have been obliged to raise the Siege of *Barcelona*, and have been in full March from thence, just as that great Eclipse of the Sun happen'd (which was indeed considerable with us, but much greater with them.) I cannot but take occasion here, to set down the words of *Prince Lichenstein*, relating to this Occurrence, as we find them in his Letter to *Count de Goes*, the *Emperor's Envoy* to the *States General*, which was dated at *Barcelona*, May 12. S. N. being the very Day that the Siege was raised, and the Eclipse happened. *What is remarkable*, says he, (*tho according to the Course of the Planets, there is no Miracle in it*) is, *That this Morning, about a Quarter after Nine a*

Foundation of the Ruin or Decay of the *French Power*, by exhausting that *Kingdom*, both as to Men and Money, in defence of a weak *Monarchy*, pag. 66. *And in this, I am sure, I have not been mistaken, as the Event shews. But after all this, What if the time should come, when Britain may be forc'd to engage in a new Alliance, to reduce the House of Austria, as it has been for so many Years labouring to reduce France? which may give date to a New Period of this Fourth Vial, that I reckon we are now under. The Supposition is not impossible, nor so much as improbable; For what has been, may be again. It is our Wisdom certainly, if possible to keep both so, as that they may just ballance one another, and so, that neither of them may ever be able to wrest the Ballance out of the hands of the British Sovereign; where it can only be safe for the good of the Protestant Churches, and Europe in general, as well as of our selves in particular.*

Clock,

Clock, when the Enemies Army was in full March and Confusion, the Sun was Eclips'd for six Minutes, so that the Day look'd like Night. Thus the Crown of France, which has the Sun for its Device, loses its Force before Barcelona; and must, at last, restore to the King and Lawful Sovereign of Spain, all the Monarchy usurp'd by him.

I shall make no other Observation upon these words than this, That he looks upon that Eclipse to be remarkable, at the same time that he says it was no Miracle, but only the Effect or Consequent of the natural Course of the Planets. And I suppose no Body, that is acquainted with *Astronomy*, will dispute the latter; nor any that consider the Circumstances of the *French* at that time, quarrel with him for the former; especially, seeing the Sun is the Device of this French King, as all Men know. But then a Question will arise, How that should, in any sense, be look'd upon as an emblematical or premonitory Sign of future Events, as that Prince reckons this to be, of *Spains* being restored to its Rightful Prince? For, if it be wholly natural, then it cannot be lookt upon, say Astronomical Men, as a premonitory Sign; and if it be supposed to be such, we must also suppose, that this was a miraculous Eclipse, such as that which fell out when our Saviour died; whereas this was but an ordinary one, that must have happen'd, tho there had been no Siege of *Barcelona*.

In order to answer this Difficulty, and to vindicate the words of this Prince, and to shew their consistency, I make this one rational Supposition, That the infinitely wise God, who is both the Author of Nature, and the supream Ruler of Men, might easily so contrive the one, from a foresight of the Occurrences that relate to the other, as that Eclipses, Comets, and Earthquakes, and the like things, (how natural soever otherwise) might be so adjusted, in reference to remarkable Revolutions among Men, as that they should deserve our Observation, and be rationally lookt upon as premonitory Signs, as much sometimes, and in some respects, as if they had
been

been really miraculous. And I am so far from thinking, that this is a precarious Supposition, that I do truly believe, that it is such a one, as is naturally, if not also necessarily, deducible from the very Notion of God, as infinitely wise and perfect. For how can we otherwise believe, * *That all God's Works, and all Occurrences whatsoever, are known to him from the Beginning of the World.*

No wonder then, if all wise Historians, in all Ages, have taken notice of such things as remarkable. For indeed, we cannot but observe in many of them, such an Adjustment of Circumstances, as plainly suppose a design'd Contrivance. And I am sure, the Scripture doth altogether run upon such a Supposition. And therefore our *Lord* speaks of some Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, and other the like things, † such as great Storms and Inundations of the Sea, as premonitory Signs of approaching Calamities. And the Apostle || *Peter* says the same out of the Prophet * *Joel*, whose words he applies this way. And therefore when † *Moses* says, that the Sun, Moon and Stars, were not only made to be *Lights* or *Luminaries* to this World, and appointed to be the Measures of the *Seasons*, viz. Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter, as well as the Rule of adjusting *Days* and *Years*, by their Diurnal and Annual Motion; but says likewise, that they were created to be *Signs*: I cannot think, that he meant only to say, that they were to be Signs of the Weather, but also premonitory Signs sometimes, by their extraordinary Aspects; tho I am very far, at the same time, from thinking that this lays any such Foundation for Astrological Calculations, as some pretend. For all I aim at, is, that the Supposition I mentioned, is agreeable both to Reason and Revelation.

