

THE REVEREND JACOB RICE:
ANGLICAN MINISTRY AND PREACHING IN
EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NEWFOUNDLAND

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GEOFF PEDDLE



*The Reverend Jacob Rice:
Anglican Ministry and Preaching
in Early Eighteenth Century Newfoundland*

by
Geoff Peddle

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Abstract

This thesis will examine the ministry and sermons of the Rev. Jacob Rice, who served in St. John's in the early years of the eighteenth century. Chapter One will focus upon the specific religious, social and economic conditions of life in Newfoundland during the early eighteenth century, and show how the first decades of that century were not conducive for the development of religious institutions in Newfoundland. The next chapter will look at Jacob Rice's relationship with the Church of England and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and examine his ministry in Newfoundland from his arrival in 1705 until his departure in 1712 or 1713. Chapter Three will explore both the development and practice of preaching within the Church of England as a whole, and also the approach to preaching favored by Rice. The thesis will show that the structure and style favored by Rice was consistent with that of the average Anglican preacher in the early eighteenth century. The content of his sermons, however, was evangelical in theology and directed toward a personal experience of God. The strongest pastoral concern for Jacob Rice, as evidenced from his sermons, seemed to be the need to save the souls of his flock. His urgent pleas for his listeners to repent of their sins would have been out of place among the subdued preaching favored by most Anglican preachers during his lifetime but is comprehensible within the context of his Newfoundland missionary situation. The themes of sin, repentance and conversion dominated his sermons as he expounded on the need for his listeners to turn away from their former selves and turn toward a state of living more acceptable to God. The content of the sermons of this early Newfoundland missionary suggests that Rice was an evangelical at heart who rejected the rather tepid preaching that dominated the Anglican Church during his lifetime in favor of a more enthusiastic and evangelical approach.

Preface

An investigation of the ministry and preaching of Jacob Rice in early eighteenth century Newfoundland is a multifaceted pursuit because of the need to establish a comprehensive historical context for Rice's life and work. This historical context will involve, firstly, an examination of the social, economic, and political conditions in Newfoundland during the time of Rice and, secondly, an analysis of the doctrine and preaching of the Anglican Church during the same period. Only then can we explore the structure, style and content of the sermons of Jacob Rice with any confidence of accurately situating them within the wider milieu in which they were conceived and preached. Therefore, this thesis will historically reconstruct life in early eighteenth century Newfoundland, along with the doctrine and preaching of the Church of England during that time, before finally exploring one of the most significant features of the ministry of Jacob Rice — the sermons preached at St. John's in 1705-06.

Chapter One, "The Newfoundland of Jacob Rice," will focus upon the specific religious, social and economic conditions of life in Newfoundland during the early eighteenth century. The uncertainties of the fishery, the disastrous effects of war between England and France, the friction between year-round settlers and fishermen who came for only part of the year, and the institutionally underdeveloped state of Christianity will be explored.

Chapter Two, "Rice's Ecclesiastical Career in Newfoundland," will build upon Chapter One and will look at Jacob Rice's relationship with the Church of England and its chief instrument for missionary work overseas, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The same chapter will examine in considerable detail his ministry in Newfoundland and reconstruct what he accomplished during his time on the island.

Chapter Three, "Sermons and Preaching," will be the major part of the paper and will explore both the development and practice of preaching within the Church of England as a whole, and also the particular structure, style and content favored by Jacob Rice.

Rice's sermons (78 of which have survived in partial or complete form from 1705-06) will be analyzed as to their structure, style and content. The analysis of the content of his sermons will focus upon the six predominant themes addressed by him. They are: Conversion, Freedom and Will, Death, Sin and Grace, Sacraments, and Church and State. His treatment of the first four of these themes distinguished Rice from the bulk of preachers within the Church of England of his day. Whereas the preoccupation of most preachers seemed to have been on good citizenship and human perfectibility, Rice demanded nothing less than a complete transformation of one's nature.

Chapter Four, "Conclusion," will conclude the thesis with a summary of the conclusions drawn in each of the preceding chapters. It will seek to establish Rice's place within eighteenth century Newfoundland and among the preachers of the eighteenth century. This chapter will make clear the difficulties confronting the early Anglican Church on the island and demonstrate the rather fervent and somewhat evangelical approach of one of its earliest preachers.

A bibliography and footnotes will end the thesis along with an index of every available sermon preached by Rice, as well as his letters of appointment to St. John's in 1705 and his will from 1728. In addition, there will be a complete transcription of six sermons written by Rice, representing his favorite themes.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the many people who provided assistance of one form or another to me during the preparation of this thesis. They range from family members and friends, to members of the staff at the Queen Elizabeth II Library at Memorial University, St. John's. Unfortunately, it is not practical for me to list all of their names, but they should be assured of my gratitude.

Certain individuals, however, deserve special mention because of the key role they played in the development of this thesis. No one is more deserving of recognition than Dr. Hans Rollmann of the Department of Religious Studies at Memorial University. His encouragement, insight, and guidance have been outstanding. I consider myself fortunate

indeed to have had the privilege of studying under his direction. I will not forget his kindness.

Others who played critical roles in my Master of Arts program and who contributed in different ways to this thesis are the members and former members of the Department of Religious Studies at Memorial University. Notable among them are: Dr. Terry Murphy, Dean of Arts; Dr. David Hawkin, head of the department; Dr. Kim Parker; Dr. Sheldon MacKenzie; and Mary Walsh, secretary of the department. I also thank the department for the opportunity to work as a research assistant during the first year of my program.

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Geoff Peddle

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I. The Newfoundland of Jacob Rice

A. Newfoundland in the early Eighteenth Century

Of all England's possessions in North America during the early eighteenth century, Newfoundland was among the least developed socially, economically and politically. In New England, governors had already been appointed to ensure the rule of law, and institutions like churches and schools had been established. Newfoundland, by comparison, lacked almost all of the features of a stable and enduring society. In the previous century, the British government was reluctant to provide Newfoundland with the same institutions as other places because the island was regarded as having but one purpose — to serve the interests of Great Britain. In the early years of the eighteenth century, the few settlers in Newfoundland were outnumbered every summer by visiting fishermen and naval personnel from England, who had no desire to leave any lasting mark upon the island. Even the merchants who came to benefit from the fishery generally returned to England. The constant threat of war with France, coupled with a poor climate, ensured that, for Newfoundlanders, life was filled with hardship. Ruth Christensen's observation of island life is typical of many historians who have studied eighteenth century Newfoundland:

Settlers were sparsely scattered among the innumerable coves, harbors, and bays of a long, rugged seaboard. The colonists suffered from the lack of schools and other humanizing forces, while isolation wrought changes in once familiar mores ... The moral tone of the colony was adversely affected by the large consumption of rum and other liquors. A harsh environment forced inhabitants to become ingenious, self-reliant, and industrious; a livelihood and the basic necessities for life itself were the most immediate concerns of the islanders. Medical care, education, and spiritual welfare were important only after the problems of survival had been met.¹

The final years of the seventeenth century did see a small but significant development in the social and political structure of Newfoundland that would have consequences for the eighteenth century. A determined class of year-round inhabitants known as Planters gained influence with the English government and sought formal recognition of their place in Newfoundland. Historically, the policy of the English government had been to discourage permanent settlement, however, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there was a weakening in this resolve as the government in England and the West Country merchants, who strongly opposed the idea of permanent habitation, were beset by one major threat that made the case of the Planters even stronger. That threat was a possible French take-over of the island. The French were competing with the English for influence in the New World, and if England did not lay permanent claim to Newfoundland and its fishery, France was perfectly willing to do so. Indeed, estimates of the number of French fishing vessels around Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence about the turn of the century ranged between 400 and 800. Perhaps as many as 30,000 French seamen were involved, and most of the Newfoundland coastline was controlled by France.² Active competition from French fishermen caused problems for the English fishermen who migrated to Newfoundland every year to fish the same waters. Increasingly, the English government saw the control of Newfoundland and its fishery as a matter of national importance.

The so-called "Western Adventurers" — fishermen and merchants from the West Country of England — had argued against permanent settlement in Newfoundland for a variety of reasons. Among their arguments were the following: Newfoundland was not suited to settlement because of its climate and soil; the residents of Newfoundland lured seamen and laborers away from their homes and families in the West Country; a Newfoundland-based fishery would unfairly compete with that of England; it would be a drain on the English government to maintain year-round jurisdiction over Newfoundland;

and England would lose its "nursery for seamen" to man the Royal Navy in event of war if fishermen were allowed to remain in Newfoundland.³

In 1699 the English Parliament passed the Newfoundland Act which restricted the powers of private individuals to control the Newfoundland fishery and sought to regulate the fishery in accordance with the laws of England. No longer did the West Country merchants have almost total power over the seasonal fishery in Newfoundland, and for the first time there was a reluctant acceptance on the part of the English government that Newfoundland should become a year-round residence for fishermen, merchants, and their families. The social and legal infrastructure needed for this transformation began to develop in the years immediately following 1699. The year-round population rose quickly after 1700; from around 1200 persons in the last part of the 1600s to 3500 by 1730.⁴ The Newfoundland Act imposed a small measure of stability upon a colony operating without any clear-cut legal system. In the words of Jeff A. Webb:

King William's Act in 1699 attempted to compromise between the need for settlers to protect Britain's claim to the island, and the protection of the reason Newfoundland was valuable — the West Country migratory fishery. Though frequently ignored, this 'Newfoundland Act' remained the constitutional law of Newfoundland for the next century. It was particularly significant for its recognition that settlement was legal, and that the residents had the right to *use* any fishing rooms that they had occupied before 1685, as well as any new rooms they opened up. To discourage the settled population from growing large enough to interfere with the migratory fishery, no government services were to be provided to the residents during the winter.⁵

The fishery remained the sole pillar of the Newfoundland economy during the first part of the eighteenth century, although it was frequently an unstable pillar. Grant Head's

study of those years revealed just how unpredictable the fishery could be: The year 1711 was described as having a "scarsness of fish this year"; 1712 was 'a very bad year of fishing'; 1713 was 'indifferent', and 1714 was 'the worst fishing season of many years past ...' In 1715, it was observed that the cod were so glutted with food that 'tho' you shall see the ground covered with them, yet they'l hardly touch the bait'; when they did strike in upon the shore, it was much later in the season, and this extended drying into the poorer weather of the autumn."⁶ The winter months often proved to be even more difficult for the permanent inhabitants of Newfoundland. When the fishing ended every fall and the fleets departed for England, there was little for them to do. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were not even any schools or churches. The social, political, and religious life in Newfoundland was quite unstable and the winter was a time of drinking and carousing for many inhabitants.⁷ Frequent attacks by the French against the English in Newfoundland during the war lasting from 1701 to 1713 caused a severe decrease in the number of fishing vessels from England willing to take the risk of spending a summer in Newfoundland and brought immense hardship for the residents of Newfoundland. Even if fish was caught, it was often too dangerous to deliver it to market in countries like Portugal and Spain. French attacks on St. John's and Ferryland, as well as on Trinity, Bonavista and Conception Bays made life almost unbearable for many, but the inhabitants continued to rebuild their dwellings and cling to the few possessions they had left.⁸ The first resident Anglican clergyman at St. John's, John Jackson, described in 1705 the results of these depredations as follows:

As to the state of the Country, it is at present mostly become tributary to the French, all the Northern and Southern Harbours and Coves being in great measure burnt and destroyed, and their Fisherys come to that pass, that as soon as they have cured and made their Fish, the Enemy comes and destroys all, and takes away

many Prisoners, nay even at St. John's they did this last summer take away some of our men in the sight of East garrison.⁹

B. The Anglican Church in Newfoundland during the First Decades of the Eighteenth century

1. The Institutionally Underdeveloped State of Christianity on the Island

When Henry Compton became Bishop of London in 1675 he was also granted a weak authority over the Church of England in the overseas colonies. Compton found this authority "so defective that little or no good had come of it." He applied to the king, Charles II, for additional power of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the colonies and received it. In 1696 Compton appointed Thomas Bray as missionary to Maryland but, because of uncertainties regarding clergy stipends in the colony, Bray delayed his departure from England in order to raise money for an organization dedicated to missionary work in the colonies. Three years later, in 1699, The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (hereafter SPCK) was formed and Bray finally departed for the New World.¹⁰ In 1700 Bray learned of conditions in Newfoundland. Upon his return to England he wrote a report on religion in North America, in which he used Newfoundland as an example of colonial religious destitution. He addressed the desperate plight of institutional Christianity there as follows:

Can any one believe it when he is told, that from such a Nation so little care has been taken, with respect to such a Colony, that there neither was, nor is, any *Preaching, Prayers or Sacraments* or any Ministerial and Divine Offices,

performed on that Island; but that they should be suffered to live as those who know no God in the world.¹¹

Bray recommended that two or more missionaries be sent to work among the people. The year before Bray wrote his report, in 1699, a French Roman Catholic missionary in Placentia, where Catholic priests had regularly served since 1662, observed that even though there were 20 English settlements larger than Placentia in Newfoundland there was not one English or Anglican missionary permanently stationed among them. The people of those settlements, according to the French missionary, "do not know what religion they belong to."¹² The seventeenth century had been characterized by an almost complete absence of any official Anglican presence in Newfoundland. The only contact many of the inhabitants had with a Church of England clergyman was the rare visit of a naval chaplain or the temporary presence of a cleric in one or other of the proprietary settlements. The settlements did sometimes employ clergymen for a few months (notably at Ferryland), but generally the only Anglican worship services conducted seem to have been sporadic services led by lay persons.¹³ With the effective demise of the proprietary settlements in the first half of the seventeenth century, this situation was even aggravated. Occasional visits by Puritans in the 1600s (generally while travelling between England and New England) had little or no impact upon the religious life of the Newfoundlanders.¹⁴

One of the major problems confronting the institutional church in Newfoundland in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was the lack of any consistent form of government. The "Fishing Admirals" provided the only semblance of legal authority during those years. Under this system, that had evolved in Newfoundland, the first three captains to arrive every spring in each harbor became admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral and were granted authority over that harbor during the fishing season.¹⁵ The effectiveness of this system in imposing order was not great. Keith Matthews' description of lawlessness under the supervision of the Fishing Admirals reveals the weakness of the system: "By all

accounts there was in fact very little law and order in the Island and quarrels, thefts, murders and disputes about fishing rooms were endemic. The strongest man almost invariably won his point."¹⁶ A further difficulty with this system was that the relevant masters in the various harbors changed from year to year so that there was little consistency from fishing season to fishing season. In any event, the authority of the "Fishing Admirals" remained in effect for only about five months of the year until they returned to England in the fall, leaving the inhabitants of Newfoundland without any formal rule of law for the winter months. The attitudes of the various admirals toward religious services and practices also differed considerably. This situation did not change appreciably when permanent governors were finally appointed, starting in 1728. Their religious attitudes also varied and, initially, they only remained in Newfoundland for the fishing season.¹⁷ The meager instructions from England to Governor Henry Osborne on 14 May 1729 regarding religious practices in Newfoundland indicate the low priority that matters of religion on the island were given by the British government. These instructions dealt only with religious liberty for Protestant Dissenters, the prevention of vice, the regulating of priests under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and the posting of marriage tables in every church.¹⁸ For the Anglican Church in particular, which had traditionally depended upon official government recognition and support in England and New England, the circumstances in Newfoundland could not have been worse. Hans Rollmann has described the conditions that dogged the Church of England missionaries to Newfoundland throughout much of the eighteenth century in the following way:

The Anglican missionaries of Newfoundland found themselves especially hampered by a colonial policy that exhibited ambivalent and often hostile attitudes toward settlement. This policy prevented the establishment of a glebe and vestry system prevalent in other colonies and so important for a successful ecclesiastical presence in the Americas. And the absence of a local legislature robbed Anglicans of the

constitutional entrenchment of preferences characteristic of the "Established Church" elsewhere and made the local ministers precariously dependent upon the favours or disfavours of the many and often changing governors.¹⁹

The government policy that hindered permanent civil and legal structures in Newfoundland was reflected in the Church of England. The church did not regard Newfoundland as a priority for its limited missionary activities. Compared to the New England colonies, Newfoundland had a tiny permanent population and was still perceived by many in England as little more than a seasonal fishing station. As essentially an arm of the British government, the church took its direction from the crown and depended upon the government for financial and material support. Until the political authorities saw a need to establish a permanent presence in Newfoundland, the church would not get the backing it needed to station clergy and erect churches on the island. As a result, no regular Anglican clergyman lived in the colony until 1701. By that time the government had a change of heart regarding its overseas possessions and began to establish in Newfoundland some of the basic structures needed for a permanent colony, notably churches and clergy accommodations. The SPCK, which was educational in design and supplied religious literature, and The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (hereafter SPG), which came into being in 1701, both assisted in this endeavor. The SPG recruited missionaries for the colonies and funnelled aid to them. In 1699 the people of St. John's petitioned the Bishop of London for a resident clergyman, promised to support him, and "upon his arrival to rebuild the church that was here destroyed by the French."²⁰ Progress was slow, and throughout the eighteenth century it was an uphill struggle for the few missionaries in Newfoundland sent by the SPG to establish themselves among the people:

Each had charge of a great stretch of inhospitable coast, with many settlements in many small harbours; going their rounds mainly by boat, they gathered the people

for worship and their children for instruction. It was a hard life; no government grants or glebes to live on, a people very poor and often rough and ignorant, a country ice-bound for more than half the year.²¹

The unstable and dangerous circumstances prevalent in Newfoundland made life very difficult for any missionary. Inadequate or nonexistent housing, coupled with little or no indigenous support (financial or material), were but two of the problems confronting the early missionaries. A lack of church buildings among the widely scattered outports added to the difficulties. An uneducated and largely illiterate population did not help. For the clergymen sent from England, it was a painful adjustment to minister to "simple fisher folk shut off from the cultural influences of their ancestral homeland."²² Indeed, comparisons between church life in Newfoundland and England during the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth century are strained to the point of being ludicrous. England had established church structures and a population receptive to institutional religion. In Newfoundland, the seeds had barely been sown. For a more specific instance of the primitive conditions of the Anglican church in Newfoundland, the ministry of John Jackson, the first year-round clergyman to be appointed to the island, provides an illuminating example.

