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## REFORM OR RUIN:

## TAKE YOUR CHOICE!

IN WHICH
Cbe conomit of the naxy,
THE PARLIAMENT,
THE
MINISTRY,
THE OPPOSITION,
THE
NOBILITY AND GENTRY,
THE BISHOPS AND CLERGY,
ઉc. ઉc. छc.
IS CONSIDERED;
and
THAT REFORM POINTED OUT,
which
Alone can fave the Country.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. HATCHARF,
(From Mr. Payne's, the King'a Mew's Gate, )
no. 173, piccadilly, opposite burlington-housk;
(LATE MR. WHITESS.)
$\xrightarrow{7797}$.

## REFORM or RUIN:

## Take Your Choice.

IAM a freeborn Briton and an independent man; I have no place or penfion; never was at court, nor ever intend to go there. I know neither the minifters, nor thofe who oppofe them. I have a right to think and fpeak for myfelf, and will do fo; and I call upun all true Britons to hear what I have to fay, and then judge for themfelves.

This country has often been in great danger, but never in greater than now.

Thoufands of our countrymen have perifhed by the fword, and fill more by difeafe.

B
Millions

## (2)

Millions and millions of money have been fpent. Even our public credit, of which we boafted fo much, has been fhaken. Stocks never were lower. Our debt never was fo great. Our tars, of whom we were fo proud, have made our hearts ake. And fo have our fellow fubjects in Ireland.

I allow we have had great fuccefs. We have taken many finc iflands and colonies from our enemies. We have beat their fleets whenever we could find them; and taken or deftroyed half their navy. And what is very remarkable, fcarce a fhip of war of our's has been taken; and not one foot of Britifh land has been
their loft, in any part of the world.

I admit alfo, that our enemies are more diftreffed than we are. 'Fhat the French are the moft wretched people under the fun. Their king, their queen, and all the royal family, have either been put to death, or driven into foreign countries; and fo have their nobility, and the greateft and beft part of
their
have been f which we n. Stocks ver was fo e fo proud, o have our
s. We have es from our ts whenever or deftroyed ery remark. r's has been land has been French arc er the fun. tll the royal o death, or and fo have $\lambda$ beft part of their
their clergy. A vaft number of perfons of all ranks, men, women, and children, have been beheaded, fhot, drowned, flabbed and poifoned. Many have fled, and dare not return; and of thofe who remain, a great part have loft their property, and all the comforts and conveniences of life. Religion, law, order, and good government, feem at an end amongtt them.

In Spain, the cafe is not much better. Being divided into two parties, one betrayed the other to the French, who compelled them to declare war againft us; and the confequence is, they have been beat moft dreadfully, and if they dare, would cut the throats of all the Frenchmen in their country.

The Dutch are ftill worfe off. Their trade is deitroyed; their colonies are in our hands; the French have drained them of their moncy, their goods, and almoft every thing they had. And by French troops placed in all their frong towns, they are forced to fit out fhips to

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\mathrm{B}_{2} \quad \text { fight }
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fight againft us, when they had rather by half fight for us.

But what are we the better for all this? In fpite of the dreadful things that have happened to our enemies; in fpice of all the conquefts we have made, and the flips we have taken; what is our flate at this hour? We are threatened with invafions and infurrettions; we are loaded with debts and taxes; we are divided and weakened by parties; we are funk in gloom and defpair. And yet, that French fleet which was intended to invade us, was difperfed, and the object of the expedition compleatly defeated: a body of troops which actually landed, were inftantly taken prifoners. The acts paffed againft feditious meetings $s_{s}$ feemed to fupprefs them. The merchants and traders fupported our tottering credit. A plentiful harveft put an end to a want of corn, which came very near to a famine. And let any man travel from one end of the ifland to the other, with his eyes open and his ears flut, and he will fee every mark of plenty and pro-

## ( 5 )

profperity; every village flourilling and improving, and every field in a better flate, and producing more than it ever did before. But
this? In : happened conquefts tve taken; are threatis; we are re divided e funk in rat French de us, was expedition oops which n prifoners. $s$ meetingss rchants and credit. A ant of corn, e. And let he ifland to and his ears f plenty and pro- let him take the fame journey with his eyes fhut and ears open, and he will hear many perfons talk of nothing but grievances, and oppreffions, war, mutiny, and ruin.

