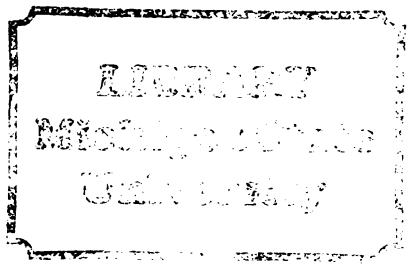

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ATTITUDES OF NEW ENGLAND CLERGYMEN TOWARD
MONARCHY 1715-1776

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FROM "CHRISTIAN PRINCE" TO "CONSTITUTIONAL KING" THE ATTITUDES OF NEW ENGLAND CLERGYMEN TO MONARCHY 1715 - 1776

By

Julie Kay Bennett

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ABSTRACT

FROM "CHRISTIAN PRINCE" TO "CONSTITUTIONAL KING"
THE ATTITUDES OF NEW ENGLAND CLERGYMEN TO MONARCHY
1715 - 1776

By

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During the first half of the seventeenth century, when England began to colonize North America, continuing controversy existed in the mother country over the role of the monarch. English Puritan thoughts on the subject naturally influenced the attitudes of those who settled New England. Developments over the next one hundred and fifty years would first cause an erosion and later a revival of early Puritan ideas on monarchy. In the end, in revived form, those early Puritan ideas would help to sustain the movement for Independence within the New England region. Based on selected sermons of the most active Congregational clergymen in the Boston area between 1715 and 1776 the change in attitudes toward monarchy can be determined. This change involved a shift in view from Christian Prince to Constitutional King and an accompanying change in the position of the people.

For Jim &

Bandit

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The quote's from primary sources have been reproduced as close to the original as possible; both in spelling and italiziation.

I

During the first half of the seventeenth century, when England began to colonize North America, continuing controversy existed in the mother country over the role of the monarch. English Puritan thoughts on the subject naturally influenced the attitudes of those who settled New England. Developments over the next one hundred and fifty years would first cause an erosion and then later a revival of early Puritan ideas on monarchy. In the end, in revived form, those early Puritan ideas would help to sustain the movement for Independence within the New England region.

According to Christopher Hill, "James I's theory of the Royal prerogative had much to command it in law, logic, and common sense."[1] Traditionally royalists argued that in times of trouble the King had absolute and unrestricted power "when excercising his right to do what was needful for the general welfare." This power was in addition to the King's ordinary power to make law, which he shared with Parliament. Royalists also linked the monarch to the family. Sir Robert Filmer, a staunch Royalist, truly believed in the "patriarchal theory of the state" and so could not accept Hobbes's social contract theory. For

Filmer it followed that because "the social contract was a myth; the contract had not been made, it never could have been made."[2]

While the royalists argued in favor of a natural father, to whom resistance was necessarily illegitimate, the Puritans advocated the contract theory. As Christopher Hill has remarked, Puritan "preachers taught a doctrine of spiritual equality; one good man was as good as another and better than a bad peer or bishop or king."[3] This, coupled with their belief in covenants, meant that Puritans were prepared to reject hierarchical theory, and regard the monarch not "as the head against which no part of the body can rebel" but as a person entrusted with authority that could be withdrawn if abused. The goal was to present a theory that placed control of the community into the hands of its members.[4]

According to Michael Walzer, Puritans conceptualized the monarchy as part of their image of the Ship of State. This image was established as early as 1615 by Thomas Adams, who had seen the world as "a sea and man a traveler encountering sea dangers;" and "heaven was the promised land." The ship (State) was built to care for the people with the captain (monarch) guiding its course. "The crew had signed on to or joined together and hired the captain to protect the ship. And if the captain acted in such a way as to harm the interests of his crew, they could depose him and act accordingly." The distinction between

the Anglican/Royalist understanding of the body politic and Puritan contractual theory was crucial because it meant the difference between the people's duty to obey a ruler and their right to depose him. Only by asserting that they were partners in the running of the "ship" could the people justify resistance to the "captain" who acted without concern for their welfare.[5]

This right of resistance was exactly what men like Milton, Lilburne, Goodwin, and Prynne maintained, in various forms; it also underlay the fatal conclusion of Puritan quarrels with Charles I. As their theory of the state deviated from tradition, so did their image of the family. The family moved "from the patriarchal to the conjugal," ridding itself of the authority that the extended family implied. This shift was needed to reinforce opposition to state hierarchy, for the people might not feel justified in ultimately opposing a monarch if they were still tied to him by natural feelings of submissiveness to a patriarch.[6]

Many of the people who left England and sailed for America carried with them ideas about the authority of rulers that had been advocated by dissenters in the mother country. In America, as in England, controversy arose over the powers of rulers, local as well as royal. One side upheld the discretionary powers of magistrates who, within scriptural limits, should be "free to govern the commonwealth as they saw fit."[7] In Massachusetts, one of

the strongest of such advocates was John Winthrop. In his "Speech To The General Court July 3, 1645," Winthrop argued for a "civil or federal, moral liberty" connected to the covenant with God. Because the magistrates' authority came from God, the people had to accept what they got in the skills of their magistrates. To achieve true liberty it was best to "quietly and cheerfully submit unto the authority" set over them.[8]

On the other hand, Winthrop's numerous opponents believed that "the citizens themselves had *delegated* prerogatives to their magistrates." They expected rulers to stay within the constitutional boundaries freemen might set. They also "favored an active political role for the citizens, while playing down the divine magisterial authority."[9] It was essential for the people to act to protect their rights and liberty, for they had come together willingly to form their society and government.

Over the century these attitudes would prevail, at the local level. Men like William Hubbard, Samuel Nowell, and Joseph Dudley built a structure of New England politics that included the theoretical character of a good ruler, whose duty it was "to protect private property," and a set of criteria by which the people could judge his actions. At the same time attitudes toward the English monarchy began to move in a different direction.[10]

In 1689, faithful to their earlier theory of resistance, Congregational (the descendants of Puritan

philosophy) leaders acted against the oppressive regime of Sir Edmund Andros. This controversy showed the willingness of Massachusetts's citizens to fight for the freedom they had developed under their original charter. Their reasons for resisting Andros were similar to those used in the mother country against James II, but after the troubles with Andros and the negotiations of a new Royal Charter in 1691 logic pointed to a reappraisal of the English monarchy as an Anglo-American institution. A small but influential group of congregational ministers in the Boston area, led by the Mathers, determined that they could protect their position in the colonies, both religiously and politically, only if the old covenant doctrine could be "dissociated from the self-government of the old charter and firmly attached to the Protestantism of the English crown."[11] This was the strategy the Massachusetts clergy carried into the eighteenth century, reinterpreting earlier positions of the Puritans to ensure their 'ecclesiastical security.'

The Congregational clergy in Massachusetts thus began to speak of the monarch as a Christian Prince, reminding him of his role to protect the people, their rights and their religion. By speaking of the monarch as Father and Protector of the people, Congregational clergymen after the turn of the century abandoned themes associated with the image of the ship of state. Curiously, their new themes were much closer to those of the Royalists or

Anglicans who had celebrated the body politic and family state, because of their concern for their ecclesiastical position.

In the period from the accession of George I in 1714 through mid-century, the theme of the Christian Prince was prominent in the sermons of Boston's Congregational clergymen. During these years Boston clergymen spoke of the monarch as a Minister of God, as Defender of the Faith and Constitution, and as Patriarch to the people. It was also in the self-interest of the Congregationalists to remind the Hanovers of their responsibilities to their loyal subjects in New England.

