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Dr. *M A T H E W*'s  
ELECTION SERMON.

*May 29, 1754.*

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(Price One Shilling.)



A  
S E R M O N

Preach'd in the Audience of His Excellency

*WILLIAM SHIRLEY, Esq;*

Captain-General, Governor and Commander in Chief,

THE HONOURABLE

HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL,

And the Honourable

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, of the Province of the MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, in  
*NEW-ENGLAND.*

MAY 29, 1754.

Being the Anniversary for the ELECTION of HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL for the Province.

N. B. *The Parts of some Paragraphs, passed over in the Preaching of this Discourse, are now inserted in the Publication.*

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*By* JONATHAN MAYHEW, *D. D.*

Pastor of the West Church in BOSTON.

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*In the House of Representatives,*

May 30, 1754.

**O***rdered*, That the Representatives of the Town of *Boston*; together with Mr. *William Fletcher*, be directed to give the Thanks of this House, to the Rev. Dr. *Jonathan Mayhew*, of *Boston*, for his Sermon preached Yesterday before the General Court, being the Anniversary for the Election of COUNCELLORS, and desire a Copy thereof for the Press.

Attest.

*Oliver Partridge*, Cler.Dom.Rep.

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A N

ELECTION SERMON.

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MATT. XXV. 21.

*HIS LORD said unto him, Well done, thou good and faithful Servant ; thou hast been faithful—*

**T**HIS is part of our Saviour's well-known parable of the talents ; the moral of which is in general this, That whatever powers and advantages of any kind, men severally enjoy, are committed to them in trust by the great Lord and Proprietor of all, to whom they are accountable for the use they make of them ; and from whom they shall, in the close of this present scene, receive either a glorious recompence of their fidelity, or the punishment due to their sloth  
and



and wickedness. The subject, then, is very general, and equally interesting. All men, of whatever rank or character, are concerned in it. It leads our thoughts from what we possess, up to the great source thereof; from what we are at present, to what we shall be hereafter. It connects this world with another; and comprehends both our probationary and final state, under the righteous administration of God.

But though the subject is very general, and of the last importance to all; yet civil power being one of the principal of those talents which Heaven commits to men, and the present occasion requiring a more particular consideration of it, the ensuing discourse will be confined thereto. Nor would I injure our honoured Rulers by the least suspicion, that they can possibly take it amiss to be reminded of their duty to God and Man upon this occasion, with all the plainness and simplicity becoming a minister of the Gospel, and consistent with decency; the rules of which, it is hoped, will not be violated.

Indeed were One to discourse upon this subject before Rulers in an arbitrary government; or before unfaithful Rulers, even where the constitution is free; there would be almost a necessity of disguising and suppressing the truth, on one hand, or of giving umbrage on the other. A miserable dilemma! But surely there can be no necessity of the former,

former, nor any danger of the latter, under such a government as the British, and before such Rulers as I have the honour to speak to.

It is customary for those who are called to speak upon such public occasions, to apologize for their want of proper qualifications for the task. But how much reason soever they may often have for this, I think it is usually their unhappiness not to be thought very sincere in doing it. I shall therefore wholly omit this common ceremony; because I would fain be thought quite in earnest in every thing I say before so grave and venerable an auditory, and upon so important an occasion.

It may not be improper, in the first place, to speak of the source and origin of civil power: And then, of the great end of government: Which two particulars will be dispatched in a few words. In the third place, it will be useful to recollect some of those arguments, by which those who are vested with authority, should be induced to exercise it with fidelity, suitable to the design of it. And so the subject will be closed with some reflections, chiefly relative to this Anniversary, and to the present state of the Province.

As to the source and origin of civil power; the parable on which my discourse is grounded, suggests that it is ultimately derived from God, whose “kingdom ruleth over all;” this being as truly a talent committed by Him to the fidelity of men, as any thing else can be.

In



In this light it is considered in the holy scriptures. It is not only agreeable to the original scheme and plan of God's universal government, that civil rule should take place among men, in subordination to His own ; but his providence is actually concerned in raising those persons to power and dominion, who are possessed of it. In the language of the Prophet, " Wisdom and might are His. He re-  
 " moveth kings, and setteth up kings. The  
 " most High ruleth in the kingdom of men,  
 " and giveth it to whomsoever he will." The language of the apostles is not less emphatical. They tell us, that " there is no power, but of  
 " God ;" that " the powers that be, are or-  
 " dained of God ;" and that " they are God's  
 " Ministers."

But then it is to be remembered, that this power is derived from God, not immediately, but mediately, as other talents and blessings are. The notions of any particular form of government explicitly instituted by God, as designed for a universal model ; of the divine right of monarchy, in contradistinction from all other modes ; of the hereditary, unalienable right of succession ; of the despotic, unlimited power of kings, by the immediate grant of Heaven ; and the like ; these notions are not drawn from the holy scriptures, but from a far less pure and sacred fountain. They are only the devices of lawned parasites, or other graceless politicians, to serve the purposes of ambition and tyranny.  
 And



And though they are of late date, yet being traced up to their true original, they will be found to come, by uninterrupted succession, from him who was a politician from the beginning.

God did indeed formerly take one nation under his more immediate care and patronage, establishing therein a kind of civil polity. But with this, the other Nations of the world had no concern; nor were they required to imitate it. It might be added, that even this commonwealth of *Israel* was not moulded and modelled wholly by the immediate dictates of Heaven. *Moses*, who sometimes consulted God in the Mount, at other times consulted his father-in-law *Jethro* in *Midian*, the prince and priest of that country. By whose advice, though a mere pagan, it was that the great *Hebrew* lawgiver, partly framed his government. And it is to be observed, that this government did not put on the regal form at all, till after a long time; and then, in express contradiction to the council of the Prophet, God declaring that this people rejected Him, in requesting a king. To say the least, monarchical government has no better foundation in the Oracles of God, than any other. And after the establishment of it amongst the *Hebrews* the crown, instead of descending uniformly to the elder branch of the male line, was often bestowed on a younger; sometimes transferred to another family; and sometimes

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even into another tribe: And this not without the divine approbation.

All the different constitutions of government now in the world, are immediately the creatures of man's making, not of God's. And indeed the vestiges of human imperfection are so manifest in them, that it would be a reproach to the all-wise God to attribute them directly to Him. And as they are the creatures of man's making; so from man, from common consent, it is that lawful rulers immediately receive their power. This is the channel in which it flows from God, the original source of it. Nor are any possessed of a greater portion of it, than what is conveyed to them in this Way. Or at least, if they have any more, they have it only as the thief or the robber has the spoil, which fraud or violence has put into his hands. Agreeably to what is here said, concerning the medium or channel through which power is derived from God, government is spoken of in scripture, as being both the ordinance of God, and the ordinance of man: Of God, in reference to His original plan, and universal Providence; and of man, as it is more immediately the result of human prudence, wisdom and concert.

In the second place, we are just to mention the great end of government. And after the glory of God, which we usually consider as the end of all things in general, that can be no other than the good of man, the common benefit  
of



of society. This is equally evident whether we consider it as a divine, or an human institution.

