

John Barnard (1681-1770), *The Throne Established by Righteousness. A Sermon Preached Before His Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq; His Majesty's Council, and the Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, May 29, 1734. Being the Day for the Electing His Majesty's Council there.* (Boston, n.p., 1734).

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Mr. Barnard's
Election SERMON,
May the 29th. 1734.

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The Throne Established by Righteousness.

A SERMON

Preached

Before his EXCELLENCY

Jonathan Belcher, Esq;

His Majesty's Council,

AND THE

Representatives of the Province

OF THE

Massachusetts Bay in New England,

May 29. 1734.

Being the Day for the Electing His Majesty's Council there.

By *John Barnard, A.M.*

Pastor of a Church in *Marblehead.*

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Isai. i. 27. *Zion shall be redeemed with Judgment, and her Converts with Righteousness.*

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BOSTON: Printed MDCCXXXIV. [1734]

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In Council, May 30. 1734.

Ordered,

That Benjamin Lynde and Thomas Hutchinson, Esqrs. give the thanks of this Board, to the Reverend Mr. John Barnard, for his sermon preached to the General Assembly, on the day of election of counsellors, and desire a copy thereof in order to its being printed.

Thad. Mason, Dep. Secr.

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An Election Sermon.

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PROV. XVI. 12.

The Throne is established by Righteousness.

That the Supreme Ruler of the world is to be acknowledged in all our ways, and more especially in all the grand and important concerns, whether of public societies, or of private persons, is a principle that stands in the strongest light, to the natural reason and conscience of every man, who is not sunk into the lowest stupidity, and the vilest atheism. It was the prevailing force of this truth, upon the minds of our renowned forefathers, impressed with a firm belief of a God, and his governing Providence, that led them into the religious solemnities of this day: they saw how necessary, the concurring influence of the great GOD, and a steady observation of his wise and good laws, were, to the establishment of their government, both in the choice of proper persons, to be as strong rods for a scepter to rule over them, to lead them into the best concerted laws, and afford the desired success, unto all their mature debates, and wise administrations; and therefore they looked upon it as their incumbent duty, to improve some part of this day of the gladness of their hearts, because of their valuable, and distinguishing privileges, in acts of religious worship, humbly, and earnestly, to ask the Divine direction and blessing, and meekly to receive counsel from the Sacred Oracles, as in the particular elections before them, so in all the affairs of the government, throughout the ensuing year; that they, and their posterity might be a people highly favoured of the Lord, and the good land they had taken possession of, might be as a garden which the Lord hath watered.

Through the tender mercy of the most High to us, (whatever revolutions have been brought upon the form of the government, since the first founding the British Empire in this distant part of the world,) we are yet in the full possession, not only of all the privileges which belong to Englishmen, as the happy subjects of Great Britain, but over & above, of such peculiarly valuable ones, (and it may be of all that our circumstances would bear of the former,) confirmed to us, by a Royal CHARTER, from the ever memorable King William, as sufficiently demands it of us to go on, in imitating the laudable example of our pious ancestors, in our thus assembling to worship the Lord our God.

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And since it has pleased God, by the mouth of your Excellency, and his Majesty's honourable Council, to call me (the very least of the ministers of the Lord,) to stand and wait this day, at His holy altar, and present your offerings to the Divine Majesty, and set the counsel of God before you, as collected from the dictates of right reason, and revelation, I trust you will overlook my weakness, and bear with my liberty and freedom of speech; wherein, I hope, I shall not go out of my own line, nor, while I keep within the bounds of my duty and office, offer any thing that shall be just matter of offence. I am very sensible, the times, we are fallen into, are attended with such peculiar circumstances, as render it very difficult to speak out some necessary truths, with any certainty, and plainness, without being liable to the severe censure of such as may possibly think themselves too nearly concerned in them, or the more feeble exceptions of little wittlings, who will attempt to criticize upon what they scarce understand. However I trust I shall not be so unfaithful to your Excellency, and the honourable Board, and much less to my great Master, to whom I must be accountable, as to forbear expressing myself, upon the subject before me, as becomes my relation, and the place I stand in, at this critical juncture, according to the best light I shall receive from the Fountain of Truth; at which I am sure no one ought to be offended.

The words I have read, for the foundation of my present discourse, are enrolled among the Proverbs of Solomon, the great and the wise King of Israel. And because we have here the sentiments of one so renowned for wisdom, beyond all that went before him, or have come after him, we may reasonably expect to find in these few words the true *Arcana Imperii*, the deepest mysteries, and the best policies, by which a government stands firm, and unshaken, as a rock, against the roaring of the sea, and the dashing of its waves.

The Throne is established by Righteousness. Though we are not to expect much of connection and dependance, among adages, yet we may observe some considerable relation between several verses, in my context, in which the royal teacher lays down his aphorisms about kings, and the thrones which they sit on; wherein he rather gives direction, than recites an history, and more truly informs them what they ought to be, than what they always are; and so places the most beautiful picture, in full view before them, to excite a laudable ambition in their best endeavours to copy it.

A divine Sentence, says he,(1) *is in the Lips of the King; his Mouth transgresseth not in Judgment.* The Hebrew is, *Divination in the Lips*, & c. That is, he speaks oracles;(2) his determinations in judgment should be as though we had enquired of the Oracles of God, for the clear discovery of the truth, & the certain direction in all

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weighty matters, that there may be no error or mistake, in his administrations; as one under the influence and inspiration of God; *with whom is the just Weight and Ballance*, (as he adds in the next verse,) that is the power to discern clearly, and determine justly. Such, in some good measure, was the admirable foresight, and clear discernment of Solomon himself; which struck his admiring subjects with the deepest veneration, rendered his name famous in distant lands, and brought the Queen of the South, from her far country, to hear, and applaud his wisdom.

He goes on, (in the verse where my text is,) to observe, that *it is an Abomination to Kings to commit Wickedness*. To be sure, it ever ought to be the constant practice of the rulers of a people to manifest their utmost hatred of all wickedness, or of every thing that is unrighteous and oppressive to their people. It should be the fixed temper of God's vicereagents on earth, to have all perverting of right in the greatest abhorrence and detestation. It should be an abomination to kings to *commit*, or *do* wickedness, either themselves, or by their ministers and under officers. For what is done by every officer, under the supreme, with his allowance and connivance, is said to be done by him, whose authority they bear; and as the glory of their wise and regular conduct, in the faithful discharge of their office, reflects honour upon their principal, so the odium and discredit of their mean, and base, and unrighteous management of the trust reposed in them, will forever finally center in him, from whom they derive their authority. And therefore as kings, and rulers, should have all wickedness in such detestation, as never to allow themselves in any, so should they be very careful whom they derive their authority to, and not suffer others under them to prey upon their people, by any acts of injustice, and oppression.

And we may observe a very strong and cogent reason given for this, in the words of my text. *For the Throne is established by Righteousness*.

The Throne, the ensigns of royalty are here put for royalty itself; and the badge of the highest power, is substituted for the whole power of dominion, rule, and government; because all flows from the throne as its fountain. So that the *Throne* does not mean only the royal seat, but the royal power; and that in all the branches of it, wheresoever, or in what channel soever, it flows. It denotes the government among a people, be it of what form it will, and includes in it every person that has a hand in the administration, whether in making laws, or in the execution of them; all lesser power being included in, and derived from, the supreme.

The throne *is Established*; the word(3) here used, is in the passive voice, and the future tense, as grammarians speak, the throne *will* or *shall be established*, be made

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strong and sure, abide firm and unmoved. 'Tis probable that from this word is derived our English word *cone*, which also is the same in the Greek, and Latin, with their proper terminations. As a cone seems to be the best contrived figure for stability, and is least liable to be shaken with the blasts of wind & tempest, or overturned by any accident; being broad at bottom, and still lessening inwards as it ascends, and the center of its gravity every way equally distant from the circumference, which renders its position firm and steady; so the throne, or government is established, rendered safe and secure, calm and unmoved, and is very much put out of the power of any accidents, ordinarily, to overthrow, or hurt it;

By Righteousness, as its wide, and every way extended base, which upholds, and supports, and keeps all in their proper place, and in a due poise, tending to the center of unity; and admits of no excrescences of oppression, fraud, and violence, in a mis-use of power, betraying of trust, sacrificing the public to a private interest, or other instances of wickedness, as a mighty dead weight projecting aloft, to a constant tottering, and final overthrow of the whole fabric. Critics observe, that the word here used, is of a more extensive signification than mere justice in dealing, and rather comprehends in it all moral duty to our fellow creatures. The Hebrews have another word which is more strictly confined to justice and equity, and by this in the text, they understand the whole moral rectitude of our actions and words; of our actions, that they be just and right, fit and convenient, necessary and becoming, suitable and expedient; of our words that they be true, and bear a perfect agreement with what they are intended for, that they be faithful and constant, and we abide by our promise & engagement. So that, as it is here used, we may suppose it to mean the equity and justice, the truth and fidelity of the government; not only of kings, who have the throne appropriated to them, but of all that are raised to any seat of eminency, and honour, and service in the government.

And well may the throne, or government, be said to be established by righteousness, when this is such a basis as stands every blast, and endures the shock of ages; and bears the nearest resemblance to the throne of the most high God Himself, whose visible images earthly rulers are: and therefore the inspired Psalmist says, (4) *Righteousness and Judgment are the Habitation of His Throne*. The dominion and government of God, inhabits, or dwells, as in an impregnable palace, being secure in the perfect rectitude of His nature, and administrations; and were it possible any unrighteousness should be found in Him, it would soon undermine the very foundations of his empire, and lay the most beautiful pile in amazing ruins.

Thus you see what lies before me, namely the consideration of the throne, or

government, the establishment of it, and the means leading to it;

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And therefore I shall reduce what I have further to say upon these words into this plain method:

I. I shall offer some things concerning the *nature of government*; which I here understand by the throne.

II. I shall consider what it is for the throne, or government, to be *established*.

III. I shall take a view of that *righteousness* by which the throne, or government is established.

IV. Lay before you some evidence that the throne, or government, *is*, and *will be*, established by righteousness.

I begin with the First of these, *viz.*

I. To offer some things concerning the *nature of government*, which is here intended by the throne. And there are these things considerable with respect thereto, namely, the original, the form, the personal right, and the ends of government.

1. The first thing I would observe here is, the *original* of government, and whence it takes its rise. And I doubt not to say, that it is from God, who is the *God of Order and not of Confusion*: That is to say, that upon supposition that mankind dwell together in societies, which the human nature cannot well avoid, it is not a matter of liberty and freedom, and left to the option and choice of the will of man, whether there shall be government, or no, or whether there shall be any rules for the regulating of that society; but it has the stamp of the Divine Authority upon it, and comes to us with a *thus saith the Lord*.

This the voice of nature plainly declares to us. Forasmuch as the Divine sovereignty, and unerring wisdom, has formed, and fitted, the human nature for rule and government, and necessitated it to it, this may be justly looked upon as the voice of God to mankind; because the Almighty's adapting his creatures to a particular end, is one way of making known His mind and will concerning them; and every true dictate of right reason, is no other than God speaking to his rational creatures, by the inward sentiments of their own mind. Thus 'tis that they, who are destitute of the written law, *are a Law unto themselves*, as the Apostle expresses it,(5) the Law or will of God being

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written upon their hearts, and legible, in some measure, by the candle of the Lord, which he hath lighted up within them.

‘Tis very evident, the nature of man is formed for government, and necessitated to it, from that power of reason and understanding that is in him, his fixed bent to society, and the many weaknesses and imperfections that attend him.

Through the distinguishing favour of the Almighty, He has, by His inspiration, given us understanding, & made us wiser than the beasts of the field, or the fowls of the air; and thus He hath formed us capable of acting by rule, which sufficiently intimates His will to us, that we are not left to live and range at large, but that we keep ourselves within due bounds, and walk by rule; and this necessarily supposes some certain rule for us to regulate ourselves by.

And because society is the natural result of reason, in a dependent being, and he must have all in himself, and be master of an unbounded understanding, and unlimited power, or be void of all true reason and knowledge, that can subsist by himself without having any regards to another; therefore it is necessary, that this rational agent, who yet falls short of perfection, should be under subjection, not only to such laws as more especially relate to his conduct to his Maker, but such also as have a more particular reference to his fellow creature, to whom he stands related, on whom he has some dependance for the necessaries, and conveniences, of the present life, and all adapted to the nature of that society of which he is a part; and this clearly infers the superiority of some to give law, for the well ordering of the society, and the subjection of all to those laws, according as they have a special reference to them: And what is this but government?