Now what is the meaning of all this? How comes it to pafs, after all our wonderful efcapes, after all our glorious victories; in the midft of fo much plenty and feeming profperity; that we not only think ourfelves upon the brink of ruin, but perhaps really are fo? The anfwer is plain and fhort.-We are not reformed.-A thorough reform would fet all right, and reftore us to peace and happinefs. But what is that $r$ eform which will do this great good? To anfwer this queftion is my objctt in writing.-Some think, a reform in parliament will alone be fufficient; and that reform to confift only in the members being chofen in a different manner. Some are for leffening the power of the crown. Some for abolifhing tithes.
tithes. Some for making an immediate peace with France. Some (though they have not courage to fpeak out) are for eftablifhing a republic, on the French plan. All thefe, except ine laft, are paltry, partial reforms, which can do little good, and may do much mifchief. If every man in the kingdom had a vote for a member of parliament, what would be the conconfequence? Why each member would be chofen by a mob. And whom would a mob choofe? Why the man that made the loudeft fpeech, and the largeft promifes. And who would this be? Why he that having neither property nor character to lofe, was ready to fay any thing; in order to get into the houfe, in hopes of being paid for breaking every promife he had madc.

As to leffening the power of the crown, we have tried that already, and therefore can judge what the effect would be. Every body knows, that no man can govern ten millions of people, without fome power. And if he has not lawful power enough to govern them by ;
either
( 7 )
either he wont be able to govern them at all, and then there can be nothing but confufion and milchief; or elfe, he muft govern them by unlawful means. And I appeal to any man of common fenfe, whether it is not better, that a king fhould govern according to fixed and fettled laws, which are known to all the nation; than by undue influence, bribery, corruption, and the like?

But fay fome-reform the church, and abolifh tithes. I hope to fhew prefently how the church ought to be reformed; in the mean time I will only fay, that unlefs it $b e$ reformed, and fpeedily too, it is all over with us. But as to abolifhing tithes, I fear that wont anfwer; for I truft not in wrong and robbery. Befides, remember what the Devonfhire farmer faid at the meeting. He afked who were to have the tithes when they were taken from the parfons; and being told they would be the landlord's; then, faid he, I had rather they fhould bide as they be, for I can always deal better

## ( 8 )

better with the parfon, than I can with my landlord.

As for a republic on the French plan, we may excufe thofe who wifh for it, if they are rather thy on the fubject; becaufe if they were not, they might be in danger of a rope. For my part, I really do not wifh for it; 1 ft , becaufe (as I faid before) I have no faith in wrong and robbery, and a king has as good a right to his crown, as I have to my cottage. ${ }_{2} \mathrm{dly}$, the people here dont feem to like a republic. $3^{\mathrm{dly}}$, I never yet read of a republic that I fhould like to live under. And $4^{\text {thly }}$, one may buy gold too dear.

It was faid the French revolution would make the French nation free and happy. But it has now gone on for feven or eight years, and produced confufion, oppreffion, cruelty, poverty, all forts of mifchief and wickednefs, and no good whatever. And if we are all to have our throats cut, that our grandchildren

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may be free and happy; I think that is buying gold too dear.

I truft I have now fhewn that none of the above plans will anfwer our purpofe. Let us then try to find one that will. But that I may not be taken for a quack doctor; before I prefcribe the cure, let me try to find out the caufe, of our prefent unhappy fate. And in order fo to do, let us take a fhort view of all ranks of people in this ifland, and let us begin with the highelt.

Of the king, if I knew ever fo many bad things, I fhould be cautious how I mentioned them; becaufe I have no inclination to be hanged or tranfported. Bui, in truth, I know no harm of him. His private life every body fays is good. And, I think, his public conduct has been good alfo. He has been guilty of no cruelty or oppreffion that I know of. In the courle of his long reign, our liberty has been increafed and fecufed. He has encouraged arts and manufactures; and promoted learned

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\mathrm{C} \quad \text { and }
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and ingenious men. So that I believe we may fairly call him one of our very belt kings.

Having no more defire to fee the infide of Newgate, than to try the air of Botany Bay; I fhall be cautious in what I have to fay about the parliament. It has paffed many good laws. And though there have been fome Arong ones of late, I am afraid the times required them, and that our conftitution could not have been preferved without fuch.

I will however beg leave to afk two or three ihort queftions, and let thofe whom the cap fits, wear it.

When the law forbids bribery, can it be right to bribe?

When a man undertakes to act for others, can it be right to neglect his truft?

When acting for others, ought we to confider their intereft or our own?