As it is God's ordinance, it is designed for a blessing to the world. It is instituted for the preservation of men's persons, properties and various rights, against fraud and lawless violence; and that, by means of it, we may both procure, and quietly enjoy, those numerous blessings and advantages, which are unattainable out of society, and being unconnected by the bonds of it. It is not conceivable that the all-wise and good God, should ordain government amongst men, but with a view to its being subservient to their happiness, and well-being in the world; to be sure, not, that it might be subservient to a contrary one, their misery. We cannot imagine it possible that He who is good unto all, and whose tender mercies are over all his works, should exalt a few persons to power over the rest, to be their oppressors; or merely for their own sakes, that they may amass riches, that they may live in ease and splendor, that they may riot on the produce of other's toil, and receive the homage of millions, without doing them any good. It were blasphemous to think that God has instituted government for such a partial, unworthy end.

So far has God interposed in founding the commonwealth of *Israel*, it was in favour to his chosen people that he did it: Not that they might be oppressed and enslaved by their own Rulers; but that they might be delivered from



oppression and slavery and their taskmasters in *Ægypt*: And that, being brought out of the house of Bondage, they might be conducted into a good land, flowing with milk and honey; that they might there possess property, enjoy the blessing of equal laws, and be happy. Nor is the general design of government and magistracy now, throughout the world, different from what it was amongst the Israelites; viz. the happiness of men. Accordingly the apostle tell us that the civil magistrate “is the minister of God to us for good;” and from hence argues the reasonableness of submitting to his authority. And all the instructions and admonitions which God has given to rulers in his word, exactly correspond to this declared end of their institution. The end of government then, as it is a divine ordinance, must be human felicity.

And if we consider it as it is more immediately the ordinance of man, the end must evidently be the same. It being founded in, and supported by, common consent, it is impossible the design of it should be any other: Since we cannot suppose that men would voluntarily enter into society, and set up and maintain a common authority, upon any other principles than those of mutual security and common good, Nor is there any medium betwixt such common consent as is here intended, and plain lawless force and violence; for which Christians, surely, ought not to be advocates. Some states may have owed their  
be-

beginning, and more, their progress and enlargement, to the latter of these causes. But these are not to be drawn into example, or to have any regard paid to them, when we are speaking of the end of government. We ought not to take our estimate of the design hereof, from the views of banditti, and robbers, associated to plunder and oppress others : (tho' even they have a common interest which they profess to regard, and which keeps them together.) But we are to form our idea of this end, by what reason suggests must be the motive with reasonable and honest men to unite together in the bonds of society. And if we judge by this rule, the end of government must be the common good of all, and of every individual, so far as is consistent therewith.

We are therefore brought exactly to the same point at last, whether we consider government as it is originally an appointment of Heaven, or, more immediately, the voluntary choice of men. The security and happiness of all the members composing the political body, must be the design and end thereof, considered in both these lights. God is too good to ordain it for any other Purposes ; and men, at least love themselves too well, to chuse it from any other principles : Unless, perhaps we may suppose that a farther design of political union, is the defence and patronage of other persons, out of the society ; and the doing of good to all, as opportunity is, in providence, afforded for it. But if this is really any end at all ;  
yet



yet it being only a secondary and remote one, it might have been passed over in silence.

But tho' the grand end of government under all its different forms, is one, the good of the political body ; this general end admits of various subdivisions, and is prosecuted in a variety of ways ; to speak of which is quite beyond the design of this discourse : And indeed that would be to deliver a system of politicks, rather than a sermon. I shall therefore only add under this head, that as the happiness of men in society depends greatly upon the goodness of their morals, and as mortals have a close connection with religion, the latter as well as the former, ought doubtless to be encouraged by the civil magistrate ; not only by his own pious life and good example ; but also by his laws, as far as is consistent with the natural, unalienable rights of every man's conscience. Protection is, in justice, due to all persons indifferently, whose religion does not manifestly and very directly, tend to the subversion of the government. And a general toleration, with this single exception, is so far from being pernicious to society, that it greatly promotes the good of it in many respects. Persecution and intollerance, are not only unjust, and criminal in the sight of God ; but they also cramp, enfeeble, and diminish the state. And many states, in other respects politic enough, have hereby greatly prejudiced themselves, and strengthened their rival neighbours. For what else is it, to butcher multitudes of their  
own



own people on religious accounts, as they have done; and to oblige others of them to betake themselves to flight, with their effects and arts, into foreign countries, where they may live securely? So that setting aside the great impiety and unrighteousness of this practice, the impolicy of it is a sufficient argument against it. Nor, indeed, can it be doubted but that the interest of true religion, has been greatly prejudiced, by that notion which has so generally prevailed in Christendom from the days of Constantine; I mean, that kings could not be *nursing fathers*, nor queens *nursing mothers*, to the Church, unless they suckled her with human blood, and fed her with the flesh of those, whom angry Ecclesiasticks are pleased to stigmatize with the names of heretic, schismatic and infidel \*.

Thirdly: It is now time to mention some of those arguments by which Rulers should be induced to exercise their power with fidelity, suitable to the great end and design of it. It is asserted by a great man of the last age, “ that the pretended depth and difficulty in  
“ matters

\* “ Not only Germany, but all the Christian states, bled  
“ at the wounds which they—received in—religious wars; a  
“ rage which is peculiar to Christians, who are ignorant of  
“ idolatry, and is the unhappy consequence of that dogmati-  
“ cal spirit, which has so long been introduced into all parties.  
“ There are few points of controversy which have not been  
“ the occasion of a civil war: And foreign nations (perhaps  
“ our own posterity) will one day be unable to comprehend  
“ how it was possible, that our fore-fathers could kill one  
“ another, for so many years together, and yet, at the same  
“ time, be preaching patience.” Volt. Age of L. XIV.



“ matters of state, is a mere cheat.” And  
 “ from the beginning of the world,” says he,  
 “ to this day, you never found a common-  
 “ wealth, where the leaders, having honesty  
 “ enough, wanted skill enough to lead her to  
 “ her true interest both at home and abroad\*.”  
 It belongs not to my function to determine  
 how far this assertion will hold true. But I  
 may venture to say, that if honesty and pub-  
 lick spirit are all that are wanting, there are  
 not wanting arguments enough, founded in  
 reason and religion, to engage Rulers to act  
 from those principles.

To a generous mind, the public good, as it  
 is the end of government, so it is also such a  
 noble and excellent one, that the prospect of  
 attaining it will animate the pursuit, and being  
 attained, it will reward the pains. The very  
 name of patriotism is indeed become a jest with  
 some men; which would be much stranger  
 than it is, had not so many others made a jest  
 of the thing, serving their own base and wicked  
 ends, under the pretext and colour of it. But  
 there will be hypocrites in politicks, as well as  
 in religion. Nor ought so sacred a name to  
 fall into contempt, however it may have been  
 prostituted and profaned, to varnish over crimes.  
 And those times are *perilous* indeed, wherein  
*men shall be only lovers of their own selves*,  
 having no concern for the good of the public.  
 Shall we go to the Pagans to learn this god-like  
 virtue? Even they can teach it. And is there  
 a Christian, who is required to love all men,  
 \* *Harrington.* and



and to do good to all, as he may have opportunity for it; is there a Christian, who does not love even his brethren, the members of the same body with himself? Is there a Christian, who is void of all generous solicitude for his country's welfare? Is there, who has no desire to see it in a prosperous and flourishing condition? Who has no pleasure in actually seeing it so? Is there, who has no grief, in beholding its calamities? no disposition to serve it? Such a person, though he were of a private character, would be a reproach not only to his religion, a religion of charity and beneficence, but even to our common nature, as corrupt and depraved as it is. But how much more infamous were this, in persons of a public character? In those, on whom the welfare of their country, under providence, immediately depends?