2. The Rev. John Jackson

John Jackson arrived in St. John's in July of 1701 as the first permanent chaplain to the British garrison in the city. He had made one previous visit to St. John's in the summer of 1697 when he served as a naval chaplain.²³ There is little doubt that the task confronting him on this second visit was formidable. St. John's had never had a resident clergyman before, and the brutality and drunkenness that was endemic to this seasonal fishing port would have frustrated even the most patient and humble of clerics.

Unfortunately, Jackson lacked the pastoral resources and judgment to address the difficult social conditions. Although the misfortunes he met in Newfoundland were to a great extent of his own making, a review of his ministry reveals the unstable nature of life in St. John's during the early years of the eighteenth century.

From the very beginning of his ministry in Newfoundland he seemed to be in conflict with the military and civil authorities in charge of the colony and complained endlessly about his treatment by them as well as his accommodations and financial support. The rather voluminous record of his correspondence with the SPG and the colonial authorities in England is a catalogue of protests against his working situation and accusations against the senior military officers who resided in Newfoundland. Initially, Jackson was not supported by the SPG and was to rely on some form of payment from the garrison and inhabitants of St. John's. The people were supposed to pay their minister by subscription: "the annual allowance of three quintals of merchantable fish for every shallop [small fishing boat] each person kept in his own hands ... as likewise two quintals of merchantable fish for every shiff [small fishing boat] each person kept in his own hands, or set out to ushers ..." ²⁴ Unfortunately, they frequently failed to fulfil their responsibility (partly due to the precariousness of the fishery) and for years after Jackson left Newfoundland he would write the Bishop of London and remind him that he had never received the full amount of support he was entitled to while in Newfoundland.

The inhabitants of St. John's were not alone in refusing to support Jackson. The soldiers of the garrison also protested against being forced to contribute toward the maintenance of a minister during Jackson's stay in Newfoundland. A petition addressed to Captain John Powell, Commander of the garrison at Newfoundland, from the sergeants, corporals, drummers and "private soldiers" under his command pleaded that they be relieved of any responsibility to assist Jackson financially and asserted that some soldiers had deserted to the French at Placentia, partly to escape that duty. ²⁵

In the fall of 1701 Jackson wrote one of his first letters to the Colonial Office and listed many of his early grievances, beginning with the voyage from England and the "barbarous treatment" he received from the captain of the vessel. The same letter contained Jackson's charges that two other officers had spread lies about him among the inhabitants of St. John's when he arrived but that the people proceeded to build a church and provided him with a residence anyway. Jackson also accused the officers of the garrison of threatening to shoot any of the inhabitants who came to the fort for protection from the French. He concluded his letter by stating that the present military authorities were "a disgrace to Mankind, and utter Enemies to all Religion ..." and their continued presence meant that "not only no Clergy Man can do his duty without ye Hazard of his Life, and the designs now on foot of propogating the Gospel in that Colony must be lay'd aside, but ineveitably Ruin must be brought upon the place."²⁶

By 1703 the SPG had taken a more direct interest in the well-being of the chaplain in Newfoundland. In a meeting held on 16 April 1703 the SPG discussed the "deplorable condition of Mr. Jackson a Minister in Newfoundland & his eight children who went over into those parts under the encouragement of a private subscription of fifty pounds p. ann for 3 years which is now ended." This was followed by a meeting on 21 May 1703 in which the Society "Resolved that thirty pounds by way of Benevolence be remitted immediately for his present Relief, and that fifty pounds per ann. be ascertained to him for three years following, commencing from Lady Day last, the first half year to be paid att Michmas."²⁷

Throughout the next four years Jackson's constant conflict with the officers of the garrison as well as some of the soldiers under their command was reflected in many letters. He frequently complained that the soldiers were disrespectful toward him. On at least one occasion he found a sympathetic ear in the Bishop of London who conveyed to the Colonial Office his own concerns about some of the military personnel in St. John's. In

that instance the Colonial Office passed along these concerns to the Crown, as the following letter from the Colonial Office, dated 26 May 1704, attests:

And whereas we have also received from the Lord Bishop of London a great complaint of the ill and scandalous usage that Mr. Jackson the Minister of St. John's in Newfoundland had received from Captain Powell and Samuel Francis his first Lieutenant and of their profligate lives ... We cannot but represent to Your Majesty, that one or both of them be removed from their Employment there, and succeeded by such as may behave themselves as they ought to do.²⁸

In a letter to the Colonial Office read 9 January 1704 Jackson discussed a mutiny among the soldiers and suggested ways in which it could be avoided in the future. He requested a "fresh company" of soldiers led by "officers of integrity" who will carry out their responsibilities properly "and not do as some of late have done, to the prejudice of the service, and the hindrance of trade ..."²⁹ If his constant criticism of their officers is any indication of his sympathies, it seems probable that Jackson sided with the soldiers in this insurrection. In January of 1706, after he had been recalled to England, Jackson wrote a quite lengthy letter which he described as a "brief and impartial account of such occurrences relating to the Trade in Newfoundland as happened in the 2 last years under the command of then Lieut. Thomas Lloyd and Lieut. John Moody his successor." In this letter, Jackson gave his opinion regarding the events. Among them were his assertions that Lloyd, who arrived in September 1703, employed "sinister wayes" to get money and abused his authority to benefit himself, ruining some families in the process. According to Jackson, Lloyd also indiscriminately imprisoned others and demanded a testimony of good behavior from the inhabitants who did so against their will. If Jackson can be believed, Lloyd's attitudes regarding religious practices were extremely negative:

As to Religion he had none but a meer debauched Libertine as I found all along by his practice, for he was a constant breaker of the Sabbath, and so set against the service of God in that place, that he not only damn'd and cursed me but those that sent me ... he hath often gone about the Harbour on the Lord's Day with his Fiddle on purpose to divert people from coming to church, the rest of the day he revell's away with his companions in dancing and rioting with their whores. Nay which is worst than a beast, he hath chosen such companions who have been so audaciously imperdent as to dance all stark naked together to the shame of all modest Persons.³⁰

Lloyd has been described by a local historian as "brave, resourceful, gay, offhand, arrogant, unprincipled, amoral, loyal, and well able to protect his own interests ... He was devoted to wine, women and song (at least fiddle music) and was undoubtedly one of those charming scoundrels who enliven the pages of history with their unconventional antics and devil-may-care attitude."³¹ A letter of 1708 from several inhabitants of St. John's is not as dismissive and light-hearted about Lloyd but accuses him of serious oppression and abuse. According to this letter, the people "are compelled like slaves to go into the woods on sundays to cut timber for his service, are spit upon, kicked, beaten, wounded, overladen with unequal quartering of soldiers, and are dispossessed ... of their properties and inheritances."³² There can be little doubt that Jackson was not imagining all the allegations he made against Lloyd.

Jackson's dealings with his ecclesiastical superiors in England were also not very harmonious. There too, he found reason to complain, especially where it concerned the rather meager financial support he received from the SPG after 1702. Jackson's correspondence with the Bishop of London and the SPG, particularly after his return to England in 1705, reveal a man dissatisfied with what the church had provided him. While in Newfoundland, Jackson's litany of complaints extended to his accommodations as well.

In a letter from Jackson to Commodore Bridge of 20 September 1704 he asks for a new residence and argues that, as chaplain, he is entitled to superior accommodations *within* the walls of the fort.³³

Although the weight of evidence suggests strongly that John Jackson possessed a rather temperamental and caustic personality, there is at least one letter that shows him as being both reasonable and diligent in the performance of his duties. A letter of 21 July 1704, from some captains and residents of St. John's attempts to cast him in a positive light: "We the commanders of Ship, and inhabitants of St. John's harbor now residing whose names are underwritten, do to the best of our knowledge freely attest that the Reverend Mr. John Jackson our ... Minister of St. John's Harber aforesaid is a person of an Honest Principle ... life and conversation ... we do very well approve of his performances and of his conduct in all his affairs pertaining to his Holy Office: in witness thereof we have freely set our hands."³⁴

Jackson's tenure in Newfoundland witnessed the virtual destruction of the town by the French in January of 1705. On the night of the 21st of that month a French party of 450 troops attacked St. John's, murdering many inhabitants and taking many others prisoners. The fort, however, did not fall and remained in British hands until the French withdrew in March, after plundering and burning the town. The difficulties this incident must have created for the only resident clergyman can only be imagined but Jackson seems to have survived with his family by remaining with the soldiers in the fort. According to the historian Paul O'Neill, another incident that apparently happened that winter did not go in Jackson's favor. Charges were brought against him and the officer in charge of the garrison, Lieutenant Moody, that they had Jackson's maid publicly whipped for alleged disrespect toward Mrs. Jackson. Unfortunately, the young woman died as a result of the whipping. It was administered to her bare back in freezing temperatures and she was then dismissed to fend for herself after the townspeople had been ordered to offer her no assistance. Jackson's involvement in her death was reported back to England and was one

of the charges he was forced to defend himself against in 1705 when he was recalled to England.³⁵

There were other charges against him as well. When several military officers from Newfoundland (including Jackson's enemy, Lloyd) were in London during the winter of 1704-05 they complained to the Board of Trade about Jackson's activities in Newfoundland. In March of 1705 the board wrote the Bishop of London, who had appointed Jackson in the first place and stated: "We are convinced that the irregular proceedings (in Newfoundland) have been in great measure occasioned by the violent temper and scandalous life of Mr. Jackson the minister." For Jackson, the damage had been done. He was recalled from Newfoundland later that year and departed in November of 1705. Unfortunately, the vessel on which Jackson and his family sailed was shipwrecked and they lost most of what they possessed.³⁶ According to his letters he lived in poverty for a number of years after leaving Newfoundland. From 1705 until 1709, when he obtained a curacy in Gloucestershire,³⁷ he was in regular contact with the SPG requesting money and any other assistance the Society had to offer him.

In 1706, undoubtedly in response to complaints about Jackson, the SPG issued a directive to its missionaries that they should "take special care to give no offence to the Civil Government, by intermeddling in Affairs not relating to their own Calling and Function."³⁸

John Jackson ministered to an unsettled population that had little understanding of the role of the church in society and were not receptive to his pleas for support. When we consider the unstable populace, as well as the absence of any consistent type of government in Newfoundland, the burden placed upon Jackson as the first resident clergyman on the island was probably greater than that placed upon most missionaries in North America. But despite all of these problems, Jackson maintained a continuous Anglican presence in St. John's during four very turbulent and frequently lawless years. There was no appreciable political, social or economic progress in Newfoundland during

that time. Indeed, there was probably a decline in those conditions due to the ongoing conflict with the French — a conflict that would continue into the time of Jacob Rice. True stability could not occur until the end of that war and until the British government took steps later in the eighteenth century to provide the necessary legal and social structures to serve a growing population.

John Jackson did little to place the institutional Anglican Church upon a solid foundation in Newfoundland. The record of his ministry suggests strongly that he spent much of his time engaged in disputes with a significant number of the leading personalities of St. John's. His propensity for involving himself in such arguments contributed heavily toward the loss of any generosity that these community leaders could reasonably be expected to extend to the church. This loss of goodwill hindered the development of the church in Jackson's day and likely hampered development during the early part of the ministry of Jacob Rice who had to deal with some of the ill-feeling generated by Jackson and attempt to establish good relations with those people Jackson might have alienated. When John Jackson departed in 1705, he could claim few accomplishments during his tenure in Newfoundland. With little or no improvement in the situation of the institutional church in Newfoundland by the end of his ministry, there was little that Jackson's successors could build upon.

The social, political and economic situation confronting the Anglican Church in early eighteenth century Newfoundland was very difficult. Not only did the island suffer from instability in each of these areas, the government in England exhibited remarkable ambivalence toward the establishment of permanent institutions of any sort that could improve the situation for the people. The Anglican Church suffered as a result. By comparison, in New England, where social, political and economic conditions were considerably more secure than in Newfoundland, the Anglican Church enjoyed the official support and assistance of the government. The first decades of the eighteenth century in Newfoundland were not conducive for the development of religious institutions. It was a

struggle for the church even to survive. Institutional growth would have to await a later era in Newfoundland history.

II. Rice's Ecclesiastical Career in Newfoundland

A. Rice's Relationship with the Church of England and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

Our knowledge of the family background and childhood of Jacob Rice is limited to the year of his birth — 1683 — and his father's name — Thomas Rice of Newcastle, County Cardigan, Wales.³⁹ Not until Rice attended Oxford does additional information on him begin to appear.

The Oxford University of Rice's day was governed by the beliefs and practices of the Church of England. Following the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 under Charles II, the Church of England gained great influence over most aspects of higher education in England. This was especially true at Oxford where Prayer Book services were restored and any teachers not in full agreement with Anglicanism were deprived of their posts.⁴⁰ As early as 1683, Convocation had required readers and tutors at the institution to teach "passive obedience, which in a manner is the badge and character of the Church of England."⁴¹ Unlike the slightly more dissenting Cambridge, early eighteenth century Oxford was "essentially an Anglican institution."⁴² A great many Anglican clergymen were trained at Oxford, and acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles was required of all students in order to be admitted.⁴³ "The religious life of the university ... was rather formal and unemotional" with few "appeals or challenges to the individual conscience."⁴⁴ Loyalty to the established church all too often took precedence over earnest inquiry. There can be little doubt that the quality of education at Oxford suffered due to the stifling influence of the Church of England and the forced exclusion of Dissenters from membership, which restricted the interchange of ideas within the university to opinions endorsed by the Anglican Church.