As for the miniftry, I allow that they condueted affairs very well, till the war began. I allow too that we have had great fucceffes. But yet I am not convinced that things might not have been managed better and at lefs expence. I fhould however be more ready to blame minifters, if I were not fully convinced, that they have been prevented doing their beft, by the oppofition. And now my patience begins to fail me ; for what can be more provoking to any man who really loves his country; than to fee men pretending to love their country and to wifh to fave it; and yet, inftead ofdoing all in their power to help things forward, doing all in their power to hinder every meafure propofed; and at laft quitting their pofts, at the very moment, when (as they themfelve's allow) the country is in the utmoft danger poffible? And let any man read the fpeeches which have been put into the papers, as thofe of the heads of the oppofition; and confider the conduct of the Irifh, the feamen, \&c. and then fay, whether thofe fpecches did not occafion much of the mifchief which has happened?

## (12)

Look at the conduct of the nobility, and gentry in general (including the officers of the army and navy, and the higher claffes of law, phyfic, and commerce). Thank God, you will find among them fome excellent people; and in general they are willing to affift the poor, and not to opprefs them. But do not luxury, corruption, adultery, gaming, pride, vanity, idlenefs, extravagance, and difipation prevail too generally? Or are they diligently employed, as they ought to be, either in the fervice of their king and country, or in regulating their own families and their neighbours, in thofe places where their property lies?

Of the bifhops and clergy, I fhould be very forry to fay any thing that might leffen them in the eyes of the nation; for if we are to be preferved, it muft be by their means.

The bifhops are in general learned and good men, and much are we indebted to the king, for fetting fuch at the head of the church. They take more pains, and have more work to
,ility, and ers of the es of law, God, you it people; affift the ut do not ng, pride, diffipation diligently her in the in regulatabours, in ?
d be very ffen them are to be
land good the king, e church. e work to do,
do, than is commonly fuppofed. Yet if St. Paul were among them, I think he would work harder than any of them, and adopt fome ftronger meafures to bring back to their duty, fuch clergymen as have deferted it. For, (forry I am to fay it) though you will find many among the lower clergy who do their duty, and take carc of their flocks; yet you wilf find too many alfo, who negleet both, and fpend their time in public places; in dancing or card playing; or dangling at court or elfewhere, in hopes of preferment. If fuch believe in a day of reckoning; I can only fay, they have a fort of courage which I have not.

Among the lawyers, merchants, traders, farmers, and others engaged in bufinefs; we find many honeft, generous, and charitable men; and many difhoneft, profligate, or covetous charaters. But do we not find almoft all of them, as much engroffed by worldly bufinefs, or cares, or amufements, as if they were to live here for ever?

Laftly,

## ( 14 )

Loflly, look at the lower claffes. And though (after due allowance for their lotte infruction and few advantages) they are perhaps lefs guilty than thofe of higher rank; yet are they as honeft, fober, and induftrious, as they ought to be? Are they ready to obey thofe who have a right to command them? Do they fpend all they earn, in feeding and cloathing thenfelves and their wives and families? and do they earn all they can? Are the Sundays fpent at church, or at the alehoule? abroad, in bad company, or at home, with their families? Do they inftruet their children themfelves, or accept with hearty thanks, thofe inflructions which are provided for them by the bounty of their neighiours?

Having now turned our eyes on the various claffes of which this nation is compofed; can we be at a lofs to know what that reform is; which our cafe requires? furcly no. It is as plain, as plain can be, that the reform we want, and the only reform which can fave us, and which certainly will fave us if adopted in time; is,

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                                    15)
A thorough reform of principles AND PRACTICES, AMONG ALl RANKS OF PEOPLE THKOUGHOUT THE KINGDOM.
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Let the king and queen continue to fet an example of piety, regularity, fobricty, and conjugal fidelity to their children, their fervants, and all their fubjects. Let them drive from their councils, and their court, all adulterers and adultreffes; all gamblers; all, in fhort, whofe characters are notorioully bad, of either fex, and of every rank.

Let them avoid even innocent amufements, if liable to produce immorality among others; which, alas! is too often the cafe.
"Oh hard condition, twin-born with greatnefs!
" What infinite heart's eafe mufl kings neglect,
"That private men enjoy!"
I, can take my Sunday evening's walk; chat with my neighbours, and view the beauties of nature, and no harm done. But if my gracious fovereign could fee but a fmall part' of
the confufion, idlenefs, drunkennefs, difregard of the fabbath, and other incalculable ill effects, which are produced, not only in Windfor and Eton and the whole neighbourhood; but even in his capital itfelf, by his merely appearing on Windfor terrace; how gladly would he give up for the good of his people, that heartfelt fatisfaction which he has fo often felt, "from reading his hiftory in a nation's cycs."