But it is not to be thought merely an office of generosity and charity, for Rulers to exert themselves in the service of the public. This is an indispensable duty of justice which they owe to it, by virtue of their station. They have taken the care and guardianship thereof upon themselves: Yea they are commonly laid under the solemn obligation of an oath, to study and pursue its interest. And why are they honoured? why, rewarded by the public, but that the public may receive benefit from them? Here then, are ties, if possible, more strong and sacred than those of charity: Ties, which being violated, leave the violators of them, guilty of manifest injustice, and great impiety.

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Another



Another argument of some weight, is, that people are not usually either so blind and insensible as not to know when they are well governed ; or so ungrateful as not to acknowledge it, and to requite their benefactors suitably to their merits. Some men will, indeed be captious, and find fault without reason : But it is a mere calumny to represent them of this turn and temper in general. All history scarce affords an example of a people ruled with prudence, justice, and due clemency, but what loved and honoured their Rulers ; but what loudly proclaimed their virtues ; but what, in all proper ways, requited their paternal care and goodness, while living, and revered their memory, when dead. And how much more desirable is this, than for them to have their ears filled with cries, complaints and murmurings ? How much more eligible is it, to live esteemed, and to have their names transmitted with honour to posterity, than to be the objects of publick hatred, as being rather task-masters than fathers ; and to leave no remembrance behind them, but of their selfishness and injustice ; their unfaithfulness and oppressions ?

It were, moreover, to be wished, that Rulers (especially Legislators, whom I have all along chiefly in view) would seriously consider how much their own beloved posterity may be affected by their counsels and conduct. The effect of public counsels and resolutions, whether good or bad, is not so transient as they

they are themselves. Even remote generations often feel the consequence of them. By wise and good laws, and a proper conduct in other respects, the governors of a people, lay a foundation, by God's blessing, not only for the welfare of the generation present, but also for the prosperity of those who may come after them. In doing which, they, in effect, leave the most valuable legacy to their own offspring ; whereas, by a contrary conduct, they entail on them only misery and ruin. This consideration will be of great weight, not only with persons of a truly patriot and public spirit ; but even with all such as are not *without natural affection* ; with all, who would not have their memory cursed after they are gone, even by those who should *rise up, and call them blessed*.

A farther argument may be drawn from this consideration, that Rulers derive their power from God, and are ordained to be his *ministers for good*. They are not only entrusted by man with the care of the publick ; but by God himself, the supreme lawgiver, that they may be the instruments of his goodness and munificence. This doctrine, that rulers are God's ministers, and cloathed with authority delegated from Him, has for too often been made use of as a topic of compliment and adulation, in order to sooth them, and puff them up with vain imaginations. And so successful have the servile adorers of Princes sometimes been, in the management of it, as to make them conceit themselves almost literally

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Gods,



Gods, and to think their subjects scarce better than brutes, made only for their service. That the title intended, denotes their dignity, and the honour which they may justly expect, no one can question. But the grand inference they themselves ought to draw from hence, is, that they should imitate the justice and unwearied goodness of that God, whose ministers they are; and exercise the power with which his providence has cloathed them, to that gracious end, for which it is given. When they prosecute the true interests of the public, and diffuse happiness around them, then, and only then, they act up to their honourable character. They then answer the noble purposes for which Heaven exalted them; and are seconding the benevolent designs of providence, being *workers together with God*. And what can more animate a considerate man to fidelity in his trust, than this reflection. That while he is thus serving his generation, he is doing it *according to the will of God*? that he therein concurs with the designs of the greatest and best of Beings, the Creator and Lord of all, who is good unto all? It is an honest joy, a pleasure truly divine, that must result from such conscious integrity.

Christian Rulers should, moreover, always have in view the example of our blessed Lord and Redeemer, to whom *all power in Heaven and in earth is given*. All his laws are calculated for the good of his subjects; and he governs them, in order to render them happy.

He



He was the king foretold, who was to “*reign*”  
“*in righteousness.*” After Him should all the  
princes and rulers of the earth copy. And  
if they did so, the great object and end of  
their government, would be to bless mankind.

But the argument suggested in my text, is  
of the greatest weight and solemnity of any  
that can be thought of ; viz. the account  
which all men are to give of their conduct  
hereafter, to the judge of quick and dead.  
That same Lord, who has given to one of his  
servants five talents, to another two, and to  
another one, will come at the appointed time  
to reckon with them ; and to render to every  
man according to his deeds. Nor are there  
any persons who have more reason to aim at  
approving themselves to Him, than civil Ru-  
lers, who have so great a charge. It is an  
established maxim of God’s equal government,  
that “*unto whomsoever much is given, of*  
“*him shall much be required.*” Nor does  
He, at whose tribunal they are to appear, re-  
gard the persons of princes any more than of  
their slaves. They are all equally his servants.  
Happy ! thrice happy ! those who shall then  
be found faithful ; for then shall they *enter*  
*into the joy of their Lord.* Not so, the sloth-  
ful and wicked servant, who has either ne-  
glected, or wilfully misapplied, the talents  
committed to him ! Innumerable, alas ! in-  
numerable are the miseries and calamities  
which have accrued, and are daily accruing,  
to mankind, from the abuse of that very power,  
which

- which was designed to prevent them, and to be instrumental of good to all that are under it. Heaven beholds these things : And shall not Heaven, at length, visit for them ! “ Shall not “ the judge of all the earth do right ! ”

Rulers surely, even the most dignified and powerful of them, should not be so elevated with the thoughts of their power, as to forget from whom it comes ; for what purposes it is delegated to them ; whose impartial eye it is that surveys all their counsels, designs and actions ; and who it is that will, one day, exact an account of their stewardship. If only the *hand upon the wall*, caused the haughty *Babylonian's* knees to smite one against another ; what amazement will seize the proud oppressors of the earth, when they shall behold the “ son of man coming in the clouds of Heaven, with all the holy angels with Him ! ” The apocalypse of St. John informs us how different sentiments *the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men*, shall then entertain of themselves, from those which they are too apt to entertain at present. You will then see many of those who made the world tremble and stoop before them, in vain attempting to *hide themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains* ! But,

It now remains to make some reflections upon this subject, and to apply it to the present occasion.

And



And we are reminded by the preceding discourse, how great a blessing good government is; and what gratitude becomes those whom God, in his providence, favours with it. Inconsiderate men are too apt to think government rather a burden, than a blessing; rather, as what some persons have invented for their own particular advantage, than what God has instituted for the good of all. This is, under Him, the great guard and security of men's property, peace, religion, lives; of every thing here, for which it is worth while to live. And this is a blessing which British subjects enjoy, in as high a degree, perhaps, as any other people. It is their felicity to be governed by such men, and by such laws, as themselves approve; without which their boasted liberty would, indeed, be but an empty name. The form of our government is justly the envy of most other nations; especially of those which have either no parliaments at all, or such as may be banished at the word and pleasure of a tyrant; which comes much to the same thing. We have also, for several late reigns, been blessed with Princes too just and good to encroach upon the rights of their subjects, and too wise to think that Britons can endure a chain. Happy had it been for some former Princes, as well as for their people, had they been endowed with the same moderation, justice and wisdom!—

Persons of a private character are, moreover, admonished of the reverence and submission,

mission, which they owe to government as it is God's ordinance ; and as Rulers derive their power from him. Were this no more than an human institution, yet it would, in the nature of the thing, demand great respect; that being necessary even to the preservation of it in the world, and so, to people's reaping those numerous advantages which accrue from it. But when we reflect, that this is an appointment of Heaven, it suggests that we should be subject even " for conscience sake;" and that we cannot behave undutifully towards our Rulers, without also rebelling against God. Nor is it easy to mention any duty which the gospel inculcates upon the consciences of men, with greater solemnity, than that of paying due honour to kings, and all that are in authority. However, it is not to be forgotten, that as in all free constitutions of government, law, and not will, is the measure of the executive Magistrate's power ; so it is the measure of the subject's obedience and submission. The consequence of which, I shall at present leave others to draw ; only observing, that it is very strange we should be told, at this time of day, that loyalty and slavery mean the same thing ; though this is plainly the amount of that doctrine which some, even now, have the forehead to ventilate, in order to bring a reproach upon the *Revolution*, upon the present happy settlement of the crown, and to prepare us for the dutiful reception of an *hereditary tyrant*.