Class consciousness was a significant feature of student life in Oxford. There were great disparities between rich and poor. The poorer students generally became servitors

and performed the most menial of duties for the more well-to-do students in exchange for pay to help offset the cost of their education. The condition of lodgings, food, and clothing while at Oxford generally depended upon one's station in life.⁴⁵ Great variations also existed among tutors. In general, much of a student's education depended upon his tutor whom he paid for his services. Some tutors showed great interest in all aspects of their charges' lives, to the point of overseeing their pupils' allowance and monitoring their friends, while others adopted a more distant relationship with their students. In 1715 it was proposed to organize the tutorial system more formally in order to ensure consistency among the tutors. The influence of the church on these suggested reforms was obvious:

All tutors should be appointed by the Masters and Seniors of a College, and licensed by the Vice-Chancellor after taking the necessary oaths. They should lecture regularly to their pupils and expound to them on Sundays the Articles of the Church. Too many Fellows lived 'a dronish and slothful life.' And they should be subject to penalties and, if need be, to removal, were their duties not properly performed.⁴⁶

Jacob Rice matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, on 13 March 1700, as *Jacob* Rice but later received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Magdalen Hall, Oxford (a residential hall closely associated with Magdalen College), on 16 March 1703, as *James* Rice.⁴⁷ Migration from one College or Hall to another was common among undergraduates in Rice's day. His status at Jesus College was "that of a batteler: below the fellow-commoners and commoners (richer undergraduates, who were treated more luxuriously), but above the servitors, who did jobs around the college to earn their keep."⁴⁸ The Oxford English Dictionary defines a "batteler" as one who was indebted to the university for provisions and drink from the buttery. The Tutorage Books of Jesus College for the period 1682-1712 reveal that Rice was in residence for the Lady Day,

Midsummer and Michaelmas Quarters of 1700 but not by the time of the St. Thomas Quarter. During each of the three quarters he was in residence he paid 10 shillings tutorage fees to Rice Thomas, a fellow of the college (and possible relation?). Of the 17 fellows of the college, eight acted as tutors. Rice Thomas had six students, including Jacob Rice. Unfortunately, the books do not indicate anything concerning the duties or areas of study covered by the tutors at Jesus College.⁴⁹ All records of Rice's time at Magdalen Hall were lost in a fire of 1820.⁵⁰

In 1704 Jacob Rice was ordained and appointed to a curacy at Cardiganshire.⁵¹ In the Anglican Church a clergyman was, and still is, first ordained to the Diaconate and later ordained to the Priesthood. Ordination generally involved a rigorous examination of one's education. A candidate's intellectual fitness was assessed with examinations in "Greek, Latin, Scriptural and Church history, the Bible, the Prayer Book, the Creeds, and the Thirty-nine Articles."⁵² A second examination often occurred before ordination to the Priesthood. The ordinand was also required to take oaths of Supremacy and Obedience and pay a fee to be ordained.⁵³ As a curate in Cardiganshire, Rice belonged to the lowest class of English clergy and worked directly under a rector in charge of a parish. There were four classes of curates, all of which lacked job security and were described as "poverty-stricken" and possessing "little social prestige."⁵⁴

While at Cardiganshire, Rice, in 1705, was appointed missionary at St. John's, Newfoundland, on the authority of the Bishop of London.⁵⁵ This followed a request from eleven merchants trading in Newfoundland that a clergyman be reappointed to St. John's after the recall of John Jackson. The petitioners also asked that the SPG appoint clergymen to some of the outlying communities. Their letter revealed just how little developed the Church of England was in Newfoundland in 1705. It read, in part, as follows:

That by computation there are above three thousand Inhabitants in Newfoundland, besides a great Number of Strangers in the Fishing seasons, who are lyable to many disorders and Immoralities by the want of publick divine service, there being no Minister in all the land, except one at the harbour of St. John's ... It is therefore humbly proposed that in consideration of this dangerous condition to which so many souls are exposed, this honorable Society may be pleased to give directions for one Minister to be sent to Ferriland and the parts adjacent, another to Carbonear and the other harbours in the Bay of Conception, and a third to the harbour and bay of Trinity, and to make for each of them the allowance of 50 pounds per annum which together with what may be obtained from the Inhabitants and the Masters of Ships resorting to these harbours will we hope be a sufficient maintenance.⁵⁶

It is significant that this same letter ends with the statement that the writers "know no reason why Mr. Jackson may not be continued at St. John's." Evidently these eleven men were aware of the charges against Jackson but entertained the hope that he would return to St. John's.

Rice's letter of appointment from the Bishop of London (see VI-B) was dated 3 June 1705 and stated that he was to be "admitted to the Ministerial Function in the Province of Newfoundland in America" and that he agreed to "conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as is now by Law Established."⁵⁷ Complete loyalty to the Church of England was expected of him, and he was expected to teach only doctrine sanctioned by the church, and forbidden to encourage any disloyalty to the church or the government. An additional letter of appointment from the Queen, dated May of the same year stated that Rice was to be "Chaplain to the Garrison or Garrisons of our Forts and Castles in Newfoundland." He was ordered to "observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from the Commander in Chief of our said Forts and

Castles ... or any other Superior Officer, according to the Disciplines of Warr."⁵⁸ Such orders were designed to leave no doubt in Rice's mind over his role in Newfoundland and his relationship to the existing institutions. Unlike Jackson, Rice knew even before he arrived in St. John's that he must refrain from challenging the authority of the military commander.

A glaring difference between Rice and Jackson existed in terms of the volume of their correspondence with the Colonial Office in England. Jackson was rather garrulous in this regard while Rice was just the opposite. Among the Colonial Office records there are 24 entries relating to Jackson's ministry in Newfoundland and none for Rice. Rice appears to have developed a cooperative and perhaps compliant relationship with the government authorities in St. John's. He certainly avoided getting involved in the prolonged disputes that occupied Jackson. A curious sentence in a letter from Jacob Rice to the SPG dated 20 November 1705 confirms that he even had an agreeable relationship with Thomas Lloyd, Jackson's nemesis while at Newfoundland. It reads: "Major Lloyd gives his humble Service to you, he has offered to do Mr. Jackson what Services lay in his Power which Mr. Jackson thought fit to decline."⁵⁹

The single largest source of financial and material support for many overseas missionaries was provided by the SPG. Quite often the assistance offered by the Society to its clergymen in the field meant the difference between success and failure in their individual missionary endeavors. This was especially true for missionaries posted to places like Newfoundland in the early eighteenth century where reliable indigenous support had not yet developed and had little chance of ever developing. Unfortunately for Jacob Rice, there would be problems in obtaining full support from the SPG. These problems began even before he arrived in St. John's.

According to the minutes of a meeting of the SPG held on of 18 May 1705, the Lord Bishop of London had written to the SPG and recommended Jacob Rice be sent to Newfoundland as a missionary sponsored by the SPG "in the room of Mr. Jackson whom

his Lordship has recalled."⁶⁰ The committee asked that Rice attend their next meeting and produce the proper "Testimonials." These "Testimonials" would likely be in the form of letters of recommendation which included "the age of the applicant; his condition of life, whether single or married; his temper, prudence, learning, his sober and pious conversation; his zeal for Christianity and his diligence in the work; his loyalty to the government and his conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the church." A recommendation from a bishop with a "certificate of good life" was also needed.⁶¹ The Society's secretary recorded on 15 June 1705 that a committee of the SPG examined "Mr. Jacob Rice whom the Lord Bishop of London had appointed to Newfoundland in the Room of Mr. Jackson, and that he has been try'd as to reading the [Common] Prayer, [&] had pformed very well, but that he has not yet provided such Testimonials as were satisfactory to the Comittee."⁶² This was quite possibly Rice's only meeting with the SPG. He left England before meeting the necessary requirements for official standing. Although he continued to seek SPG sponsorship, he would never receive it. The members of the SPG, at a meeting held on 16 September 1709, discussed a "petition" from Jacob Rice but concluded that "that the said Mr. Rice was not entertained in the service of the society nor did he correspond with the secretary during his Abode in Newfoundland for three years together; and therefore the case of the said Mr. Rice is not properly before the Society."⁶³ On 21 October 1709 a petition was sent to the SPG from a number of merchants trading in Newfoundland and asked that Rice be granted an allowance from the Society, but the SPG deferred any decision until the next meeting and requested that Rice attend.⁶⁴ A short letter to the SPG dated 14 November 1709 from three members of the clergy in England seems to have been an effort to gain official standing for Rice and stated that "Jacob Rice hath for the time that we have known him, behaved himself regularly and soberly, and in all particulars (to the best of our knowledge) suitable to his Holy function."⁶⁵

If one considers only the journal entries of the SPG, it would appear that Rice's failure to get official standing with the SPG (and more importantly, consistent support from the organization) was due to a technicality, namely his failure to produce the required papers or other qualifications. Rice, however, blamed it on the secretary of the SPG, John Chamberlayne.⁶⁶ A letter of 6 November 1711, from Rice to the Rev. Mr. Philip Stubbs, lists his complaints about the lack of support from the SPG and provides the following statement: "You know what Opinion the Secretary has of me & if he does me but the Justice of producing my letter, I fear he'll endeavour to Baffle my demands because they are made by me & which I sincerely believe is the only reason. that I have been so often denied. Nay and when I attended to take my leave, have been refused admittance."⁶⁷ If, however, one considers the quality of the sermons produced by Rice, as well as his eagerness to maintain cordial relations with the governing authorities, it is difficult to believe he could not, or would not, meet the official qualifications of the SPG. The personal bias of the SPG secretary against Rice seems a more plausible explanation of his failure to gain official standing with the organization than the suggestion that he was not qualified.

Despite a lack in official support, Rice corresponded with the SPG and with the Bishop of London and saw himself as fulfilling the same role as any other official missionary.⁶⁸ Rice's inability to get support from the SPG is especially surprising, considering that his predecessor, John Jackson, did receive SPG support. Rice's successor at St. John's, Charles Davis, however, seemed to encounter some of the same problems and claimed in 1717 that he was the "Only Clergyman in America destitute of an allowance from the Society."⁶⁹ There is no evidence to suggest that the troubles caused by Jackson were so traumatic for the SPG that they blacklisted Newfoundland for the first decades of the eighteenth century.

Whether the secretary of the SPG can be blamed for Rice's problems may never be definitely known, but there can be no doubt that the SPG had definite standards that had

to be met before they would accept a candidate as a prospective missionary. One of these qualifications was the ability to preach. The SPG required a candidate to preach a sermon and be evaluated. Whenever an applicant had been recommended for a position with the Society, one of the first requirements was that a time and place be set aside for his evaluation in preaching.⁷⁰ The requirement for ordination in the Church of England did not explicitly require competence in preaching, so that the SPG appears to have had higher standards in this regard than the church in general. From the perspective of the SPG, adequate skills in oral communication were of particular importance to missionaries, especially since they would probably find themselves preaching to persons with no strong background in Christianity and, therefore, in need of sound teaching. It is noteworthy that missionaries of the Society sent to North America were instructed to seek the conversion of the native Indians, although this was never seriously pursued.⁷¹ Religious zeal and intellectual fitness were stated requirements for SPG sponsorship but it must be acknowledged that other, more sectarian, intentions were also at work within the Society. Ecclesiastical and political loyalty were also important. If accepted, upon assignment to his new charge, the new missionary was expected to oppose "Popery" in all its forms and uphold the authority of the government.⁷² Among the few instructions from the SPG regarding preaching were the following:

The Society advise the Missionaries not to decline any fair Opportunity of preaching to any Number of People as may be occasionally met together from remote and distant Parts, tho' it may not be on a *Sunday* or *Holyday*. that the chief Subjects of their Sermons should be the fundamental Doctrines of Christianity, and the Duties of a sober, righteous, and godly Life, as resulting from such Doctrines.⁷³

Jacob Rice was, no doubt, aware of the preaching standards of the Church of England and the SPG and understood the need to conform to them. In Newfoundland, however, removed from any direct ecclesiastical supervision, he probably had considerable freedom both to adapt his discourse to the level of his listeners and to place greater emphasis upon his own favorite themes. In Chapter III we will explore in detail the ways in which he did this.

Rice remained in St. John's until at least 1712. He was later transferred to the English garrison at Placentia, although the year in which this happened is unclear.⁷⁴ In 1725 Rice was appointed Rector of North Cray in Kent, England. Among the Rice papers was a short letter dated 23 July 1725 from the Rector of Fooks, Cray, in which the writer mentions inducting Rice into his new position at North Cray.⁷⁵ The Parish Registers for North Cray contain only two references to Rice: one shows him to be Rector in February 1725 and the other records his burial at North Cray on 8 September 1728. A copy of his will has survived in the Public Record Office in London, England, dated 20 August 1728, in which he left ten pounds to his servant "over and above such wages as shall be due to her at the time of my decease" The remainder of his estate he left to his wife and appointed her "sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament."

B. Rice's Ministry in Newfoundland

Jacob Rice's initial observation of the church and people in Newfoundland was not favorable. In a letter dated 20 November 1705 he reported that it was "impossible for any clergyman to subsist in this country, for to tell these people that they are in fault when they commit any notorious sin is reason enough for them to treat a minister as scurvily as possible they can and to allow him never a penny towards his subsistence, so that a man must either favour them in their vices or starve."⁷⁶ In the same letter, Rice stated that, before his arrival, he was unaware of just how difficult life in Newfoundland would be,

especially "the extreme of the climate, the continual danger of the Enemy, and what's worst of all the uncharitableness of the People." This lack of support from the people plagued Rice throughout his ministry on the island and was an abiding feature of clergy-lay relations in eighteenth century Newfoundland. As late as 1712, Rice complained about the insufficient support he received from the inhabitants of Newfoundland. That year, he did not receive his share of fish from them until a court ruled in his favor. Predictably, this led to considerable bitterness toward him from some of the fishermen and merchants who had to pay it.⁷⁷

In a letter dated 6 November 1711 Rice wrote to the secretary of the SPG and reflected upon the distressing condition of the church in Newfoundland.⁷⁸ He took this opportunity to argue that Newfoundland was deserving of more aid from the Society because of its large summer population ("near six or seven thousand souls") than some other places of smaller population that had been regularly receiving aid. He then discussed the poor state of the church when he first arrived in St. John's and stated that "the Seats Pulpit and Communion Table were all destroyed the wainscott tore down, the floors ript up, the windows broke to pieces and the Church made a Common hold for Cows and Sheep." According to Rice, he persuaded the inhabitants of St. John's to rebuild the pews and he carried out "the other works" at his own expense, costing over forty pounds in addition to the "glasing work" which he hoped the Society would pay for the next year. He requested "a communion table cloth, vessels to contain the elements of the Holy Sacrament, a pulpit cloth cushions and surplices." He then gave a brief account of his limited successes in St. John's, stating that, by 1711, there was "constant preaching twice every Sunday to a full congregation."

Rice's letter of 6 November 1712 was his last to the Bishop of London and one of his longest. He wrote of the great difficulties of ministering in such a hostile environment as St. John's with so little support from England. He stated that the commanders had to force the inhabitants to pay him his fair share of fish for the year. As a result, he had been

threatened by some who had returned to England for the winter that they would lodge complaints against him while there. Rice hoped that the Bishop would ignore their allegations after reading the enclosed testimonial on his behalf from five of the commanders of ships in St. John's. He went on to discuss how desperate his plight was due to the lack of support from so many of the inhabitants of St. John's. He stated that if the question of his allowance was not settled, he would be "ruined" because of the "base, unworthy" people he had to deal with in St. John's. He even feared for his life from certain people "for no other cause than that I have endeavoured to reform their lives and to keep them from unlawfully cohabiting together."