Let every member of narliament, whether peer or commoner, reflect on the awful truft committed to his care, and attend diligently to the exccution of it. Not merely when a political difpute arifes, but conftantly and uniformly. Let no act receive its fiat, without a frict fcrutiny into its merits. Let them revife, curtail, and methodife the whole code of flatute law; whofe bulk and confution is fuch, that I fear we may almoft fay,

> " Mole ruit fuâ."

If but a fmall part of that time, and thofe talents, which are wafted in long-winded harangues,

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rangucs, and bitter difputations, were thus applied; our laws would acquire clearnefs, precifion, and vigour. The number, the length, and the expence of our fuits, would no more be the reproach of our nation. Imagination itfelf can hardly embrace the variety and the magnitude of the national benefits, which would be thereby produced.

Let thofe, to whom the adminiftration of the executive government is committed, learn by dear bought and fatal experience, that their own arm cannot fave them; and that human laws and human power can avail nothing, without found principles and pure morals; and let them therefore without delay, bend the whole force of their talents to the reformation of thefe.

As for thofe who from motives of perfonal ambition, advancement, or gain; from private pique, or party prejudice, or any other finifter motive whatever; are ready to facrifice the public good, to their private views; it is ded harangues,

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vain to wafte worde on them, their confciences mult be feared with a hot iron.

To thofe on whom Providence has beflowed rank, or honour, or wealth, or any other ufeful talent; and who have not quite forgot, who is the giver of all good gifts, I next addrefs myfelf: earneftly entreating them, to withdraw their minds for one moment from all other purfuits; and to confider their own fituation and that of their country, and of the furrounding nations. Where are now the rank, the honours, and the weallh of France; of Flanders, of Holland, and of Italy? And where mult thofe of Britain floortly be; if their polfeflors will neither take warning from the fate of others, nor from the judgments of heaven, juft ready to fall on their own heads? It is yet in their power to fave their country and their own fouls; but not a moment muft be loft. Let them inftantly quit the dice-box, the turf and the tavern; every wicked and every trifling employment; and repair each to his proper flation. Let them reform, firlt them.

## (19)

themfelves, their expences, their wives and children, their fervants and dependents; and then exert all their influence, as landlords, as magiftrates, as friends, and as neighbours ; encouraging and protecting the fober and induftrious; difcouraging and punifhing, with candour but with vigour, the lawlefs and profligate. Few of thofe to whom I am now fpeaking, are a ware how much mifchief they occafion, merely by being in a wrong place; or how much good they muft do, if they would only flay where their lot has fallen. It was the obfervadion of a man of much good fenfe and experience, "That if every gentleman would refide on his eftate, and every clergyman on his living, we fhould need no other reformation." Let thofe then who fly to towns and citics, to public places, or foreign countries, in fearch of paltry amufements; or under a falfe pretext, or at beft a miftaken notion, of repairing their fhattered fortunes; no longer think themfelves guiltlefs. Numberlefs are the ways in which their country is injured by their abfence. If refident at their family feats, their example, D 2 their
their influence, their fortune, every talent they poffefs, difpenfes bleffings on all around them. In any other place, they almoft unavoidably do milchief, by adding to the number of thofe, whom the vices of cities inevitably corrupt.

But if purer motives cannot prevail, let pride plead the caufe of patriotifm. It has been often faid, that an Englifh country gentleman is the firlt character in the world; and truly when we view him feated in the manfion of his anceftors; furrounded by his family, his relations, his fervants, his workmen, his tenants, and his neighbours; all in their due proportion partaking of his hofpitality and benevolence; "where fhall we find a more enviable object? But merely fhift the fcene, and place him in a dirty lodging, in one of the long and gloomy ftreets of the metropolis-where now are his honours, his influence, his refpectability? All vanifhed and gone. He becomes at once a mere cypher, without ufe or value. His next neighbour knows him not. And that income,

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(21)
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which before procured him and others fo much folid and fubftantial comfort, will barely fupply what are deemed the neceflary oruaments and amufements of life. Meautime, his fervants are tainted with the vices of the town; and it is well if the morals even of his wife and daughters are preferved uninjured. Their health certainly is not. Then the fea is orhas been entleman and truly on of his his relatenants, coportion volence ; e object? him in a 1 gloomy w are his ity? All at once a His next it income, which dered. A paltry lodging at Brighton fuccceds a paltry lodging in London. His manfionhoule is deferted in fummer as well as winter. Habits of indolence are acquired; pehaps habits of a worfe kind, if worfe can be: and he who was the fupport and ornament of a confiderable diftrict; the fond parent, the indulgent landlord, the hofpitable neighbour, the liberal benefactor, the refpected magiftrate, finks into ufelefs infignificance and contempt.