II

In defending monarchy and thereby gaining support of the Hanovers for New England's compromise with the charter of 1691, Boston's clergymen speculated on the origins of royal authority much as the Anglicans had. The person placed on the throne was considered unique because he was chosen, not by the people, but by God, as Old Testament rulers had been. Boston clergymen emphasized this special "divine" position of the monarch from the time George I took the throne. Benjamin Colman was minister of Boston's prestigious Brattle Street Church during the controversy over the new charter and the colonial wars of the late

seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Coming from one of the most influential congregational ministers, his recognition of the monarch's divinity would add weight to the congregationalists' call on the English monarch to protect their position in the colonies against the royal governor and council. This recognition Colman gave when he exalted the monarch's origins in his sermon on the Suppression of the Rebellion in 1716, declaring "THAT it is God of Heaven that makes Men Kings and sets them upon their thrones." Colman understood that "Such a KING was Solomon, ... the *Person* whom God pitch'd upon and Endowed to fill the thrown."[12] Charles Chauncy, minister to the First Church of Boston, also acknowledged the uniqueness of the monarch's position during the rebellion of 1746. "For the Kingdom," stated Chauncy, "was given to DAVID and settled on his Sons forever, by *immediate* Direction from the God of Heaven."[13]

After acknowledging God's authority to choose the monarch, Colman and his associates speculated on how God chose a specific ruler. Why did He pick one person and not another? Why Solomon, or David? In England's case, why did he pick the Hanovers? All were chosen for their purity of heart and for the care they took of their people according to models provided in the Old Testament. In 1727, on the death of George I, Thomas Prince, minister to the Old South Church of Boston since 1718, explained how a particular royal line would be chosen. "David came to

the throne," he observed, "because the other lines had forfeited their privilages for themselves and lines because of wickedness."[14]

David and his line were chosen by God because they were the best hope for the people and this was how God chose the Hanovers as well. "Thanks be to God," exclaimed Benjamin Colman in 1727, "that there is the *Protestant House of Hanover* on the throne over us .... The House of our *King* is unto us as the House of *David*, chosen and raised by the God of Heaven as the present bulwark against *Popery*, and for the security of the true knowledge and worship of God among us." The Protestant succession was equated with the House of David to emphasize its distinctive character. Both the House of David and the House of Hanover were chosen because they protected the people's right to worship God against tyrannts who wanted to be worshipped themselves.[15] By granting God's authority to place a monarch on the throne over and against the original dynastic line, Boston's clergymen gave up control of their own government and placed the monarch on a level above themselves. By comparing the Hanovers to Old Testament rulers, Colman and his associates approached the divine right theory of monarchy usually associated with Anglicans. The monarch had a claim to the throne, through God, that the people could not resist. The role of the people was to acknowledge the monarch's legitimacy, not to resist him. "They *chuse* him for their *Prince* and King,"

Colman said of David in 1716; "*own* his *right* to be over them, and voluntarily subject themselves to him as their ruler and leader."[16] By accepting God's choice for monarch, the people acknowledged the superiority of his positions and wisdom, and willingly subordinated themselves to his authority. If they resisted, how could they expect the monarch to protect them?

Protection was considered the paramount duty of George I and George II by the Boston clergymen. Each was expected, as God's servant and head of the people, to battle against enemies of the state, whether foreign powers or domestic agents of Anti-Christ. Each was also to protect the people's institutions, both political and religious. The analogy to David extended to include the role of the embattled Prince. Ebenezer Gay, minister to Hingham, spoke for the New England clergy in 1745 election sermon before Governor William Shirley, the Council, and the House of Representatives. Proclaiming that "*a good Ruler, for the Sake of his People, incurreth many Difficulties and Hazards,*" Gay went on to say: "King David *was* spirited for and often personally engaged in the Toils and Perils of War, ... He Shewed thereby his affectionate Care of his People, and Zeal to defend them. Every good ruler like *David*, is ready, for his People's sake, to engage in difficult and dangerous Enterprizes, when called there to Providence."[17]

To fulfill such weighty responsibilities, the monarch

needed assistance from on high. So, in 1727, Thomas Foxcroft, minister of the First Church, extolled George I in a funeral sermon by claiming that he "seemd to be form'd for the Happiness of Mankind: rais'd up by a Kind of Providence, to be the common Protector of *Europe*, the Guardian of the *Reformation*, and the Defense of *Britain*." Because his "Royal Person" "appear'd the visable Favorite of Providence," George could safely journey into "Perils many, in Perils by Sea & Land, in Perils among *false Brethren*, in Perils by secret Traitors, and open Enemies ---."[18]

From the Congregationalists' point of view, George I and his successors had to struggle against enemies of the state who posed the greatest threats to Protestantism. The pretender was a threat not only because of his claim to the throne, as the son of King James II, but because he had grown up in France "under the Influence of *popish* and *desparate* Principles."[19] (His Catholic principles were as threatening to the Congregational position as the Anglicans missionary encroachment would seem later in the century.)

As Charles Chauncy and Thomas Prince both knew, the pretender's plot was also a threat because of the foreign aid he received from the French and Spanish. "And should the pretended Son of this King James succeed in his Attempt, under the Countenance of FRANCE and SPAIN, to ascend the *British* Throne," Chauncy wondered, "what might be expected but that he should be a *Plague* to the *Nation* and its *Dependancies*, as was his Father before him?"[20]

This could very well have happened with European help. This meant that George II and Britain faced a larger threat than just a single man. Thomas Prince explained in his thanksgiving sermon at the end of King George's War in 1746 that the European threat was posed by the expansionist nations of "France, Spain & Sardinia."[21] If they succeeded, they would extinquish Protestantism and local self-rule in favor of Catholicism and arbitrary government.

This Boston's clergymen could not allow, for such a state of affairs would place the constitutional and religious freedom of the New England colonies, as well as the mother country, in the hands of those who would crush it. The argument for protection of protestants was an argument within New England for protection of Congregationalists already in power. By linking their position to that of the Hanovers, Boston's clergymen made clear that their loyalty to the throne involved loyalty to their regional heritage as well. In returning this loyalty by protecting New England, the monarch would also protect himself from being overthrown.

It was for more than protection of the English constitution that Boston's clergy argued the monarch was fighting. They also equated enemies of the monarch, George, with enemies of the Reign of God. Cotton Mather, heir to the mantle of clerical leadership, stated the point in his funeral sermon to George I in 1727. After expounding on the allegiance owed George II, as to George I,

Mather stated, "You cannot look on the Enemies of His Reign, as any other than Enemies of GOD and His CHRIST, and His *Truth*," and, Mather continued, "unto all the Good that a true *Britain* or *Christian* can wish for."[22] The Hanovers were tied so closely to the divine order that any action against them harmed God as well. Not only did the clergy expect the people to protect God's representative, but they also expected that representative to act as protector of God's true religion. "And what can this imply," exclaimed Thomas Prince in 1728, "but that Civil Rulers have the weighty care of the people devolved on them; And their Superior Office is to seek their Welfare, to lead them, and to be careful of them, as a faithful SHEPARD of his Tender flock."[23]

To the Congregationalists, theirs was the true religion the monarch should be protecting. So, in 1727, Cotton Mather praised George I for serving the interests of New England. "We behold, the *Catholic Spirit* with which he countenanced the *Protestant Religion*," Mather said, "and we, with the *rest of our United Brethren*, were preserved and protected in the Excercise of our *Pure and Undefiled Religion*."[24] According to Mather, George I had done much "to Restore unto our *Immortal* KING His Throne in the minds of His People, by asserting a Righteous Liberty of *Conscience* for them."[25]

By preserving the basic tenents of the Protestant religion, George I justified the faith placed in him by

Boston's clergymen, just as the Hanovers handling of political affairs had done in 1715 and again in 1746. As Benjamin Colman claimed in 1716, "the *Pretender* to the Crown and his *wretched Adherents* were beyond measure surprised and amazed at the *Wonderous Turn.* Scarce could they believe their own Eyes and Ears," for the establishment of the House of Hanover had managed to deny the pretender his claim to the throne.[26] And in 1746, following the failure of another Jacobite plot, the success of King George's War had proven the willingness of George II to take up the struggle against France and Spain to protect England and all Europe against their popish plots.