In addition to his difficulties of inducing the people of St. John's to contribute toward the church, Rice also faced another major problem which dogged him throughout his time in Newfoundland: the lack of a guaranteed salary from the SPG. This problem was, however, not unique to Rice. Subsequent missionaries to Newfoundland also suffered from inadequate financial support from the SPG even though *they* were officially sponsored by the Society. Undoubtedly, the resources of the SPG were strained by the demands of supporting missionaries in various parts of North America, making it impossible for the Society to meet every request. The SPG had even developed a three-year plan in the early eighteenth century whereby they were willing to support a missionary for only three years in the expectation that he would develop full indigenous support by the end of that time. One wonders, however, if the reluctance of the SPG to grant adequate assistance to its missionaries in Newfoundland resulted from a lingering attitude among its leadership that Newfoundland was not deserving of the same priority as other places. In one of two letters dated 6 November 1711, Rice wrote to the Reverend Philip Stubbs, a sympathetic member of the SPG, to enlist his support and mentioned his difficulties of receiving SPG support for his work in Newfoundland.⁷⁹ According to Rice, "whatever I proposed either for the benefit of religion or my own has been refused." Rice therefore stated he tried a new approach and decided that, from then on, he would only

ask for "proper necessities for the Church and Divine worship" and ask for nothing for himself in the hope that the SPG would look more favorably upon his request. He mentioned the items he had requested from the SPG and added, "These I believe are not very unreasonable Demands: but I fear they'l hardly be comply'd with." In the same letter, Rice mentioned that he had been "refused admittance" by the SPG during his leave. Evidently he had tried to meet with the SPG while in England but was unsuccessful. It seems that Rice returned to England once or possibly twice during his tenure in Newfoundland.⁸⁰ Rice's feelings of betrayal by the one organization he believed should support him were obvious in his letter to the Reverend Stubbs:

I thank God for the time I have lived in this Country. I have cheerfully undergone great and dangerous fatigues, and hoped at my return into England I should have met some better acknowledgements but those gentlemen in whose power it was and who undertook it as their Province to give the Labourer his Reward have worse than neglected me. But however I am resolved by Gods assistance constantly to regard, what I am come hither for, and shall never expect any other gratification, than as the consideration of my care and charge may justly deserve.

In a letter to the Bishop of London, also dated 6 November 1711, Rice thanked the Bishop for what he had done on his behalf and acknowledged that the Bishop was limited in his influence over the Society: "I cant presume so far as to ask your Lordship to move the Society any further on my behalf." Rice complained that some members of the SPG had treated him, "very contemptibly and after two hours waiting have denied me admittance, when in good manners I attended them to take my leave. All that I intended to ask of them ... was only what is most necessary for the honour and advancement of Religion, without any regard to my private interest."⁸¹ In this letter to the Bishop, Rice

elaborated on the conditions that confronted him when he arrived, outlined some of his accomplishments, and listed what he still required:

I can't omitt acquainting your Lordship, that at my arrival here I found the Church (for the reparation of which I had formerly laid out fifty pounds) most unchristianly defaced, all the seats, Pulpit and communion table torn down, the floor ript up and the boards and wainisting carried away. But for the little time that I have been here I have laid out about fourty pounds in its reparation and have got the Inhabitants to rebuild their seats; the Glazing part I hope by your Lordships influence over the Society, will be done next spring, and also that the other necessities I have mentioned will be sent over together with some Manuals for Adult persons as well as Children but I desire your Lordship to caution them that whatever Bibles are sent they may have the Common Prayer Book bound up with them, which was not bound up with those sent formerly.

Significantly, in the same letter, Rice also requested that the Bishop try and secure for him "the chaplain pay of six shillings, and eight pence per annum" that he needed if he was to remain in "so cold a climate." Evidently, his need for assistance was so great that Rice was prepared to take on additional responsibilities if it meant an increase in his pay. In his request for this extra position, Rice was like many other Anglican clergy stationed at St. John's in the eighteenth century who frequently sought appointments as military chaplains because of the additional pay.

Another problem for Rice, and all the early missionaries to Newfoundland, was the lack of consistent year-round government. In sharp contrast to the New England colonies with a more permanent form of government, a governor was not appointed to Newfoundland until 1728 and even then he stayed only for the fishing season.⁸² Public order in Rice's day depended largely upon naval commanders whose attitudes toward

religion were not always very positive. However, one example of a military commander who looked favorably upon the church was noted by Rice in his letter to the Bishop of London dated 6 November 1711. Rice recommended to the Bishop a Captain Crowe, Commander in Chief at Newfoundland, who had assisted him by "heartily endeavouring to extirpate the raging vices of this place ... and freely contributing to the reparation of our decayed Church." Crowe was one of the first military commanders in Newfoundland with an interest in the social and moral conditions affecting the colony. Until his arrival, the military commanders had been so unwilling to involve themselves in local legal and judicial affairs that some of the inhabitants of St. John's in 1711 had attempted on their own to form a quasi-judicial assembly to resolve local disputes.⁸³ Crowe enacted a series of laws in 1711 that addressed public morality and which were designed to ensure that the church was placed on a firmer footing than it had been. Among the laws enacted by Crowe were restrictions on "drunkenness, cursing and swearing," and requirements for the people to contribute toward the maintenance of the church and the subsistence of the minister.⁸⁴ But even an enlightened commander like Crowe could only exercise his influence during the 5 or 6 months he was present in Newfoundland every year. Rice later observed to the Bishop of London in a letter of 6 November 1712 that the establishment of a regular government was needed "under a good, Religious and Understanding Gentleman" if the church was to progress spiritually among the people.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, when governors were finally appointed, their attitudes toward religion varied as much as the attitudes of the naval commanders.

An additional difficulty that confronted Rice was the ever present possibility of French attack upon St. John's as well as the possibility of capture while crossing the sea from England. Indeed, in 1708 St. John's was plundered by the French and the entire garrison, including Thomas Lloyd, was taken to France as prisoners.⁸⁶ Rice's whereabouts during this raid are unknown, but it must certainly have caused hardship for him and his congregation. In a letter to the SPG, dated 20 November 1705, Rice referred to "the

continual danger of the Enemy."⁸⁷ Later, in a letter of 6 November 1711 to the Bishop of London, he complained of the lack of protection provided to St. John's by the garrison. He wrote of the severity of the winter but added that "the apprehension we have of the enemy is much more dreadful to us, for tho we are in garrison, our only human trust must be in undisciplined Inhabitants who upon trial I fear will prove but poor soldiers." He asked that the Bishop try to get "regular forces" sent to Newfoundland in the spring.⁸⁸

There is evidence to suggest that Rice did not limit his work to St. John's but also ministered in some of the outposts. An undated testimonial from 12 merchants in St. John's spoke of the "late Minister of Newfoundland," Jacob Rice (therefore making it sometime after 1712) and referred to his "regular and sobor life" and "careful and diligent discharge of his Ministerial office, not only at his post in St. John's but at many other outposts whereby he has exposed himself to several imminent dangers." The same letter also mentioned a "School for educating youths" founded by Rice, and praised his practice of publicly catechizing them on Sunday. The merchants seemed to hold out hope that Rice would return to Newfoundland from England if he were granted proper support from the SPG.⁸⁹

Rice's life tends to suggest an unusual commitment to his ministry. Unlike a great many of his contemporaries, he did not remain in England after his ordination but instead came to Newfoundland as a missionary even before he had official SPG sponsorship. Whether these actions are evidence of an extraordinary religious and missionary commitment, or simply the response of a man unable to find suitable work at home and making the most of difficult circumstances, cannot be answered from the sources. It seems probable that he could have had an easier life in England (or America) because of the more settled conditions. Jacob Rice's decision to come to Newfoundland at a time of war between England and France remains also something of an enigma, considering his personal relationship with the Bishop of London and his subsequent employment in England. Surely such a relationship could have led to a position away from the dangers of

war had Rice so desired it, but there is no evidence from his correspondence that he sought to leave Newfoundland.

Rice's accomplishments must be seen in light of the period in which he ministered at St. John's. The years 1705-1712 were not only years of social and political instability but also years of violence. Rice inherited a ministry that had not been firmly established among the people and yet, despite the challenges confronting him, he ministered to the townspeople and the garrison for at least seven years, with minimal support from both, and without any appreciable support from the SPG. Unlike his predecessor, John Jackson, Rice also seemed to develop a rapport with the military authorities and avoided upsetting the government. His letters also indicate that he won the respect (if not the financial and material support) of many of the people and merchants during his time in Newfoundland and that this made it possible for him to remain on the island. He was also able to repair the church and preach regularly to the people of St. John's. In the case of the Rev. Jacob Rice, the mere fact that he avoided starvation and survived can be regarded as a success in its own right.

While there are no other letters or papers relating to Rice's ecclesiastical career in Newfoundland except the ones upon which the preceding reconstruction of his ministry is based, there is a large collection of sermons he preached in 1705-06 at St. John's. In the next chapter we will discuss and analyze these sermons as part of our examination of Rice's ministry and preaching in early eighteenth century Newfoundland.

III. Sermons and Preaching

A. The Development of Anglican Preaching

1. The Age of Reason and its Impact upon Preaching

Any examination of the role of the sermon and preaching among missionaries for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in the early years of the eighteenth century benefits from a consideration of the social, intellectual, and religious environment in which the Church of England found itself. Often categorized as belonging to the "Age of Enlightenment," the eighteenth century was a time of profound intellectual debate regarding the role of reason and religion. Many accepted beliefs were under intense scrutiny as philosophical and scientific insights pushed back the frontiers of human knowledge. Religious faith, in particular, was forced to accommodate itself to a fresh confidence in human abilities which in many instances tended to undermine ecclesiastical and scriptural authority.

A new attitude toward human understanding became the engine of intellectual life as the ascendancy of reason and logic compelled humans toward a different relationship with their universe. Old truths were examined in the light of the new criticism, and fresh possibilities arose as the supremacy of revelation was diminished, and reason became the primary source in the quest for truth. The search for a natural state of human organization as well as a belief in the "perfectibility of man" meant that relationships and institutions were reinterpreted in terms of human interests instead of a divine purpose. Alexander Pope's, *An Essay on Man*, expressed this well: "Know then thyself, presume not God to scan; The proper study of mankind is man." John Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity* was published in 1695, and its emphasis upon a simplified, less dogmatic Christianity found a favorable reception in the minds of many Christian thinkers.⁹⁰ In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke tried to accommodate Christianity to science. Locke's confidence in his method was such that he felt that the existence of God was

"equal to mathematical certainty."⁹¹ The Deistic controversy, inspired in large part by John Toland's 1696 Book, *Christianity not Mysteriorious*, was an effort to downplay anything that was mysterious in Christianity and replace it with rational beliefs.⁹² Toland questioned the authority of the Bible, asked how God had revealed himself in the past, and pondered how he might be better known in the present.⁹³ The eighteenth century was a period of great intellectual ferment and change.⁹⁴

The Age of Reason was inclined to place mystery within the same category as superstition. The true scientist, it was asserted, would limit his study to that which could be observed and measured and avoid speculating in areas outside of these categories. Locke's, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) affirmed the primacy of experience in shaping human knowledge. Horton Davies goes so far as to characterize the God of the eighteenth century as a "mechanical and mathematical deity."⁹⁵ There was "an impatience of all mystery, a contemptuous neglect of all that was not self-evident or easy to understand."⁹⁶ In this skeptical environment, "the supernatural, the revelational, the mysterious, and the miraculous" were all questionable concepts.⁹⁷

In an era of faith in science and confidence in human reason, it was understandable that clergy would feel pressure to adapt to the new climate, however, preaching in England did not become completely devoid of the element of mystery. There is ample evidence to demonstrate that mystery was still a significant theme in sermons. Tillotson published six sermons in the 1690s that defended the presence of mystery in the revelations of scripture. Around the same time, another Anglican preacher, Gilbert Burnet, attempted a definition of mystery: "some theory, or point of Doctrine that we believe; because we are persuaded that it is revealed to us in Scripture, tho' we cannot distinctly apprehend how it can be; and that in the common view which is offered concerning it, it seems to contradict our common Notions."⁹⁸ Robert South, one of the more popular preachers of the age, provided his own definition in which he asserted there were four characteristics of mystery. According to South, mystery was a truth, it was revealed by

God in scripture, human reason could not discover it, and it could never be understood by "bare human reason."⁹⁹ Although some preachers may have sought the rejection of all that was not transparent to human reason in Christianity, there were many others who tried to maintain a balance between reason and faith in their preaching.

The Age of Reason brought a significant shift to the social stratification of England. Although deep divisions continued to separate the lower classes from the nobility, between these two extremes an aggressive merchant class became a force in the life of the nation and began to demand real political power. Foreign trade became a key component of the English economy, and the nation as a whole became outward looking and profited from interaction with the rest of the world.¹⁰⁰ According to Snyder, this would have far-reaching consequences:

... the Age of Reason represented a movement for a more open society — the pursuit of individual happiness, the security of individual liberties, constitutionalism, tolerance, cosmopolitanism, the unfettering of thought, and a society of free citizens based on law. Rationalism was the intellectual side of a politico-economic pattern, in which the secularized bourgeoisie abandoned in fact and in theory the universal, imperial concept of the medieval world and supported vital changes in the political and social order, such as democracy and liberalism.¹⁰¹

Church life within the Church of England in the early years of the eighteenth century was rather dormant. The previous century had witnessed an excessive degree of religious turmoil and conflict within the nation, which had left the government and most leaders of the Anglican Church tired of controversy and inclined toward moderation and restraint in matters of religion. Even the relationship of the Church of England to the State had been modified with the Act of Toleration of 1689, which provided limited freedom of

worship to most non-Anglicans, thereby recognizing that the Church of England did not have an exclusive claim to religious truth. Latitudinarian beliefs were widely accepted among the clergy and bishops and discouraged any extreme religious feelings. Most clergy saw this as compatible with their role and practiced moderation in all things religious. One observer of the eighteenth century Anglican clergy commented: "If too often they failed to terrify the imaginations of sinners, at least they did not make of them psychotics. They did not ask too much of people."¹⁰² The piety of the church tended to be unemotional and formal in nature. The preaching was moralistic and cool. One is sometimes left with the impression that the church sought a middle ground between religious enthusiasm on the one hand, and faith in reason on the other. What emerged was a religion characterized more by good will and ceremony than change of heart and commitment. When it came to authority in matters of religion, Anglicans rejected both the Puritan reliance on scripture, and the Roman Catholic dependence upon the Pope and made reason the foundation of their religious piety.¹⁰³ A type of "rationalistic moralism" infused the Church of England and held in check any strong expression of religious fervor.¹⁰⁴ Descriptions of worship services reveal no great absorption in God. The following portrait by Joseph Addison, from 1711, is typical:

I am always very well pleased with a country Sunday and think if keeping the seventh day holy were only a human institution, it would be the best method that could have been thought of for the polishing and civilizing of mankind. It is certain that the country people would soon degenerate into a kind of savages and barbarians, were there not such frequent returns of a stated time in which the whole village meet together with their best faces and their cleanliest habits, to converse with one another upon different subjects, hear their duties explained to them, and join in adoration of the Supreme Being. Sunday clears away the rust of the whole week, not only as it refreshes in their minds the notions of religion, but

as it puts both the sexes upon appearing in their most agreeable forms and exerting such qualities as are apt to give them a figure in the village.¹⁰⁵

The clergy and bishops of the day were ill-disposed toward revitalizing the rather lethargic institution to which they owed their livelihood and position in society. Often poorly trained, and in many cases with no job security, the lower classes of clergy were in no position to effect change.¹⁰⁶ Above them, the more fortunate clergy, along with their bishops, had much to lose by change. It was not uncommon for a privileged cleric or a bishop to acquire a plurality of charges and collect income from them all. Non-residence in the parish or diocese for which one was responsible meant that curates often did the work of the parish incumbent and, for a bishop, the work of an entire year was crammed into an annual visitation of a few weeks or months. Administrative duties, as well as attendance at the House of Lords, generally required a bishop to spend most of the year in London. Self-interest and self-promotion flourished among the clergy and bishops to the detriment of the church.¹⁰⁷ Evidence of the contempt in which such leaders were held can be found in this comment by a journalist: "I believe, the best Method that could be found, to plant Infidelity in a Nation, would be to bring immoral Men into the upper Dignities of a National Church."¹⁰⁸ J.R.H. Moorman provides one of the more comprehensive descriptions of English clergy in the eighteenth century which, while affirming that there were rampant abuses among the clergy of the Church of England, balances this with the recognition that among them were many good and devoted pastors:

The eighteenth century clergy were, as a class, unpopular. The rich were despised as ambitious hypocrites and the poor as ignorant peasants. Moreover, the controversies of the past had left the clergy with a reputation of being quarrelsome and intolerant. But things improved as the years went by. Many of the clergy in their parishes, though neglected by their bishops and fighting a hard battle against

poverty, did their best, according to their lights, to carry out their duties faithfully. They visited the sick, relieved the poor, taught the children, conducted the Sunday services, preached the Gospel and wrestled with the devil in his attempts to capture the souls of their parishioners.¹⁰⁹

Despite the passive nature of Anglican piety and worship, one area of church life that remained popular among both clergy and people was the sermon. In contrast to the other cornerstone of Anglican liturgy — Holy Communion — which was generally neither weekly nor received by all, the sermon remained an essential part of Morning and Evening Prayer on Sundays.¹¹⁰ The popularity of preaching was such that even religious dissenters frequently attended Anglican services for the purpose of hearing the sermon.¹¹¹ Sermons, whether in preached or written form, were in great demand. Eighteenth century Christians in England have been described as virtual "sermon addicts."¹¹² A result of this appetite among the people for sermons was the almost universal practice among clergy of "borrowing" sermons from other preachers and preaching them as their own. A brisk trade in books of sermons, especially those of well-known preachers, resulted. The custom had become so acceptable that, according to the *Spectator*, when one preacher was asked, "Who preaches tomorrow?" he replied, "The Bishop of St. Asaph in the morning and Dr. South in the afternoon." The person asking the question then observed fondly that, "He showed us his list of preachers for the whole year where I saw with a great deal of pleasure Archbishop Tillotson, Bishop Saunderson, Doctor Barrow, Doctor Calamy with several living authors who have published discourses of practical divinity."¹¹³ Books of sermons were popular on the other side of the Atlantic as well. The parochial library in St. Paul's church in Maryland listed four such volumes among its 25 titles. They were: "Bishop Sanderson's 'Sermons,'" "Mr. Edward's 'Sermons,'" "Dr. Goodmand's 'Sermons,'" and "Dr. Leighton's 'Sermons.'"¹¹⁴

It remains a curious feature of the age that, despite the popularity of preaching in the eighteenth century, the typical sermon in the Church of England was deliberately dull and uninspiring. Jonathan Swift, himself no fan of emotion in the pulpit, remarked, only partly in jest, that, "Opium is not so stupefying to many Persons as an Afternoon Sermon."¹¹⁵ A graphic witness to dull preaching in the eighteenth century is William Hogarth's famous engraving, "The Sleeping Congregation."¹¹⁶ The paradox of sermon popularity, despite the pedestrian quality of most sermons, may be partly explained by the fact that preaching was still the most prevalent form of public discourse available to the general population and that for the majority of people the church remained an essential component of community life. W. F. Mitchell observed of the seventeenth century that the sermon, "besides its strictly religious function, took ... the place of the journalistic press at the present day, and enjoyed the enormous influence ... of a modern broadcasting company."¹¹⁷ The same held true for the eighteenth century. Henry Ward Beecher, writing in the nineteenth century, evaluated the importance of pulpit oratory among the people as follows:

The pulpit, as it has come down to us, has had an extraordinary history. For one reason or another it has, in many periods of time, been almost the exclusive source of knowledge among the common people. Before books were either plenty or cheap — before the era of the newspaper, the magazine, or the tract — before knowledge was poured in, as now, from a hundred quarters ... the pulpit was the school, the legislative hall, the court of law; in short, the university of the common people.¹¹⁸

The low-key approach favored by Anglicans proved remarkably resilient and continued throughout the century and beyond. The reasons for this had as much to do with the reaction against the excesses of Puritanism in the seventeenth century, as they did

with the growth of rationalism and the relative complacency of English society in the eighteenth century. Enthusiasm in the pulpit was regarded with suspicion. Whenever a preacher emphasized emotion above reason in an effort to sway his audience, he invited criticism from many who drew bitter comparisons between such an approach and the old Puritan practices. We should also credit the mistrust of enthusiasm to the great confidence in reason that many people had adopted. If something could not be reasonably and logically proved in the pulpit, emotion was a poor aid. That is not to say there was no place for spirited preaching; there was, but it had to accompany a message that was clear and reasonable. One eighteenth century writer on pulpit eloquence stated that, "A Preacher is certainly never to move the Passions, without convincing the Reason of Mankind."¹¹⁹ It was regarded as desirable for a preacher to recognize the tension between reason and emotion and to keep the two in balance if he was to appeal to his listeners: "The hearers must ... be able to justify to themselves the passion which they feel; and remain satisfied that they are not carried away by mere delusion."¹²⁰ The spirit of the time was one in which reasonableness and good order in all things were highly prized. It is little wonder that the preachers of the church adapted themselves to this sentiment:

Henceforward, it was standard practice ... to preach sermons that were more like discourses or essays than prophetic proclamations or learned lectures. One central theme would be developed in the clearest way possible. Much as Addison or Steele appealed to the enlightened common sense and politeness of their readers, so did the preachers to the prudence and elegance of their congregations.¹²¹

Public morality and secular concerns became important themes of the eighteenth century preacher. No longer was preaching exclusively religious in character. "Politics, education, philosophy, and literature all made demands upon, and in turn created demands for, sermons."¹²² A concern with "practical Christianity" had invaded the pulpit and took

the form of lengthy discourses upon the need for improvement in society and the benefits which could be expected if this much repeated message were heeded.¹²³ The content of the sermons was designed to blend with the sensibilities of people who considered themselves reasonable. Rolf Lessenich, the foremost authority on eighteenth century pulpit oratory, defines the sermons of the century as "practical discourses upon various subjects and occasions."¹²⁴ Speculative theology and mystical concerns did not impress the average person in the pew, and preachers crafted their messages to reflect the practical concerns of the people. Moral obligations and Christian duties became the heart of eighteenth century preaching in the Church of England. Most people believed that God was benevolent and there was little need to delve into matters like sin, repentance, and conversion. Archdeacon Paley's criticism of preaching in 1790 could just as easily be applied to the entire century: "We are ... setting up a kind of philosophical morality, detached from religion and independent of its influence, which may be cultivated, it is said, as well without Christianity as with it; and which, if cultivated, renders religion and religious institutions superfluous."¹²⁵ Horton Davies described the attitude of many in England regarding religious matters as follows:

It was understood among all courteous people that fanaticism and enthusiasm, as well as controversy, were the barbarities of the past embattled and superstitious age. Since there was so much disputation about matters of faith, it would be wise to concentrate on morality, on the deliverance of Hutcheson's 'moral sense' in which all mankind was united. Suited to such agreeable themes would be an unostentatious manner and an elegantly chaste style. It may be easily understood that Archbishop Tillotson's favourite text was 'And His commandments are not grievous.' One can only surmise that the Augustan divines would be equally fond of — 'For my yoke is easy.'¹²⁶

2. Elements of Eighteenth Century Anglican Sermons

In order to understand some of the Anglican ethos, thought, and practice of the eighteenth century, one must consider the religious history of the seventeenth century and the abiding influence it exerted upon Anglicans in England. The most distinctive feature of the seventeenth century was the rise and subsequent decline of Puritanism. Despite the great power wielded by the Puritans in the middle of the seventeenth century, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Puritans no longer exercised much influence over the church in England. As we have seen, not only had the political realities changed, but also the mood of the nation had changed and most people were inclined toward moderation in religion and expressed disdain for the extremes of the Puritan era. This reaction within the Church of England against "fanatical" religion, largely inspired by bitter memories of Puritanism, was in no small measure responsible for the tepid preaching of the Church of England after the Restoration.

Puritan worship and preaching of the seventeenth century presents a sharp contrast to that which became fashionable in the Church of England of the eighteenth century. By 1660, a generation had never heard a Prayer Book service but had instead been fed a diet of "metrical psalms and extemporary prayer." Even the Lord's Prayer was rejected by some Puritans.¹²⁷ The Puritans cast out tradition in favor of what they believed was a biblically-centered faith in which the sermon, based upon a text from scripture, was the central part of worship. A modern commentator describes the ideal structure that lay behind Puritan preaching in New England:

The Puritan sermon quotes the text and 'opens' it as briefly as possible, expounding the circumstances and context, explaining its grammatical meanings, reducing its tropes and schemata to prose, and setting forth its logical implications; the sermon then proceeds in a flat, indicative sentence the 'doctrine' contained in the text or

logically deduced from it, and proceeds to the first reason or proof. Reason follows reason, with no other transition than a period or a number; after the last proof is stated there follow the uses or applications also in numbered sequence, and the sermon ends when there is nothing more to be said.¹²⁸

After the Restoration, the Church of England continued the practice of preaching based upon a biblical text but abandoned the Puritan tendency of organizing the message into "countless divisions and subdivisions."¹²⁹ For a contemporary description of Puritan preaching by an Anglican, one can refer to Robert South who, in his sermon, "The Scribe instructed to the Kingdom of Heaven" (1660), evaluated their method in less than gracious terms:

First of all they seize upon some Text, from which they draw something, (which they call a doctrine), and well may it be said to be *drawn* from the Words; forasmuch as it seldom naturally flows, or results from them." They then "branch it into several Heads; perhaps, twenty or thirty, or upwards. Whereupon, for the Prosecution of these, they repair to some *trusty Concordance*, which never fails them, and by the Help of that, they range six or seven Scriptures under each Head; which Scriptures they prosecute one by one, first amplifying and enlarging upon one, for some considerable time, till they have spoiled it; and then that being done, they pass to another, which in turn suffers accordingly.¹³⁰

Although they were never in the majority in England, the Puritans counted upon substantial support from some members of the upper classes as well as the merchants.¹³¹ Despite this, most English Christians grew dismayed by the doctrinal extremes and religious intolerance that accompanied Puritanism and were, therefore, eager for the changes that came with the Restoration. The new style of preaching that rapidly arose within the church was welcomed by a population that had been forced, under the Puritans,

to "eat religion with their bread,' till the taste of it sickened them."¹³² An injection of common sense into their religious life was long anticipated by the English. This would be manifested most clearly in the style of sermons that gained acceptance in the church by the end of the seventeenth century and continue into the next century.

The structure of the sermon in the Church of England during the eighteenth century was, for the most part, orderly and precise. Written sermons, based upon a biblical text, were standard; extemporaneous preaching was often condemned as resembling Puritanism.¹³³ There was, however, some room for diversity in delivery, as long as what a preacher had to say was organized in a coherent manner: A preacher had to choose 'whether to read his sermons, memorize them, work from an outline which he filled in as he spoke, or speak *ex tempore*."¹³⁴ In general, sermons were often organized into topics and subtopics in a very reasonable manner,¹³⁵ avoiding the excessive and cumbersome subdivisions of the Puritans. Tillotson's sermon on Psalm 19:11, "The Advantages of Religion to Particular Persons"¹³⁶ is constructed around such a framework in which his major sections are numbered and then subdivided. Occasionally, these smaller units are further divided. The pattern of this sermon is as follows:

Introduction

A brief exegesis of the passage, followed by the intentions of the sermon:
 "... to show that Religion and obedience to the Laws of God do likewise conduce to the happiness of particular persons, both in respect of this world and the other."

I.

"... I shall endeavour to show how Religion conduceth to the happiness of this life; and that both in respect of the inward and outward man."

1. "It tends to the improvement of our understandings."

"It brings peace and pleasure to our minds."

2. "Religion does likewise tend to the happiness of the outward man."

1. *Health.*
2. *Estate.*
3. *Reputation.*
4. *Relations.*

II.

"Religion and Virtue do likewise most certainly and directly tend to the eternal happiness and salvation of men in the other world."

1. "From the promise of God."

2. "That a Religious and Holy life doth from the very nature and reason of the thing conduce to our future happiness, by way of necessary disposition and preparation of us for it."

Conclusion

"From all that hath been said, the reasonableness of Religion clearly appears which tends so directly to the happiness of men, and is upon all accounts calculated for our benefit ... To conclude, Religion is founded in the interest of men rightly apprehended."

The outline of this sermon not only makes it easier to preach, but much easier to comprehend. Tillotson's thoughts are organized logically with each section focusing upon a single idea. The introduction is brief and summarizes his intentions in the sermon. The conclusion is somewhat longer than the introduction and consists of a systematic recapitulation of the points of the sermon. The overall effect is one of an academic paper in which there is a thesis statement at the beginning, followed by a series of proofs, concluding with the final argument. The language remains simple throughout and, combined with such a coherent structure, makes this type of sermon rather easy to understand.

Sermon style in the eighteenth century tended to be natural and far more simplified than that of the previous century. It was considered acceptable to be fluent in the pulpit but one should never speak above the comprehension of the audience. It was reported of Tillotson that before he preached he sometimes read his sermons privately to an average person and amended anything they did not understand until the language and style met with their approval.¹³⁷

3. The Sermons of John Tillotson

The most imitated preacher of the early eighteenth century was John Tillotson (1630-1694). He was immensely popular whenever he preached and books of his sermons were widely circulated among the population. In addition, other preachers read Tillotson's sermons to their congregations and crafted their own sermons based upon his methodology and style. His popularity was such that an examination of his preaching shows what appealed to most church-goers in the early eighteenth century and provides a portrait of the typical Anglican sermon of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Tillotson's God was a "reasonable" deity who could be best served through public morality and Christian responsibility. Tillotson's preaching was relatively unpretentious and well within the understanding of most listeners. His approach was refreshing to a church eager to avoid any return to Puritanism and anxious to embrace rationalism. Thomas Birch, an eighteenth century biographer of Tillotson, lamented the state of preaching within the church when Tillotson first began. He exaggerated only slightly when he described it as "oppress'd with an unnecessary mixture of various languages, affected wit, and puerile rhetoric; and the general sense of the text was totally neglected, while every single word of it was separately considered under all its possible meanings"¹³⁸

There were, undoubtedly, better theologians and more eloquent preachers than Tillotson, but none who blended better with the sensibilities of his age:

He kept everything as flat and unemotional as he could, relying for his effect upon the sheer commonsense of his teaching and the ease with which it could be understood. In literary style he was at the opposite pole to the modern poet. In religious and moral teaching he was utterly indifferent to the romantic, the adventurous, the glamorous. He had no use for stories or illustrations. His sermons sounded fresh because he abandoned the 'clichés', the pedantry, and the interminable sub-divisions of the old style. He had his own clear structure which was an adequate scaffolding for a well thought out and balanced theme.¹³⁹

A plain and simple style, coupled with a straightforward and calm delivery, characterized Tillotson's sermons. They were "verbally spare, not too long, clear, and almost as devoid of bad temper and imagery as a directory ..." ¹⁴⁰ It seems probable that Tillotson was influenced by some of the developments in language theory in England during the late sixteenth century. The relationship between words and ideas had come under great scrutiny by many thinkers. The growth of scientific inquiry encouraged reform of the English language as more precise and objective terminology was needed to express the results of scientific observation and inquiry. In addition, in the seventeenth century there were at least 36 attempts to create a "universal" language that could act as a reliable vehicle for the transmission of ideas among peoples. ¹⁴¹ One commentator on preaching, writing in the second half of the seventeenth century, had this to say of the economical character of the preaching in his day: "Here, then, is a new talk for the Preacher: instead of seeking to enrich, he must be industrious to impoverish his language — Instead of cloathing his sentiments with the flowers and foliage of expression, he must divest them of every external ornament, and exhibit them naked to the eye, or they will not be known." In

reference to Tillotson, however, the same commentator seemed to imply that the preacher had taken this principle too far: "Tillotson, though plain and terse, sometimes sacrifices to a debasing idiom, that dignity which ought to be preserved in every venerable subject."¹⁴² Tillotson's "debasing idiom," while it might not have met with the approval of some experts on language, found a favorable reception among the population. The following passage from his sermon entitled, "Of the Inward Peace and Pleasure which attends Religion" is representative of his style:

My design at present from these words is, to recommend Religion to men from the consideration of that inward peace and pleasure which attends it. And surely nothing can be said more to the advantage of Religion in the opinion of considerate men than this. For the aim of all Philosophy, and the great search of wise men, hath been how to attain peace and tranquility of mind. And if Religion be able to give this, a greater commendation need not be given to Religion.¹⁴³

Tillotson believed strongly that the Church of England should hold to the middle ground on all theological and doctrinal questions and value both scripture and tradition. "There is nothing wanting in our church and religion, whether in matter of faith or practice, which either the scripture makes necessary to salvation, or was so esteem'd by the christian church for the first five hundred years ..."¹⁴⁴ He affirmed a religion of moderation, and his belief in a benevolent God pervaded his sermons: "he administers all things in a way of goodness and wisdom, of justice and truth ..."¹⁴⁵

Tillotson said nothing to upset the respectable faith of his audience and assured them that God did not expect anything too arduous from them. If Jesus Christ provided the example for Christians to follow, they could best imitate him in acts of charity:

... let us aspire to be as like to Him as is possible in the exemplary Holiness and Virtues of his Life, We cannot be like him in his Miracles, but we may in his Mercy and Compassion: We cannot imitate his Divine Power, but we may resemble Him in his Innocency and Humility, in his Meekness and Patience. And as He assumed Human Nature, so let us re-assume Humanity which we have in great measure depraved and put off; and let us put on bowels of Mercy towards those that are in Misery, and be ready to relieve the Poor for his sake ...¹⁴⁶

Tillotson believed that charity was such an important feature of the Christian life that Christians could become almost like God through their charitable deeds:

To employ our selves in doing good is to imitate the highest Excellency and Perfection: It is to be like God who is good and doth good, and to be like him in that which he esteems his greatest Glory, and that is, his Goodness. It is to be like the Son of God, who when he took our Nature upon him, and lived in the world, went about doing good. It is to be like the blessed Angels, whose great Employment is to be Ministering Spirits for the good of others. To be charitable and helpful and beneficial to others, is to be a good Angel and a Saviour and a God to Men. And the Example of our blessed Saviour more especially is the great pattern which our Religion propounds to us.¹⁴⁷

In his sermon, "The Precepts of Christianity not Grievous," Tillotson preached a latitudinarian Christianity that was both moderate and restrained. He stated that God "hath commanded us nothing in the gospel that is either unsuitable to our reason, or prejudicial to our interest; nay nothing that is severe and against the grain of our nature ..." And then, as an incentive to observe God's commands, Tillotson said that religion will give pleasure in this life and reward in the next: "Now these two must make our duty very easy; a

considerable reward in hand, and not only the hopes but the assurance of a far greater recompence hereafter."¹⁴⁸ It is little wonder that Horton Davies has described this sermon and its theology as, "an unequalled combination of eudaemonism, utilitarianism, and pelagianism, masquerading as Christianity. It was left to the Latitudinarians to conceive of a contradiction — Christianity without tears!"¹⁴⁹ In fairness to Tillotson, it must be said that he was not unique in his thinking, he was simply very good at packaging the prevailing theology of his time in an understandable format and presenting it in a popular manner.

B. The Sermons of Jacob Rice

The primary focus of this paper on Jacob Rice is his sermons, preached in 1705-06 at St. John's and stored at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. They were acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1756 when Dr. Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755), a non-juring bishop, traveller and antiquarian, bequeathed his collection of books and manuscripts to the library.¹⁵⁰ This series of 78 handwritten sermons by Rice, 13 of which are incomplete or consist of only the scripture text on which the sermon was based, provide a remarkable glimpse into the mind and preaching of this early Newfoundland missionary. A complete list of these sermons and the biblical texts on which they are based is printed in VI-A of this paper.

Handwritten comments can be found at the beginning or the end of many of the sermons: 20 have annotations giving the dates in 1705-06 when they were preached, 10 have annotations stating that they were preached at St. John's. An overview of the set reveals that seven were funeral addresses, one was preached on a government ordered fast day, and one seems to be a farewell address. The remainder are sermons preached during regular worship services. Although a scripture text is not always indicated, the list of sermons shows that Rice preached on all the major sections of scripture, occasionally

using the same passage for two different sermons. The books of the Bible used, as well as the number of sermons from each are as follows:

Matthew (11)	Galatians (2)
Luke (7)	Job (2)
Psalms (6)	1 Peter (2)
John (4)	Phillippians (2)
Romans (4)	1 Timothy (2)
Acts (3)	2 Timothy (2)
1 Corinthians (3)	2 Corinthians (1)
Ecclesiastes (3)	Ezekiel (1)
Exodus (3)	Joel (1)
Hebrews (3)	1 John (1)
Isaiah (3)	Malachi (1)
Proverbs (3)	Revelation (1)
Ephesians (2)	

The remainder of this thesis will analyze the complete set of Rice's sermons with special attention to rhetorical structure, style, and content and explore both his piety and the manner in which his sermons addressed the pastoral concerns of his Newfoundland parishioners. Where possible, comparisons of structure, style, and content will be drawn between Rice and some of the more influential preachers of the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries, notably John Tillotson and Robert South. The latter has the purpose of situating Rice among the preachers of his day and the theology and doctrine of the wider church.

1. Rhetorical Structure

Structurally, the sermons of Jacob Rice differed little from those of John Tillotson. Both developed the scripture text in a systematic and logical manner, albeit less structured than the Puritan sermons. The first part of Rice's sermon on John 4:24 — "God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." — (Sermon 21 in VI-A) provides numerous examples of his organizational style:

Those words are part of an unusual conference between Christ and the woman of Samaria. They met at a place called Jacob's Well, v.6. and he asked an ordinary kindness of her, to give him some of the water to drink, v.7. but she knowing him to be a Jew, was surprised at it v.9. for the threats and animosities at that time between the Jews & Samaritans were so great, that they would not afford common civilities to each other: But upon further discourse she finds him to be a more than ordinary person v.i9. The woman said unto him, Sir, I perceive that thou art a Prophet, and therefore resolves to know his opinion in the main point of difference between the Jews and Samaritans as to the place of Levitical worship v.20. Our Saviour tells her the time of this dispute was now at an end v.2i. and although the Jews had the advantage as to the means of salvation v.22. yet the hour was now come when all that legal and typical service should be laid aside, and the solemn worship of God not be tied to one particular place, either at Jerusalem or Mount Garizim; but the worship of God should be such as was most agreeable to his own nature which is not confined to any one place. for God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in Spirit and in Truth.

Here are two things necessary to be spoken to

- i. What our Saviour aimed at in these words.
2. What influences they ought to have upon us.

In matter of form, Rice had a tendency to consecutively number the individual sections of his sermons, and generally underlined significant parts for emphasis and to carefully divide one section from another. He almost always underlined quotations from scripture which were liberally sprinkled throughout his work.

The original handwritten sermons of Rice were quite lengthy by modern standards, although not excessively so when compared to the sermons of many of his contemporaries. The average length of Rice's sermons that are intact was eight to nine handwritten, single-spaced pages. This compares favorably with the sermons of John Tillotson.

Structurally, Rice's sermons conformed to the most popular pattern of his day. Consistent and orderly sermon structure was highly valued among the Anglican preachers of the early eighteenth century. In almost all of Rice's sermons there was an introduction, beginning with a biblical text, followed by a discussion of the text's original intent and meaning. To this he added a lengthy discourse attempting to relate the text to the situation of his listeners and convince them of the integrity of his position, ending with a final appeal for them to accept the truth contained in the sermon. The principle of dividing a sermon into distinctive components was widely accepted among Rice's peers, although their methods of division varied from person to person. One preacher (Gilbert Burnet) believed that there were two parts: the "Explanatory Part" and an "Application."¹⁵¹ Another (Thomas Secker) held that a sermon should begin with an "explanatory Part" followed by "Proofs from Reason and Scripture" then Inferences" and finally "Exhortations to suitable Practice."¹⁵² Rolf Lessenich states that there could be, at most, seven parts to the sermon: exordium, explication, proposition, partition, argumentative part, application, and conclusion.¹⁵³ Regardless of the number and type of divisions, it was generally accepted that a systematic and predictable sermon structure was of great value for both preacher and listener. Robert South, a popular preacher in England, and a contemporary of Rice,

published his first collection of sermons in 1694. An outline of his sermon on Isaiah 5:20 ("Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil") provides a good example of the systematic arrangement of ideas that characterized most Anglican sermons of his day.¹⁵⁴

I Exposition of the text

- (1) nature of the woe denounced
- (2) cause of the woe: misnaming by the understanding

II Division and confirmation

- (1) what is the nature of good and evil?
 - (a) that which is in accord (or not) with right reason
 - (i) opinion: good and evil are founded on opinion
 - (ii) opinion: good and evil are founded in the will of the magistrate
 - (iii) the absurdity of these two opinions
 - (1) good and evil cannot keep changing
 - (2) human law is not inherently moral
 - (3) divine laws abrogate human laws
- (2) how good and evil operate on the human mind through words
- (3) mischief follows from the misapplication of words
 - (a) most humans are enslaved by words
 - (b) good and evil are accepted with implicit faith
 - (i) in particular instances, it is often difficult to distinguish good from evil
 - (ii) most humans are slow and dull
 - (c) two specific cases
 - (i) being deceived
 - (ii) being misrepresented

David Fordyce's Agoretes affirmed the merit of this type of structure: "Should not a Preacher ... be Simple in his Beginning; enter upon his Subject without much Parade; unfold it gradually, so that it shall still rise and gather Strength as it advances ...?"¹⁵⁵ An analysis of Rice's sermon on Acts 26:8 (Sermon 5 in VI-A) provides an excellent example of the rhetorical structure he favored.

The Bible passage upon which the message is based is stated at the top of the first page. Rice then provides an exegetical summary of the text by reviewing the trial of Paul before Festus and Agrippa. "These words are part of the Excellent defense, which St. Paul [m]ade for himself before King Agrippa and the Roman Governour for [e]mbracing the Xtian Religion." Paul's circumstances of personal danger are then outlined by Rice. This preamble corresponds to Lessenich's "exordium" *and* "explication," for in it Rice both introduces his subject and also clarifies the situation related in the scripture.

The next two sections of the sermon are numbered and begin with an introductory sentence that contains the essence of what the section will cover. These two sections compare with the "proposition" of Lessenich's formal elements. The first section begins with the words: "That although he knew he could not suffer in a better ca[use] and had a prospect of his sufferings before he went to Jerusalem, he went thither with a Resolution to undergo anything for the sake [of] Christ, yet he guiled no advantages which the Law gave him." Rice described the actions of Paul but also gave his own analysis of Paul's inner motivations. Rice then commented briefly on Paul's willingness to use any privilege from Roman Law that could aid him in defending himself. The following section (number 2), begins with the words: "That in all his Defenses he insisted on the Resurrection as [t]he main Point." Paul, according to Rice, forces his opponents to focus on the essence of his argument so as to make it harder for them to distort the truth and accuse him of such things as "profaining the Temple" This section ends with Rice summarizing Paul's intentions:

This was the point St. Paul reduced it all to. Touching the resurrection of t[he] dead, I am called in question by you this day. And so here to Agrippa And now I stand and am judged for the Hope of the Promise, made of God unto our fathers. Unto which promise our Twelve Tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come, for which Hopes sake, King Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews and then immediately follow the words of the text, why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the Dead.

Rice then shifts the focus of his sermon from an examination of Paul's circumstances to an exploration of contemporary concerns. This corresponds to Lessenich's "application." "What remains then but for us to think it our greatest concernment to live as becomes those that believe we must not only Die but be raised from the Dead by the mighty Power of God; and that in order to our appearing before the Judgment Seat of Christ, that we may receive according to things done in the Body, Whether good or Bad." Rice takes over Paul's argument and his emphasis upon the resurrection and now uses it as his own argument to prove his assertion that hope in the resurrection can give strength today to withstand the temptations of the flesh. The need for self-judgment is crucial. Rice expands on this thought by describing the necessity to "keep our Bodies in subject[ion] to our minds, and to subdue the irregular appetites that come from them." In explicit terms, he states how our bodies are "not so much companions as Traytors to our souls; holding a correspondence with their greates[t] enemies." Having declared the dangers of life in the body, Rice then presents the rewards to come to those who hold firm:

It is therefore a great satisfaction to the minds of good men t[o] think there is a Day of Resurrection coming, when their Bodies shall be no longer an incumbrance

or a Temptation to their mind. they shall neither hinder their happiness, nor draw them from it. Thus all the Dark Temptations and cloudy vapours and disturbing [p]assions, which arise from our Bodies now shall be scattered and dispersed [a]nd there shall be nothing but purity, serenity and clearness in that state; For then the Righteous shall shine forth like the Sun in the Kingdom of their Father; When the glorious light within shall [b]reak through the passages of the Body, and cause as great a splendor [i]n it, as the Sun it self would have within so narrow a compass.

In the conclusion to his sermon on Acts 26:8 (Lessenich also ended his arrangement with a "conclusion"), Rice expressed his certainty that God's reward would "infinitely exceed our present imagination" and consist of "[d]elights as shall be pure and constant, without Interruption and without end."

Beginning with Paul's argument for the resurrection, Rice developed his own argument, using scripture, reason, and emotion. He shifted from a rather detached examination of Paul's thought to a personal application of Paul's insights to the conditions of eighteenth century Christians, focussing largely upon the need to withstand sin in the present life. From a literary point of view, the language employed in this work is simple and the progression of ideas is logical. This strongest features of this sermon are its thorough organization and unmistakable theme.

As we have noted, most of this sermon can be related to the structure proposed by Lessenich. Two parts of Lessenich's schema that cannot easily be applied to Rice's sermon on Acts 26:8 are the "partition" and "argumentative" parts. Lessenich himself conceded that the seven features of his sermon structure might not all apply to every sermon. Eighteenth century writers like Burnet and Secker believed there were fewer divisions but they did agree on the need for an explanatory part and an application. Although there was wide variation among preachers as to the necessary number of divisions, there was general agreement on the need for reasonable divisions of ideas within the sermon. In following

this practice, Rice was consistent with the majority of Anglican preachers of his era. Although the length of his sermons varied, Rice's most common pattern of division was: scripture text, exegesis, application, and exhortation. This pattern was characteristic of his preferred sermon structure whether sermons were written for Sunday worship or for funerals.

2. Style

Henry Ward Beecher, in his book on preaching, defined "style" as "the outside form which thoughts take on when embodied in language." He went on to write that style "must always conform to the nature of the man who employs it."¹⁵⁶ The language Rice favored in his sermons was a blend of simplicity and eloquence. Stylistically, his preferred mode of expression was generally clear and easily understood. He avoided the seventeenth century practice among some preachers of peppering their discourses with Greek, Latin, or even Hebrew phrases and sentences. One eighteenth century writer described the lot of many congregations where the preacher failed to adapt his style to the level of his listeners:

Pitiable are the people who have such a Pastor, who, while they ask him for bread, will give them a stone; who will weary them with subtleties they can never lay hold of, and stun them with the jargon of unintelligible phrases! — Yet their Teacher himself is likewise to be pitied; if, what is frequently the case, a recluse and abstracted life has rendered him so much unacquainted with human nature, that he is unable to judge of the ordinary capacities of men, or to determine, when his people hear his voice, whether they hear not *the voice of a stranger*.¹⁵⁷

Based upon a reading of his sermons, Rice seems to have been aware of the need to adopt a preaching style that was suited to the level of comprehension of his congregation. He seems to acknowledge this in his sermon on Ecclesiastes 11:8 — "But if a man live many years and rejoice in them all, yet let him remember the days of darkness for they shall be many," (Sermon 69 in VI-A):

[I] [s]hall not trouble you with the various renderings of those words; with these very little differences, do amount to the same verse, viz, that [sup]posing it should be a man's good fortune to live very long and exceedin[gly] [ha]ppy in this world; yet he ought to have great care that the joys of this [wor]ld do not so wholly take up and ingross his thoughts as to make him for[ge]t these days of darkness which must ere long succeed this delightsome [s]unshine ... The word truly explained resolves into this sense, that how long and happily soever men live in this world, they ought to entertain their thoughts with frequent Remembrances and considerations of their [a]pproaching mortality.