* Acts 15. 18. † Luke 2. 25, &c. || Acts 2. 19, 20. * Joel 2. 31.
† Gen. 1. 14, 15.

Were it not for fear of being tedious, I might insist upon several other Congruities or Observables of the like import with the three which I have just now mention'd. E. G. Is it not memorable, that the Battle of *Rammilly* should happen to be in the same Place, and almost upon the same Spot, where the Duke of *Marlborough* had design'd to have attack'd the *French*, and broke thro' their Lines last Year, had others been of the same mind with himself; which he modestly insinuates to the *States General*, when, in his Letter from *Louvain*, dated *May 25, 1706*. he speaks thus; *I give my self the Honour to write this Letter from Louvain, where I have a long time wish'd to be, for the Good of the Common Cause.*

And how remarkable are several Circumstances relating to the Siege of *Ostend*, (to pass by other Actions) viz. 1. That God should so dispirit the Garrison, that the *Count de la Mothe*, should be forc'd to own it to have been such, as seem'd not to proceed from any natural Cause, but was, as if they had been under a kind of Witchcraft. 2. That a thick Fogg, of three Days continuance, should favour our Men, in their making their Approaches. 3. That the Town should be surrendered in 10 days, from the opening of the Trenches, and in 5 after the Batteries were finish'd; when it had formerly stood out, against a brave General, and renewed Armies, for above 3 Years, 3 Months, and 3 Weeks; insomuch that the Besiegers lost almost 73 Thousand Men before it, as it had been a Grave to 70 Thousand of those that defended it. Let me add this Remark; 4. That whilst we were returning Thanks to God for other Successes, *June 27*. our Army had the Satisfaction to see the Garrison march out the same day, the Articles havng been sign'd very late the Night before.

But now I have done, not only with this Observation, but with the whole of what I propos'd to say from our Text, and the several Heads which it runs upon.

All therefore that I have to do further, is, to wind up this Discourse in a conclusive Application, being,

An ADDRESS,*To all those that Read this Treatise.**My Friends ;*

WHatever our different Sentiments or Denominations may be, I hope we are all agreed in the first and common Principles of Natural and Reveal'd Religion. And I am sure, if we own these, and are concern'd to live accordingly, no Man will have any just reason to censure me, either upon the account of what I have said, (at least as to the main of what I have treated of) or for what I am about to say further, in inviting all Men pursuant to what precedes.

- I. To honour the Queen.
- II. To esteem those who have done eminent Service to the Publick, according to the Degree and Consequences of their Actions.
- III. And yet to praise and celebrate the Supream God, above all, as the principal Efficient of our Mercies and Successes.

I. Honour the *Queen* ; who is such a Pattern of Piety and Goodness to all her Subjects ; who acts as the true Mother of her People, and for, and by whom, our good God has done so much for these Nations, and *Europe* in general.

If God honour her, sure we ought ? And if the Lord of Armies be with her ; let us be encourag'd to hope for further Successes to her Arms, and those of her Allies, engag'd with her in the same glorious Cause of Common Liberty.

For these ends, let your Prayers go up incessantly to Heaven, for her Preservation ; that she may be more and more the Care of God Almighty, endu'd with the high-
est

est and greatest Measures of the truly Regal Spirit, in order to do Justice and Judgment to all Men, and to know, upon every Occurrence, what ought to be done; that she may be still more and more the Darling of her People, and all Men; and that thus she may be bless'd with all Blessings, Spiritual and Temporal, in relation both to this present Life and World, and that which is to come.

And as for such of you, as do conscientiously and therefore involuntarily dissent from the Establish'd Church; let me beg you, not only to be loyal, as ye have always been, but so to signalize your selves this way, in your several Stations, as thus effectually to refute the many Lies and Calumnies of your Enemies; that it may be seen, that all the Noise raised against you on this head, arises wholly from Ignorance or Malice.

However, have a care of imitating such Men, by un-decent Words or Actions. They are the Objects of your Pity rather than Hatred. Return them Good for Evil, according to your Master's Rule, and pray for their being bless'd with a better inform'd Mind, and more Christian Temper; that instead of that *Spirit* that now acts them, which is * *earthly, sensual, and devilish*, they may, thro' the Divine Goodness, come at length to be brought under the Influences of that *Wisdom which is from above, which is first pure, † Then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of Mercy and good Fruits, without Partiality, and without Hypocrisy.*

II. Esteem those also, and honour them in their several Stations, who are not only honour'd by the Sovereign, by being raised to eminent Stations, and intrusted by her with publick Concerns; but who have been likewise most eminently own'd and honour'd by God, to do signal Services for the Publick Good.

* Jam. 3. 15. † Ver. 17.