Rounding out the character of the monarch was his role as benevolent Father, head of the country and light to the people. It was as a father that he upheld both government and religion. This was what was promised by God when he provided that "Kings shalt be thy nursing fathers, and Queens thy nursing mothers ... always tender of their interests and liberties, and ready to defend them from all envasions ...."[27] This was traditional Anglican Language, but it came from Samuel Checkley, minister of the New South Church, in 1727. Ebenezer Gay, minister of Hingham, made the same reference three years later in 1730:

> There is great Cause of Thankfulness and Praise to Almighty God, for the Blessing we enjoy in our Civil Ruler -- That our *King* is a nursing Father and our *Queen* a nursing Mother, who have expressed their tender Care of, and Concern for us, their poor but dutiful Children, in these distant parts of

> their Dominion -- That we have such in *immediate* Authority over us, as are Men of Wisdom, Integrity, and Piety: *Judges*, in so good a measure, *as at the first* and *Counsellors as at the beginning: Officers* who are *Peace*, and *Exactors Righteousness* .... O let us for Conscience sake study and perform our Duty to our Rulers! -- Let us pry heartily and continually for them.[28]

Portraying the monarch as Father to the people directly contradicted the metaphor of the early Puritans that the family was a "little commonwealth." Instead, the state had become a large family, with the monarch as the patriarchal leader. As such, the monarch was expected to do more for the people. By so designating George I and then George II, Boston's clergymen were reminding him of his duty to care for them. "A good Ruler is the *Comfort* and *Joy*, and so the Light of his people," said Ebenezer Gay in 1730, "he is their *Guide*. The Use and benefit of Light is to make us see, to direct us in our Way."[29] By upholding these responsibilities, the patriarchal monarch would preserve the mission of New England's patriarchs, especially where government and religion were concerned. According to Benjamin Colman in 1716, "This liberty of Conscience our Fathers sought, and ask'd and had a Royal Charter to assure them of, and to secure it unto their Children after them."[30]

By reminding the Hanovers of the compromise of 1691, clergymen in the Boston area hoped to benefit themselves from patriarchal protection. At his death George I was eulogized by Cotton Mather for his "*Care of other Peoples*

Safety." and by Thomas Prince as a "person that appeared always to have a mighty Sense of the *Public Interest*; ... For *Religion* ... a thorow Protestant -- Full of Christian Charity & Genereosity ... Zealous for the true Religion, and the Cause of Civil & Religious Liberty."[31] Here were reasons for faith in the Hanoverian line. Those who succeeded George I should understand this obligation and follow a similar policy with as much care and strength. Such was the language of dutiful and appreciative children. This was a role very different from that developed by early English dissenters. Instead of taking government into their own hands and choosing the monarch, they were to serve and obey him, as father to the country as well as special envoy of God.

One of the most important duties of the people was to Pray for the Monarch. Ebenezer Gay expressed the necessity for such prayer in 1730. "By praying for those in Authority, we give Glory to *God* in a way somewhat peculiar," Gay explained, "... we emphatically confess him to be the *God of Gods* ... that Rulers are dependent on him, and stand in absolute need of his counsel, succour, and Blessing." In this way, the people insured God's help for his envoy. But it was also a "Law of Gratitude" which "obligeth People continually to pray for their Rulers," because "it was not proper to expect something for nothing."[32] Otherwise, the monarch might act contrary to the people's welfare.

But more than prayer was expected from the people to their Father and Protector. As Ebenezer Gay explained in 1727, "much Praise is due unto good Rulers from an obliged People: It is a *just Debt* they owe to their Protectors and Benefactors." Later, in 1745, he called upon the first commandment: "*Honour thy Father Honour the King.*" This could be done by "substantial Demonstrations of Respect, and affectionate Concern to preserve him, in his honourable State."[33] As Samuel Checkley put it in 1727, tribute to the King or the Royal governor was due for the Lord's sake.

As Protestant Princes, the Hanovers were "raised by God" and constituted "the present bulwork against Popery." In thankfulness, the people had to be "loyal, faithful, dutiful and obedient."[34] After the death of George I, they had to renew their allegiance to the Hanoverian line. In Benjamin Colman's words upon the accession of George II, "we are *his* by inclination and choice as well as *Oath*. We are *his* and on the *side* of true and pure religion."[35] By transferring their loyalty to the son, the people would be assured of his protection as well.

Both Samuel Checkley and Thomas Prince agreed at the death of George I that George II should inherit the loyalty of New Englanders. "Let us now with one Heart transfer our whole Faith and Loyalty to the Person of our present Sovereign," said Checkley. In so doing, "we may with the firmst confidence expect that Favor and Protection which good and gratious Princes extend to a loyal and obedient

People."[36] Or in Prince's words: "And now what Remains -- But that we continue, as there can be no doubt we shall, the same Affectionate and Loyal Subjects to KING GEORGE II as we have always been to his ROYAL FATHER."[37]

Thus, the obligation of obedience to the monarch did not end with the death of an incumbent, when the heir was of the same line and shared the characteristics of his father. In the first decades of the eighteenth century, Congregational clergymen in the Boston area had departed significantly from the early Puritan tradition that conceptualized a political leader as a captain of the ship of state. The deviation was distinctly seen in their portraying the monarch as a minister and representative of God, and as the head of the body politic and family, which left little room for subjects to question his skills or actions. The Revolutionary implications of early Puritan political thought had become attenuated.

III

Around the middle of the eighteenth century, a more critical attitude toward monarchy began to emerge among Boston's clergymen. This attitude echoed older Puritan thought, but also reflected a new set of pressures and controversies. Congregationalists were increasingly concerned with Anglican encroachments under the patronage of

the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This concern was heightened by the ability of the Anglicans to gain ground during the turmoil of the Great Awakening. In addition, a new generation of clergymen had come under the influence of libertarian English political writers who argued for the rights of the people over and against the claims of power. Out of these circumstances clergymen like Jonathan Mayhew, Samuel Cooper, and Samuel Mather came to see the monarch in a different light. Instead of being a Christian Prince, he was placed on the same level as ordinary civil magistrates, bound by law and oath to protect the interests of the people.

Founded in 1701 by Thomas Brady, the S.P.G. had originally been designed as a missionary organization. But it soon developed a political program as well. This was to help introduce royal charters and increase Episcopal control in the colonies. Missionaries were to act "in conjunction with contemporary political efforts" to bring dissenters under control. This meant that the S.P.G. became more concerned with advancing the institutional interests of the Church of England in the colonies than spreading the Gospel. It was this emphasis by the S.P.G. that alarmed Congregational clergymen.