Thus I doubt not but government would have been necessary to man, even in a state of innocency; because society would then have been as agreeable to his rational nature, and more delightful to his pure mind, and as necessary to him upon many accounts, as now; and, in the midst of all his purity, he would still have remained but a fallible creature; all of which would have required a rule suited to direct his actions, in the several relations he would sustain, and businesses he would have been employed in: and this infers government; though, probably, very different, in its kind, from what is to be found in the world, in our day. In short, the *Fifth Commandment*, as well as others, of the moral law, would have been in force, and obligatory upon the innocent creature.

Yea; doubtless, there is government among the holy angels; and the account which the Sacred Scripture gives us of, *Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers,*

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Angels, Arch-angels, and the like, in the invisible world, is well understood by learned men, as intending, not the different species, but the different orders, among them.

However, since sin broke in upon the world, and vitiated the human nature, there is but so much the more reason and necessity for government among creatures that are become so very weak, and depraved; to restrain their unruly lusts, and keep, within due bounds, the rampant passions of men, which else would soon throw human society into the last disorder and confusion. For if all men were left to live, and act, as they please, 'tis undoubted, the different views and interests, humours and passions of mankind, and these often excited by false principles, and strongly moved by a corrupt bias upon the mind, would unavoidably produce a continual jar and strife, a constant endeavour in every one to promote his own, and gratify self, and so a perpetual preying of the stronger upon the weaker; and no man would be able to call any thing his own, nor be secure of his life and limbs, from the rapine, and violence, of his fellow creature; and by how much the views, interest, and passions of men, are more numerous, appropriated, and strong, by so much would they become fiercer upon one another than the beasts of prey. And does not this necessitate laws to tame this fierce creature, to bound his appetites, & bridle his passions, that he may not be injurious to his neighbour! Who is the man, that would be willing that all the injury of ungoverned lust and passion should fall upon himself? And what is the result of all this? but that there be a legislative power, to enact such laws, and an executive one, to put the laws in force, and compel to obedience to them, lodged somewhere, as shall be best adapted to the order, and preservation of the society. And this is government. Thus the light of nature shows us the reason, and necessity, of government; and this voice of nature is the voice of God. Thus 'tis that *vox populi est vox Dei*.

But besides this, God Almighty has sufficiently manifested his will to mankind, by His *Word*; and therein plainly declared to all, that are advantaged with the Divine Oracles, that it is His sovereign pleasure, that there be government among men. Hither look all those passages, in holy Writ, which more directly speak of civil rule, authority, and power, as derived from God. Thus,(6) *By me Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice; by me Princes rule, and Nobles, even all the Judges of the Earth. By Me*, that is, by my authority and appointment, it is, that there are any kings, princes, nobles, and judges of the earth; that is, that there is rule and government among men. Thus the Apostle tells,(7) *The Powers that be are ordained of God; there is no Power but of God*. That is, the power, the authority, the rule itself, as well as the subject invested with it, is of God, who has ordained it, appointed it, as His sovereign will, that there

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should be such. And hence, though GOD Himself was in a peculiar manner *King in Jeshurun*, yet He appointed a visible head over them, and sent Moses, His servant, *to be a Ruler, and Deliverer to them*:(8) and he directed them(9) *to make Judges, and Officers, in all their Gates.*

Hither also look all those places in the Sacred Scripture, that direct civil rulers to the faithful discharge of their office; as in my text, and context, *a divine Sentence is in the lips of the King, his Mouth transgresseth not in Judgment: it is an Abomination to Kings to commit Wickedness; the Throne is established in Righteousness:* And all such as direct mankind in their carriage towards them, as, that *Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the Ruler of thy People*(10): and that command *every Soul to be subject to the higher Powers*(11): that require us, *to submit our selves to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's sake; whether unto the King as Supream, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him*(12): that assure us, *he that resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God;* and let us know the penalty of unreasonable resistance, that *they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation*(13).

So that we see, the original of government is from God, who has taught it, to mankind, by the light of natural reason,(14) and plainly required it, in His holy Word. And that there are any, who walk in the shape of men, that do not diligently attend to the voice of reason, nor enquire after understanding, but sit down contented in the most abject stupidity, scarce distinguishing themselves from the brute, by any true acts of reason, is no more an objection to government's being a true dictate of nature, than one man's shutting his eyes would be, against the sun's being risen, when all, who have their eyes open, walk in the full light of it.

2. The second thing I proposed to offer something upon, under the head of government, was, the *form* of it. And here the enquiry is, What form of government is chiefly to be regarded by a people? Since government originates from God, and is of Divine appointment, is there any particular form of Divine ordination? Or if not, what form shall a people put themselves under as most eligible?

To the first of these enquiries, I think there is no great difficulty in answering, that I know of no particular form of civil government, that God Himself has, directly and immediately, appointed, by any clear revelation of His mind and will, to any people whatever. The Scripture speaks of civil rulers under the several denominations that were in use, at that day; but it no where directs to, and enjoins, any one scheme of civil government, even upon God's own peculiar favorite people; but we find, when they become a settled nation, in the land which God had promised to their fathers, it was the

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people's own choice to come under a monarchical form of government, and they said,(15) *Nay, but we will have a King over us; that we also may be like all the Nations, and that our King may Judge us, and go out before us, and fight our Battles.* And though there was some manifestation of the Divine displeasure against them, for their asking a king, yet this was not for their assuming that particular form of civil government, but for their throwing off the *theocracy*, they and their fathers, had so long experienced the benefit of.

So that it is evident God Almighty has left it to the natural reason of mankind, in every nation and country, to set up that form, which, upon a thorough consideration of the nature, temper, inclinations, customs, manners, business, and other circumstances of a people, may be thought best for them. And hence it is that some nations have thought it best for them to keep the power of government in the hands of the body of the people; while others have thought fit to lodge it in the hands of their chief families and nobles; others again have devolved the weight of the government upon a single person, leaving it wholly with him to assign what part, to what persons, he pleases; and another people have looked upon it most advisable, for them, to take a middle way between these extremes, and have laid up the honours of government, in a single person, as their supreme head, to flow from him down to all the members; and then have divided the weight and burden of it, between this single person, a body of nobles of his creating, and a select assembly of their own choosing; by which means, sovereignty is so happily tempered with righteousness and mercy, and will and pleasure directed and limited by liberty and property, as to guard against tyranny on the one hand, and anarchy on the other. Though neither of these schemes, nor any other that may be thought of, are immediately and directly of Divine appointment, yet so far as any, or all of them, are the result of right reason so far it may be said of them, that they are of God. Thus, the *Powers that be*, be they what they will, meaning government, *are ordained of God*. And as every people are left to their liberty to constitute what form of civil government, all things considered, may appear best to them, as to any thing to the contrary from the Law of God, so, doubtless, it remains with any civil society to alter, and change, the form of their government, when they see just reason for it, and all parties are consenting to it.

But if there be no particular form of civil government appointed by God, and every nation and people are left to their own prudence to establish what form they please, which form and scheme is best? If this enquiry means, What form is best, considered absolutely, and by itself? I answer, That form which is best accommodated

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to all the ends of government. What that is, may be thought an hard question, and it is not my business to determine it. Though I would observe, that, possibly, it may be a just answer to the enquiry, to say, that it is an improper question; because there can be no government without a people, or subject of it; and the good, or ill, qualities of it, can fall under no consideration, but as government stands related to its subject; so that the circumstances of a particular people must come into consideration, to determine what is best. If the question mean, what form is relatively best? I answer, That which will suit the people best: which requires a thorough knowledge of them, their situation, produce, genius, and the like, to resolve. If still it be insisted on, what form is best for our selves? To this I answer, were we absolutely free to choose for ourselves, it must be left to the wisest heads, the greatest politicians among us, and those best acquainted with the people, and country, to advise upon it: but as we are not at liberty now to choose, I can readily answer, that form of civil government is best for us, which we are under; I mean the British Constitution. And this I can say, not only because we are a dependant government, but because were I at full liberty, I should choose to be (as, blessed be God, we are,) of the number of the happy subjects of Great Britain, whom God hath blessed above all people upon the face of the earth, in the felicity of their Constitution: and I look upon my self happy, that I know not of a single true New England man, in the whole Province, but what readily subscribes to these sentiments, and hopes we shall continue, to be the genuine members of that glorious Constitution, throughout all ages.

3. Another thing I am to offer something upon, is, the *person*, or *persons*, invested with the authority of the government. And here it may be enquired, who, among the children of Adam, has a right to take the reins into his hands? Where shall we find the right certain and indisputable? And whence does this personal right and claim arise? or who gave this person, and not another, the authority to preside over, and give law to his brethren, and enforce obedience? I scruple not to answer; This right is found, in whomsoever the government constitutes and appoints to be their ruler, or rulers; there, and there only, is the certain claim, full right, and lawful authority; and thence does it derive: And this, upon a due consideration of things, will appear to hold good, let the form of civil government be of what kind it will. For,

If we consult strength and force, and trace them to their utmost extent, we shall find, that, (however unlikely they may be thought, upon a cursory view, to agree with this principle, yet,) upon a more thorough examination, they resolve themselves, at last, into compact, and agreement. For, (upon supposition of what is called government

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founded in conquest,) it is very evident that there must be a conquest to found the right in it; and a conquest necessarily supposes one of these two things, either that there is an entire destruction of the contending party; or else that they come to terms of submission. If the conquest consist in an entire destruction of the enemy, there is an end of all civil government over them; for *the dead hear not the Voice of the Oppressor*, and *there the Servant is free from his Master*; but if they come to terms of submission, (the very hardest of which supposes a right to life, and the necessaries of it, and such further accommodations as the conqueror, in his clemency, shall allow, which is a submitting to mercy, and surrendering upon discretion,) 'tis apparent the right to rule over them is founded in compact; though the strength of the arm has made the terms harder for those who are forced to submit, than, possibly, they would have been otherwise. Mere natural force and power gives no person a right to rule over another, and all pretensions to rule, founded in this only, without consent, will forever leave the government to be bandied about by the perpetual cuffs of contending rivals, and endless revolutions, from every bold usurper, that has got the longest sword, and the strongest arm; and he that is forced to resign today, may recover strength enough tomorrow; or where strength fails, stratagem and craft may succeed, and carry the game. And who sees not that, while the royal ball is thus tossed about, and catch who can, the state will become giddy with a continual whirl, and all things run into such confusion as oversets the foundations of government. *He beareth the Sword*, not the sword him.

He therefore that sits upon the throne of empire must have a moral right, and lawful authority, to rule; and this moral right must be either natural to him, and what he was born with; (I mean, now, antecedent to an act of the government's conveying such a birth-right to any man;) or it must arise from an immediate Divine appointment; or lastly, flow from the election or consent of the community.

Some have been so vain as to attempt to find out a natural right, to dominion, belonging, unalienably, and indefeasibly, as they call it, to such or such a particular person; to support which they carry us up to the Patriarchal Scheme, as it is termed, or rather Adamitical, and imagine, that, because the first father of mankind had a natural right (as they say) to rule his descendants, that therefore kings have a natural right to rule over their subjects. But what if the First Man had a natural right to dominion over those that descend from him? Would not this necessarily infer these two things, namely, that this right be continued in the next male heir, in a lineal descent, to the world's end; and that this male heir, in a lineal descent, be an absolute monarch over all nations, states, and kingdoms in the earth; the first of which has been impossible to

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be put in practice this many hundreds, yea thousands, of years; the other as impossible to consist with the tempers and interests of all nations: which shows the absurdity of the scheme, upon their own principles. But I very much doubt the validity of the principle, *That the First Man, were he living, would have a natural right to rule all his descendants.* That he would have a natural right to rule his own family, whether descendants, or not, is very readily acknowledged, and so has every man now; but then it is to be remembered, that there is a very wide difference between a man's ruling his own immediate family, and his ruling over another man's family. For the immediate children of the first man, upon their becoming heads of families, would have the same natural right to govern their own, as Adam to govern his; by which means the grand children are unavoidably freed from all subjection to a sovereign dominion, over them, in their grand father, that is inconsistent with the natural sovereignty of their father; and the great-grand-children would be yet at a greater distance from submission to the will and pleasure, the rule and authority of the great-grand-father; from whence it appears that the power of the first man lessens so much every descent, by a new sovereign coming upon the stage, of equal natural right with himself, that, by the fourth generation, he could have no government over them; though the latest generations while he lived, would be under obligations to the profoundest veneration, respect, and honour, to him, as their progenitor: if therefore he ever become the sovereign lord over all his descendants, it must be by the consent of the several heads of families, making choice of him as the properest person to bear rule over them, and giving up so much of their own power over their families, to him, as is necessary for the general benefit of the public society, they are now formed into. And this I think entirely overthrows the Patriarchal scheme, and the whole set of fine thoughts built upon it.