It



It is moreover suggested by what has been said upon this subject, how much care and integrity should be exercised in the choice of those, who are to have a share in government; that they may not be unworthy of it. If it ever happens in countries of liberty, that the conduct of public affairs falls into the hands of weak or dishonest men, the people will scarce be the less miserable, because they had the choice of these men themselves; tho' they will be the less to be pitied. People have, in some countries, been so regardless of their own welfare, as to give too much encouragement to designing men, who would practice upon them; yea, as to make an infamous merchandize of their hands and voices to the highest bidder, without any consideration of merit, of capacity or inclination to serve the public. It is not easy to determine, who are the most criminal, they who would make their way to places of power and trust, by indirect means, or they who have so little concern for the welfare of their country, as to hearken to them, and to become the tools of their ambition and covetousness. And how faithfully they are likely to serve their country, who set out with corrupting it; they who aspire to a part in the government, by bribing the avaritious, by flattering the foolish, and making fine promises to the credulous; is not hard to conjecture.

Sir *Thomas More* tells us, in his model of a commonwealth, that the wise and virtuous

D

*Utopians,*



*Utopians*, “take an oath, before they proceed  
“to an election, that they will chuse him  
“whom they think meetest for the office :”  
and that, “if a man aspires to an office, he  
“is sure never to compass it.” Some will  
perhaps think it a pity, that it is only an  
*Utopia*, an imaginary region, where such  
maxims are said to prevail. People being  
under no undue influence, would doubtless  
make a better choice than they often do, in  
those places, where importunity supplies the  
want of wisdom in the candidate ; and the  
spirit of corruption, the spirit of patriotism.  
As to men of real worth, it is a pity they  
should be put upon violating their natural  
modesty, by proclaiming their own superior  
Qualifications for serving the publick ; and by  
soliciting an acknowledgement hereof. It is  
still harder, that those who are most capable  
of serving their country, should be obliged to  
reward others for the liberty of doing it. Such  
men should surely be made choice of, freely  
and voluntarily, without being forced, as it  
were, either to beg or to buy, a confession of  
their great merit ; especially, because in this  
case, some people of a jealous temper, may be  
apt to suspect, that they have something else  
more at heart, than the good of their country.  
Indeed the experience of all ages has proved,  
that men of the greatest merit, do the most  
disdain those arts and practices, of which o-  
thers serve themselves with the unwary ; and  
that those who are the most addicted to  
them,



them, are commonly the least fit to be trusted, either in respect of capacity or integrity, or both.

God forbid, that ever such things should become fashionable and reputable amongst us; or that any Son of *New-England*, should prove such a profane *Esau*, as to sell his birth-right! Our ancestors, though not perfect and infallible in all respects, were a religious, brave and virtuous set of men, whose love of liberty, civil and religious, brought them from their native land, into the American deserts. By their generous care, it is, under the smiles of a gracious providence, that we have now here a goodly heritage; and see these once desert and solitary places rejoicing and blossoming as the rose, the glory of *Lebanon* being given unto them, the excellency of *Carmel* and of *S Sharon*. By the wisdom and piety of our fore-fathers it is, under that God who hath determined the bounds of all men's habitation, that we here enjoy many valuable privileges; of which this day, amongst other things, is a proof and monument. Though we are not an independant state, yet, Heaven be thanked! we are a free people. However all know, that it is not from our privileges and liberties, simply considered, but from the use we make of them, that our felicity is to be expected. And they are so great and ample, that the right improvement of them, cannot but make us happy, provided we have the virtue and honour to make such a one of them. Nor can I think

we are so far degenerated from the laudable spirit of our ancestors, as to despise and abuse what they procured for us at so dear a rate. I am not willing to believe we are running so fast into the evil practices and customs of other places ; or so fond of imitating the fashionable follies and vices of any, even of those whom decency may perhaps require us to call *our betters*, as some would insinuate that we are ; and from hence prognosticate our destruction. No : I will not believe but that we fear God, reverence the memory of our fore-fathers, love our country and ourselves, more than to do thus ; and that God will still give us to see the good of his chosen.

But long custom requires that, upon this occasion, I apply myself more particularly to our honoured Rulers ; or, at least, custom will screen me from the imputation of presumption in doing it. To you, therefore, the Legislators and political Fathers of the country, I would now, with all proper humility and deference, direct my discourse.

I would not, much honoured Fathers, willingly go beyond my line in any respect. But surely I should forget the proper duty of my station, if I did not embrace the opportunity which this day affords me, to beseech you, as you fear God, whose ministers you are ; as you love the country, whose welfare depends upon you ; as you regard that good name, which is as *precious ointment*, and *rather to be chosen than great riches* ; as you have any  
concern



concern for posterity, even your own ; as you would enjoy the blessed peace of a good conscience, in life and death ; and, in fine, as you would be found of our common judge in peace, in the day of his appearing ; if I did not beseech and exhort you, by all these motives, to be faithful in the discharge of that trust which is devolved upon you by God and man ; to let no unworthy views influence your conduct ; but in all things to consult and prosecute the public good. You are very sensible, my Fathers, that this is your indispensable duty. Your God, your king, your country, all expect this of you. Nor could you answer it to either of them ; no, not even to yourselves, should you neglect it. It is, I trust from a sense of duty to God, in whose name I am now called to speak, and from an affectionate concern for the welfare of my dear native country, not from a vain affectation of putting on the monitor towards my superiors, that I use this freedom of speech, and such importunity. And if it serves, in any measure, by the blessing of God, to awaken your zeal for His honour, and for the prosperity of this people, the intent of it is answered.

There is but little probability, that those who fear not God, will much regard man ; or that they who have not an habitual sense of His authority over themselves, will exercise that which he has given them over others, as they ought to do. Be pleased, therefore, al-  
ways

ways to bear in mind that glorious Being, who is ever with you: who spake all worlds into existence; whose power sustains and governs all things; in whose presence no seraph is unveiled; at whose frown, apostate spirits tremble; before whom, all “the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing:” Whose eyes ever view, and whose eyelids try the children of men: That righteous Lord who loveth righteousness;” and under whose administration, all men shall at last find their account in an upright conduct, and in that alone. While you have a just sense of these things upon your minds, you will pursue no unworthy ends: You will have the interest of the public at heart: You will be inquisitive about the best measures of promoting it; and “attend continually upon this very thing.”