Abandoned by their owners, our villages might ftill have fome hope left; if they were not alfo abandoned by their paftors. By thole whofe bounden duty it is to take carc of them, and whofe breach of duty has this aggravation, that

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that not by defeent, (as in the former cafe), but by their own folemn acceptance, this duty attached. Far be it from me to fpeak difrefpeetfully of the clergy. I reverence their facred office. I look up to them as to the moft pious, the moft learned, and the moft ufeful clafs of all. As individuals, they mult of courfe vary; and while fome are ably and diligently performing their duty, others alas! notorioully neglect their's.

It has too long been the falfe and fhallow policy of irreligious and worldly minded minifters; to deprive the clergy of the exercife of thoie rights, which they received not from man; and which man therefore cannot take from them. It feems almoft forgotten in thefe days of novelty, when every thing ancient and venerable is defpiled; that Chriftians are a regular fociety, formed by Chrift himfelf, under rulers and officers appointed by him, with authority to appoint others to fucceed them. And thus our prefent bifhops and clergy derive their authority by regular fucceffion from him is duty $k$ difree their the molt uleful mult of bly and ers alas!
d Shallow ded minixercife of not from nnot take n in thele ncient and cans are a felf, under him, with ceed them. ergy derive n from him to

## 23 )

to whom all power was given: and who, if he had feen fit, could have invefted them with temporal authority alfo: but this he did not. On the contrary, he and his apoftles every where, in the moft explicit terms, enjoin all Chriftians to fubmit like others to their lawful governors. In temporal matters, therefore, our bifhops and clergy poffefs only fuch powers as are given them by the laws of this land. But in all fpiritual concerns they derive their authority from him, by whom kings reign; and are bound to exert it for the benefit of that body over which they are appointed.

With all poffible deference, I fubmit it to the confideration of our governors, both in church and ftate; whether any fociety can long flourifh, or even exift, without regulation and reform? and whether the church of England can form an exception to this rule? I earneftly entreat them to confider the prefent ftate of religion and morals in this kingdom. To confider how impoffible it is for human laws to coerce a people who have loft all fenfe

## (24)

of the divine law; who are no longer reftrained by the dictates of confcience; and who, confequently abflain from no crimes, but fuch as are prohibited by the law of the land; and from thofe only, when the danger of punifhmeut is fo apparent, as to overcome the force of corrupt paffions and pampered appetites. Whatever may be the refult of fuch an inquiry; it furely mull be admitted, that the enforcing the refidence of our parochial clergy, is indifpenfably requifite; that the times call for uncommon excrion in all; efpecially in thofe who have the care of our principles and our morals. Never did the powers of darknefs exert themfelves more, or with more fuccefs. Do other powers exert themfelves as much to counteract them? Treafon, fedition, and mutiny have appeared, and new laws have been made to prevent their growth; and we all feel, and moft of us acknowledge, that this was right and fit. But do not adultcry, gaming, fabbath breaking, neglect of public worfhip, and above all, luke warmnels and indifference about religion itfelf, prevail,

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vail, to a degree unknown in any former age? to a degree which feems to portend the eradicating Chriftianity in this quarter of the world? And where are the laws againft thefe? Shall I be told, that there are fuch already in our flatute books? The fame was faid as to the laws againft treafon and fedition; but by whom was it faid? Was it by thofe who wifhed to prevent fuch crimes? or thofe who, by their writings and fpeeches, had encourager them?

In the name therefore of that God who made us, of that Saviour who died to redcem us, and of that bleffed Spirit, who is ever ready to affift our weak but fincere endeavours; I call on every bifhop, prieft, and deacon, who has devoted himfelf to the fervice of God in the church of England; to lay afide every avocation, and inftantly to exert his utmoft powers, in the prefervation of our holy religion. So fhall he fave many fouls from death, an' ade a multitude of fins.

## E.

If

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If any lawyers, merchants, or others engaged in worldly bufinefs, can fpare time and thought for one ferious reflection, let that reflection be -how their account will fand at the day of judgment? How they will then anfwer, for having joined " night to day, and Sunday to the week," in adding fhilling to hilling, and guinea to guinea; inftead of purfuing their lawful calling in a lawful manner, and devoting to the fervice of God, that portion of their time and thoughts which he claims; and which claim (if they have a juft fenfe, either of their temporal or eternal intereft) they will never more refift.