Problems arose as early as 1703, over attempts by S.P.G. missionaries to settle bishops in the colonies. With bishops in the colonies, it would be easier to ordain Anglican ministers and thus increase their numbers. Early

steps to establish bishops had been taken during Anne's reign, but had to be dropped upon her death. These efforts were revived during the reigns of both George I and George II, but both Hanovers relied on political support from domestic dissenting interests, so had little reason to want to aid the Anglicans in the colonies. These setbacks never discouraged the Anglicans. The arguments for American bishops continued, with Timothy Cutler and Samuel Johnson leading the cause in the colonies and Edmund Gibson, who took over the See of London in 1723, giving direction from England. With Gibson in charge, missionaries on both sides of the Atlantic worked aggressively to proselytize among other Christians instead of Indians.[38]

These activities aroused fears among dissenters in both England and the colonies. Benjamin Colman, for one, had worked for the S.P.G. and served as a commissioner of its daughter organization, the S.P.G. in New England and Parts Adjacent. He had done so out of his concern to introduce more people to the gospel, but soon became anxious that the S.P.G. was exceeding its charter role and functioning as the agent of the Church of England. By 1713 he realized that "the missionaries were not doing their true job." This was even more apparent after the Great Awakening, when Congregational churches "split over the issues of the revival," and Anglicans proved successful at meeting the needs of people lost in the gulf of religious changes. While some people were swept up in the excitement,

others were appalled by the new enthusiasm. The Anglicans appealed especially to the latter group. Because of this, Jonathan Mayhew and Congregational clergymen like him, who were also opposed to enthusiasm, had to regard the S.P.G. as their arch-competitor. Gradually, amid the turmoil of religious revivals and growing pressure from the S.P.G., attitudes toward monarchy began to change.[39]

No matter that the Hanovers professed to support the dissenters (including Congregationalists); the Church of England was the State Church, presided over by the monarch. It was feared that the position of the Congregationalists would be further undermined because the monarch was unwilling to stop the Anglicans from trying to episcopize New England. Earlier in the century, support of the monarch had guaranteed the protection of the Puritan legacy. By mid-century, the prospects were less certain.[40]

At the same time clergymen in the Boston area were influenced by recent strains of English political thought. Over the years, of course, liberty had always been important to New England's clergymen. They had praised the Hanover line from the beginning, as the "Scourge of Tyrants and faithful guardians of civil and religious liberty." The French were always a threat "to British liberty and religion." By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the cause of liberty had crystallized in the writings of a few Englishmen associated with the "Commonwealth tradition." From polemicists like Trenchard

and Gordon, the authors of Cato's Letters, clergymen in New England absorbed political theory that raised the possibility of resistance to executive tyranny, in the name of such figures as Milton, Locke, Somers, Harrington, Sydney and Bolingbroke. The result was a line of argument that once again contemplated the people's authority to choose rulers and in some circumstances to depose them.[41]

Milton, for example, had upheld the people's right to disobey a ruler who went wrong, although he also believed that they should accept "the penalties for disobedience." Sydney, on the other hand, had been insistent that a man "*could resist* and still retain his allegiance to the government." Much of this argument derived from his belief in "the fact that Kings were set up for the people." Here was a man who advocated action to fight "against oppression." For Somers, resistance was justified "only when 'the mischief be grown general,' and 'Design of the Rulers became notorious.'" Furthermore "the time had to be right" and popular protest had to be related to the "threat that provoked it."[42]

Others speculated that the people had created the government and thus had the right to "reclaim political authority" when magistrates were inattentive to the responsibilities that they were chosen to fulfill. To insure responsible government, it was important for the people to watch over the King.[43] Henry St. John, the Viscount Bolingbroke,[44] and his followers believed liberty

was represented in the mixed constitution whose parts were so balanced that no one part depended on the other. They argued that it was important for men to "serve the public." In this capacity they looked to the monarch as a potential "Patriot King" who would restore "the mixed constitution," and not be an "absolute monarch."[45]

On the basis of such diverse political thought from the mother country, clergymen in the Boston area were prepared to question the absolute authority of the monarch by the middle of the century. In contrast to the Anglicans and a few Congregationalists, who continued to hold that the monarch received his authority from God, Jonathan Mayhew and others in his circle argued that the monarch was under the authority of Parliament and that the people had placed him on the throne subject to the laws of the realm. Resistance was thus an unavoidable issue for these clergymen. They reasoned the monarch should not retain his crown simply by virtue of his dynastic descent if he were found to be incompetent.[46]

Out of this thinking the origins of kingship became defined not in terms of hereditary rights, but rather on the basis of an original contract. Mayhew, the influential minister of Boston's West Church, had a substantial following among clergymen throughout Massachusetts. In the course of a relatively brief career, which ended with his untimely death in 1766, he spoke out frequently and eloquently against "the divine right of monarchy," against

"the hereditary, unalienable right of succession," and against the despotic, unlimited power of kings that served "the purposes of ambition and tyranny." Rather, the Kings of England held the crown by virtue of an "original contract." This was the foundation on which legitimate government was settled.[47]

In his "DISCOURSE CONCERNING Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance TO THE HIGHER POWERS," delivered in 1750, Mayhew described the position of the monarch in relation to the people and other magistrates. From the apostles' reasoning, Mayhew conceded, God has directed that there should be magistrates, but not that the monarch be set off in a unique role above them. Thus Mayhew concluded:

> THAT civil rulers, *as such*, are the ordinance and ministers of God; it being by his permission and providence that any bear rule; and agreeable to his will, that there should be *some persons* vested with authority in society, for the well being of it: THAT which is here said concerning civil ruler, extends to all of them in common: it relates indifferently to monarchical, republican and aristocratical government."[48]

Samuel Cooper, who had become the colleague of Benjamin Colman at the Brattle Street Church in 1746, went a step further in a statement from his 1761 sermon on the death of George II. "THERE is no essential Difference between the monarch and his Subjects," announced Cooper; "He partakes of the same Nature with them, and is alike encompassed with the natural and moral Frailties of Humanity."[49]

No longer was the monarch understood as a separate entity from the Commonwealth. If the monarch was no longer

a special envoy of the Lord, with no special "power" over other magistrates, or immunity from the laws of nature, where did his authority originate, and what was expected of him?

Mayhew was concerned to establish the true origin and purpose of government, by way of diminishing the role of God in the actual choice of a monarch. The essence of his arguments placed the right to create government in the hands of the people, with only the initial mandate from God. In 1754 he stated the point as follows:

> All the different constitutions of government now in the world, are immediately the creature's of man's making, not of God's ... And as they are the creatures of man's making; so from man, from common consent, it is that lawful ruler's immediately receive their power ... As it is God's ordinance, (to have government) 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, ...[50]

In 1761 he returned to the topic with greater particularity. Though "all earthly kings derive their power and authority originally from him," Mayhew explained; "God does not indeed, by any immediate act of his own place a crown upon the head, and put a scepter in the hand of him, whom he has ordained to reign, and seat him upon a royal throne." Instead, "He leaves nations (ordinarily I mean) to the free excercise of their liberty and discretion under the general law of reason, to chuse their own form of government, and to model them as best suits them respectively."[51] Because they are instituted to protect the rights and

property of the people, governments and rulers enjoy the blessing of God. But the people, who have the most at stake, as they are the ones who will be affected by whatever laws are passed, should have the power to choose their rulers.