In this sermon Rice avoids exploring the various nuances of language that are contained within the scripture verse. Instead, he states that his purpose is to reveal the essential meaning of the passage and apply it directly to the lives of his listeners. This is consistent with the approach in his other sermons as well. He usually avoided displays of his own knowledge to the congregation and focussed more upon the existential and spiritual concerns raised by the biblical text.

In general, his sermon style was clear and uncomplicated. His choice of words seemed quite deliberate and not open to misunderstanding or wrong interpretation. This did not prevent him, however, from sometimes employing rather florid and stirring language to expand upon a thought already expressed in more simple form. One is often left with the impression that Rice sought to appeal to his listeners on two levels: the cool,

rational level, and the more passionate, emotional level. In doing this, he was consistent with preachers of an evangelical conviction who also believed in the importance of moving both people's minds *and* hearts. One of these preachers, Isaac Watts, who became closely associated with the Evangelical Revival in England, wrote in a book published in 1729 that religion was not only a matter of understanding, it was also a matter of affection:

We are often told, that this warm and affectionate religion belongs only to the weaker parts of mankind, and is not strong and manly enough for persons of sense and good reasoning. But where the religious use of the passions is renounced and abandoned, we do not find this cold and dry reasoning sufficient to raise virtue and piety to any great and honourable degree, even in their men of sense, without the assistance of pious affections.¹⁵⁸

In combining these two techniques, the rational and the emotive, Rice arrived at a style of expression that was within the boundaries of taste among most Church of England preachers, although more given to emotional persuasion than some, notably Tillotson and Joseph Butler (1692-1752), the latter of whom it was said that his sermons embodied "no ostentation of any kind ... all is serious and essential."¹⁵⁹ Rice's sermon on Luke 22:42 illustrates his tendency to combine plainness with a measure of emotion.

In this sermon, Rice discusses the way in which the human will rebels against God, points to Jesus as one who submitted his entire will to God, and upholds him as the model for Christians to follow. The first paragraph of the sermon reveals the problem, as Rice sees it:

The great controversie managed with such earnestness and obstinacy between [G]od and man, is this, whose will shall take place, his or ours: Almighty God by [w]hose constant protection and great mercy we subsist, doth claim to himself the

[au]thority of regulating our practice, and disposing our fortunes; but we affect to [be] our own masters and carvers; not willingly admitting any law, not patiently [br]ooking any condition which doth not sort with our fancy and pleasure: to make [g]ood his right, God bendeth all his forces, and applyeth all proper means ... (persuading us by arguments, soliciting us by entreaties [a]lluring us by fair promises, securing us by fierce menaces, indulging ample [b]enefits to us, inflicting sore corrections on us, working in us and upon us by [se]cret influences of grace by visible dispensations of providence) yet so it is, that [c]ommonly nothing doth avail, our will opposing it self with invincible re[s]olution and stiffness.

Although the idea on which the sermon is based is clearly expressed in this opening paragraph ("whose will shall take place, his or ours"), it is then reinforced by an profusion of spirited language in which God is described in anthropomorphic terms as one who bends, applies, persuades, solicits, allures, secures, indulges, inflicts, and works. One senses that Rice valued the composition of this sermon just as much as he valued the content and believed that the careful crafting of words could only help his argument. He was usually successful in restraining the temptation to carry this love of words too far. John Langhorne, writing in 1765, stated that elegance in the pulpit could be detrimental if the preacher was not careful. Langhorne maintained that: "Sermons written to be heard, should be conceived in such a style as generally prevails in conversation. Sermons written to be read, may adopt the elegance of other compositions."¹⁶⁰ Throughout his sermon on Luke 22:42, Rice's ideas were never simply stated and allowed to stand on their own merits; in every case they were supported by an abundance of passionate words that always argued in favor of the thought and generally developed it more completely. The danger for Rice was that his rich style sometimes detracted from the sharp focus needed to express what were complicated ideas. In preaching on the same topic, the human will in rebellion against God, Tillotson was more restrained than Rice in his use of words and less

inclined to arouse the emotions of his listeners. "Let us heartily repent of all the sins of our past life, and resolve upon a better course for the future; and let us not delay and put off this necessary work to the most unfit and improper time of old age, and sickness and death: but let us set about it presently, and enter upon a good course, and make all the speed and progress in it we can."¹⁶¹ Rice tended to be more impassioned in his message, as his sermon on Luke 22:42 exhibits. Edward Stillingfleet, the Bishop of Worcester, whose collection of sermons was published posthumously in 1707, saw much that was good in a spirited message and delivery: "That is then the best way of Preaching, which hath Light and Heat together; which clears the Scriptures to the People's Capacities and warms the Affections to the Spiritual things."¹⁶² In asserting that the human will, as the only true possession of humans, is the only proper gift that they can offer to God, Rice employs language designed to stir the passions: "Our will indeed of all things is most our own; the only gift, the most prop[er] sacrifice we have to offer; which therefore God doth chiefly desire, doth most[ly] prize, doth most kindly accept from us our duty chiefly moveth on this hinge, the free submission and resignation of our will to the will of God ..." But it is when Rice describes Jesus that his language becomes most emotional and seems designed to appeal to the hearts of his listeners instead of their minds:

... what pleasure d[id] he taste; what inclination, what appetite; what sense did he gratifie? How d[id] he feast or revel? How, but in tedious fastings, in frequent hungers, by pass[ing] whole nights in prayer, and retirement for devotion upon the cold mountains. What sports had he, what recreation did he take, but feeling incessand grip[e], compassion, and wearisom roving in quest of the lost sheep? In what convers[ation] could he divert himself, but among those whose doltish incapacity and forwar[d] humour did curing from his patience these words, How long shall I be with yo[u] how long shall I suffer you? What musick did he hear? What but the ratling of clamorous obloquy and furious accusations against him? to

be despise[d], maligned, to be insolently mocked, to be stiled a king, and treated as a slave, [to] be spit on to be buffeted, to be scourged, to be drenched with gall, to be crowne[d] with thorns, to be nailed to a cross; these were the delights which our Lord enjoy[ed], these the sweetest comforts of his life, and the notable prosperities of his fortun[e].

Contemporary Jesus piety within the Church of England did not place as much emphasis upon the sufferings of Jesus as Rice seemed to in this sermon. Some of the language in this sermon by Rice can be contrasted sharply with the language favored by John Tillotson whose style was said to be "devoid of any power to excite the imagination or warm the heart."¹⁶³ Another writer used rather scientific terms when he described Tillotson's preaching as an act of "pruning, selecting, refining, creating an architectonic design, imbuing it with clarity and directness."¹⁶⁴ Tillotson, himself, believed that directness in preaching was a feature of apostolic times:

The first publishers of the christian religion ... delivered themselves with the greatest plainness and simplicity; and without any standard ornaments of speech, or fine arts of persuasion, declared plainly to them the doctrine and miracles, the life, and death, the resurrection of Jesus Christ, promising life and immortality to them that did believe and obey the doctrine, and threatening eternal woe and misery in another world to the despisers of it.¹⁶⁵

Tillotson was not alone in preferring brevity of words and clarity of expression. Robert South, in his sermon on Ecclesiastes 5:2, "A Discourse Against Long and Extempore Prayers: In Behalf of the Liturgy of the Church of England," employed good wit when he observed that the words God used in the creation of the universe were few, and precisely chosen: "And thus having shown, how the Almighty utters himself, when he

speaks, and that upon the greatest occasions; let us now descend from heaven to earth, from God to man, and show, that it is no presumption for us to conform our words, as well as our actions, to the supreme pattern ..."166

There was often a poetic quality to Rice's writing. By modern standards, his use of punctuation was rather loose, but this enhanced the artistic quality of his words. He utilized the repetition of certain words to good effect in his sermon on Luke 22:42 (Sermon 14 in VI-A) when he described Jesus: "to be despise[d], maligned, to be insolently mocked, to be stiled a king, and treated as a slave, [to be] spit on to be buffeted, to be scourged, to be drenched with gall, to be crowne[d] with thorns, to be nailed to a cross; these were the delights which our Lord enjoy[ed], these the sweetest comforts of his life ..."

An additional feature of Rice's style was the sparing use of illustrations. Like most preachers of his day, he rarely attempted to illustrate his points by reference to concrete examples. When he did, he often used biblical images. When he spoke of the pity and compassion of God in his sermon on Luke 15:18 (Sermon 19 in VI-A) Rice employed images from scripture rather than providing examples closer to the lives of his listeners:

The Psalmist saith ... The Lord is full of compassion and mercy; long suffering and of great goodness. St. James saith 5.ii He is very pityful, and tender of mercy. And in that wonderfull appearance to Moses, when God himself declared his own Attributes, the greatest part consists of his kindness and Mercy towards mankind. The Lord God merciful and gracious, long suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgressions and sin (Exod. 34.6,7) And the Psalmist uses the very same similitude of a father's pity to his children, like as a father pitieth his children as the Lord pitieth them that fear him. And then the Prophet speaks of Gods thoughts and ways being so much above mans, it is for his [] to prove thereby that God may show more pity to

mankind, than they find in their hearts to show to one another, let him return unto the Lord and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God for he will abundantly pardon, for my thoughts are not your thoughts.

Language was, for Rice, an effective tool in challenging others to examine their lives and establish healthy priorities. The extent to which he was willing to push language to sway the hearts of his listeners can be seen in his sermon on Ecclesiastes 11:8 (Sermon 69 in VI-A). He plays on the emotions of his audience by reminding them of their mortality and the need to prepare for death. His language is both graphic and existential:

Again when in the Afternoon thou hast been entertaining thyself with mirth or sword or luxury. Go down into the Charnel House, and there survey a while the numerous properties of victorious Death: In these ghastly mirrors thou beholdest the true resemblance of thy future state; forty years ago that naked skull was covered like thine with a thick fleece of curled and comely locks; those empty holes were filled with eyes that looked as charming as thine; the hollow pits were blanketed with cheeks that were as smooth and amicable as thine; that grinning mouth, did smile as gracefully and speak as fluently as thine; and a few days hence thou mayst be rotting into just such another spectacle; and forty years hence perhaps there may thy Naked Ribs be found gathered with those bones; and then should any body take up thy bald skull he will find it dressed up in the selfsame Horrors ... with its nose sunk its jaws gaping, its mouth grinning and worms crawling in those empty holes ... If with these and such like considerations of our mortality, we would now and then entertain our selves, they would by degrees wear of the levity and vanity of our minds and compose us into such a degree of seriousness, as is necessary to qualify us for these divine and Religious

considerations, without which we can never expect either to be made good men here or happy men hereafter.

Jonathan Swift, in "A Letter to a Young Gentleman Lately Entered into Holy Orders" stated that he failed to see "how this Talent of moving the Passions, can be of any great Use towards directing Christian Men in the Conduct of the Lives."¹⁶⁷ Swift was within the majority of Anglican thinkers on this very sensitive issue. There was even an effort by the Royal Society in the previous century to establish a literary standard for prose that may have influenced the clergy, considering that a significant number of clergy were members of the Society. In his *History of the Royal Society* (1667), Thomas Sprat wrote that the Society had decided to "reject all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style: to return back to the primitive purity, and shortness, when men deliver'd so many *things*, almost in an equal number of words."¹⁶⁸ A lingering suspicion of anything that smacked of Puritanism, coupled with confidence in the power of reason, impelled most Church of England preachers to adopt a restrained and somewhat dull style. Rice, on the other hand, seemed to recognize that there was some value in the ability to move passions if a foundation of reason and common sense underlay the message. Rice's care to provide a reasonable base for his sermons, along with his willingness to adapt language to his own purposes in order to arouse others, ensured that his style was a blend of restraint and passion. And while Jacob Rice's style of preaching was slightly more emotional than that of the average Anglican preacher of his day, within a generation his moderate approach would be eclipsed by a far more more emotional style of preaching as the "Evangelical Revival" swept England. Rice's style falls somewhere between the dry and understated approach of Tillotson, and the more embellished and passionate style that would arrive later in the century with John Wesley and his sermons characterized by their "lively sense of God's grace at work at every level of creation and history in persons and communities."¹⁶⁹

3. Content

An examination of all the extant sermons by Jacob Rice reveals six recurring themes throughout his preaching. These six themes are especially significant to this thesis for two reasons: firstly, they were given considerable emphasis by Rice in his preaching, and secondly, they involved matters of Christian doctrine that were, to varying degrees, in dispute during Rice's lifetime. Although he never explicitly named these issues, or categorized them as important doctrinal disputes, Rice's treatment of these controversies reveals much about his personal beliefs and helps us to situate him among other preachers of the early eighteenth century. The six themes addressed by Rice in his sermons that will be examined in this thesis, in order of prevalence of theme, are: Conversion, Freedom and Will, Death, Sin and Grace, Sacraments, and Church and State. Special attention will be paid to those themes in which Rice appeared to differ significantly from the mainstream of preaching in the Church of England of his day.

a. Conversion

This is the major theme of Rice's preaching and the feature which most distinguishes him from his contemporaries in the Church of England who favored moralistic preaching directed toward life in this world. Indeed, Baptism, followed by outward adherence to the teachings of the church, was viewed by many as all that was required of them as Christians. It represented the average requirements demanded by the "church" type of religious organization and embraced a confessional allegiance quite different from the voluntaristic membership requirements of the "sect" type. Conversion, or a dramatic shift away from one's former beliefs and behaviors, was not given great emphasis among most Anglican preachers. Tillotson, for example, asserted that all people were basically good, and born with a natural instinct that would lead them to "approve some things as good and fit, and to dislike other things, as having a native evil and

deformity in them."¹⁷⁰ Robert South wrote that "no man living, in respect of conscience, is born blind, but makes himself so."¹⁷¹ Rice, on the other hand, preaching in the largely amoral society of early eighteenth century St. John's, did not hold so high a view of human nature and constantly expounded on the need for sinners to repent of their sins in preparation for the next life. In his sermon on Romans 8:6 (Sermon 27 in VI-A) Rice made a sharp distinction between the "carnal mind" which cared only for the things of the world and the "spiritual mind" which favored spiritual matters and stated that only by adopting the latter attitude in the present life could one hope to reach heaven in the next life. In two funeral sermons he indicated he had witnessed what some would call "deathbed conversions," and in one of those cases he had performed a baptism. Rice remained suspicious of such extreme conversions and, in a funeral sermon lacking a biblical text (Sermon 16 in VI-A), preached on 3 March, 1706, explained why:

He (the penitent) makes his resolution under a mighty fear of death which gives ... great reason to suspect it; we dayly see how much our humour changes and varies ... every wind almost turns our minds towards a new point, and like water we take the form of every vessel we are in. So that we have great reason to suspect that our death bed repentance is not so much the mould of our minds, as of the condition we are put into, and that we are put back again into an healthful condition, we should immediately loose our present shape, and return into our former figure again.