I now wifh to addrefs my felf to all the inhabitants of this ifland, but chiefly to thofe of the lower clafs, as it is called. To thofe who have neither rank or riches; but mult earn their daily bread by their daily labour, You, my fellow countrymen, whether you know it or not, have fouls to be faved; and mult live for ever, in another world; and be there rewarded or punifined, as you have behaved tion be day of er, for crday to ing, and g their tevoting of their nd which r of their 11 ncver Ill the into thofe To thofe but mult ily labour, nether you faved; and rld; and be u have behaved
(27)
haved well or ill in this life. Even here, if you behave ill, you will fuffer for it; and if you behave well, God and good men will affift you. If you are idle, do you not want bread? If you are drunken, do not your wives and children fuffer? If you are difhoneft, do you not lofe your characters? If you are honeft, and contented, and diligent, do you not find you are happy? By being happy, I dont mean that you have every thing you want; or that you have no ficknefs or forrow. That is fuch happinefs, as does not fall to the lot of any body in this world. Whatever you may think, the king upon his throne has more cares and vexations, than you have. Many and many a night, when you are found alleep, he and his minifters are hard at work, for you, and me, and all of us. And the cafe is the farme with the great and learned. Some of them indeed, like fome of you, negle $C$ their bufinefs, and wafte their time in idlenefs and vice. But others work as hard or harder than you; and their work is of a worfe fort. Your's preferves your health, while their's defroys their

E 2 health

## ( 28 )

health and fhortens their lives. God has fo ordered it, that in this life, no man fhall be compleatly happy; but that molt men (let. their fituation be what it will) may be tolerably happy, if it be not their own fault: and every man may be compleatly happy for ever in another world; and the fame means which will make him happy in another world, will commonly make him comfortable in this.

Let us then inquire what thofe means are.They may be expreffed in two flort words BE GOOD.

God who made all things, has fo made them, that it is impoffible for a bad man to be happy. He has given us laws, and has promifed to reward us if we obey them, and to punifh us if we do not. He commands us to love and fear him; to pray to him; to believe in Jefus Chrift his fon; to honour and obey the king and all who are in authority under him; to fubmit to our mafters, and all lawful governors. To refpect God's minifters, his fabbath, and

## ( 39 )

his chureh. To pay all their dues, whether tithes, taxes, cufloms, or other things. To obey the laws of the country in which we live. To do to others as we would have them do to us. To love our neighbours. To affit them as often as it is in our power. To be honeft, fober, modef, and decent. To work diligently, in order to get pur living. To bear pa. tiently fuch misfortunes as befall us. To be thankful for fuch good things as we cujoy; for our health, and ftrength, and daily bread, and many other bleffings, which we are too apt not to confider as we ought. They are all the gifts of God, and ought to be received as fuch.

Now I would alk any fair man, if there is any thing hard or unreafonable in' all this? Or whether he is not convinced, that if we would obey thefe laws, we fhould be much happier than we are? For, forry I am to lay it, we do not obey them as we ought. Inftead of loving and fearing God, we feldom think of him. Inftead of praying to him every night and

## $30)$

morning; fome, I fear, never pray at all. Inficad of obeying the king and his magifrates and officers, how many lately have been guilty of :nfulting him and them! how many have joined in riotous mobs, and feditious clubs, and meetings! how many have held up their hands for rude, unmanly, and difloyal addreffes! in fhort, how many bave been the dupes of a fet of wretches, who have left no means untried, to ruin our church, our king, and our country, and make us flaves to the French!

Infead of rel? Ging God's minifters and ordinances, how many abufe the clergy, feldom go to church, and fpend God's day in doing their own hufinefs, or in jaunting about, or in getting drunk; though it is exprefsly ordered, that neither we, nor our fervants, nor our cattle, fhall work on that day; and that we fhall keep it holy. Intead of paying to all their dues; how many try to cheat the clergy of their tithes, and the king of his taxes; and buy fmuggled goods whenever they can meet
11. Ingiftrates in guilty ny have as clubs, up their oyal adbeen the e left no our king, es to the fters and y, feldom in doing out, or in ordered, , nor our d that we ing to all the clergy taxes ; and y can meet with