Others have endeavoured to find out such a divine right, for civil rulers, as is wholly exclusive of all election, or consent of the community; and have fancied, that they derive their power immediately from God, by a particular, and immediate designation of them personally, to their high office; from whence they conclude their power unalienable, and their authority absolute, and unlimited, as well as their persons unaccountable. But these also have greatly failed in their attempt.

For, besides what I have already observed, that it hath pleased God to leave the particular form of civil government to human prudence; which infers, the designation, of the person to his office, is from man also; so far are we from having any proof of such a divine right, in our day, as, that when the Lord of hosts Himself gave some particular directions, to His peculiar people, about the king that should reign over them,

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and solemnly consecrated, with the holy anointing oil, both Saul and David, successively, to the throne of Israel, they were first presented to the choice of the people, and their right to take the power into their hands, and administer in the affairs of government, was by no means thought good, until they had obtained the suffrages of their brethren: as is very clear from the sacred history(16). And hence the Apostle Peter, calls the civil government, an *Ordinance of Man*;(17) because both the form of it, and the particular persons invested with the power, are purely *human*, and result from the reason and prudence of nations and societies of men.

So, that after all that is said, the right to rule, takes its rise from the(18) consent, and agreement, that is the choice and election, of the community, state, or kingdom. And whether they reserve the power to themselves to elect anew, successively, as in some kingdoms; or fix the succession unreservedly in such a line, to perpetuity; or whether they establish the line of succession with certain limitations and salvos, and reserve to themselves the power, upon fitting emergencies, to make what alterations may be thought needful; it amounts to the same thing; and he, and he only, has the right to rule, to whom the government commits the power, and authority. And he, whom the government so sets up as their ruler, head and king, so far has a divine right, as God, in His holy and wise Providence, mediately, by the voice, consent, agreement and constitution, of that particular nation and people, over whom he reigns, has raised him to such or such a place of dignity and power; and consequently, and in like manner, all that, by virtue of the constitution, derive their authority from the supreme ruler. And so far *the Powers that be*, as denoting the particular *person*, in whom the authority is lodged, as well as the *power* itself, or government, *are ordained of God*. This, I think, is sufficient to establish the divine right of kings, and fix the claim, in opposition to such turbulent spirits, as are uneasy at the disappointment of their secret views in another; and gives all to civil rulers that is due to them, as visible images of the Deity, in their royal authority, though not so in their original right to empire. Thus, *the most High rules in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will*(19); and *pulleth down One and setteth up another*, at His pleasure.(20)

4. I am now to consider what are the great *ends* of government. And here I must observe, that the ultimate and supreme ends of government, are the same with the last end of all creatures, and all their actions; *that God in all things may be glorified*: but then the subordinate end, and that which is the main, as it respects man, is the common good of the society, state or kingdom.

It is beneath the dignity of a rational agent to act for no end; and it is contrary to

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reason, and religion, to propound any but a good one; and the good aimed at cannot be appropriated to this or that set or party of men, in the state, without having a suitable regard to others; but must necessarily extend to the whole body, otherwise it would soon be subversive of itself. For let us consider the ends of government as having respect either to the ruler, or ruled, separately taken.

If, on the one hand, we could suppose the good, benefit, and advantage of the throne, or ruler, were the sole ends of government, this would introduce tyranny, oppression, injustice, and, by degrees, prove the overthrow of the state. For while civil rulers either through mistake of their end, or want of rectitude to act up to it, appropriate all unto themselves, and seek only their own grandeur, the making of their families, and the gratifying of their own appetites, and passions; while their constant cry is, *give, give*, and they cannot content themselves without their subject's vineyard, and snatch his ewe lamb from his bosom, and exert their authority to suppress all that they think stands in their way; whether by placing them in the front of the battle, to fall by a foreign hand, or proceeding against them with an apparent solemn form, but real prostitution, of justice, or dispatching them with a bow-string; it is evident that they will be no better than *roaring Lyons, and ranging Bears*, which gradually devour up their subjects, and their substance, till there is no more to give, or none to give it: or else, the continual oppressions, *which make wise Men mad*, will produce such ferments, and tumults among the people, as in time, to shake off the yoke, and free themselves from the tyrant.

Possibly, there have been some so giddy with power, as to imagine that the whole body of their people were made for no other end, but their use and service, as if Issachar's fate(21) in the most literal, and full, meaning of it, belonged to them, to be as *a strong Ass, couching down between two Burdens, and bowing their Shoulders to bear*; and they have not wanted of mean and despicable, sychophants, who have gaped after some scraps of their power, to flatter them into such a fond opinion of themselves, that they were absolute, unaccountable, uncontrollable, and that their subjects' lives and fortunes were at their entire disposal, and their own will was the only law to them. But the world has often had full experience, that such false ends of government have issued in the destruction of it; and those, who have been most forward to offer their necks to the feet of princes, have given conviction, how little able they were to resist the force of nature in them, when they themselves have began to feel what they meant for others.

One would be ready to think it hardly possible for any, who are not destitute of the understanding of men, and lost to all true reverence to the Deity, to entertain such

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a monstrous conception, that God Almighty, the wisest, and the best of beings, should make whole nations of men, and bring them together in societies, for no other end, but the promoting the honour, the increasing the riches, and nourishing the lusts of any single person, or any particular set of men.

On the other hand, if the good of the subject, considered as distinct from that of the ruler, were the end of government, what would the consequence of this be, but anarchy, wild disorder, and universal confusion? Which would be as destructive to government as the hottest tyranny could be. For the civil rulers of a people have not only their interests in many respects, twisted together with the subjects, but some things which belong to them, in a peculiar manner, as rulers, which are very essential to the support of government; I mean, their distinguishing honour, their authority and power, their more special security, and the like; and if these interests which are appropriated to them, should not be duly consulted, in the administration, their glory would soon become dim, their authority be trampled on, and their persons liable to the insult of every one that had more sense than understanding, and more of passion than either: And any one may easily see where this would end.

So that it is the good of the whole community both rulers and ruled in conjunction, that is the great and main end of government; and therefore we find Dr. Tillotson thus expressing himself,(22) *The great End of Government is, to preserve Men in their Rights, against the Encroachments of Fraud and Violence.* To preserve *men*, not this or that person, or this set of men, only, but the whole body of mankind, and every individual member of the body politic. Hence I suppose arose that maxim, *Salus Populi est suprema Lex*, the safety and welfare of the whole, (not the subjects only, as some are ready enough to understand it,) is to give law to the government, and to be preferred to the separate interest of any particular person whatever. As the rights, liberties, defence, protection, and prosperity of the subjects are to be consulted; so the honour, majesty and authority, of the ruler are to be considered as, unitedly, the ends of government; and though, possibly, the first may be thought the primary, and the latter the secondary ends, yet cannot they well be separated without the destruction of the government. And this I think is sufficiently taught us, in the holy Scriptures, as when the civil ruler is styled *the Breath of our Nostrils*(23); which speaks his dignity and authority, and the eminency of his station, and how necessary he is to the very existence of a political body; that were he to die *officially*, as well as *personally*, the body politic would as assuredly die with him, as the natural body does at the ceasing of the breath of our nostrils; from whence doubtless is that maxim, in our English law, *the king never*

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dies, that is the regal authority never dies. Thus also he is styled, *the Light of Israel*(24), and *the Light of the Morning*(25), to notify to us how essential he is to the well being of a people; that when this light is quenched, such a people would walk in darkness, and stumble, and fall, not knowing whither they went. Thus, he is said to *come down like Rain upon the mown Grass, and as showers that water the Earth*(26); which further expresses the dependance of the prosperity and flourishing of a people upon their civil rulers, as the springing of the grass, and the fruits of the earth, have their dependance upon the showers of heaven. Hence also our Saviour has styled them *Benefactors*(27); and the Apostle of our Lord assures us, in plain terms, *he is a Minister of God to thee for good*(28); and as if all were too low, the Almighty says of them, *I have said ye are Gods*(29).

Having thus offered some things upon the nature of government, I now proceed to the *second thing* proposed, which was,

II. To show, what it is for the throne, or government, to be *established*. And I need not to enlarge upon this head, nor would the time allow it; it shall suffice therefore only to hint at things; it does not mean that the throne only, or him that sits upon the throne, or the supreme ruler of a people, shall be established; that is, that the chief seat of government, be so fixed as to admit of no unreasonable alterations, and sad changes and revolutions. For though this is to be considered as a very essential part of the establishment of the throne, yet this alone is not all that is intended. As the throne includes the whole government, so the establishment of the throne means, the establishment of the whole, so far as is necessary to the well being of the community. Thus the establishment of the throne carries in it, the firmness and stability of the state; that it be fixed upon solid foundations, and that all the parts of it be well cemented and put together. Hence the Psalmist says,(30) *Jerusalem is builded as a City, that is compact together; there are set the Thrones of Judgment, the Thrones of the House of David*. *Jerusalem* there means the whole body of that people, state, or kingdom, and their throne was established, by their being, as a city, compact together; that is firmly united in all their parts. So, when the several branches of the authority closely adhere to the supreme head, and return all to it, as their original, as the rivers, fed by the sea, return thither; when the rulers are most firmly united to the people, in their most tender affection, and jealous concernment for their good, as the common fathers of their country; and when the people are as closely united to their rulers, in their profound honour and respect to their persons, and dutiful obedience to their lawful authority, then

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is the throne said to be established.

The stability of the throne further includes in it, the success of the administrations, both for the preservation of the *regalia*, and the security of the rights of the subject, and the promoting of the good order and virtue, the humanity and moral honesty, the peace, harmony and unity of the state, and the flourishing of the whole, in wealth, honour, and renown. Thus the throne, or government, becomes established at home, and fears no revolutions to its disadvantage; but, amidst all the vicissitudes, and changes which human affairs are subject to, it remains fixed upon its strong and steady foundations: and though the wisdom of the state may see reason to make some alterations, in some particulars, yet they will only be for the greater beauty, proportion, and durability of the whole.

And while the government is thus established at home, it is capable of enduring the shock of accidents from abroad, and fears not to be insulted, or devoured, by any foreign adversary, but its renown goeth forth into distant lands, and their terror falls upon all that think evil against them. Thus, (31)*In Righteousness shalt thou be established, thou shalt be far from Oppression, for thou shalt not fear; and from Terror, for it shall not come nigh thee.* So, when, in the admired reign of Solomon, Israel enjoyed peace among themselves, and rested from their enemies round about, and was made greatly to prosper, it is said, (32)*Because thy God loved Israel, to establish them forever, therefore made He thee King over them, to do Judgment and Justice.* And this leads me into the third thing proposed, *Viz.*

III. To take a view of that *righteousness* by which the throne or government is established. I have already observed that righteousness is to be understood as comprehensive of the social virtues; and it is to be remembered, that I am now to consider it, as it relates to the throne, or government, and not to private persons; that is I am to consider the public righteousness of a nation and people. And here it will be fitting that I should distinctly view it in its several aspects, upon the ruler, and upon the ruled, and both together: in all of which, I hope, I shall approve myself a minister of Jesus Christ preaching righteousness.

1. I am to consider righteousness, as it relates to the *ruler*, or governing part of the state; by whom, I mean, both the legislative and executive powers, in their several stations, and branches. *The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake, He that ruleth over Men, must be just, ruling in the Fear of God*(33). And there are several things to be considered, as peculiar to rulers, which are so many parts of that righteousness,

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which has a happy tendency to establish the throne. As,

(1) An *acting upon, and preserving, the Constitution*, in all the main branches of it. What ever be the Constitution, or form of government, among a people, it is what they have chosen for themselves. For all government, as we have seen, is finally resolved into choice, and consent. And however the descendants of the first Founders may groan, under the burden of those inconveniences, which their Fathers either did not foresee, or could not prevent, yet it is certain, (with a proper salvo to the natural rights of mankind, which it is the end of all government to preserve,) none can have any right to act contrary to the fundamental laws of that state, till all parties concerned agree upon such alterations as are thought needful; and then those alterations become wrought into the Constitution, and are a certain rule for all the parts of the government to go by, in their future administrations. For where, (as in mixed government especially,) there are peculiar rights and powers belonging to the throne, and some peculiar rights and privileges belonging to the people; and where, again, the rights and powers of the throne are branched out, and divided among the several partners in rule, to each their proper portion; nothing is more plain, than that, righteousness requires, that no one invade the right that peculiarly belongs to another. For this is the very notion of injustice, between man and man; and it makes no alteration in the nature of right and wrong, justice and injustice, to carry this up, from private persons, to those of a public character. So that it is the first point of righteousness in a state, to act upon the Constitution; because every part of the government, (whether we consider kings as supreme, or governours set over a people by him, or such branches of the legislative, or executive power, as are necessarily included in the Constitution, as well as the body of the people,) have as full and just right, title, and claim, in and to that part of power, or to those privileges, which are assigned and made over to them, in the very foundation of the government, as any man has, or can have, to what he calls his own; and consequently, it is the demand of righteousness, that these powers, and privileges be preserved in their proper channels, without the use of any secret craft, or open violence, to dam up the current, or divert its course another way. That is to say, that rulers are to govern according to law. Hence when the kingdom was founded in Israel, Samuel wrote the manner of the kingdom in a book, and laid it up before the Lord,(34) that it might be their MAGNA CHARTA, the fundamental Constitution of the kingdom, and the standing rule of their government for the future. Thus where there are peculiar *regalia* belonging to the throne itself, as a sacred inclosure around it, which serves to set majesty aloft, in full view, and yet at an awful distance, that by too near access and familiarity, it may not grow contemptible.