I need not name particular Persons, seeing all Men know to whom these Nations owe most this way. Let me therefore only say, That as it is our Duty to honour their Names and Memories, for what they have done already, so to pray earnestly for them for the future; that they may not only be preserved in time of Danger, and in the day of Battle; but may be made yet more Instrumental to save these Nations, and the Protestant Churches every where, from the bloody Designs of the common Enemy; that *France* may be humbled and reduc'd to its old Limits; and that the Ballance of *Europe*, may ever be held by the Sovereign of Great *Britain*.

And while we remember, the Military Hero's, let us not forget those Illustrious and Noble Patriots of their Countrey's Honour and Interest, by whose wise Counsels and Determinations, the Funds of Money flow in; by which our Sovereign is capacitated to act for the Common Cause; and by which our Armies and Fleets are supported, and encourag'd to do such great things.

And, in a special manner, those ought ever to be mention'd with Honour and Esteem, who have so generously, unweariedly, and successfully, encountred the ill Designs of those, who have so long, and so industriously labour'd to imbroil us at home, by setting Protestants together by the Ears, in order to pave the way for Popish Idolatry, and French Slavery. Those truly Christian *Bishops*, ought therefore to be celebrated in the first place, who gave such evidence of their being really possess'd of the genuine Idea of the Christian Religion, and as really under its Influence, as an inward governing Principle; when they oppos'd the confining it to one Inclosure, how excellent soever in their own Opinion. Nor ought the *Temporal Lords* to have less respect from all good Men, who wisely saw the Snare and Danger, and did as honestly and bravely break and prevent the same.

Let all those therefore be honour'd and prais'd, and the rather, that they are so unjustly abus'd and scandaliz'd

liz'd by *Jacobite Memorialists*, for doing such eminent Service, both to the *Queen*, by buoying up her just Character; to the *Church*, both by putting her out of danger, and making it plain that she was so, whilst under so excellent and uniform a Government; to the *Nation*, by keeping them from quarrelling at home; and to *Europe*, by carrying on the War effectually and successfully.

III. But, yet my Friends, let us have a care of terminating ultimately upon Men. When therefore ye have given Mortals their due, let your Mind be elevated towards the Great God himself. He indeed, grudges not a subordinate Honour to Men; but he claims the supream Honour himself; and it were Idolatry to give it to any other.

He were a very Monster of Nature, and worse, in this respect, than a *Caligula* or *Nero*, who should (in our day, and whilst the Mind of God is so clearly discover'd) arrogate to himself the supream Honour of any one successful Action, from a phantastical Humour, or vain glorious Opinion of himself. And yet, if ever any Man came near to such a degree of Pride, those Princes must be supposed to be guilty this way, who have assumed Titles to themselves too high for Mortals, and patroniz'd those who have bestowed even the highest upon them. And seeing the present French King has exceeded so much this way, we hope, that the Great God, who is jealous of his Honour, and will not give it to another, will yet further write a *Mene Tekel* against him, for the Relief of so many Innocents, who are so cruelly oppressed by him.

Let us therefore, as ever we would have God for us, be concerned to manifest our Gratitude to our great, kind and sovereign Lord, by a grateful sense of what he has done, both for the good of these Nations, of *Europe* in general, and of our selves in particular; and by such Acts of Obedience, as may bear evidence of our Sincerity this way; as remembering, that as Ingratitude upon the
one

one hand, may provoke God to desert and punish us, so Thanksgiving for Mercies receiv'd, is materially a Prayer for new Mercies, and is likely to be an effectual means to procure them, as well as to continue those which we enjoy already.

And now, my Friends, seeing we know our Duty, what remains but that we should make it our business, to live accordingly. Which may the Good and Gracious God assist us to do, for the sake of his Beloved Son, and our dear Redeemer; that we may act for the future, as becomes those who are under so many and such eminent Engagements, to fear, glorifie and praise him.

Amen.

FINIS.

Other BOOKS Published by the same Author.

I. **C**HRISTOLOGY. A Discourse concerning *Christ*; consider'd, 1. In Himself; 2. In his Government; And, 3. In relation to his Subjects, and their Duty to him. In Six Books. Being a New Essay, towards a farther Revival and Re-introduction of Primitive Scriptural-Divinity, by way of Specimen. Dedicated to the Queen.

II. THEOCRACY, Or, *The Divine Government of Nations, &c.* Dedicated to the Late King. The Second Edition.

III. A Practical Discourse, occasion'd by the Death of King *William*, wherein a Character of *Him* is given. To which is added, *A Poetical Essay* on his Memory. The Second Edition.

IV. Four Discourses; The 1st containing, *A new Account of the Rise and Fall of the Papacy.* The 2d, upon *God's Dwelling with Men.* The 3d concerning *The Ministerial Office.* The 4th being *A Brief Account of Religion, as it centers in the Lord Jesus.*

V. *The Rod or the Sword; The present Dilemma of these Nations, &c.*

VI. *Poems, &c.*