## ( $3^{1}$ )

with them? By thefe, and many fuch things, they fin at once againft the laws of God, and the laws of this land. Who is there that always does as he would be done by? that never fpeaks ill of his neighbour? that never tries to deceive, or defraud, or over-reach another? How common are drinking, lewdnefs, gambling, and above all, profane curfing and fwearing, which gives no pleafure to any man, and is fo offenfive to God? How many who are able to earn a comfortable living, will not work, but live in dirt and rags, wandering about the country begging and ftealing? How many never thank God for any thing, are never contented, but grumble and complain, even when nothing ails them, and they are not in want? And what makes all this the more unpardonable, is, that we are not funk in ignorance, as many nations have been. We have the Bible in our hánds, or at leaft in our houfes; and might read it if we would; and if we would read it, we could not fail to know our duty. But the truth is, moft of us know our duty, but wont do it. Is it any wonder then:

## ( $3^{2}$ )

then, that God who is juft, fhould punifl us for this? He has given us fuch good things as no other nation ever had; for I defy any man, so name any people, in any part of the world, in any period of time; that ever enjoyed fuch great bleflings and advantages, as we now do, or very lately did.

We have the frec excrcife of our religion, our perfons and property are alfo frec. We can go where we will and do what we will. And fo long as we do not injure others, nobody can injure us without being punilhable for it. We live in a land of plenty; and the pooreft perfon in it that is fober and frugal, eats better bread, and lives in a better habitation, than thole of higher rank in moft other countries. Shew me the land befides this, where the labourers ever eat white bread, or live in fuch comfortable cottages. Shew me any perfon in this ifland, who does not live better than his father did; unlels he is idle and profligate. We complain that bread, meat, and other things are dear, and fo they are; but what is the caufe of

## 33 )

inifh 115 lings ${ }^{3}$ any man, orld, in ch great or very
religion, ec. We we will. , nobody ole for it. e pooreft ats better than thole es. Shew labourers h comforon in this his father sate. We things are he caufe of it?
it ? Why that every body eate more of them than they ufed to do. If the poor lived on potatces, on vats, on ryc, on barley, or on rice; and eat no meat, (which is the cafe in the reft of the world), both bread and meat would foon be cheap. Not that I want them to live fo; by no means; I wifh they lived fill better than they do; but what I want is this; that they fhould not grumble and complain, when they are better off than any nation under heaven. Tliey would deferve all the wages they have, and more too, if they worked as hard by the day, as they do by the great; and if they carried all their money to their wives; but while they carry it to the alchoufe, more wages would be a curfe and no bleffing.

The conclufion of the whole is this. God has bleffed this country beyond all others. We have the beft religion, the beft form of government, and the moft plentiful land, of any people upon earth. But we have made F fuch

## ( 34 )

fuch a bad ufe of thefe bleffings, that we are in great danger of lofing them. We negleat God, his fervice, and his day. We call ourfelves Chriftians, but we hardly know what the word means. Few confider, that every man, who fays he is a Chriftian, fays as fol-lows:-I am the foldier and fervant of Jefus Chrift. I have renounced all fin and wickednefs, and all the vanities of this world. I have owned that I am a finner, and that I can only be faved by the merits and fufferings of Jefus Chrift ; and in order to receive the benefits of thefe, I muft repent of my fins; I muft believe in Jefus Chrift; and I muft do what he has commanded. His commands are contained in the gofpel; I muft therefore read that, in order to learn my duty; and when I have learned it, I muth ${ }^{2}$ ? faithfully and diligent-ly.-Oh my Countrymen! if we would do this, we fhould :be fafe and happy and profperous. God would make a hedge abouio us, and about all we have; and would defend us from all our enemies. We fhould no longer be divid-

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ed and weakened by parties and oppofitions; for we fhould be all of one mind; we fhould all fear God, and honour the King, and love one another; and who would dare to invade us? Why are we then fo blind to our intereft, as to reject peace and profperity, when we might fo eafily obtain them? If you love your country, if you love your wives or your children, if you love yourfelves; reform your conduct, before it be too late. The Judgments of God are in the world. They have fallen upon France, upon Flanders, upon Holland. They are ready to fall upon us. If we will not take warning, from all that has paft, and is now paffing, almoft at our doors; we have no excufe, and therefore no room to hope that we fhall efcape. But even if we could, what would it avail? The Day of Judgment muft come, when every one who has not repented and reformed, will be condemned to fuffer the torments of Hell for ever. What thofe torments are, we know not; and God grant we never may! but if there be any truth in the

## F2 word

## ( $3^{6}$ )

word of God itfelf, they are far greater, and more dreadful, than any thing man ever felt or can conceive.