It is an important branch of the legislature for the ensuing year, that is this day to be chosen; a branch of great honour, weight and influence in the government. Besides the known part which the gentlemen of that honourable board, will have to act in a legislative capacity; they will have another, which demands, at least, equal wisdom, equal uprightness, equal fortitude; and that of “freely giving advice, at all times, to the Governor, for the good management of public affairs of the government;” according to the form of their oath. The world does not abound with persons, in whom all those qualities concur, which



which render them fit for advisers and counsellors, even in matters of far less moment. But superior wisdom and discretion ; a good knowledge of the nature of government in general ; of the British in particular ; of our charter rights, and this provincial constitution ; a thorough acquaintance with the circumstances of the province, and with its true interests ; a generous and public spirit ; great honesty and intrepidity, such as will not waver with every gale of popular breath, or any other breath ; these surely are the qualities, which are naturally expected to be found, in all who have a seat at that respectable board. Should there be ever seen hereafter, (a supposition which I do not make without great reluctance ; but should there ever be seen hereafter) at the council board, a person of a low capacity, of little knowledge and discretion ; one, almost ignorant of the laws, government, and circumstances, even of his own country ; one, of a narrow, selfish, avaritious turn ; one, of little integrity and little fortitude ; one, afraid to disclose his mind, when advice is to be given, “ freely for the good management of the public affairs ;” should such a one be ever seen hereafter at that board ; this, surely would not seem very agreeable to its known stile and character of *honourable*. And all who are concerned in the approaching election, will regard those qualities which tend to support and justify that title ; exercising a care proportionate to the importance and dignity of such

such a trust : I mean they will do so, provided they are actuated in this affair, by such principles as become men and Christians ; the principles of fidelity to God, and love to the country. Taking it for granted therefore, that these are the principles which will govern in the ensuing choice, in opposition to those of party, personal friendships, and personal enmities ; and to all private interest ; taking this for granted, I say, I would now beg leave, honoured Fathers, to mention some other things that may possibly deserve consideration ; though with great submission and deference, knowing that to prescribe, is not my province.

It may be worth considering, whether we have not some laws in force, hardly reconcileable with that religious liberty which we profess ; and which the Royal charter expressly requires should be preserved inviolate. A neighbouring colony, we know, has lately been reprimanded on account of some laws of a persecuting aspect. And whether some of our own, are of a genius and complexion sufficiently abhorrent from the same spirit, is not, perhaps, unworthy the consideration of the legislature.

The state of our College can never be forgotten, nor enough lamented, by those who wish to see learning duly honoured, and in a flourishing condition. Indeed of literature and the muses chiefly haunted where poverty resides—But this a thread-bare topic.—Long live  
live



live the names of our venerable fore-fathers, who did so much for the promotion of liberal science, in the infant state of the country! Long, the names of all the generous, benefactors to this seminary of learning! Long, the names of HARVARD, STOUGHTON, HOLLIS, BERKELEY!

The want of some act effectually to settle claims and quiet possessions, especially in the frontiers of the Province, which is much complained of by many: Not merely, as what renders private property too precarious; but also as what is prejudicial to the public, in more respects than one.

There is such a spirit in some respects, now appearing, and growing amongst us, as being duly encouraged by the legislature, cannot, with the ordinary blessing of providence, but be of happy consequence. We are grown pretty sensible of the importance of improving our lands, better than formerly; that so we may not be beholden for our daily bread, unless it is to him, to whom we pray for it. It is not improbable, from the late experiments of some public spirited Gentlemen, that we might have a valuable staple, by means of that fruit which delights so much in our soil; as well as greatly lessen the importation of foreign liquors. Something considerable has, of late, been done towards the establishing of useful manufactures among us: None of which, it is to be hoped, will fall through and miscarry, for want of proper encouragement from the



government. The fishery now of late projected, and carried on, from this Capital, cannot fail to be of great advantage to it, in the low and declining state of its commerce; and, indeed, to the whole province; at least as long as the mortifying religion of lent, is upheld in foreign countries.——

To these Things, which have a favourable aspect, may be added the zeal shown by many, for the introduction of foreign Protestants\*. It is large importations of this sort, not of other European commodities, that has made one of our British provinces rich and populous, in the course of a few years; so that, of an inconsiderable settlement, it now vies with the greatest and most opulent. And that which may, perhaps, render it the more expedient thus to increase our numbers, is the probability that we shall, before long, have other employment than agriculture, and the blessed arts of peace, for many of our own people: I mean,

\* Though the Province alluded to, has in fact been made both populous and rich, by the introduction of foreigners; yet it is apprehended, that some inconveniencies may arise hereafter, if they have not arisen already, for want of due precaution in the distribution of them, &c. Which inconveniencies will, doubtless, be guarded against, by any others of our British Colonies and Plantations, which shall bring in great numbers of such Settlers; this not being impracticable, though there may be some difficulty attending it. And although it should be thought, that the *Germans* in *Pensylvania*, however they had been disposed of, and whatever precautions had been taken with regard to them, are too numerous in proportion to the other Inhabitants; yet the Province of the *Massachusetts* is already so populous with *English*, that there seems not to be the least, or most remote, danger here, of too large importations of this nature.



mean, in curbing and chastizing the insolence of our neighbours on the Continent; neighbours, whose perfidy renders them a more formidable enemy even in peace, than either their number or bravery in war.

It is not a little surprizing to many persons abroad, that this government has been at no greater expence, and taken no more pains, to civilize the natives of the country; and to propagate amongst them the glorious Gospel of our Redeemer: Especially considering one professed design of our fore-fathers in coming hither, our own high pretensions to religion, and our own interest. Indeed there is some reason to fear, that even the donations of persons abroad, and entrusted with others here, in America, for carrying on so pious and good a design, have not always been applied with that care, impartiality and faithfulness, which might have been justly expected. But this not being a matter wherein the government is immediately concerned, I shall say no more of it: And some will, perhaps, think that even this is too much.

It is to be hoped that You, our honoured Rulers, will not neglect any means that are proper to be used by the government, to humanize and christianize these poor Savages. Charity requires this, and requires it the more, because they will, otherwise, be in great danger of apostatizing from their natural paganism and barbarity, into that which is worse, the

religion of Rome ; a religion, calculated rather to make men wicked, than to keep them from being so, or to reform them after they are become so. We know the great pains, and various artifices, that are used by the Romish missionaries, to convert them to this wicked religion. Nor can one well help calling to mind here, the words of our blessed Saviour :  
 “ Woe unto you ;— for ye compass sea and  
 “ land to make one proselyte ; and when he  
 “ is made, ye make him two-fold more the  
 “ child of hell, &c.”

But, as it was intimated before, were compassion to the souls of these miserable pagans wholly out of the case, even policy requires us to bring them, if possible, to embrace the protestant faith. This would be one great means, amongst others not so proper to be mentioned in this place, of attaching them to the British interest : Whereas they will, otherwise, probably be our enemies. And what sort of enemies we are to expect in them, is no hard matter to conjecture, since the great duties which the Missionaries of Rome inculcate upon their savage converts, are those of butchering and scalping Protestants : Generous enemies, doubtless, when their native ferocity is whetted and improved by a religion, that naturally delights in blood and murder !

That which seems, at present, chiefly to engage the attention of the public, is the British settlements on the Continent being now, in a manner, encompassed by the French.