The placing of William and Mary on the throne was seen by Mayhew as an excercising by the people of their right of choice. "Then it was, that the Glourious REVOLUTION took place," said Mayhew in 1761, "For the throne being declared vacant by two grand conventions of the lords and commons, by means of the abdication, i.e. the *running away* of King James, the prince and princess of Orange were *elected*, and invited into it; and soon proclaimed king and queen, to all the great joy of all the true friends of liberty."[52] Thomas Foxcroft agreed, in his 1760 sermon 'upon the ... surrender of montral and the conquest of Canada.' Discussing the outcome of the Glorious Revolution, Foxcroft explained why it was appropriate to elect William and Mary. The people were acting against James's popish plots, and "such at length was the Union of the whole Nation in Opposition to the KING's Religion and Politicks, that an Invitation was sent to that celebrated General and Politician the PRINCE of *Orange*." This was "Conduct highly becoming a free People, justifiable by the great Law of Self-Preservation." Because James abdicated his crown and went into voluntary exile, "pursuant to natural Right the Nation was at Liberty to fill the vacant throne by Election

of a Successor."[53]

The struggle to convince the people of their right to participate in the choice of their government, and keep their faith, was at times difficult for the Congregationalists. What made it most difficult were the contrasting arguments of the Anglicans. Anglicans were convinced that God had placed the monarch on the throne. One of the most prominent Anglicans in the Boston area was Henry Caner, who arrived at King's Chapel in 1747 to fight against the "dissenting" interests in America. In 1751, upon the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, Caner contended that religion and comfort were so linked that without God's aid no government or rule could be established. Remembering that the monarch was not above God, who had the "reserve of his prerogative to alter, suspend, or overule" the actions of Princes, Caner explained the role of the people. "If it be allow'd us to expect the ordinary advantage and benefits of that service" that God "hath placed in their powers," Caner stated there was no reason not to submit to princes, "since their greater influence and authority derived to them from the will of GOD, for the protection and benefit of mankind, seem to warrent that dependance." For Caner and others like him, deference to rulers was a corollary to humility before God, "*the giver of every good and perfect gift.*"[54]

From the Congregationalists' viewpoint, there was less need to preach obedience to authority than to enumerate the

rights of the people which, by their own, inclination limited power. Mayhew was a staunch advocate of popular liberties. In his 1754 sermon before the Governor, Council, and House of Representatives Mayhew developed his rationale for government. "As it is Gods ordinance," he argued, "it is designed for a blessing to the world. It is instituted for the preservation of mens persons, properties and various rights, against fraud and lawless violence."[55] Such rights had been secured in English society by the English constitution, and through Parliamentary laws applied to all people under the realm. Thus government and laws were meant to control as well as assert power, including that of the monarch.

In his "Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission ...," Mayhew outlined the structure of government limiting the monarch's power:

> The English constitution is originally and essentially free ... the prerogative and rights of the crown are stated, defined and limited by law, and that as truly and strictly as the rights of any inferior officer of the state; or indeed any private subject ... The king, in his coronation oath, swears to excercise only such a power as the constitution gives him: And the subject, in the oath of alligence, swears only to obey in the excercise of such a power.[56]

The declaration of rights presented to William and Mary when they took the throne was one historical instance of popular opposition to royal power. According to Mayhew, the declaration "ascertained the rights of the subject, and reduced the prerogative, which had been extended

beyond all bounds in many preceeding reigns, to its ancient limits."[57]

To help guarantee these rights, Parliament had to be prepared to check the power of the monarch. Looking back to the Puritan revolt against Charles I, Mayhew identified Parliament as an institution representing the people. "Here were *two* branches of the/legislature against one," argued Mayhew; "*two*, which had law and equity and the constitution on their side, against one which was impiously attempting to overturn law and equity and the constitution."[58]

The monarch's use or abuse of power was the critical issue. For it was by his actions that a monarch earned the people's loyalty. Hence the importance of royal character and skill in the discourse of Congregational clergymen around and after mid-century.[59] As Mayhew interpreted his life, instead of simply seeking power by inheritence. The Prince's studies were turned

> to those things which surely every *British* King ought to know -- ... Human nature, and the various tempers and passions of mankind; in the knowledge of which is chiefly founded the true art of/governing - the nature and ends of civil government - the constitutions, and various interests of the several nations He was to govern, ...[60]

Here praise of the heir to the throne was phrased in secular rather than religious terms. Samuel Mather spoke of Frederick in much the same manner as Mayhew. "His Royal Highness, the PRINCE," noted Mather, "thorowly understood, that altho' Government was of Divine Institution, yet the

Form of it is an humane Ordinance." Further, Frederick knew that "the *British* Monarchy was not absolute and indefeazable, but *elective and hereditarily so*: He saw clearly, that nothing was *lawful* in the Administration but what was *allowed by the Laws* of the Realm; and that He, who wears the Crown by the National Consent and Choice, is not above the laws, nor at Liberty to dispense with them."[61]

The monarch was no longer loved for being a part of God's realm, but for his regard for government. The religious role of the monarch was still important, but in Mayhew's mind a Protestant ruler should combine "a due abhorrence of popery" with rejection of "arbitrary government," both being "contrary to reason and christianity; inconsistant with the natural rights of mankind, and the truest happiness of human society."[62] All this signified a different type of King than the one extolled by Boston-area clergymen earlier in the century. As Mayhew put it in his funeral sermon George II was:

> what may be properly called, a constitutional King: One who well knew both the extent of his own prerogative, and the rights of the people, one who made the laws the rule of his government, and whom even malice can hardly accuse of either doing, or attempting to do, an arbitrary illegal thing, during his whole reign. And it should be remember'd here, that the British constitution and laws are so wise, so excellent, that he who uniformly makes them the rule of his administration, must of consequence be a good king; at least he cannot easily be supposed to be a bad one.[63]

The commitment to religion expected of such a "constitutional King" was not that of a leader of the Church Militant so

much as an expression of respect for diverse opinion within the realm.

In Samuel Cooper's words of tribute to George II, "WE have lost in our late Sovereign, a steady Patron of religious as well as civil Liberty."[64] Above all, if the monarch failed to fulfill his responsibilities, or indeed monopolized power in such a way as to threaten liberty, the legitimacy of his authority would become questionable.

Out of their fear of tyranny, Boston-area clergymen became increasingly concerned to establish the limits of permissible behavior for rulers, and at least to hint at the acceptable reactions when these limits were "over-stepped." To the clergymen it seemed advisable to warn the people against blind confidence in any ruler, and at the same time prepare them to look for telltale signs that he was acting out of line.

"It is a very ancient observation, and sufficiently verified by the experience of later times," observed Mayhew, "that *great men are not always wise* .... Human laws cannot make wisdom hereditary, tho' they may things of inferior value-thrones and sceptors."[65] On the contrary, "so far are the princes of the earth from being adequate objects of trust and hope to us, that they are not always able to protect themselves." Because of this Mayhew felt it was wrong "to extol persons of mean accomplishments and little worth merely because they possess great power and wealth" and external dignity, rather than to "speak

honourably of real merit."[66] Samuel Cooper agreed that the "outward and civil Distinctions which do, and which ought to take Place in the Presant State, are too frequently rated above their True Worth and Importance ...."[67]

Power and wealth could become driving forces, and "flattery" could make men of little worth more susceptible to their evil effects. Instead of worrying about praising the monarch, who was capable of misbehavior, the people were supposed to be responsible for correcting him. Resistance was lawful when the monarch went completely astray and out of control, and it might at least be contemplated if he turned out to be incompetent. Obedience was required only as long as the monarch acted as protector of the people. As Samuel Cooper put it in his sermon before Spencer Phips, the Council, and House of Representatives in 1756, "absolute unlimited subjection belongs to brutes, not to men." Upon the death of George II, Cooper returned to his argument. While civil government was needed by society and accepted by God, trust in a Prince "ought never to be absolute and unlimited." As Cooper continued, "God alone is the proper object of such an Hope and Dependance; because he alone is absolutely perfect and immutable."[68]

Instead, constant vigilance was necessary because of the evil talent in all men. "There are not wanting instances," said Mayhew, "of those, who in the first part of their reign, have justly procurred to themselves

universal love and respect, and yet have, long before the close of it, stained their hands, and royal character, with violence, oppression and blood."[69] When that happened, the people of course owed it to themselves to take a stand and rid themselves of the tyrant. But there were lesser dangers that also had to be guarded against. "A being that/is averse to the doing of good to us," Mayhew argued, "is certainly unfit to have confidence placed in him for what we want: so also is one that either knows not our wants, or how to relieve them: and he is equally so, who is unable to do it: tho' he had both a disposition for it, and knowledge sufficient to direct his actions."[70] This was an argument similar to the "ship of state" theory that had been advanced by early Puritans, according to which the sailors (people) came together under contract to choose their captain (ruler). If he then misled them or acted against their best interest, they could dismiss him and choose another.[71]