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Righteousness requires that every part of the government pay a profound reverence, and come not near to touch the royal prerogative: in which sense, may well be applied, the words of our Saviour,(35) *Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's*: they belong to Caesar, and therefore can't be taken from him, without the highest injustice, as to Caesar himself, in divesting him of his appropriated royalty, so to the state, in bringing majesty into contempt, which unavoidably weakens the government.(36)

Thus, where the Constitution provides, what may be called, a balance of power, by distributing the several branches of power to such particular parts of the government, as may have a happy tendency to prevent the encroachments of sovereignty, and the insults of the populace, there righteousness requires rulers to act up to the powers committed to them, without assuming more than belongs to them, in their particular station; and all things are carefully to be avoided, which tend to weaken any particular branch of power, and render those who are rightfully possessed of it, incapable of exerting themselves, according to their original trust; because this would be a depriving one part of the government of its due; and, however craftily the design may be carried on, will, in the end, issue in such a sway of power one way as will upset the government. Thus it will be found, upon examination, an equal departure from the rule of righteousness, to wrest the sword out of the hand of him to whom the Constitution has committed it, as to snatch the purse from those that have the keeping of it. And whether these things be considered as in an independant state, or in a dependant government, and their several powers as arising, from their original incorporation, or subsequent royal grants, I fear, they will be found, as taking from another, and appropriating to themselves, what does not belong to them; and I very much doubt whether any political views, and fetches of wit, will be sufficient to justify such an apparent falsehood in trust, and injuriousness to their neighbour; to be sure, such would be far from the character of David, of whom 'tis said, *He fed them according to the Integrity of his Heart, and guided them by the Skilfulness of his Hands.*(37)

Thus righteousness in rulers requires them to adjust all the parts of their administration to the true rights, liberties, and privileges, of the subject. These are various in their kind, and more or less, in number, and degree, according to the nature of the Constitution, and are inwrought into it; and every subject has a just claim to the benefit of them, as his proper inheritance, contracted for by his forefathers, and it may be, dearly bought and paid for, and left to him, in a long descent; as a pledge of their paternal wisdom, and affection. There is nothing a people are more tender of than these; they look upon the security of their persons, and interest, and the comfort of their

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lives, as dependant upon them; and therefore will not be persuaded easily to part with them, but say to such as attempt to invade them, as Naboth to Ahab,(38) *the Lord forbid it me that I should give the Inheritance of my Fathers unto thee*. How jealous were the old Romans, that brave people, of their privileges? At what a price did they hold them? And how greatly could they glory in them? Thus Lysias says,(39) *with a great sum obtained I this freedom*; and Paul boasts, *but I was free born*: and this made the chief captain so much afraid of his usage of Paul, when he knew he was a Roman, and so careful to preserve him afterward, because it was death by the Roman law for any in authority to violate the Roman privilege.(40) No sum would be thought too much to be given for the peculiar privileges of some people, nor can they be defended at too dear a rate; and therefore these ought to be preserved inviolate, and not easily given up, to the ambitious humour of such as imagine, it can never be well with themselves, till they have full liberty to prey upon their brethren. Hence it is the highest point of righteousness, in the rulers of a people, the primary design of whose institution was to secure the community in their rights, to be very careful to maintain entire and untouched, those natural, and civil, liberties, and privileges, which are the property of every member of the society; and to guard against the dark designs of those who are secretly endeavouring to undermine, or more openly attempt to destroy them; or through the rashness of their counsels, and stubbornness of their spirit, will rather choose to hazard the sacrificing of them, than lay aside their own will and humour. It is no new thing, for persons of a boundless ambition, and close designs, to foment a popular clamour about liberty and property, as if all was in danger, under the best of administrations, by which they delude an unthinking people, and wind themselves into their high opinion of them, as the only patriots of their country, while they mean nothing less than what they make the greatest noise about, and only make use of this politic fetch to get uppermost, and rule with the more uncontrolled sway. Thus Absalom could caress the meanest of the people, and say to every man(41) *See thy matters are Right, but there is none deputed of the King to hear thee; O, that I were made Judge in the Land, that every Man which hath any Suit or Cause, might come unto me, and I would do him Justice*. Do him justice! 'Tis likely, indeed, he should do him justice, who could be guilty of so great a wickedness as to accuse, and drive from his throne, his own father, as well as royal master; but this was the governing view, whatever was the pretence, that *every Man might come to me*: so all might but bow down to him, he cared not for father, king, or country. And, it may be, no where had the rulers, of a people, more need to place a strong guard, than against such dark

laid designs, which are founded in the affections, and jealousies of the people, and in which they are most easily deceived. Nor is it exceeding difficult to discover the cheat, by their readiness to give up all, rather than not have their humour gratified: so Solomon discovered the true mother of the living child from the pretended one.(42)

Only while rulers put on righteousness as a robe, and justice as a diadem, in the preservation, and defence, of this part of the Constitution, it seems necessary that these two rules be observed, namely, that what they so vigorously defend be a real privilege worth contending for, and that they truly have a right to it.

2. Another branch of righteousness, in rulers, requisite to establish the throne, is the providing *righteous, good, and wholesome laws*. The first notion of government is, a right to enact and then to execute, certain laws, for the regulating the society: and wherever this legislative power is lodged, it is of the highest consequence that the laws themselves be just and righteous; because, since the government is to proceed by them, if the rule itself be not straight, whatever is measured by it must needs be crooked. *If the Foundations be out of Course, what can even the righteous Man himself do?* Rulers must therefore be very careful that all their laws be righteous ones, least the subsequent acts, founded upon them, be oppressive and injurious, and they involve themselves in all the guilt of putting them in execution. David's command to Joab, to place Uriah in the front of the hottest of the battle, and retire from him that he may be smitten, and die, possibly, may sufficiently excuse Joab, while he was ignorant for what crime his master had ordered this as a punishment, but the murder is charged home upon David,(43) *thou hast killed Uriah the Hittite, with the Sword, and slain him with the Sword of the Children of Ammon.*

Thus, one of the first things the law is to provide for, seems to be the establishment, and ascertaining, of the value of the medium among a people, that they may have a sure rule to go by, in all their commerce, and business. And here, I cannot but think it worth while to transcribe a passage or two, from that great casuist, the Rev. Mr. SAMUEL WILLARD;(44) "There ought (says he,) to be one standard, to regulate the prices of things by, if men would observe righteousness in the way of commerce. — Though the prices of things may rise, and fall, still — every thing is to be valued by one standard; otherwise it is impossible that honesty should be maintained — The wise man tells us *that Money answereth all things*; — it will not only procure any other thing, but it is the standard for the settlement of the value of every thing else, as to its currency among men." Thus he. And how necessary is it that this standard be fixed and certain, nay it is not a standard without it be so; and, I presume, this can be done

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only by law, or the civil authority putting a certain value upon that which is money, properly so called, that all other things may be reduced to it as to a certain and straight rule. It was the positive Law of God, (yet in itself a moral precept;) (45) *Ye shall do no Unrighteousness in Judgment, in Mete yard, in Weight; in Measure: just Ballances, just Weights, and a just Ephah, and a just Hin, shall ye have.* And so my context says, *the just Weight, and Ballance, are the Lords.* They are what God strictly requires.(46) They are his weight, and measure, and not to be altered by man, at pleasure. And if the weight, and measure, by which men deal out to their neighbours, must be just, certain, and invariable, much more ought that to be so which is the standard of all others, and the only sure rule by which to proportion the value of every thing; which it cannot be, while it is left to every man's discretion, justice or probity, to lengthen, or shorten, to widen, or contract, to add to, or take from, it, as may best suit with his particular occasions. Till a government have made the balance even, and the weight, meteyard, ephah, and hin, of such a certain size, that every man may know what certain rule to go by, in dealing with his neighbour, it will be left to each person to act as he pleases; and when every man is left at such a lawless liberty, it will not be to be wondered at, if some that can't help it, are forced to accept of the one half of the weight and measure that others can demand; or if what was but an ounce a while ago be grown up to a pound anon, and the nail stretches itself to a yard; I mean the variations of all measure will be without bounds, because the medium that proves them is itself variable; and there will as certainly be a progression in the variation, in the diminishing hand, let the quantity of the medium be more or less, as that there are men that buy, and sell, and hope to get gain. What the consequents of this must be to a people needs, no great foresight to determine. And where the fault of all the confusion brought upon such a people, will at last be found to lie (though it might have taken its rise from human frailty, and mistake, but becomes greatly aggravated by the continuance of the error after the discovery of it,) every one may plainly see.

However, this seems pretty certain, that where a standard, and fixed measure, of all commerce, is provided by the state, it will not be in the power of any mercantile craftiness to alter it; which I think is apparent in all kingdoms, and governments where there is a fixed standard; or if some might, possibly, find their interest in little variations from the standard, yet, the government has done its duty, and so far acted righteously, as to provide a known, certain, and unvariable rule to go by. In short, all I plead for is righteousness; that a people ought to have a stated measure, a fixed medium, and there can be none but what the law makes so. Having thus provided a public standard, in

their medium,

The next thing seems to be, the legislature's reducing all things, which the members of the community may be concerned about in the way of barter, and exchange, to number, weight, and measure, that there may be no door left open, for persons of no principle, or conscience, or honour, (and such there will be in every state,) to impose upon their neighbours, in the quantity, as perhaps, they may, after all imaginable care to prevent it, in the quality, of their goods. This is that righteousness which the Divine Oracles calls for, when it assures us, *That divers Weights are an Abomination to the Lord, and a false Ballance is not Good*(47): and lays its injunctions upon us, (48)*Thou shalt not have divers Weights, a great and a small; nor diverse Measures, a great and a small; but thou shalt have a perfect, and just Weight, and a perfect, and just Measure shalt thou have.*

Thus the righteousness of the ruler is seen, in the laws being calculated, to encourage all that is virtuous and laudable, and to banish whatever is any ways injurious to the state, or to the person, name, and interest of any particular member of it, that they may *be a Terror to Evil doers, and a Praise to them that do Well*. Their righteousness is displayed, in so tempering the laws, that they may equally take toll on the great and small, and not be traps to one, and open doors to another; that one may not be burdened, and another eased, but that all parts of the body, may proportionably bear the weight, and render it light; and in adjusting all their acts and laws, to the temper and genius, to the condition and circumstances of the people. To which end, a very great regard is to be paid to the Divine laws, not only moral, but judicial, as far as the condition of a people will admit, as the result of the highest wisdom and rectitude.

And as righteousness must enter into the nature of the laws, so into the sanctions of them also; that they may be duly confirmed, and enforced, and that the penalty be proportioned to the nature of the crime, considered, in itself, and in its circumstances, as they more or less affect the preservation of the peace, and welfare, of human society, and every member of it.

3. A third instance of the righteousness in rulers, by which the throne is established, is, the due *execution of the law*, and *dispensing the rewards* of the government: For all of this is but distributive justice.