And



And this is a matter of much more serious importance that it would be, were it not for the numerous tribes of warlike natives on our back ; who, it is to be feared, are more generally disposed to fall in with that interest, than with ours. The principal reason of which is, doubtless, this : That our politic neighbours take much more pains to gain them over, than our colonies have hitherto done. Nor can it be thought a thing of less importance for us, by all means that are lawful and practicable, to secure the friendship of the one, than it is to put a stop to the encroachments of the other. Indeed, whoever has the friendship of most, or all, of these natives, may probably, in time, become masters of this part of the Continent. Whether we, or they who are now making such a resolute push for it, Heaven knows \*?

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\* *Query*, Whether, if the *Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts*, was well acquainted with the state of religion in these parts of *America*, Gentlemen of so great piety, charity, and loyalty, would not rather send Missionaries among the Savages ; (by which they might, at once, both enlarge the Kingdom of Christ, and increase the number of his Majesty's friends and subjects) than continue to support missions *here* ; where the people are already christianized ; and also well able to maintain their own Clergy ? Some have suggested, that the Gentlemen of the worthy and honourable Society mentioned, are not unacquainted with these circumstances. But is not this supposition very injurious ? For if that is really the case, we must necessarily conclude they wretchedly pervert the design of the Charities intrusted with them ; and that their great aim in supporting these missions, is not the converting of Heathens to Christianity ; but the converting of Christians of *other protestant denominations*, to the faith of *the church of England* : An imputation, so irreconcilable with their known probity, honour and catholicism, that it can never be believed ; and which must certainly bring shame upon the authors of it, in the end !



The warlike preparations that are made and making, in our southern colonies, prove that they are not unapprehensive of what may be the consequence of those quick advances and gigantic strides, which the French are making towards us; the consequence of the strict alliances they are forming with those Indians who are already our enemies; of their endeavours to secure such as are yet neuters; and of their practices, and many artifices, to corrupt those who are in amity with us. We, surely, who have always distinguished ourselves by a jealousy of our rights; by our loyalty; and our zeal for the common interest of his Majesty's dominions on the Continent; We, surely, shall not be inattentive to these commotions, nor inactive when the general good, yea, the very being, of all these colonies is threatened. Shall not be inattentive and inactive, did I say? We are not, we cannot be. We see from the late conduct of our neighbours, from their recent encroachments, and unprovoked hostilities, (unless to breath on our own territories be a provocation to such men) we see from these things, in what manner all controversies about bounds and limits, are to be settled; how very amicably! Punic faith! unless perhaps, Gallic is become sufficiently proverbial. No one that is not an absolute stranger to their ambition, to their policy, to their injustice, to their perfidiousness, can be in any doubt what they aspire at.

And,



And, indeed, the progress they have made in a short time, might seem strange, were it not for their union amongst themselves, and for the nature of their government. The slaves are content to starve at home, in order to injure freemen abroad, and to extend their territories by violence and usurpation. Their late conduct may well alarm us; especially considering our disunion, or at least want of a sufficient bond of union, amongst ourselves: An inconvenience, which, it is to be hoped, we shall not always labour under. And whenever all our scattered rays shall be drawn to a point and proper focus, they can scarce fail to consume and burn up these enemies of our peace, how faintly soever they may strike at present. What UNION can do, we need only look towards those Provinces, which are distinguished by the name of the UNITED, to know. But in the mean time, each government that considers its own true interest, will undoubtedly concur in such measures as are necessary and practicable, for the common safety.

Our present situation, my Fathers, calls to mind that of the tribes of *Israel*, surrounded and harassed by their common enemies, at a time when they were under no common direction. Then it was that “*Judah* said unto *Simeon* his brother, come up with me into my lot, that we may fight against the Canaanites; and I also will go up with thee into thy lot; so *Simeon* went with him.” Though peace is very desirable,  
upon



upon just and honourable terms, yet we know very well, that God's antient people were not wont to be frightened out of their possessions ; nor patiently to endure the incursions and ravages of their neighbours. And I am sure there is not a true New-England-Man, whose heart is not already engaged in this contest ; and whose purse, and his arm also, if need be, is not ready to be employed in it ; in a cause, so just in the sight of God and man ; a cause so necessary for our own self-defence ; a cause whereby our liberties, our religion, our lives, our bodies, our souls, are all so nearly concerned. We have, indeed, of late done something to secure ourselves, and are doing more. We have *put our hand to the plough* ; and he that *looks back*, is so far from being worthy the privileges of a *citizen of Heaven*, that he is not worthy to enjoy the rights of an *Englishman*.

We are morally sure from the steps which our neighbours are taking, that there must, sooner or later, be some great turn of affairs upon this Continent, which will put it out of our power, or out of their's, to dispute about boundaries : We have heard their threats, and insolent menaces ; we have seen their more insolent behaviour. And what a turn may be given to the affairs of Europe, should Heaven permit Gallic policy and perfidy to prevail here over English valour, I need not say, and even tremble to think ! We are peaceably extending our settlements upon our own territories ;  
they



they are extending their's beyond their own, by force of arms. We must meet at length; which cannot be without a violent concussion: And the time seems not to be far off. In short, their conduct must be very different from what it has all along been, especially of late, before we shall have any reason to think, that we can live in peace and good neighbourhood with them, how much soever we may desire it. The continent is not wide enough for us both; and they are resolved to have the whole.—The Court of *Versailles*, for extending the French dominions in America, hath ever adopted this maxim, *Divide & Impera*; and, in pursuing it, hath stuck at no measures of perfidy \*, or violence, for rooting out their neighbours.

And what horrid scene is this, which restless, roving fancy, or something of an higher nature, presents to me; and so chills my blood! Do I behold these territories of freedom, become the prey of arbitrary power? Do I see the motly armies of French and painted Savages, taking our fortresses, and erecting their own, even in our capital towns and cities! Do

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\* One flagrant instance of this, appears in the murderous manner of Capt. *Howe's* being killed, in the year 1750, at *Chiegnecto*, by a party of *Indians* in the interest, and under the direction, of the *French*, in presence of Monsieur *Le Corne*, their Commandant, when he was received by them under the protection of a *flag of truce*: For which outrage, no other cause can be assigned, than that he distinguished himself by his activity in the service of his King and Country, against the attempts of the *French* in those parts.



I behold them spreading desolation through the land! Do I see the slaves of *Lewis* with their Indian allies, dispossessing the free-born subjects of King GEORGE, of the inheritance received from their fore-fathers, and purchased by them at the expence of their ease, their treasure, their blood! To aggravate the indignity beyond human toleration, do I see this goodly patrimony ravished from them, by those who never knew what property was, except by seizing that of others for an insatiable Lord! Do I see christianity banished for popery! the bible, for the mass-book! the oracles of truth, for fabulous legends! Do I see the sacred Edifices erected here to the honour of the true God, and his Son, on the ruins of pagan superstition and idolatry; erected here, *where Satan's seat was*; do I see these sacred Edifices laid in ruins themselves! and others rising in their places, consecrated to the honour of saints and angels! Instead of a train of Christ's faithful, laborious ministers, do I behold an herd of lazy Monks, and Jesuits, and exorcists, and Inquisitors, and cowed, and uncowed impostors! Do I see a protestant, there, stealing a look at his bible, and being taken in the fact, punished like a felon! What indignity is yonder offered to the matrons! and here, to the virgins! Is it now a crime to reverence the hoary head! And is he alone happy, that taketh the little ones, and dasheth them against the stones! Do I see all liberty, property, religion, happiness, changed, or rather

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ther transubstantiated, into slavery, poverty, superstition, wretchedness! And, in fine, do I hear the miserable sufferers (those of them that survive) bitterly accusing the negligence of the public Guardians! and charging all their calamities, less upon the enemies, than upon the fathers of their country! O dishonest! profane! execrable sight! O piercing sound! that *entereth into the ears of the Lord of Sabbath!* Where! in what region! in what world am I! Is this imagination? (its own busy tormentor) Or is it something more divine? I will not, I cannot believe 'tis prophetic vision; or that God has so far abandoned us!