In his "Sermon on Unlimited Submission," Mayhew in effect translated the old metaphor into a classic constitutional statement for his own age. "If the end of all civil government be the good of society," he argued;

> if this be the thing that is aimed at in constituting civil rulers; and if the motive and argument for submission to government, be taken from the apparent usefulness of civil authority; it follows, that when no such good end can be answered by submission, there remains no argument or motive to enforce it; ... The hereditary, indefeaseble, divine right of Kings, and the doctrine on non resistance, which is built upon the

> supposition of such a right, are altogether as fabulous and chimerical, as transubstantiation; or any of the most absurd reveries of ancient or modern visionaries.[72 & 73]

Mayhew was more caustic than most of his brethern in dismissing such "reveries." Indeed, an elderly colleague like Thomas Prince could still summon up the language of previous decades to lament the death of Frederick, who was "the *Hope* of Man." In death God destroys "both the Hope of the *Man himself who dies*, and the Hope of his *survivors* also." Because of the loss, Prince prayed,

> Let us go on to mourn for all our Sins against the glourious GOD, and for this awful Sign of his high Displeasure ....
>
> Let us earnestly Pray, that the PARLIAMENT, The *Nobles*, the *Gentry* and *People* ... be continually watchful against all Devices of Enemies, support the King, and do their utmost to maintain the throne in his blessed Line as long as the sun endure ....[74]

But times were changing and Mayhew represented the trend of the future. By the 1760's, most Congregational clergymen in the Boston area probably perceived the monarch as Mayhew did -- not essentially different from lesser civil magistrates who were subject to the laws of the country, as were all the people.[75] Royal authority had come from the people, not from God. The strength of the constitution lay in its protection of the people's rights, not in glorification of the monarch. Certainly it was no longer fashionable for Congregational clergymen in the Boston area to speak of the monarch as the Anglican Henry Caner did in his sermon upon the death of George II:

> ... wherin the Providence of God calls us ... to lament the loss of our Head, our Royal Master, the political Father of his People, under whose shadow Experience had taught us to form Hopes of Safety. --- ... Where is now the benevolent Prince, the tender Father of his People, the Desire of his Subjects, whose Happiness he delighted to Promote?[76]

For the new generation of congregationalists, language of this kind was unacceptable. It could lull the people into sitting helplessly by until conditions were beyond repair.

IV

In the decade following 1765, when passage of the Stamp Act aroused colonial fears of oppressive taxation, conditions threatened to deteriorate beyond repair. Though Congregational clergymen in the Boston area, like other colonists, were slow to acknowledge the role of the monarchy in the transatlantic crisis, they eventually were prepared to do so -- drawing on the constitutional theory that had become prominent around and after mid-century.

With Mayhew dead, others emerged to articulate the tradition of limiting monarchical power. John Lathrop, minister to the Second Church of Boston, was merely reiterating the principles of the "Discourse on Unlimited Submission" when he said in his 1774 Artillery Election Sermon that the "doctrine of making resistance against Kings when by arbitrary and tyrannical conduct, they render

it impossible for the subjects to live peaceably under them," was "far from being new." It was "as old as civil government: It grew up with it." It was a doctrine "inseparably connected with the Law of self preservation, which is the Law on nature."[77] And there was a basis in positive law for regulating the King. "Those who flatter the King that he is above the *Law*," said Lathrop, quoting Sommers, "do most notoriously contradict one of the first axioms of our regal government, which is *Lex facit Regem*; and he hath originally subjected himself to the law under his *Coronation Oath*."[78] Here was a clear rationale for resisting a monarch who encroached on the rights of the people.

Such arguments were applied only with circumspection to George III. Gad Hitchcock, minister at the First Congregational Church of Hanson and an extremely active preacher, had been a close associate of Mayhew, so he predictably contended, in 1774, that George III's authority derived from principles firmly established during the Glorious Revolution:

> ... Civil authority is the production of combined society --- not born with, but delegated to certain individuals for the advancement of the common benefit.
>
> And as its origin is from the people, ... --- These are principles which will not be denied by any good and loyal subjects of his present Majesty King George, either in Great-Britain or America --- The royal right to the throne absolutely depends on the truth of them --- and the revolution, an/event seasonable and happy both to the mother country and these colonies, evidently supports them, and is

supported by them.[79]

Before the first months of 1776, when Thomas Paine directly attacked George III as a "Royal Brute," clergymen in the Boston area tried to avoid the natural conclusion of their logic by expressing hope that the monarch would disavow his evil ministers. "No Prince would have any person about him, to advise and incite him to illegal or unjust actions," explained Hitchcock, "and if he had at any time been forced to it, readily acknowledge his error, and set all things right again."[80] Samuel Langdon, later President of Harvard, referred in his 1775 "Sermon Preached Before The Honorable Congress ... Watertown" to "the machinations of wicked men, who are betraying their Royal Master." As Langdon continued:

> ... May the eyes of the King be opened to see the ruinous tendency of the measure into which he has been led, and his heart inclined to treat his American Subjects with justice and clemency, instead of forcing them still farther to the last extremities![81]

Realistic men knew that the "last extremities" had become inevitable. The ability of the Boston-area clergymen to make the final case against the King has to be explained in part by the new emphasis of their political discourse in previous decades. The "Christian Prince" was no longer a vital tradition; the "Constitutional King" was the standard that ministers had come to preach before as well as during the Revolutionary crisis.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ESSAYS

BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS

Henry Caner: 1700-1792, was an Anglican fighting against the 'dissenting' groups in America. Educated at Yale, he received his ordination in England in 1727. In April of 1747 Caner arrived in Boston from Fairfield, Connecticut to serve King's Chapel. Although he was a popular man in his pulpit, and a talented Businessman, he did not get along well with his assistant Rev. Charles Brockwell, which caused much rift throughout their partnership.

Charles Chauncy: 1705-1787, had a very long and active career. Ordained junior colleague to Thomas Foxcroft October 25, 1727, he served the First Church of Boston well. His close relationship with his father and family background tied him to the religious and political world of Boston. His great-grandfather was Harvard President Charles Chauncy.

While he argued for the toleration of religious liberty, during the Great Awakening he was a strong advocate for the Old Light faction. He opposed the Awakening from its early stages on; an opposition which rang the same as his opposition for the Church of England. He feared that both underminded the Congregational majority. He felt that itenerant preachers disorganized the parish structure and the Church of England's activities in the colonies gave the Congregationalists the same short end of the stick they "had the Dissenters of England." With these leanings it was important to call on the monarch to help assure the security of the congregational majority.

Samuel Checkley: 1696-1769, was ordained the first Minister of the New South Church April 15, 1719. He served as Chaplin to the House of Representatives, and himself was accepted by the core of the congregational ministers. Though he supported the Awakening, while denouncing iteneracy, his liberalism led to an acceptance of George Whitefield to the New South pulpit in 1740 and again in 1745. He felt it was important to bring people to the church, but feared itenerants would disturb the old order.

Benjamin Colman: 1673-1747, was minister of Boston's Brattle Street Church through the controversy of the new charter, the change in monarchs, and the early colonial wars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As one of the most active Congregational ministers, he

understood the reasoning for the 1691 compromise and it was logical for him to call on the monarch to help keep the congregationalists in their position. He may have been affected by his tie to Anglican influences: Brattle Street was closest to the Anglican in "regard to liberal requirements for admission and the use of scripture lessons and the Lord's Prayer." He also served as a commissioner of the S.P.G. to help bring the people back to the church, though he could not follow them in their attempts to prosletize among the congregationalists. For Colman the Anglican influences and political pressures led to his development of the picture of the Christian Prince.