Thus, there is righteousness required in the due execution of the laws. A state or kingdom has a right to see all their just laws obeyed, and therefore is the sword put into such and such hands, jointly, or separately, that obedience may be enforced, and they may be governed according to law; and, perhaps, it may be as great a wrong to the

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government, not to put the laws in execution, as to make none. The willful neglect, therefore, of executing the law, by those to whom it belongs, will be looked upon, as the betraying an important trust, and dissolving of the government. For, should the laws be ever so good, if they are suspended, or the executive power acts contrary to them, 'tis evident the design of the ruler's office is perverted. The sword, therefore, must not be sheathed, but drawn, and made use of, to punish the bold, though there may be room for mercy to the unwilling, offender; that vice and disorder may be suppressed, and virtue and good manners may be encouraged. Hence the Apostle says of the civil ruler, (49)*he beareth not the Sword in vain; he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him that doeth evil.*

And then righteousness goes into the administration, in the strict observation of law and justice(50) in all matters of judgment, whether civil, or criminal. Hence is that, *Judges shalt thou make thee, and they shall judge the People with just Judgment; thou shalt not wrest Judgment; thou shalt not respect Persons, neither take a Gift; for a Gift doth blind the Eyes of the Wise, and pervert the Words of the Righteous: that which is altogether just shalt thou follow.*(51) The law must be impartially executed, without favour to the wealthy and great, or a false pity to the poor and unhappy: no particular affections, or distaste, or aim at private interest, should be allowed to sway in judgment; lest the righteous should be condemned, and the guilty cleared; and so *Judgment be turned into Gall, and the Fruits of Righteousness into Hemlock.*

Thus, righteousness requires a due distribution of the rewards of the government, in the promotion of persons to places of honour, trust, and service. Here, therefore, the advice of Jethro to Moses, is to be observed; *provide, out of all the People, able Men, such as fear God, Men of Truth, hating Covetousness, and place them over them*(52). The favours of the government are not to be distributed promiscuously, much less to any for their unwearied hunting after them, and least of all to them that have the impudence to offer at the purchasing of them; (53)because this will bring on the sacrificing of merit, and the prostitution of justice; but the distribution should be made to *able men*; men suitably qualified, furnished with wisdom and knowledge, sagacity and penetration, fortitude and resolution, vigour and diligence, chastity and purity of manners, proportioned to the duties of their station, and equal if it may be, to the weight that is laid upon them(54).

How unrighteous would it be, in those who have the power of dispensing such favours, to call to the Council Board, such as have not so much as a general knowledge of the nature of government, and are strangers to the Constitution, the state, and

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interests of their country? Or to place upon the bench, in the seat of judgment, such as know nothing of the law, nor how to apply it, but must be wholly directed by those who are too ready to think it their business to bend the law to their interest? How odious would it be to see, a man of no principles, and dissolute manners, set to watch over others, to preserve them within the bounds of religion and morality? This would not only be very impolitic, but unrighteous, and an unfaithful dealing out of the stock to unmeet persons, from whom little or no real service could be reasonably expected.

Besides there is some regard to be had to the outward circumstances of men, that they be *able men*; able to support the visible honour and dignity of their station. For there is something considerable in external pomp and grandeur; and a figure, answerable to a man's station, goes further than every one is aware of to uphold government itself. If, therefore, (in places purely honorary, and much more of great trust and service,) promotions are made, from the lowest of the people, to serve a turn, whose straight circumstances, low education, and mean employment, as well as personal incapacity, cannot comport with the dignity and majesty, the grandeur and state, of the post they sustain, this would be so far from distributive justice, that it would be a doing the government one of the greatest injuries. For a state, or kingdom, ever designs their rewards to the most worthy, and have a just right to the service of the ablest heads, and best hands; and it must, therefore, come vastly short of righteousness, for secret ends, to prefer such as are incapable, to men of known ability, and experience, courage and fidelity; and would be no greater kindness to the persons themselves, than the hanging out of Solomon's fool, as an object of derision, (55)*Honour is not seemly for a Fool*: and (56)*Delight is not seemly for a Fool, much less for a Servant to have rule over Princes*. [****] When it comes to this, that *the wicked rise, Men hide themselves*, as Solomon speaks, (57) *ashamed to be seen in their company, and afraid of the wild effects of their rise*. Nor will a man of wisdom, and probity, (much less others,) who would readily lay himself out to preserve the dignity of government, always be able, with his utmost care, to distinguish the feather from the head that wears it. This was what Solomon complains of in his day, (58)*There is an Evil which I have seen under the Sun, as an Error which proceedeth from the Ruler; Folly is set in great Dignity, and the Rich (in mind, as well as purse,) sit in low Places: I have seen Servants upon Horses, and Princes walking, as Servants, upon the Earth*.

4. Another branch of righteousness in rulers, by which the throne is established, is that of *communicative justice*: which, indeed, is no other than a part of that positive justice by which we render to every man his dues; and is therefore the payment of a

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debt, and not an act of grace and favour. Though there is much of righteousness in the gratuitous rewards, conferred upon those that faithfully serve the state, in the Senate, or in the field; yet this of the payment of due debts is pure righteousness, and what is most strongly enforced by the light of nature, & revelation. For all the laws of God, which demand this righteousness, between private persons, equally concern the public, which has its debts.

And here may be considered the debts of the government, which necessarily arise from the nature of things, and become due by virtue of special services done by those that are called to devote themselves to the public, though there should be nothing, in particular, covenanted for. For all government necessarily includes in the foundation of it, the support of itself; and consequently of its chief officers, who are taken off from attending upon their own private concerns, to wait upon the public. For, *who goeth a Warfare at his own Charge?* as the Apostle argues in a like case(59). Nor can it be supposed, that those who devote their thought & time, to direct and rule, to protect and defend the state, and secure the interest of others, should have no just right to a support, equal to the station they are in, and the figure they ought to make. Though doubtless, it belongs to the generous prudence of the government to judge of the *quantum*, yet not so whether a support is due: and where there has been any hope given, of any particular sum, by those who have a right to give it, this will in reason and conscience, be looked upon to amount to the nature of a promise, from which I cannot see how they can recede. With respect to this debt, founded in the very nature of government, the Word of God gives us some direction. Thus our blessed Saviour Himself directs us about the *paying of Tribute*(60), and commands us *to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's*(61): and the Apostle of our Lord says, (62)*For this Cause pay you Tribute, for they are God's Ministers, attending continually upon this very thing.* Which shows us the obligation arising from conscience and honour, from religion and gratitude, to afford a proper support unto them. And Nehemiah tells us(63), *That he had not required the Bread of the Governour, because the Bondage was heavy upon this People:* which plainly speaks his right to the bread of the governour, though he saw cause, in his fatherly compassion, not to exact it, under their present difficulties. From all which, it may very reasonably be concluded, that the ruler of a people has a right to his bread, or a maintenance equal to his character. And hence, as it cannot be according to righteousness to withhold it from him to whom it is due, nor from his heirs, after his demise, who have a right to what was due to him during his life; so neither can it be righteous for the bread of the governour to be left at such uncertainties, as to have a

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precarious dependance upon the will or humour of any men whatever; and therefore we find justice and equity leading all governments to ascertain the dues, and establish the fees of their officers: and how it can be thought agreeable to the rule of righteousness, to have the lesser branches of the government certainly provided for, with what is thought a proper stipend for their service, and those who have it in their power to fix the wages, making their own secure, while some of the greater and more significant branches are left precarious and dependant, I confess is beyond me to see. Doubtless, while the bread of the governour is more secure, and Caesar knows what is the tribute he is to receive, that he may not exact more, or others think themselves at liberty to pay less, there will be room left for any state to confer more ample rewards for his greater honour and encouragement.

Here also are considerable the public debts that arise from contract and promise; whether to private persons, for any labour and service done, or to persons of a public character, who have their established fees. As each of these have, some way or other, their demands upon the government, so the rule of righteousness by which the public, as well as private persons, are to proceed, is that, *Withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the Power of thine Hand to do it; say not to thy Neighbour go, and come again, and to morrow I will give thee, when thou hast it by thee*(64). And as there should be no needless delay in the payment, so have they a just right to the fees or stipend settled upon them, *usq, ad valorem*, to the full value of the establishment; and no change of the species into another, of much less value, though of the same denomination, can by any rule of righteousness, be looked upon as just, because, so much less in value as that other species is, so much do they come short of receiving their due debt, in full weight. And however some may not be able to help it, yet will it be esteemed nevertheless oppressive to them. The rule of righteousness here, is that, (65)*I will pay thee all*; and that, *our Money in full Weight*.(66)

Here also may be considered, the debts of a state that are due upon bond. And (besides what may be borrowed by a state of their neighbours upon plain bond, which no one will question their obligation to refund;) I suppose, of this nature are the notes issued out by any state, upon emergent occasions, which if well founded, and suitably guarded, may, perhaps, be of great advantage to the government. These receive their whole value from the act of that particular state, by which they are emitted, by which act that state becomes bound to the receiver, to exchange them for money by such a certain time; and because the time of redemption is one of the main things that gives any real value to them, and without which their worth would be but imaginary, (as is

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evident, in that no man of thought would have any thing to do with such notes as carry in them no time for payment,) therefore no one can suppose it agreeable to the rule of righteousness to postpone the fixed time; because by the same rule it may be postponed one year, it may be forever; which would amount to a *Lex expurgatoria*, and be a cancelling the bond, at one dash, without payment.

5. A fifth branch of righteousness in rulers, by which the throne is established, is the *defence of the state, the preservation of its peace, and promoting of its prosperity*. The safety, peace, and flourishing of a state or kingdom, are some of the main ends of government; and hence it is but righteousness in rulers, in these regards, to be true to their trust, and use their best endeavours that they may be promoted. Thus *Kings should reign in Righteousness, and Princes Rule in Judgment*, that they may be *as a hiding Place from the Wind, and a Covert from the Tempest, as Rivers of Water in a dry Place, and the Shadow of a great Rock in a weary Land*: as the Prophet speaks, Isa. xxxii. 1, 2.

Thus, they are obliged, in righteousness, to take care of the defence of their people from foreign enemies; and that by all proper endeavours to prevent the mischiefs of a war, by guarding against giving any just occasion to a neighbour state to take up arms against them; by cultivating a good understanding with them; and bearing, as far as is consistent with the end of government, with the lesser and more common disputes and contests, which often happen between subjects of bordering dominions; and by suppressing that ambition and thirst of empire which would embroil their subjects in war and blood. To this end also should they be careful, according to the condition and ability of their people, to provide for war in a time of peace; as, by proper magazines of armament and stores of war, that it may not be said *there is neither Spear nor Sword, found among them*; so, by securing their exposed coasts and borders with such bulwarks, as may render them the more formidable, and make it more difficult and hazardous for any enemy to make a descent upon them. For it will be looked upon, not only as an act of imprudence, but of unrighteousness, for those who are entrusted with the care of their defence, to leave their subjects open and unguarded, and, by this means, invite an ambitious neighbour to make his inroads, and insult over them, through their supine neglect. Thus Asa took care to *provide fenced Cities, with Walls and Towers, Gates and Bars, while the Land had rest*(67).

Thus also, righteousness obliges to a prudent thoughtfulness how to preserve the state in peace at home, and that not only by good and wholesome laws, but, by a particular care, not to lay any unreasonable and grievous burdens upon the people, or

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by a timely removal of them, if any such should happen; agreeable to the advice of the old men to Rehoboam(68). And it will be incumbent upon the several rulers of a people to do their part to promote the peace in their several towns and districts, and not allow themselves to stir up emulations, and strife, and foment contentions and factions, and form parties, with a view to the promoting of themselves to greater honour; and when such uncomfortable things happen, it lies with them timely to suppress them, either by showing the people the unreasonableness of their actions, and the falseness of the principles they go upon; and, by prudent keeping from any share in the government such turbulent spirits as cannot be easy except they have all; or finally, if all other means fail, by exerting their authority to subdue them.

Thus righteousness obliges them to seek the wealth and prosperity of their people. For therefore are they set over them, that they may *lead them in a Right Way*, and be *as the clear shining of the Sun after Rain*. Hence 'tis recorded of Mordecai, after his advancement in the Persian court, that *he was accepted of the Multitude of his Brethren, seeking the Wealth of his People*(69). And Nehemiah could appeal to God in those terms, *Think upon me, O God, for Good, according to all that I have done for this People*.(70) The flourishing and prosperity of a people will ever lie near the heart of a true father of his country, and is to be promoted, by rendering the government easy and supportable, by preserving the just rights of the subjects, by a free course of law and justice, by due encouragement of labour and industry, by proper premiums for serviceable manufactures; by suppressing all that tends to promote idleness, and prodigal wasting and consuming of estates; by a due testimony against all fraud, and deceit, and unrighteousness in dealings; by cultivating frugality, and good husbandry, and using due care, as far as lies in their power, that their export be at least equal to their import. These, and the like, will have a very great tendency to the prosperity of a people, which therefore very much lie upon the rulers, in justice to them, to take care of.