And how different a scene is now opening upon me, with clearer indications of truth and reality! There, insolence and injustice punished! Here, “the meek inheriting the earth!” Liberty victorious! Slavery biting her own chain! Pride brought down! Virtue exalted! Christianity triumphing over imposture! And another Great Britain rising in America! But I must not declare the whole—*The Lord God omnipotent reigneth! just and true are all thy ways, O thou king of saints. And them that walk in pride, thou art able to abase!* “What has pride profited! Or what good hath vaunting brought you,” ye restless disturbers of our peace! What good, your masses? your relicks? your crossings? your Ave Maria's? *And to which of your saints will you now turn!*



But we are not, my honoured Fathers, to presume on God's protection, much less, on his giving us any signal advantages over them that are ever either planning or executing mischief against us, without using the proper means for obtaining that protection, and these advantages. As the apostle said to the mariners, after assuring them of deliverance from the impending danger, "except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved;" so it may be said to our British colonies, Ye cannot be saved from the storm you are now threatened with, yea, which is already begun, except ye are at union amongst yourselves; and exert your strength together, for your common interest. Upon this condition, you are safe, even without a miracle: otherwise, nothing short of one can save you. And can you, without the utmost indignation, think of becoming a prey to those who are so much inferior to you in all respects, meerly for want of unanimity, public spirit, the manly resolution of your fore-fathers, and a little expence!

It is not, may it please your Excellency, (for to you, Sir, I must now beg leave more particularly to direct my discourse; It is not) one of the least felicities of this province, to have at the Head of it, a gentleman so well acquainted with its true interest, so capable of serving it, and so heartily disposed to do it, as we have reason to think your Excellency is. We have had experience of your warm zeal for his Majesty's service, and for the welfare of  
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this his most loyal province. In the long war during your administration, had all concerned been, I will not presume to say, equally faithful; but, equally successful, neither the European, nor the American Dunkirk, would probably have been a port and fortification at this day; or, which is still better, they might have been in other hands than they are at present. However we, in some measure, reap the happy fruits of your subjecting the latter of them to the British crown, in the change of our medium; and are likely, by God's blessing, to reap them in much greater perfection hereafter, when time has matured them.

The zeal which your Excellency has lately shown with relation to the encroachments and hostilities of our bad neighbours, gives us assurance, Sir, that nothing will be wanting, on your part, towards their meeting with timely and effectual opposition. And the ready concurrence of the other branches of the legislature, with what you was pleased to propose to the last General Assembly, at once shows the confidence that is placed in you, and renders it probable, at least, that no necessary supplies will be wanting hereafter, in order to prosecute designs of this nature; whether of erecting fortresses for our own security, or of demolishing in season, those of our injurious and trespassing neighbours. *Crown-Point, Crown-Point*, will surely be a lasting Monument of the danger of delays in such Cases!

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It is upon your Excellency, under God and the King, that we chiefly depend for protection and happiness. We are sensible how much you have the union of these colonies at heart. Nor can we, without an implicit taxing of your former administration, which we would be far from doing, doubt but that, for the future, you will use all your power and influence for the good of this province in particular; and of all His Majesty's dominions on this Continent in general. You will never forget, Sir, whose minister you are; what God, the King, and this people, reasonably expect from You, considering the paternal relation in which you stand towards us.

In some respects we have peculiar need of a faithful and skilful pilot at this time. By the looks of the clouds, we are to expect bad weather; such as will require an experienced and resolute mariner to carry us safely and happily through it. But if that which has the appearance of a long and violent storm gathering, or rather actually breaking upon us, should soon blow over, and leave us a clear sky; yet even when the Heavens are serene, and the gale prosperous, it demands at least an upright heart, (such a one as we trust your Excellency is possessed of) to keep the state in the right channel, and steer her to her true felicity.

And as we are confident, Sir, you will in all things do the duty of a good Governor towards us; so it is to be hoped, that Your public  
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lic services will never meet with an ungrateful return from us. But I may venture, at least, to assure your Excellency, that none of your good deeds shall be forgotten by our common Master in Heaven. He, whose providence has put you into this place of honour and trust, will surely recompence all the diligence and fidelity which you have shown in it already, or shall show hereafter, *at the resurrection of the just*. Nor can we wish you, Sir, any greater felicity, than that You may, in every respect, discharge this important trust in such a manner, as to have His approbation at the last ; and to be accounted a *good and faithful servant*.

I could not, with propriety, and in due consistency with the established form of our government, apply myself particularly to his Majesty's Council for the present political year, now expiring, unless it were with relation to the new Election this afternoon, wherein they are to bear a part. But having nothing to add upon that subject, to what has been said already, to them in common with others concerned ; it is humbly hoped, that the omission of a particular address to that honourable Board, will not be imputed even to forgetfulness, much less, to any disrespect.

The honourable House of Representatives, at the command of whose predecessors it is, that I appear in this place, will indulge me in a short application to them.

As

As You, honoured Gentlemen, are delegated immediately by the good people of the Province, to represent, and act for, them; You are, if possible, under a nearer and stricter obligation, to regard their welfare, than the other branches of the legislature. You are more particularly the guardians of their rights and privileges. It is, therefore, to be presumed, that you will always be zealous to maintain them; and not only so, but, in all things, studious of their real and best interest. Private, personal interest, You are very sensible, has nothing to do in the supreme Court of the province. You are not deputed hereto by your constituents, Gentlemen, that you may prosecute your particular interests, or the interests of others, any farther than they coincide with the common good, and are involved in it. Nor can you be at any loss, what ought to be done to the vile, mercenary tongue, that should toil; what to the guilty hand, that *right hand of falshood*, which should either be lifted up, or kept down, to serve the particular ends of any man or party whatever, to the detriment of the public! Such things are indeed, almost too infamous and horrid, to be supposed possible, in a Christian country. But alas! it is a degenerate world, if not a corrupt age of it, that we live in! —

However, it were very injurious to suspect, honoured Gentlemen, but that You are all assembled here, from different parts of the  
land,



land, with upright views, and an ardent love for your country. And if You mean to serve the public, as doubtless you do, you will always *study the things that make for peace*, both amongst yourselves, and with the other branches of the legislature : For it is by these things only, that the commonwealth is *edified*: Not, surely, by party disputes and factions; not by indulged animosities, and studied oppositions ; which greatly dishonour and weaken any government; and have both their origin and end in evil. They who promote and foment them, have always something else in view, than what they would be thought to have, the public good. This is, indeed, always the pretence ; but private pique, or private interest, or a general temper and turn to wrangling, is at the bottom. It is, usually at least, the pursuit of separate, distinct interests, and a want of public spirit, that is the source of party and contentions in any state. When all are united heartily in the main end, having nothing so much in view, as the good of the public ; party names, distinctions, and disputes, vanish of course ; and that unanimity and harmony take place, which give both beauty and strength to government ; and without which, the public affairs cannot be carried on, to advantage. A public spirit, is a spirit of union ; and union is the source of public happiness : And public happiness is the great end which you should have in view.