Samuel Cooper: 1725-1783, minister to the Brattle Street Church, where he became Benjamin Colman's colleague in 1746, replacing his father who had died two years earlier. Both his father and grandfather were ministers. Cooper was one of the most liberal of the dissenting persuasion. Steadfast in politics, he was abnormally sensitive to tyranny. He was active during both the French and Indian War and the American Revolution. He was so active in politics he was accused of neglecting his pulpit for politics.

Robert Hay Drummond: 1711-1776, received his B.A. from Christ Church, Oxford on the 25th of November, 1731. From there he went on a grand tour with his cousin. Upon his return to England in 1735, he went back to Christ Church for his M.A. The title of Drummond he received as heir to his grandfather who died in 1739. He was very close to Queen Charlote, who acted as his patroness until her death in 1737. Drummond was elected to the see of York in 1761, upon the death of Archbishop Gilbert. He also denounced enthusiasm and opposed Calvinism.

Thomas Foxcroft: 1697-1796, minister of the First Church of Boston, was a stalwart of the orthodox party. Though against Anglican practices, he could call for protection from the monarch from his position among the Congregational clergymen. He would not part with the position of his colleague Charles Chauncy until the middle of the revivals. After an initial condemnation of the excesses of the Reverand James Davenport, he went over to the New Light faction.

Ebenezer Gay: 1696-1787, minister at Hingham, though a friend of Jonathan Mayhew, he was much closer to the older ground of people. For it has been said he was closer to the Calvinism of Benjamin Colman, than to the unitarianism of Mayhew. Gay worked a liberal and successful revolution in his church. He had little use for either religious or political dogmas. His activity among the old core of congregationalists brought him an understanding of the need to call on the monarch to protect the congregationalists'

position.

Gad Hitchcock: 1718-1803, was the first minister of the First Congregational Church of Hanson. While not living in Boston, he was an extremely active minister and delivered several of the public lectures. His belief in civil and religious liberty for society and religious views led him to be on the popular side in politics. Hitchcock was especially active during the pre-revolutionary period.

Samuel Langdon: 1722-1797, was a candidate for Brattle Street Church, but lost out to Samuel Cooper. Finally Langdon settled at the First Church in Portsmouth in 1747. While most of his career was spent in New Hampshire, Langdon was closely tied to the civil and religious liberals, and was elected to the Harvard Presidency in 1785. After his problems there were settled, he spent a great deal of time in political affairs.

John Lathrop: 1740-1816, was ordained pastor of Boston's Second Church upon the death of Samuel Checkley in 1768. While he hoped for a settlement with Great Britain, he also believed in the independence of the colonies guaranteed by the charters. Aided, then replaced, Samuel Checkley. Connected to Calvinism -- though his optimism led him to the ranks of Unitarianism. Popular; brought Baptists to the Second Church. Loved places connected to M.C.C.S., S.P.G., I.N.A., M.H.S.

Cotton Mather: 1633-1728, was of an old family of ministers. Mather was ordained as his father's colleague at the North Church, 13th May, 1685. Much of his involvement in calling the Monarch a Christian Prince may stem from his and his family's involvement in the controversies with Governor Dudley. Being at the core of the political arena for so long, he was most apt to help support the call on the monarch to take the colonialists' side over the magistrate's.

Samuel Mather: 1706-1785, was the last in a long line of ministers. After his father's death, the Second Church of Boston chose Samuel to replace him in 1731/2. This position he accepted in February of that year and was ordained to on June 21. Active in town and ecclesiastical affairs. Suffered many troubles with his congregation, one of which centered around his opposition to the revivals. During the Revolution, Samuel was a staunch patriot.

Jonathan Mayhew: 1720-1766, his family was very active in missionary work to the Indians. Mayhew took up the mission to the Indians upon the death of his older brother Nathan. At first caught up in the revivals, after 1742 this concern evaporated. In March of 1746-7, Mayhew was called to the West Church of Boston, though his ordination was surrounded

with several controversies. Mayhew attracted the liberal members of other congregations to the West Church. Definitely against the S.P.G.'s actions, Mayhew often argued against Henry Caner, the Anglican minister to King's Chapel. Though he died before the Revolution, his sermons added religious justification to it.

Thomas Prince: 1687-1758, born May 15, 1687. Having grown up during many of the controversies, Prince understood clearly the problems of the early eighteenth century. Settled as Joseph Sewall's colleague at the Old South Church of Boston, 1718. While always a strong advocate of toleration, as an active member in local politics, he saw the need to protect the Congregational position. Active in spreading the views of the Great Awakening. Throughout his career he spoke of the monarch as a Christian Prince.

NOTES

NOTES

[1] Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution 1603-1714. (London, 1964), pp. 63-64.

[2] Perez Zagorin, A History of Political Thought in the English Revolution. (London, 1954), pp. 196-98.

[3] Hill, Century of Revolution, pp. 81-82.

[4] H. G. Alexander, Religion in England 1558-1662. (London, 1968), p. 171.

[5] Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics. (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 179-83.

[6] Walzer, Revolution of the Saints, pp. 188-89.

[7] T. H. Breen, The Character of the Good Ruler: A Study of Puritan Political Ideas in England, 1630-1730. (New Haven, Conn., 1970), p. 59.

[8] John Winthrop, "Speech to the General Court, July 3, 1645," eds. Perry Miller and Thomas,; 2 vols. (New York, 1970), Vol. I.

[9] Breen, Character of the Good Ruler, p. 69.

[10] Ibid., p. 122.

[11] Hill, Century of Revolution, p. 78; Perry Miller, The New England Mind: From Colony to Province. (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 163.

[12] Benjamin Colman, A Sermon Preach'd at Boston in New England ... (Boston, 1716), pp. 9-10.

[13] Charles Chauncy, The Council of two Confederate Kings ... (Boston, 1746), p. 32.

[14] Thomas Prince, A Sermon on the Death of King George ... (Boston, 1727), p. 5.

[15] Benjamin Colman, Fidelity to Christ And to the Protestant Succession In The Illustrious House of

Hanover ... (Boston, 1727), pp. 8-9.

[16] Colman, Sermon Preach'd at Boston, pp. 6-7.

[17] Ebenezer Gay, The Character and Work of a good Ruler, and the Duty of an obliged People ... (Boston, 1745), pp. 6-7.

[18] Thomas Foxcroft, God the Judge, putting down One and setting up Another ... (Boston, 1727), p. 26.

[19] Chauncy, Council of two Confederate Kings, pp. 26-27.

[20] Ibid., p. 29.

[21] Thomas Prince, The Salvations of God in 1746 ... (Boston, 1746), pp. 13-16.

[22] Cotton Mather, Christian Loyalty ... Some Suitable Sentiments on the Withdraw of King George the First ... (Boston, 1727), p. 22.

[23] Thomas Prince, Civil Rulers Raised up by God to Feed His People ... (Boston, 1728), p. 4.

[24] Mather, Christian Loyalty, p. 18.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Colman, Sermon Preach'd at Boston, p. 11.

[27] Samuel Checkley, Duty of a People to Lay Heart and Lament The Death of a Good King ... (Boston, 1727), p. 14.

[28] Ebenezer Gay, The Duty of People to pray for and Praise their Rulers ... (Boston, 1730), pp. 32-33.

[29] Gay, Character of a Good Ruler, p. 4.

[30] Colman, Sermon Preach'd at Boston, p. 19.

[31] Mather, Christian Loyalty, p. 17.

[32] Gay, Duty of People, pp. 16-17, 21-22.

[33] Gay, Character of a Good Ruler, p. 11.

[34] Colman, Fidelity to Christ, pp. 8-9.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Checkley, Duty of a People, p. 4.

[37] Prince, Sermon On the Death of King George, p. 25.