6. A further instance of righteousness in rulers is, a strict observation of *leagues and treaties* with neighbour nations. States and kingdoms generally have some relation to, and dependance upon, one another, as well as private persons; and as society cannot be maintained, among private persons without government, or their covenanting to submit themselves to such or such regulations; so neither can states and kingdoms uphold a profitable correspondence with one another, without treaties, leagues, contracts, and terms of agreement; which are, to those nations, the laws by which they are to govern themselves, in their conduct to each other. Sometimes these leagues and

treaties are entered into for the sake of carrying on a trade, which may be advantageous to both parties, in the consumption of the surplus manufacture of the one, and the supply of the wants of the other. Such was the league between Solomon and Hiram.(71) Sometimes such contracts are made to strengthen themselves, by alliances, against such nations and people as they may have just cause to be apprehensive of. As the league between Ahab, and Benhadad.(72) Or whatever be the motives of neighbour nations entering into treaties, and contracts with one another, this is certain, that it is a plain moral duty carefully to observe all the articles of agreement, and preserve the treaty inviolable. For this is no other than truth to their word and promise, which gathers strength the nearer it approaches the throne; for *where the Word of a King is, there is Power*, to make it good; and as Solomon says in the verse following my text, *Righteous Lips are the Delight of Kings, and they love him that speaketh right*. It is therefore articulated against Antiochus Epiphanes, for which he is stigmatised with the brand of a *Vile Person*,(73) that *after the League made with him, he shall work deceitfully*. The king's mouth should not transgress in judgment, by making use of leagues and treaties to ensnare their neighbour kingdoms with a Punic faith, and the more easily overrun them, as has been the manner of some of infamous memory. But,

7. I must add, that righteousness in rulers is to be manifested in the preservation of the *religious rights* of a people: that every man may be left free and undisturbed in the profession of his religion, that is not inconsistent with the welfare of the state. For surely men have a natural right to worship God, in that way which their own conscience stimulates them to, as most pleasing and acceptable to him. And though proper pains are to be taken with the erroneous, to convince their reason and understanding, yet civil rulers are not to assume a power to decide articles of faith, and appoint particular modes of worship, and compel any man, by external force, to the belief of the one, or practice of the other; but they are to imitate the laudable example of Gallio, the Deputy of Achaia, in whose commendation it is recorded, that in a religious controversy, he determined with himself(74) *I will be no Judge of such matters*.

Civil rulers are to be nursing fathers to the church, by their own bright example of undissembled religion, by taking care that religion be upheld, and that God is worshiped, and by suppressing all that tends to root out religion from among them; for when that goes, the strength and beauty of government goes with it. Religion is calculated for the benefit of states and kingdoms, as well as particularly persons; and the influence of it is so great to the public welfare, (as is seen in the one instance of righteousness I am speaking of,) that it greatly concerns rulers to be religious

themselves, and to use their best endeavours that their subjects may be so too.(75) Though I do not think our holy religion will be a loser by searching it to the bottom, and making all the objections that can in reason, be brought against it, but it will shine the clearer, and be established the stronger, when it is seen that it can endure the trial, and overcome all opposition; yet I doubt the running upon the Christian religion with banter and ridicule, with flout and jeer, with railing and scurrility, which so unhappily chimes in with the depraved inclinations of mankind, and gives such a titillation, to the wild imagination which is easily hurried away with the laugh, will go far in banishing all religion out of the world; which seems to be the last and strongest effort of diabolical policy in the Satanic agents of the present age; if God in infinite compassion to mankind do not prevent it. Here therefore the rulers of a people are to exert themselves, and prevent such insults upon our holy religion. “The heathen (said Dr. Tillotson(76)) would never suffer their gods to be reviled, which yet were no gods; and shall it, among the professors of the true religion, be allowed to any man to make a mock of Him that made heaven and earth and to breathe out blasphemies against Him who gives us life and breath and all things.” Surely, rulers in a Christian state owe it unto that *incarnate Word and Wisdom* of God, from whom they receive their authority, to assert his holy religion and defend it from contempt; and they owe it unto their people, who are to be protected from insult in their religious as well as civil rights; so should they be shields of the church.

Thus, the civil ruler should preserve the rights of the Christian church, not only by countenancing their assembling to worship, their choice of their officers, and their church administrations, but by encouraging their associating in councils, and synodical assemblies, for the mutual benefit of all the parts of the church of Christ, and the communion of churches, which is so necessary to their well being. Thus, they should speak comfortably to the ministers of the Lord, as it is recorded of Hezekiah, *he spake comfortably to all the Levites that taught the good Knowledge of the Lord.*(77) And since those that teach the good knowledge of the Lord are greatly instrumental to preserve the peace of the state, and promote the honour and obedience which the people pay to their rulers, by preaching the laws of Christ which strongly enjoin these duties, it is but just in the civil ruler to show a decent respect to the minister of Christ, and remember the honour that belongs to him in his place and encourage him to his work; and not as some little minds are too apt to do, who, as soon as they are raised to a small figure in the state, think they must rule in the church also, and therefore enter a contest with their minister, and excite such as now have some dependance on them to a

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disrelish of his person, gifts, or performances, that if possible they may subdue him to their humour, and by that means bring the people where they dwell to what terms they please.

Thus the civil ruler should secure the rights of the church by taking care of the support of its officers, who have a right to their maintenance, by the light of nature, and the law of the Gospel, if there were no promise from their people. Thus Hezekiah, *commanded the People to give the Portion to the Priests and Levites, that they might be encouraged in the Law of the Lord.*(78) And where the difficulties of that order of men are peculiarly great and the one half the value of what they might expect and has been promised to them, is not paid them, through a defect in an uncertain medium, and they have no ways to help themselves, (but the very asking of justice of their people is the certain road to a quarrel, which puts an end to their opportunities for service,) while all others can alleviate the difficulty, by advance upon their labour and wares, and even their interest, it seems a point of justice due, to so great, and, I trust I may say, valuable a branch of the community; and the obligation thereto is the stronger where the government, has though not designedly, brought the difficulty upon them to secure them from oppression; by particular provision in the law for them, proportioning their stipend to some certain standard, that the quarrels about it may cease, and they and their offspring may not be made contemptible by their poverty, nor the offerings of the Lord be despised because of the mean and low circumstances of them that present them. This I thought fitting to observe, not for my own sake, who through the favour of God, and kindness of my people, need is not, but in compassion to my poor brethren through the country, who suffer for want such particular provision for them.

I pass,

II. To consider righteousness as it relates to the *ruled*, or governed part of the state. And what is needful here may be reduced to these heads, of honour, obedience, maintenance, defence, and prayer, which are so plain, that I need not enlarge upon them.

1. The first branch of righteousness in the subject, is the paying all due *honour* to the ruler. For the peculiar characters of the Deity upon them, beyond what is to be found upon other men, in their authority and dominion over rational agents; and the special relation they stand in to the subjects, as fathers to their country, shows that it is an act of righteousness to give the highest civil honours to them, proportionable to their rank and station. This honour is to be paid to them in the inward love and affection we

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are to bear them, the high opinion and esteem we are to entertain of them, and the very great veneration and awe of the mind to them: hence is that(79) *My Son fear thou the Lord, and the King*. This honour is to be manifested, in our outward behaviour, by our speaking honourably of them, treating them with the greatest deference, with all the customary marks of respect, and observing our due distance. Hence says the Apostle, *Fear God, Honour the King*(80). This honour is to be paid to them for the sake of their office, and should be greatly increased from their personal worth, and the superiority of their powers, and their filling and honouring their station with a wise and prudent, righteous and just, generous and paternal management.

2. Another instance of righteousness in subjects is *obedience* to their rulers. If it be righteous in the ruler to make good and wholesome laws, it is equally righteous in the subject to obey them. Hence says the Apostle,(81) *Put them in mind to be Subject to Principalities and Powers, and Obey Magistrates*. Obey them in the execution of their office, and in their laws, even all of them, that do not interfere with the prior obligations every man lies under to obey God rather than man. For it cannot be supposed that any man should, nor indeed can he, give up this right, because it is not at his own disposal; nor may any man rightfully assume what belongs to another, much less what belongs to God. But all the judicial laws of a state, (as well as plainly moral ones) that are calculated to promote their peace and flourishing, the support and defence of the government, and the like, wherein the rights of the great Lord of conscience are not specially concerned, are readily to be obeyed. For thus the Word of God teaches us, (82)*Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers*; and (83)*ye must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake*. Yea though the law should prove injurious, as possibly it may, to a particular person, when it designs the good of all, yet it is to be submitted to; and if all fair and lawful means, can not bring an innocent person off from the penalty he has unhappily fallen under, it must be endured without any resistance; because every man has so far resigned up his own private thoughts of right and wrong, in civil matters, to the public judgment of the ruler, in a legal process, as to be determined by it.

3. A further instance of righteousness in the subject, is the honourable *maintenance* and support of the throne, or ruler. I considered this under another head, as the act of those who have the legal power of conferring the rewards, and payment of the debts of the government; but now it is to be considered as the duty of every individual subject, upon whom the tax is levied, for the supplying the Treasury. This the body of a people owe to their rulers, who lay out their time and strength, their ability

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and opportunities in their service, to bear the burden of their support, without thinking much of the small pittance that falls to every man's share. This God and nature requires,(84) *Render unto all their Dues, Tribute to whom Tribute is due.* And as the taxes which are raised for the support of the rulers, and other charges of the government, are to be proportioned, in righteousness, upon the subjects, by those who have the power of the assessment, so should every man look upon himself bound, in justice, with cheerfulness, to do his part towards the honourable support of their rulers, without murmuring and complaint, or necessitating a distreint.

4. A readiness to *defend the person and authority* of the ruler, is justly due from the subject. For, as the civil ruler, in the very nature and design of his office, is set for the defence of the subject's person, and rights, natural, civil, and religious, against any foreign adversary, or intestine foe; so it is but just that the subject should be ready upon all proper occasions to protect the person, and secure the authority of their rulers, against all unjust attempts that may be made upon them. This they should do by carefully avoiding factions, seditions, conspiracies, and seasonably discovering such as they may know of. This is the advice of Solomon,(85) *My Son, meddle not with them that are given to Change.* And when it shall happen that their rulers are exposed in the midst of riots at home, or from an open enemy attempting to strip them of their authority, their subjects should readily take up their lives in their hands, and expose them to the greatest hazards, in defence of their persons and government, saying as the men of Israel to David,(86) *Thou art worth Ten thousand of us.* And well may they be reproached with their valour and fidelity, and be looked upon as worthy to die, who will not expose themselves to any hardships and dangers *to keep their Master the Lord's anointed.*(87)

5. The last instance I shall mention of righteousness, in subjects to their rulers, is their earnest *prayer* to God for them. That wisdom and skill which are profitable to direct: that courage, resolution and vigour, which are necessary to prosecute the affairs of government, come down from the Father of lights; the care and burden, the labour and toil, the fatigue and perplexities of government are undertaken and borne with, for the benefit of the subject; the whole community reaps the advantage of the wise and just administrations of their rulers; all of which loudly calls upon the subjects, as a righteous debt, to be importunate in their daily supplications to Heaven on the behalf of them that have the rule over them: that the Supreme Ruler of the world, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, princes, and nobles, would cause the spirit of government to rest upon them, furnish them with wisdom, and largeness of heart, to know how to go in and out

before his people, choose out a right way for them, and crown their administrations with desired success, for the preservation of the peace, and advancement of the prosperity of their people, for the suppressing of disorder, and the encouragement of virtue, and pure and undefiled religion; that they may sit down under their shadow with delight, and be greatly refreshed with their benign influences, and there may be none to make them afraid. Thus prays the Psalmist,(88) *Give the King thy Judgments, O God, and thy Righteousness unto the King's Son.* And thus the Apostle of our Lord hath taught us,(89) *I exhort — that Prayers be made — for Kings, and for all that are in Authority, that we may lead a peaceable and quiet Life, in all Godliness, and Honesty.*

3. The third, and last thing, under this head, is to consider the righteousness which promiscuously belongs both to rulers and subjects. And here it may suffice only to hint at two things, *viz.*

(1) First, righteousness *in dealings* one with another. That is, that no man go beyond, or defraud his brother in any matter, either by unfaithfulness in the trust committed to them, respecting any business, or disposition of any interest, or by falsifying their word and promise; by unreasonable detaining the hire of the labourer, or wasting another's time that should have been spent in his service; by over-reaching another in bargains and contracts and sales, imposing upon their ignorance, or preying upon their necessity; by palming false wares, defective merchandise, and unperfected manufactures, for good and perfect; by over charges, and false accounts, and deceitful reckonings; by unjust and litigious and expensive law suits; or by any other way in which one man may be a sufferer from another. And here, the rule by which every man is to proceed in his dealings is that, *All things whatsoever ye would that Men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.*(90)