As you, honoured Gentlemen, have a distinct part in the legislature, nothing considerable can be done without You, for the public good ; and I may add, or contrary to it : Though I am far from thinking, that this is designed by any. God forbid ! But the granting of monies, a thing of the utmost importance, lies more immediately with *You*. And though you will always have a tender concern for the interest of your respective constituents, yet You will have a greater, for the good of the whole Province ; to be sure, for the common interest of his Majesty's dominions on this Continent. Nor will You be over thrifty, when *that* calls for liberality. And this will probably be the case before it is long, if it is not actually so already.

I speak now with particular reference to the necessary defence of this, and all these colonies, against those who are making inroads upon us ; and who have, even within the space of a few weeks, had the hardiness to commit such hostilities as are not to be endured, unless we are determined to sit down in inglorious ease, and patiently to look on, while our trade with the natives is ravished from us ; our fortresses taken ; our friends and brethren, captivated, butchered, scalped ; our fields, laid waste ; our territories, possessed by those that hate us ; and the British interest on the Continent brought to nothing. Peace is a great blessing ; peace is what we  
would



would chuse ; peace is the desire of all who deserve the name of Christians. But shall the trumpet sleep ? Shall the sword rust ? Shall our gold and silver lie cankering in our coffers ? Shall our military garments be moth-eaten for want of use, when such things are doing ! It is impossible, Gentlemen, you should be any ways backward, or parsimonious, in such a cause as this ; a cause wherein the glory of God, the honour of your King, and the good of your country, are so deeply concerned ; I might perhaps add, a cause, whereon the liberties of Europe depend. For of so great consequence is the empire of North America, (and that, you are sensible, is the thing now aimed at by our neighbours) that it must turn the scale of power greatly in favour of the only Monarch, from whom those liberties are in danger ; and against that Prince, who is the grand support and bulwark of them. Consider then, Gentlemen, in the name of God, consider, what you owe Him, and to your holy religion ; what, to the protestant interest in general ; what, to your King and to Great Britain, in particular ; what, to your native country ; what, to the honour of your Ancestors ; what, to the present generation ; what, to future ones ; what, to yourselves ; and what, to those whom the God of nature has made dearer to you than yourselves, your children. It is even uncertain, Gentlemen, how long you will have an *House* to sit in, unless a speedy

and vigorous opposition is made to the present encroachments, and to the farther designs, of our enemies! This, surely, is not a time to be saving, unless in our private expences.

And while I am speaking of grants for the common good, I cannot but just add, That neither the honour of the Province can be promoted, at present, nor its true interest, in the end, by great parsimony towards those who serve the public in a public capacity; and receive salaries from it. There is another thing which I would beg leave to hint at here. So far, honoured Gentlemen, as fixing the proportion which the different parts of the Community are respectively to bear in the public Expences, lies with You; You will doubtless be far from desiring, that any particular part, should bear a greater proportion than is just and equal; being regulated by its ability and circumstances relatively considered. You are too religious, just and impartial to desire this\*.

In fine, honoured Gentlemen, I persuade myself, that you will, in all your debates and consultations, in all you do in your political, as well as private capacity, remember you are to  
give

\* A certain part of this Community (which surely there is no need of mentioning!) has fallen under such great decays and difficulties of late, through that same Providence, which has been smiling upon the other parts of the Province; that I verily believe righteous Heaven will be justly and greatly provoked, unless some pity and relief is afforded to it. Poor BOSTON! once the Glory of British America, What art thou coming to! What, rather, art thou come to already!—



give an account of yourselves to the all-knowing, all-just, and impartial Judge of the world. And if you keep this most solemn and awful truth uppermost in your minds, it will be almost impossible for you to do amiss. You will then act, in all respects, with such a disinterested view to the common good of your country ; with such unblemished, irreproachable integrity, as will be both acceptable to God your Saviour, and to those for whom you act ; with such prudence and fidelity, at least, as will afford no handle to persons of captious tempers, and licentious tongues, under the pretext of blaming *former Houses*, to couch a real and just sarcasm on the *present*.

If any thing has been said in this discourse, not sufficiently conformable to the usual stile of the pulpit ; if, any thing that approaches too near to politicks ; if the discourse has not been enough confined to matters altogether spiritual ; if our temporal and worldly concerns have been too long dwelt upon ; in fine, if there has been any greater liberty of speech used ; if, any greater pathos of expression, than becomes an English subject, a lover of his country, and a protestant Minister, upon such an occasion, and at such a juncture, as the present ; if this is the case, as perhaps it is, the great candor of the audience is humbly relied on, to make the *most favourable apology*, that the nature of the thing will admit of, for him that has thus transgressed. And *that*  
will

will be, at least, as good a one, as any he could make for himself, should he attempt one. But an apology would certainly be necessary in *another* respect, were this discourse protracted to a much greater length. My Reverend fathers and brethren in the ministry, will therefore readily excuse me, if I do not honour myself by a particular address to them, as is customary upon these occasions: Though the subject I have been upon, is very applicable, not only to civil Rulers; but also to those whom our blessed Lord has *counted faithful, putting them into the ministry.*

However, I cannot conclude without just reminding this great assembly, That all men have certain talents committed to them, for which they are accountable to him that gave them. The least and lowest of us need not live without honouring God, in some way or other, and being, in a degree, serviceable to the world. Nor shall any one that is faithful to his trust, lose his reward; though he is so far from being in a capacity to do great and extensive good in his generation, that he can only “give a cup of cold water to a disciple  
 “in the name of a disciple.” For “if there  
 “be first a willing mind, it is accepted accord-  
 “ing to that a man hath, and not according  
 “to that he hath not.” “As we have many  
 “members in one body, and all members have  
 “not the same office; so we, being many,  
 “are one body in Christ, and members one of  
 another.



“ another. Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether ministry, let us wait on our ministry; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation; he that giveth, let him do it in simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence:” And, in all of us, let love be without dissimulation,” while we “ abhor that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good.” Thus, through faith, and patience in well-doing, shall we at length “ inherit the promises :” for “ he is faithful that has promised.”

We must unavoidably concern ourselves, in some measure, about the things of this mortal life, so long as it shall please the Father of spirits to continue us in it. But our great interest lies in another region, far beyond the sphere and verge of mortality. And whosoever is faithful to the death, shall receive a crown of life, that fadeth not. There is nothing here, Men, Brethren and Fathers! there is nothing here, that can claim our highest love and affections. “ All that cometh is “ vanity.” Riches take to themselves wings; pleasures pall; “ favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain.” “ All things are full of change,” and in perpetual rotation. “ The fashion of the “ world passeth away;” and God alone is without *variableness*, and *shadow of turning*. Even all the kingdoms of the earth, though they had their foundations laid in iron and brass and adamant, must sooner or later, be dissolved;

dissolved ; and their place be no where found. All empire should be blotted out, except His, “ of whom, and through whom, and to “ whom, are all things.” All shall terminate in a *Monarchy*, truly *one* and *universal*. The kingdom of the glorious *Mediator*, shall first break in pieces, consume, and absorb all inferior ones. And when he shall have “ put “ down all rule, and all authority, and “ power, and subdued all things unto himself, “ then cometh the end,” when, as the scriptures inform us, even He shall no longer reign; but “ deliver up the kingdom to GOD, even “ the FATHER, that put all things under “ him ; that GOD may be ALL IN ALL.”

*T H E E N D.*

20 JY 64