[38] Carl Bridenbaugh, Mitre & Sceptre. (New York, 1962), pp. 25-27, 57.

[39] Ibid., pp. 28, 57-58, 84-90; C. C. Goen, Revivalism and Separatism In New England, 1740-1800, (New Haven, Conn., 1962), p. 9; Nathan O. Hatch, The Sacred Cause of Liberty, (New Haven, Conn., 1977), p. 26.

[40] Bridenbaugh, Mitre & Sceptre, p. 27.

[41] Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 34, 43.

[42] Caroline Robbins, The Eighteen-Century Commonwealthman. (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p. 44; Pauline Maier, From Resistance To Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776. (New York, 1972), pp. 35-39.

[43] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

[44] Bolingbroke's interest in his own career caused him to take several years to settle his position among the Court Tories. Even having settled his position by 1703, Bolingbroke revealed a concern for liberty that set him apart from the mainstream of Tories, who sided with the Church of England and "extoled the royal prerogative." His main concern for liberty centered around economic issues and the abuse of power caused by having wealth; this often blinded him to other issues. Even so, his theory of the mixed constitution added an interesting twist to governmental theory. Bolingbroke wished for "a return to the purity of the mixed state, not any novel and rigid partitioning of executive and legislative power." Among his other interests was a covenent theory, similar to Lock's, though it was limited to a more traditional from between the Prince and the heads of families. Isaac Kramnick, Bolingbroke and His Circle. (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 99-100, 141-46, 161; H. T. Dickinson, Bolingbroke. (London, 1970), pp. 15, 23, 34.

[45] Kramnick, Bolingbroke and His Circle, pp. 25-34.

[46] James Harrington was another writer who influenced England during the first half of the eighteenth century. In his work Oceana published originally in 1737, Harrington called for "... the devices and form for the preservation of the liberty which the state was created to preserve, and the explanation of the manner of achieving stability." With this work, Harrington added his voice to the fight for liberty. Robbins, Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman, p. 34.

[47] Jonathan Mayhew, A Sermon Preach'd in the Audience of ... (Boston, 1754), p. 5; Jonathan Mayhew, A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of King George II ... (Boston, 1761), p. 27.

[48] Jonathan Mayhew, A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers. (Boston, 1750), p. 10.

[49] Samuel Cooper, A Sermon upon Occasion of the Death of ... George the Second ... (Boston, 1761), p. 11.

[50] Mayhew, Sermon Preach'd in the Audience of ..., pp. 6-7.

[51] Mayhew, Discourse Occasioned by the Death of King George II, pp. 16-17.

[52] Ibid., p. 26.

[53] Thomas Foxcroft, A Sermon Preached ... On Occasion of the Surrender Of Montreal, and the Complete Conquest of Canada ... (Boston, 1760), p. 17.

[54] Henry Caner, A Sermon Preached ... Upon Occasion of the Death of ... King George the Second. (Boston, 1761), pp. 15, 17.

[55] Mayhew, Sermon Preach'd in the Audience of, p. 7.

[56] Mayhew, Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission, p. 45n.

[57] Mayhew, Discourse Occasioned by the Death of George II, p. 57.

[58] Mayhew, Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission, p. 46.

[59] In 1751, when Samuel Mather delivered his sermon upon the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, Boston's Congregational clergymen were turning to questioning the role of the monarch and redefining the characteristics of a good ruler, Mather mourned the loss of Frederick because he had characteristics which would have made him "a true father to his people." By father, Mather meant something much different from the traditional Anglican view of the patriarchical father, who was not limited by earthly laws, rather by God. In Mather's view, Frederick could have become a true political father through his understanding that government was mainly of "humane-ordinance;" the monarchy was limited in its power by the laws of the realm. Samuel Mather, A Funeral Discourse Preached on the Occasion of the Death of ... Frederick Lewis ... (Boston,

1751), p. 26.

[60] Jonathan Mayhew, A Sermon ... Occasioned by The ... Death Of ... Frederick, Prince of Wales ... (Boston, 1751), p. 26.

[61] Samuel Mather, A Funeral Discourse ... Frederick Lewis ..., p. 27.

[62] Mayhew, A Sermon Occasioned by The Death of Frederick, p. 29.

[63] Mayhew, Discourse, Occasioned by the Death of King George II, p. 31.

[64] Cooper, Sermon Upon the Death of George II, p. 32.

[65] Mayhew, Sermon Occasioned by the Death of Frederick, p. 16.

[66] Ibid., p. 25.

[67] Cooper, Sermon Upon the Death of George II, p. 19.

[68] Ibid., pp. 7-8; Samuel Cooper, A Sermon Preached in the Audience of his Honour Spencer Phips, Esq. ..., p. 30.

[69] Mayhew, Sermon Occasioned by the Death of Frederick, p. 12.

[70] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[71] The change in the status of the people was a key tie between the positions of "dissenting" groups at the time of the Glourious Revolution and the Congregationalists at the time after the Great Awakening. Jonathan Mayhew called on the recognition of the people's rights in his arguments in favor of resistance against the divine right of kings. After the Glourious Revolution, Mayhew stated, "even many of those, both clergy and laity" who had been advocating "the senseless brutish principles of passive obedience and nonresistance," and the "indefeasable right of Kings by inheritance," had come over to the fact that the peoples position had changed. From that point on they were "exploded by all men of sense ...." This connected the men of the seventeenth century to those of the middle eighteenth century. It strengthened the argument that the men in the interim had to change because of their need to protect their own position after the 1691 compromise. Mayhew, Discourse Occasioned by the Death of King George II, p. 27.

[72] Mayhew, Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission,

pp. 30-31.

[73] The Anglicans agreed with the Congregationalists that tyranical behavior was to be dreaded from the ruler, although they continued to differ on how to handle such behavior. Henry Caner considered that even some of the men whom God chose could become corrupt. Those who "make use of their superior power, to support themselves in the excercise of tyranny and oppression," Caner felt, should not hold power. For, Caner continued, "Power in such hands is rather to be dreaded than chosen," because it would hurt the people and abridge the rights it was suppose to protect. But while the Anglicans were against tyranny, they still placed faith in God and contended that people should put their faith in rulers, "since their greater influence and authority, derived to them from the will of God, for the protection and benefit of man kind," Caner explained, "seem to warrent that dependance." Henry Caner, God the Unfailing Object ... Death of Frederick Prince of Wales. (Boston, 1751), pp. 6, 11.

[74] Thomas Prince, God Destroyed the Hope of Man ... (Boston, 1751), p. 27.

[75] Robert Hay Drummond, elected to the see of York in 1761, gave the coronation sermon on the accession of George III and Charlotte. In his sermon, Drummond epitomized the position of the Anglicans. He spoke of George III in terms of God's grace "that when great and good Kings reign, they are the means by which God blesses a people." The monarch bears the weight of government that his subjects may live easy under it ... If Caner had been able to convince Anglicans of this, they might have been able to continue to grow and threaten the position of the Congregationalists. Robert Hay Drummond, A Sermon Preached at the Coronation of King George III, And Queen Charlotte ... (London, Boston re-printed, 1762), pp. 8, 11.

[76] Caner, Sermon Preached before Frances Bernard, pp. 7, 21.

[77] John Lathrop, A Sermon Preached to the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Boston ... (Boston, 1774), pp. 120-21.

[78] Ibid., p. 17n.

[79] Gad Hitchcock, A Sermon Preached Before ... Thomas Gage, Esq. ... His Majesty's Council and ... House of Representatives ... (Boston, 1774), pp. 21-22.

[80] Ibid., p. 24.

[81] Samuel Langdon, A Sermon Preached Before The Honorable Congress ... Watertown. (Watertown, 1775), p. 49.

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