(2) A *public spirit*; which is every man's seeking the good of the whole. This was one of the master virtues of the old Romans, and possibly, more than any one thing, contributed to their greatness. And it is but a piece of justice in every member of a community, to be fired with a generous resolution of soul to devote himself, and his interest to the public, and look upon his all, as a part of, and belonging to the whole; and, not by a disordered and sordid temper, appropriate the nourishment so to himself, as to bring on a stagnation in any part of the political body, which will endanger the whole. The Apostle's rule is that,(91) *Let no Man seek his own, but every Man another's Wealth.* No man was born for himself, but for mankind. A contracted narrow selfish spirit will unavoidably be guilty of injustice; for while such an one can see nothing but self-interest, he is blind to his neighbour's. And he that withholds from

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the public its due, what right has he to the benefits of the community? A public spirited man will ever be a just man; and his generous soul will expand itself in great and noble actions for the service of his country; especially in those extensive services of founding, and endowing, of schools, and colleges, where the rising generation are in a peculiar manner, trained up and fitted for public usefulness. Thus they return into the public a part, at least, of what they have amassed under the advantages of it; and leave behind them lasting monuments of the largeness of their hearts. How famous will the name of HOLLIS, that man of a truly undisguised and generous soul, be to all succeeding generations! May his noble example provoke others, and such among ourselves, in particular, as have equal capacity, and stronger obligations, to a noble imitation. This is that righteousness which establishes the throne, on which the security and happiness of a people has a great dependance. But I must pass to the last head, *viz.*

IV. To lay before you some evidence that the throne *is*, and *will be* established by righteousness. And I need only to sum up the evidence under these heads.

1. That this will render the throne or government *firm and stable within itself*. For when their Constitution is acted upon, all due honours are paid to the rulers of a people, and their rights, liberties, and privileges are securely enjoyed, their persons are free from insult, and their property from encroachments by fraud or violence; while none but good and wholesome laws are enacted, and these duly executed, to the suppressing of all disorder and immorality, which for ever is more or less detrimental to the state; while men of an excellent spirit are preferred, and merit is suitably rewarded, and every man reaps the benefit of the services he does for the public; while the administrations are calculated to promote the peace and flourishing of the government, and every man is in the possession of his truly valuable religious liberties; while every man is careful to treat his neighbour by the laws of justice, and a public spirit runs through the whole community; what would the necessary result of all this be, but the stability of the throne and government at home? For what could there be among such a people to render them uneasy? The prince would smile under the weight of the crown, and the burden of empire, because they sit easy upon him. The people would salute their rulers with their joyful acclamations, *Let the king live for ever*, because of their safe possessions, and quiet habitations. There would be nothing to stir up mutiny and sedition, or provoke them to conspiracies, or to make them so much as entertain a secret wish for a change, in the person of their rulers, or, in their Constitution. If a malignant spirit should happen to start up in some by-nook or corner of the land, he

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would not find materials to work upon, because every man would sensibly perceive himself safe, under the shadow of his own vine and fig tree, and that he eats the fruits thereof with joy and gladness of heart.

So that from the very mention of these things it is apparent, that the throne is established, the government is safe and the persons of their rulers secure. Then, as the Prophet speaks,(92) *Judgment shall dwell in the Wilderness, and Righteousness, remain in the fruitful Land; and the Work of Righteousness shall be Peace, and the Effect of Righteousness, Quietness, and Assurance forever; and my People shall dwell in a peaceable Habitation, and in sure Dwellings, and in quiet resting Places: when Righteousness shall be the Girdle of his Loyns, and Faithfulness the Girdle of his Reins, then, the Wolf shall dwell with the Lamb; and the Leopard shall lie down with the Kid; and the Calf, and the young Lion, and the Fatling, together; and a little Child shall lead them; and they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy Mountain*(93). Whereas, the reverse of this righteousness will unavoidably, sooner or later, bring on rapine and violence, tyranny and oppression, murmuring and discontent, contempt of authority, and trampling upon laws, tumults, seditions, conspiracies, which will shake the foundations of the throne, and, if not timely prevented, prove the overthrow of the government.

2. This righteousness will procure them *admiration, reverence and fear from abroad*, and this will establish the throne. For the distant prospect of the continual fresh and untarnished glories of the rulers; and the happy liberty, riches, flourishing, and unity of the subjects, will naturally raise the admiration of surrounding nations, as rare, and great things do, and extort from them the transport of the southern queen, upon the view of Solomon's glory,(94) *happy are thy Men, and happy are these thy Servants, — because the Lord loved Israel therefore made he thee King over them, to do Judgment and Justice*. And who could contemplate the steadiness of their counsels, the evenness of their conduct, and the regularity of their behaviour, without an inward reverence, saying,(95) *Surely this great Nation is a wise and understanding People; for what Nation is there so great, that hath Statutes and Judgments so righteous*. As this would tend to draw foreigners to them, and enlarge their trade, and promote their prosperity; (for who would not choose to dwell with such a righteous and happy people?) so the perfect harmony and agreement among themselves, their regular and prudent provision for their own defence, and the generous concern for the public running through all their actions, would render them formidable to all that behold their comely order, united force, and displayed banners: And while there is nothing among

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themselves to move any to call in a foreign power; and alliances, treaties, and leagues of friendship and commerce, are inviolably maintained; the seeds of war, (the lust of empire, and revenge of injuries,) are rooted up, and they will have but little cause to be apprehensive of a foreign adversary.

Whereas, on the contrary, unrighteousness, in tyranny and oppression, in seditions and tumults, and the like, invite a foreign enemy; and a perfidious breach of articles provokes them to revenge their own cause. Thus, Solomon observes,(96) *Righteousness exalteth a Nation, but Sin is a Reproach to any People*. Righteousness renders them loved, honoured, and feared, both at home, and abroad, and so exalts them, establishes their throne, and very much sets them out of the reach of danger; while the want of it, renders them despicable, and obnoxious, makes their throne totter, and their government unstable, and they become an easy prey to their own feuds, and an adjacent adversary.

3. This righteousness will be the most direct way to the *divine protection and blessing*. If there were no natural influence in this rectitude and purity of the manners of a people, to establish the throne, yet such a blessing might rationally be expected from the conduct of Divine Providence. For thus God Almighty has been wont to favour a righteous nation, and encompass them with his protection as with a shield; and His overruling Providence has been a pillar of fire to them to enlighten them in a time of darkness, of a cloud to defend them, in times of danger. And many are the promises of God in His holy Word to this purpose; thus, in my text, *the Throne shall be established by Righteousness*; thus,(97) *take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be established in Righteousness*; so,(98) *the King by Judgment establisheth the Land, the King that is faithful Judgeth the Poor, his Throne shall be established forever*. This was God's covenant to his people of old,(99) *If thou wilt hearken diligently unto the Voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and do all his Commandments, the Lord thy God will set thee on high above all Nations of the Earth; — the Lord shall establish thee an holy People unto himself; and all the People of the Earth shall be afraid of thee*. Thus we read,(100) *I will lay thy Stones with fair Colours, and thy Foundations with Saphire; I will make thy Windows of Agate, and thy Gate of Carbuncles, and all the Borders of precious Stones; and all thy Children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the Peace of thy Children: in Righteousness shalt thou be established, thou shalt be far from Oppression, for thou shalt not fear; and from Terror, for it shall not come near thee*. (101) *The Lord is exalted for he dwelleth on high, He hath filled Zion with Judgment and Righteousness; and Wisdom*

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and Knowledge shall be the Stability of thy Time, and Strength of Salvation: he that walketh Righteously, and speaketh Uprightly, he that despiseth the Gain of Oppressions, that shaketh his Hands from holding of Bribes, and stoppeth his Ears from hearing of Blood, and shutteth his Eyes from seeing Evil; he shall dwell on high, his Place of Defence shall be the Munition of Rocks; Bread shall be given him, and his Waters shall be sure. And let me add that, in Psalms lxxii, init: which contains the description of a righteous nation, and the blessing of God upon it. Give the King thy Judgments, O God, and thy Righteousness unto the King's Son; he shall Judge the People with Righteousness, and the Poor with Judgment; the Mountains shall bring forth Peace, and the little Hills by Righteousness; he shall save the Children of the needy, and break in Pieces the Oppressor: — he shall come down like Rain upon the mown Grass, as Showers that water the Earth; in his Days shall the Righteous flourish, and there shall be Abundance of Peace, so long as the Moon endureth: — they that dwell in the Wilderness shall bow before Him, and his Enemies shall lick the Dust. And what greater assurance can we have of the establishment of the throne?

Thus, God dealt not only with his own people, but when pagan Rome was renowned for righteousness in their administrations, and a public spirit influenced them in their actions, how happy were they within themselves, and glorious in the eye of the world? till luxury and covetousness, pride and ambition, brought on unrighteousness, in their several orders, and then *they sunk in minutes, who in ages rose.*

And how can it be expected otherwise? *Shall the Thrones of Iniquity have Fellowship with Thee, which frameth Mischief by a Law?* Will such a nation as this be the darling heaven? And shall their throne be established? Who can reasonably look for such a thing? When *Wickedness gets into the Place of Judgment, and Iniquity into the Place of Righteousness*, it may well be feared that the most High will take such a people into his own hands, and make such distreints upon, as shall cost them dear for every act of unrighteousness; for *tho' Hand joyn in Hand yet shall not the Wicked go unpunished*; and that He will not give over punishing them? if they refuse to be reformed, till, by giving them up to their own counsels, and leaving them to the ways of their own heart, (grievous oppressions and civil discords, a mad zeal, and a perverse spirit,) the foundations of their throne be torn up, and they become a ruinous heap: of which the Jewish nation are a standing monument.

Having thus gone through the several heads I proposed to speak to, I shall leave the more particular application to be made by those who are more especially concerned; and only say,

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And now, O Israel, *what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to do Justice?* Righteousness is the great comprehensive duty, considered in our public relation; and we have seen what it is, and the vast influence of it to our establishment. Give me leave then, much honoured, to press this important duty upon the government, and especially upon those who are concerned in the elections of this day.

My fathers, great is the trust that is reposed in you; great are the expectations of God, and His people from you; and great the (102)account you have to give how this opportunity is improved.

I look upon it as an unspeakable privilege we enjoy, by virtue of the Royal Charter, above the inhabitants of Great Britain itself, that the representative body of this people, in conjunction with his Majesty's Council in being, have the power and liberty to choose the succeeding counsellors; and if it were only for this, our charter may well be esteemed as an hedge about us, and much too valuable to be parted with; what ever may be the secret views of some that would bring us into a light opinion of it. So thought that great and just man, who sat so long the prime minister of our state, when, apprehensive of the danger we were in of losing our charter, he gave that generous order to his son then in England, which, sixteen years ago, we were publicly informed of, upon this occasion(103). God has honoured that his son, in making him instrumental to preserve our liberties, and now has further honoured him before all the people, in placing him at the head of the government among us. And when we consider your Excellency, not only as one of the sons of our people, but, the son of such a father, and under his dying charge, we may, doubtless, with safety repose our confidence under your shadow, and having nothing to fear, from your administrations, that will be detrimental to the true interests of your native country, the place of your father's sepulcher. The distinguishing grace of our Royal Master, in filling the reserved posts of honour in the government, with our own sons, as well as his most favourable answers to us, in cases that have excited some uneasiness in our superiors, may fully convince us that our real liberties are in no danger, unless we make them so, under a reign of so much righteousness and clemency; the happy fruits of the match of the Prince of Orange with a daughter of England; and may the late intermarriage of the same illustrious House with a daughter of Great Britain, have its happy influences to the confirming the throne in righteousness, and us in the privileges we derive from the glorious King WILLIAM. It lies therefore with the Great and General Assembly of this Province, under God, to render us safe and happy, by the rectitude and justice of their proceedings: the first step to which is in the choice of proper persons to fill the Council

Board.

The nobles of Great Britain, after all the stir that sometimes has been made by the Commons, about liberty and property, have generally, if not always, been the strongest bulwark to the subject's liberties, and have made the best stand when encroachments upon them have been attempted; and I doubt not but his Majesty's honourable Council of this Province, who are a medium between the sovereign, and the people, are generally as vigorous defenders of the subject's just liberties, as strenuous assertors of his Majesty's royal prerogative.