Look down, O God of all mercy, on this Land. Open our eycs that we may fee thy Judgments hanging over our heads and ready to fall on us. Give us a juft fenfe of our guilt, and grace to amend our lives; and let our timely repentance make us fit objects of thy mercy, and prevent the deftruction of our Nation.

Blefs thy fervant our King, with long life and peace. Give true wifdom to all thofe who have any flare in the government of our country; that they may fee and know, that neither our own arm, nor our own devices can fave us; and may learn to look up to thee O God of hofts, for thine almighty aid.

Give a double portion of thy fpirit, to the Bifhops and Paftors of thy church; that they

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may devote themifelves entirely to thy fervice; boldly rebuke vice; and by their diligence and zeal, by the foundnefs of their doctrine and holinefs of their lives; may turn the hearts of this Nation, from the lufts of the flefh, the vanities of life, and the defire of earthly gain, to the knowledge and love of thee, and of the gofpel of thy fon.

Grant that thofe, to whom thou haft committed wealth, or power, or learning, or any other talent; may ever remember from whom they received them, and employ them for the good of all; that fo they may give in their account with joy at the laft day.

And finally we befeech thee, to make us humble and peaceable, fober and diligent, juft and merciful; pious towards thee our God; loyal to our King, obedient to our governors, refpettful to our fuperiors, and kind and affectionate to all men. That being protected by thy almighty power, we may pafs our time here

## ( $3^{8}$ )

in peace and comfort; and be made partakers hereafter, of eternal happinefs; through the merits and interceffion of our bleffed Lord and Saviour Jefus Chrift.-And let cvery true Briton fay,

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## POSTSCRIPT.

Should any one who has a fhare in the legiflature or government of this land, perufe thefe pages, let him refleet ferioully how he can anfwer to God and his Country; for fitting tamely by, without attempting to reprefs thofe grofs crimes, which, if fuffered to continue, muft bring us to deftruction. If he wants refolution, he is unfit for his ftation. Let him no longer fear the fcoffs of a few impious wretches; but uniting with other ferious and active men; and avoiding all heat and enthufiafm on the one hand, and all luke warmnefs and timidity on the other: let them confider what are the reigning vices, and what the proper remedies; and at leaft attempt to check them.

Adultery rages-and whilft our law gives large damages to the injured man, no atonement whatever is made to an injured God; nay both he and his law are infulted; for the adulterer and adulterefs are let go free, and are
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even allowed to enter into unholy wedlock. By the Jewifh law (which was the law of God) they were both to die. Under the pure Chriftian difpenfation, fhall they not only efcape, but be put on a level with the virtuous? Surely the woman at leaft, ought to be marked with fome perfonal infamy; and in no cafe be permitted to marry again.

Gamilig, though not perhaps fo direct an infult to God, is no lefs pernicious in its cffects. It feems to defy the exifing laws, and therefore calls for new ones.

Becaufe of fwearing the land mourneth. Swear not at all. Above all things, my brethren, fwear not.-Such are the ftrong expreffions of our facred code. How then can we hope to be excufed or pardoned, when we multiply oaths by cvery new law, till they are become almoft words of courfe; and have loft all that reverence, which was formerly annexed to them; and without which, they can only increafe our condemnation.

A Cuftom-

## $\left(4^{1}\right)$

A cufom-houle oath is already proverbial, and a tax oath is in great danger of becoming fo. Were no oath adminiftered but in a public court, by the judge himfelf, and with the utmoft poffible folemnity; it would imprefs both the witnefs and the audience with a juft fence of its awful nature. In all other cafes, the figning a declaration of the truth of the evidence given, and the juftnefs of the punifhment to be incurred if it prove falfe; would bc far more decent, and at leaft as effectual as the oath now adminiftered.

Remember the fabbath day to keep it holy. In it thou fhalt not do any work, thou, nor thy fon, nor thy daughter, thy man fervant, nor thy maid fervant, nor thy cattle. Whofoever doth any work on the fabbath day, he fhall furely be put to death. Such is God's law. But what is our practice? Look at our freets and roads; and fee them crowded, not merely with the carriages of the great; but with fages iull of travellers, and waggons loaded with goods. Surely when we are diftreffed for

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new taycs, a heavy Sunday toll might be laid throughout the ifland; to check at leaft if we will not prohibit, the grofs profanation of the Lord's day, that fertile fource of immorality. And if no public houles, excep: inns on great roads, were fuffered to be open on Sundays, it would prevent fome murders, many robberies, and infinite mifchief. ${ }^{1}$

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