We may always have the Council filled with the ablest and best men in the country, men of probity and undissembled religion, which only will keep a man steadily just under all temptations; men of the best knowledge and understanding in the state and interests of their country; men of a plain and open integrity, that despise craft, and hate insincerity, and abhor an unjust action; men of courage and resolution that will dare to appear on the behalf of righteousness; men of the best interests, who, however ready they are to serve the public with them, cannot easily be persuaded to sacrifice them to the humours of such as may be set over us, or to entail such difficulties upon their posterity, as they dread themselves. Not only is this honourable Council necessary, as the ablest heads, to the framing our laws, but without them 'tis not in the power of any that may be over us to constitute judges, justices, or sheriffs, nor to make any disposition of our money; so that neither can our treasures be improved, our persons seised, our causes, civil or criminal, tried, but in such a way, and by such persons, as they shall approve of. Happy privileges! And whose fault will it be if we have such counsellors, as either are not able to advise, or cannot be trusted. If such are chosen to that honorable Board as may, and ought to be, we may safely confide in them, and have nothing to fear from their abuse of power, or ill disposition of our treasures: but if such as are destitute of all personal qualifications, and of low and mean fortunes, should be chosen to that important trust, we have all to fear that is the natural result of weakness and dependance.

Suffer me, upon this occasion, to mind you of the words of that great man, whose masterly hand delineated the earthly ruler in the bright characters of God's.(104) "Elections, (said he) must not be made by personal favour. None must be chosen, nor overlooked, barely because they are not friends to *these*, or enemies to *those*. Be not led in your choice by secret suggestions in a corner, where one man may be *canonized*, and a better *reprobated*: but be governed by the known characters of men, that are generally approved of. This was the ancient rule, *take Men known among your Tribes*.(105) The

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rule of elections many times is not merit, capacity, and integrity, but some other considerations, that rather argue persons unfit, than qualified for service. Such, as have too much the command of the public voice, will have this man preferred, because he is of the *right party*, – though wholly destitute of wisdom, probity, and a true genius for government. On the other side, *this* and *that* man must be laid aside, as unqualified, only because, – he has not just the same set of thoughts with some others, who would fain set up for the first *ministers of state*, and *masters of policy*: these despair to carry on their own private, dark designs by them; they can't make them their tools, speak through them, and act by them. And by this means it comes to pass the most worthy are rejected, and not improved; while the unworthy, the weak, the halt and blind are exalted.” Thus he.

And may I add, if ever such an unhappy thing should happen, as that those, who are entrusted with so great an interest, and in which the welfare of this country is so much concerned, should suffer themselves to be so much imposed upon, as, instead of choosing the best and ablest men, to attempt to weaken His Majesty's Council, by calling to that honourable Board, men utterly unqualified for so high a station, that they may be the more easily managed, be kept under the influence, and improved to promote the secret designs, of those that advanced them; FAREWELL THE GLORY OF NEW ENGLAND. For it would be next to impossible that such should be able either to choose out a right way for us, or prevent the designs of those that would lead us wrong; but either their weakness, and narrow contracted view of things, or their mean and low and criminal regards to them that set them up, and can pull them down, would expose us to such rash and hasty measures, which intriguing men may have on foot, as would render us obnoxious to the just resentments of those we have our dependance on, and greatly entangle and embarrass all our affairs. And, besides the indignity and affront to majesty, to make mean men its companions, and children its advisers, would it not be an act of the greatest unrighteousness to the country, and have the most direct tendency to unsettle the government, so to betray such an important trust? Yea, what more severe threatening has God Himself denounced against a people, than that, *I will give Children to be their Princes, and Babes to rule over them?*(106)

That there has been a struggle in the country, for several years, is too evident to be denied. But I fear it would puzzle the ablest head to give a good account of it, and say, for what we have spent so much treasure, lost so much time, gained the displeasure of our superiours, and kindled divisions among our selves. What have we got; or what are we in pursuit of; that is equal to all this? Have any of our essential privileges, as

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Britains, or New England men, been struck at? Blessed be God, and thanks to our gracious sovereign, these remain yet firm and unshaken.

My fathers, we beseech you, suffer not a party cause to influence you this day; but dare to be true to your God, to your king, and to your country, in choosing such for his Majesty's Council, as both *can*, and *will*, support their character, answer to their station, and approve themselves loyal to their sovereign, and faithful to the best interests of their country; that are men of too big souls, and too strongly fortified with the steady principles of righteousness, to be overawed by the chair of state, or meanly modeled by the most leading among the tribunes of the people. Ever be jealous of those that are obstinate in trifles. And look upon such as the most unfit to influence you in your choice, who can bid such open defiance to Heaven, as, when they have in a solemn manner called upon the ministers of the Lord to enquire of God on their behalf, to turn their backs upon the religious solemnities, and retire to their secret chambers, to form a party to accomplish their designs. *Is it not because there is not a God in Israel, that they go to enquire of the God of Ekron?*

How many solemn warnings have, once and again, both formerly and lately, been given, by the faithful ministers of the Lord, against those things that have the most melancholy aspect upon us, and greatly threaten the desolation of our country? And give me leave to address you in the words of Jehosaphat, *Hear me, O Judah, and ye Inhabitants of Jerusalem, believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; believe His Prophets, so shall ye prosper.*(107)

Forgive me, if I observe to you, that my greatest fears arise from the threatening aspect the want of righteousness has upon our land.

As for that unrighteousness which is to be observed in the private life, there seems to be a necessity of further provision in the law to prevent it. And particularly, what we fear will be the consequence of the public notes being called in, at their appointed time, before particular persons have discharged their obligations, arising upon them, seems to require timely provision, to guard against the oppression and injustice which, probably, will ensue. But this has been set in so good a light, and spoken to with such cogency, by the very Rev. Dr. COLMAN, in his late Discourse, *preparatory to a Fast*, that I shall say nothing further concerning it.

As to public righteousness, the righteousness by which the throne is established, this has been set before this honourable Assembly; and it will now lie, with those more especially concerned, to view over the instances that have been named, and see whether there is nothing that wants to be amended; and to enter upon the business of the year

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with this first act of righteousness, an unbiased choice of his Majesty's honourable Council, that it may be a happy token of the rectitude of the administrations, throughout the whole of it.

O remember the awful commination of God to his people of old,(108) *How is the faithful City become an Harlot? It was full of Judgment, Righteousness lodged in it; but now, — Therefore, saith the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, the mighty One of Israel, Ah; I will ease me of mine Adversaries, and avenge me of mine Enemies.*

But surely, *His Salvation is nigh unto them that fear Him, that Glory may dwell in our Land: Mercy and Truth are met together, Righteousness and Peace have embraced each other; Truth shall spring out of the Earth, and Righteousness shall look down from Heaven; yea, the Lord shall give that which is good, and our Land shall yield its Increase; Righteousness shall go before him, and place our Feet in His Way(109). Then shall thy Light break forth as the Morning, and thy Health shall spring forth speedily; and thy Righteousness shall go before thee, and the Glory of the Lord shall be thy Rereward(110): and for Brass I will bring Gold, and for Iron I will bring Silver; I will also make thy Officers Peace, and thy Exactors Righteousness; Violence shall no more be heard in thy Land, Wasting nor Destruction within thy Borders, but thou shalt call thy Walls Salvation, and thy Gates Praise(111): then shall they use this speech in thy land, and in the cities thereof,(112) (with which benediction I conclude,) THE LORD BLESS THEE, O HABITATION OF JUSTICE, AND MOUNTAIN OF HOLINESS.*

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1. Verse 10.
2. *A great sagacity and piercing judgment to discern dubious and difficult cases.* Mr. Pool. in Loc.
3. The printer asks the learned author's pardon, and his reader's excuse, for the want of Hebrew types.
4. Psal. xcvii. 2.
5. Rom. ii. 14.
6. Prov. viii. 15, 16.
7. Rom. xiii. 1.
8. Acts vii. 37.
9. Deut. xvi. 18.
10. Exod. xii. 28.
11. Rom. xiii. 1.
12. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.
13. Rom. xiii. 2.
14. Hence is that of Hesiod, ex. [...]: and thus Homer, [...]
15. 1 Sam. viii. 19, 20.
16. Compare 1 Sam. ix. 15. with 1 Sam. x. 17. and xi. 15. and compare 1 Sam. xvi. 13. with 2 Sam. ii. 4. and v. 2, 3.
17. 1 Pet. ii. 13.
18. *Causa essi lens Reip. principalis est Consensus mutuus, et Obligatio.* Alst.
19. Dan. iv. 17.
20. Psalm lxxv. 7.
21. Gen. xlix. 14, 15.
22. Vol. I. page 39.
23. Lam. iv. 20.
24. 2 Sam. xxi. 17.
25. 2 Sam. xxiii. 4.
26. Psal. lxxii. 6.
27. Luk. xxii. 25.
28. Rom. xiii. 4.
29. Psal. lxxxii. 6.
30. Psalm cxxii. 3, 5.
31. Isa. liv. 14.
32. 2 Chron. ix. 8.

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33. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3.
34. 1 Sam. x. 25.
35. Matth. xxii. 21.
36. Hence is that political axiom, *Amissam Authoritatem Magistratus, sequitur amissio et mutatio Imperiorum.*
37. Psal. lxxviii. 72.
38. 1 Kings xxi. 3.
39. Acts xxii. *lat. End.*
40. Mr. Burkit in Loc.
41. 2 Sam. xv. 2, 3, 4.
42. 1 Kings iii. 25.
43. 2 Sam. xii. 9.
44. Body of Div. p. 707.
45. Levit. xix. 35, 36.
46. Are God's work, made by his direction and appointment, so as no man can corrupt, or alter them, without violating God's right, and incurring his displeasure. Pool. in Loc.
47. Prov. xx. 23.
48. Deut. xxv. 13, 14, 15.
49. Rom. xiii. 4.
50. *Magistratus enim debet esse Jus animatum, et Lex loquens.* Alst.
51. Deut. xvi. 18, 19, 20.
52. Exod. xviii. 21.
53. The Emp. Severus strictly forbade the sale of places, saying, *Necesse est ut qui emit, vendat.*
54. *Honor civilis debetur soli actioni virtutis.*
55. Prov. xxvi. 1.
56. Prov. xix. 10.
57. Prov. xxviii. 28.
58. Eccl. x. 5, 6, 7.
59. 1 Cor. ix. 7.
60. Matth. xvii. 24, 25.
61. Matth. xxii. 21.
62. Rom. xiii. 6.
63. Neh. v. 18.

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64. Prov. iii. 27, 28.
65. Matth. xviii. 26.
66. Gen. xliii. 21.
67. 2 Chr. xiv. 6, 7.
68. 1 Kings xii. 7.
69. Esth. x. 3.
70. Neh. v. 19.
71. 1 Kings v. 12.
72. 1 Kings xx. 34.
73. Dan. xi. 23.
74. Act. xviii. 15.
75. Plato could say, *precipua ars Magistratui Religio est.*
76. Vol. 1. pag. 40.
77. 2 Chron. xxx. 22.
78. 2 Chron. xxxi. 4.
79. Prov. xxiv. 21.
80. 1 Pet. ii. 27.
81. Tit. iii. 1.
82. Rom. xiii. 1.
83. ver. 5.
84. Rom. xiii. 7.
85. Prov. xxiv. 21.
86. 2 Sam. xviii. 3.
87. 1 Sam. xxvi. 15, 16.
88. Psal. lxxii. 1.
89. 1 Tim. ii. 1.
90. Matth. vii. 12.
91. 1 Cor. x. 14.
92. Isa. xxxii. 16, 17, 18.
93. xi. 5, 6, 9.
94. 1 Kings x. 8, 9.
95. Deut. iv. 6, 8.
96. Prov. xiv. 34.
97. Prov. xxv. 5.
98. Prov. xxix. 4.

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99. Deut. xxviii. 1-9.
100. Isa. liv. 11, 12, 13, 14.
101. Isa. xxxiii. 5, 6, and 15, 16.
102. *Quicquid a vobis minor extimescit,
Major hoc vobis Dominus minatur:
Omnia sub Regno graviore Regnum est.*
Sen.
103. Dr. Colman's Elec. Sermon. 1718. pag. 48.
104. Mr. Pemberton's Sermon. pag. 196.
105. Ibid pag. 188.
106. Isa. iii. 4.
107. 2 Chron. xx. 20.
108. Isai. i. 21, 24.
109. Psal. lxxxv. 9 —
110. Isai. lviii. 8.
111. Isai. lx. 17, 18.
112. Jer. xxxi. 23.