In his views regarding deathbed repentance, Rice was consistent with many influential Anglican thinkers of his day and the preceding generation. One of them, Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667), articulated a similar conviction when he wrote: "A repentance upon our death-bed is like washing the corpse: it is cleanly and civil; but makes no change deeper than the skin ..."¹⁷² Rice's major emphasis was upon immediate conversion

because one did not know when one would die and have to provide an account of one's life to God. According to Rice, by judging themselves today, sinners could even escape the far more terrible judgment of God after death. "Our considering that God will bring us to Judgment is the best [m]eans to prevent the evil consequences of it."¹⁷³ Later, in the same sermon, he states that "we are all walking on the brink of Eternity, and know [n]ot how soon we may drop into it, but what eternal Horror and Confusion [m]ust follow us; if we go on to slight the opportunities he still affords us ..." There was also the danger that if a person were to delay repentance for too long, they might find it quite impossible to change:

The diseases of our soul no less than those of our body, when once they are inward they are become more incurable; the longer we forebear to apply due remedy the [more] hard their cure will prove ... We may consider, that by delaying to amend, to do it may become quite impossi[ble], it may be so in the nature of the thing, it may be so by the will of God; The thing may become naturally impossible; for vice by custom may pass into nature and prove congenial as if it were born with us; so that we shall propend to it as a stone fa[lls] down, or as a spark flieth upward: by soaking in voluptuousness we may be transformed into bruits, by sleeping in malice so converted into Feinds, that necessarily shall act like creatures of that kind into which we are degenerated ...¹⁷⁴

God, according to Rice, desired that all people see heaven but those who refuse to change their ways will not be admitted. "Let not therefore any carnal, wilful, Presumptuous sinner flatter himself with the hopes of seeing God in Heaven ..." ¹⁷⁵ If one were ever to attain that reward there must be a change of heart in this life. "as sure as there [is] a Heaven, there must be a suitable disposition of mind to make one capable of the Happiness of it."¹⁷⁶ He even goes so far as to suggest that, for Christians, day to day

behaviour must mirror Sunday worship: "our External Behaviour [must] be suitable to the nature and designe of divine worship ... that it be grave and serious, humble and submissive; ... Therefore those who are vain and careless, supine and negligent ... neither worship God with their minds nor their bodies.¹⁷⁷ At the conclusion of his sermon on Luke 6:46 (Sermon 67 in VI-A) Rice reiterates the theme of this sermon that a transformation in one's life is needed in order to gain entry to God's kingdom: "I have set before you some of the most remarkable duties of Christianity, not such as depend upon the opinions and fancies of man, but such as our Blessed Saviour the Lawgiver of the world, and the Director of his Church, hath made the necessary conditions of our Salvation by Him." In his sermon on the "Prodigal Son," Rice affirms his belief in a merciful and loving God who, nevertheless, demands humans change their ways:

How infinite is the goodness of God that excluding no sinners from the hopes of pardon who have a heart to repent sincerely of their sins and how just is God in the final punishment of those sinners, who still go on in their sins, and refuse to repent after all the invitations and encouragement; that are given them to that end! Can we in reason suppose that God should stoop lower towards sinners, than to offer them pardon of former sins if they do repent; and to tell them they must expect no mercy in another world if they do not repent?¹⁷⁸

For Rice, the pleasures of life were not only transitory, they were dangerous if they caused one to neglect the next life: "the time of enjoying these delights will soon be over ... This worlds jolity is but like the crackling of brush wood (which yealds a brisk sound and a cheerful blaze but heats little and instantly passes away) that they leave no good fruit behind them, but do only corrupt and enervate our minds; war again[st] and hurt our souls; and tempt us to sin and involve us in guilt ..." ¹⁷⁹ Life was a journey, the goal of which was not present day happiness (although some happiness would accrue to those

who followed the proper course) but life in heaven with God. His sermon on Psalm 39:4 (Sermon 48 in VI-A) illustrates his belief in a principled life and reminds his listeners of the dangers of delay in preparing themselves for heaven:

The Scripture aptly resembles our life to a seafaring, a condition of travail and pilgrimage; now he that hath a long journey to make, and but a little time of day to pass it in, must in reason strive to set out soon, and then make good speed; must proceed on directly making no stops or deflections (not calling in at every signe that invites him, not standing to gaze at every object seeming new and strange to him; not staying to talk with every passenger that meets him, but rather avoiding all occasions of diversion and delay) lest he be surprized by the night, be left to wander in the dark, be excluded finally from the place whither he tends: so must we in our course towards heaven and happiness, take care that we set out soon (delaying no time but beginning instantly to insist on the ways of piety and virtue) Then proceed on speedily, and persist constantly; no where staying or loitering, shunning all impediments and avocations from our progress; least we never arrive near, or come too late to the gate of Heaven.

One can only wonder if Rice's emphasis upon spiritual rebirth was a personal disposition or the result of living in the somewhat profligate society of St. John's. With the exception of evangelicals, who were in the minority, there was no strong affirmation of the need for personal conversion in the preaching of the Church of England of Rice's day although even someone like Robert South — a preacher known for his restraint — could occasionally launch into a spirited defense of the need for sinners to change their ways. In one sermon South used phrases like "new birth" and "new man" to refer to: "that mighty spiritual change which we call conversion ... [of] a man, whose nature is renewed, whose heart is changed, and the stream of whose appetites is so turned, that he does with as high

and quick a relish taste the ways of duty, holiness, and strict living, as others, or as he himself before this, grasped at the enamouring proposals of sin."¹⁸⁰ But such preaching from Church of England leaders was not usual. There were significant movements outside the Church of England which proclaimed the need for conversion, notably the Pietist movement. One Pietist leader, August Hermann Francke, wrote in 1725 that preachers "should not only preach of the necessity of conversion, and instruct their hearers to depend on the grace of Christ for it, but also ... explain the nature and the whole progress of conversion ..." ¹⁸¹ And Franke's own conversion narrative became the model after which many subsequent conversions were shaped. Unfortunately, Rice's sermons do not specifically indicate the spiritual or theological influences upon his life, although he did seem to place greater emphasis upon the need for spiritual rebirth than many of his Anglican contemporaries. It may be that his attitude concerning the need for conversion developed simply from his beliefs regarding the authority of scripture. Perhaps his fairly rigid sermons on conversion arose directly from his uncompromising interpretation of the texts that inspired the sermons in the first place. Whereas other Anglican preachers could downplay the urgency of such passages, Rice understood them as placing an immediate and complete claim upon the lives of Christians. This was perhaps heightened by the religious and moral destitution he encountered in Newfoundland.

b. Freedom and Will

Jacob Rice rejected any hint of predestination and affirmed free will. In this belief, he was firmly within the mainstream of thought within the Church of England and also anti-Puritan. Rolf Lessenich has summed up this theological current that led to the rejection of the doctrine of predestination in eighteenth century pulpits: "A benevolent God could not possibly have sent his only begotten Son to undergo the martyrdom of the cross to save a few preselected believers in his revelation, as Calvin would have it."¹⁸²

Lessenich also observed that Philippians 2:12, "work out your own salvation with fear and trembling ..." which was interpreted as teaching the idea of free will, was a favourite text among preachers of the eighteenth century.¹⁸³ One preacher, Lawrence Sterne (1713-1768), expressed it well later in the century when he wrote that God has given man "liberty and free-will; - he has set life and death, good and evil, before him; - ... he has given him the faculties to find out what will be the consequences of either way of acting, and then left him to take which course his reason and direction shall point out."¹⁸⁴ Tillotson spoke for many when he wrote: "I do not believe that God hath absolutely predestined any man to ruin, but by a long course of wilful sin men may in a sort predestinate themselves to it."¹⁸⁵ Rice took a strong position on this issue and stated that a person's will was their only true possession and was, therefore, the only offering they could make to God.¹⁸⁶ Rice's sermons often reflected his belief in a great cosmic struggle between the will of God and one's human will. It remained a human decision whether one submitted to God's will or followed one's own, but ultimately God would triumph: "It is finally the will of him who is uncontrollably powerful; whose will therefore must prevail one way or other: either with our will, or against it, either so as to bow and satisfy us, or so as to break and plague us ..."¹⁸⁷ In a sermon on Proverbs 28:1 (Sermon 73 of VI-A), likely preached before the soldiers of the garrison at St. John's, Rice urged his listeners to overcome the temptations of the world and fulfill their duty to Christ with the same dedication they should have for their military responsibilities. He mixed military and religious imagery: "we have no instructions to put on any Armour but the whole Armour of God ..." and later challenged them to "continue faithful Soldiers under the common Capt. of our salvation ..." In the same sermon, still drawing upon military illustrations to make his point, Rice implored them to serve under the "banner of Jesus." In the final paragraph of the sermon, he stated that if the soldiers chose to be righteous they would have God as their "Ally and Confederate."

Humans oppose God, according to Rice, not because of their nature, but because of pleasure. "We may accuse our nature, but it is our pleasure ..." ¹⁸⁸ God, rather than acting as a tyrant, seeks a person to willingly surrender to him. "God is only served by those that come voluntar[ily]. he summoneth us by his word, he attracteth us by his grace, but we must fre[ely] come unto him." ¹⁸⁹ Rice asserted that every person must deny their own will in favour of God's will. "In short therefore, to deny ourselves is to prefer Gods will before our ow[n], to sacrifice our inclinations to our duty and in all competitions betwee[n] him and our carnal interests and affections to take his part, and follo[w] his command directions." ¹⁹⁰ One must choose between the spiritual or the carnal: "A spiritual mind is known by the general conformity of living to a Divine and Spiritual rule; and so a carnal mind following the bent and inclinations of the flesh." ¹⁹¹ Rice never presented the denial of one's own will as a negative experience; on the contrary it was the best and happiest decision one could ever make. "For this is as certain a truth an[d] as much confirmed by experience as any maxim in phylosophy, that the[re] is no state of human life in which a man can be happy, whilst his own corrupt will is his law; nor none in which he can be miserable, whilst he is resigned and devoted to the will of God." ¹⁹² For Rice, the prime example of submission of human will to God was the example of Jesus. He ended his sermon on 1 John 2:6 (Sermon 37 in VI-A) with the following prayer:

Almighty God, who hast given thine only Son, to be unto us, both a sacrifice for sin, and also an exsample of godly life; give us grace, that we may always most thankfully receive that his inestimable benefit; and also daily endeavour our selves to follow the blessed steps of his most holy life. Through the same Jesus Xt. our Lord. Amen.

In his sermons dealing with human freedom and will, Jacob Rice adopted a position that was very consistent with that of most Anglican thinkers of his day. Anglicans

rejected the views of some Protestants, such as the Presbyterians, who taught the notion of divine predestination, in favor of a principle that affirmed free will in matters of salvation. Rice's belief that humans had free will to choose between God and the world was a key feature of his theology of human salvation.

c. Death

In contrast to Jacob Rice, the bulk of Anglican preachers of the early eighteenth century were not overly interested in discussing death but instead put their energies into affirming the need for morality and virtue in this life. There were, they believed, some very tangible rewards *in the present life* for following God: "A good life produces the testimony of a good conscience, hope of a future reward, cheerfulness, resignation to God's will, reliance upon his providence, patience under adverse circumstances, and a power of regulating the passions."¹⁹³ Whenever matters of immortality were addressed, they often lacked the conviction of Rice. Tillotson refrained from exploring the concept of heaven in any detail and focused more on earthly matters. He stated simply that humans must accept that some things would always be beyond their grasp: "the nature and perfections of God are above the understanding of any of his creatures ... he is incomprehensible to his creatures."¹⁹⁴ George Berkeley, in a rather unpolished sermon of 1708, counseled his listeners to play the odds when contemplating life after death: "I believe there are none amongst us that do not at least think it as probable the Gospel may be true as false. Sure I am no man can say he has two to one odds on the contrary side. But wñ life & immortality are at stake we should play our part with fear & trembling tho 'twere an hundred to one but we are cheated in the end."¹⁹⁵ In the seventeenth century Blaise Pascal prefigured these sentiments in his *Pensées* by arguing that humans should wager on the existence of God, for if they are wrong, they lose nothing, but if they are right, they gain an "infinite prize." Pascal believed that one's most fundamental decisions

must often be made without certain knowledge because there was "really no way of seeing what the cards are."¹⁹⁶ Jacob Rice, on the other hand, was far more certain in his views regarding the hereafter and saw life purely as a preparation for death. His sermon on Ecclesiastes 11:8 (Sermon 69 in VI-A) makes this clear:

... how long and happily soever men live in this world, they ought to entertain their thoughts with frequent Remembrances and considerations of their [a]pproaching mortality ... even [i]n our most pleasant and healthful moments we ought to look upon [o]urselves as borderers upon eternity; that we still should take and mingle our delights with the sad remembrances of mortality, and not suffer the joys of this life to divert our thoughts from that impendin[g] [death] ...

Death, according to Rice in this sermon, was a "conqueroar who triumphs over young an[d] tender infants as well as the decayed and aged."¹⁹⁷ It was imperative that all persons understand the seriousness of this ever present reality, and Rice occasionally used images designed to evoke fear in his listeners. In the sermon on Ecclesiastes 11:8, he used phrases like, "terrors of this terrible one ... trembling Horror ... terrors of death ... frightful skulls and skeletons" and "King of Terrors" to illustrate what death often meant to many people. But although the passage was frightening, the end result was not altogether bad in light of one's Christian hope. Rice seemed to have a well constructed concept of life beyond death. This life, however, must await the general resurrection of all persons. Until that time, the dead would "lie mouldering in a [da]rk grave, utterly insensible of good or evil, till the powerful call [o]f God they shall at length be roused up out of this fatal slumber ..."¹⁹⁸ The grave would be a "bed of rest" where people will "cease to be sick" and no longer be "tormented with pain ..."¹⁹⁹ Death would take a person "out of this straight time" into "boundless eternity ..."²⁰⁰ Rice believed that a "Resurrection of the Dead, both of the just and the unju[st]." would happen and on that day Christ would

"judge the World in Righteousness" and all would "receive according to things done in the Body, Whether good or Bad ..." ²⁰¹ He believed that God would judge with fairness, "according to the honour of his laws and ordinances; according to his immutable decree and word ..." ²⁰²

Rice's preoccupation with death distinguished him from most Anglican preachers of his day in England. He saw very little in this life that was good, while many of them celebrated the advances of humankind that they witnessed all around them. This difference in attitude between Rice and his contemporaries may have arisen from the contrasting worlds in which they found themselves. Rice's preaching was conditioned by the misery, violence and death that was endemic to early eighteenth century St. John's, while preachers in England generally enjoyed slightly more favorable surroundings. Rice did not see much that was pleasant in the lives of the people he preached to — most of whom struggled merely to survive — and for that reason he was probably inclined to downplay the importance of this life in favor of the life to come. He understood his role as one of preparing people for what was inevitable and giving them hope in the midst of their suffering. A concern of Rice's was the need to withstand the temptations of the world so that one could receive their true reward following death. There could be no comparison between the pleasures of the world and the blessings of eternal life with God:

But are the Temptations of this world so infatuating that no reason or consideration can bring men to any care of or regard to their souls? We have no ground to think so, since there have been and [we] hope still are such, who can despise the glittering vanities, the riches and Honours, the pleasures and delights of this world, when they stand in competition with the eternal happiness of their souls in a better world. And that not out of a sullen humour or morose temper, or a discontented mind; but from ... weighing and ballancing the gain of this world and

the loss of the soul together. for What is a man profited if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul, or what shall he give in exchange for his soul?²⁰³

In his sermon on Ecclesiastes 11:8, Rice discusses the importance of acts of charity in preparing oneself for the next life. One's every action here should be directed toward that ultimate encounter with God. He refers to Matthew 25 to make his point:

... and when we are gone hence of all the goods that we have left behind us, we shall have nothing to live upon to eternity, but only the good that we did with them; the necessities that we delivered, and the oppressions that we cured, the nakedness that we clothed and the hunger that we satisfied: these indeed will flow after us with content and happiness to eternal age, But if we are destitute of these, we shall ere long be shift of from all our present enjoyments, and be banded in another world, upon a strange inhospitable shore and there be left miserable poor wretches without so much as one drop of the comforts we now enjoy to satisfy our tormenting desires, or to quench our still raging thirst after happiness ...

Rice's choice of words in this sermon seem reminiscent of the fiery and passionate language employed by John Wesley is speaking of the Final Judgment: "How will ye escape? Will ye call to the mountains to fall on you, the rocks to cover you? Alas, the mountains themselves, the rocks, the earth, the heavens, are just ready to flee away! Can ye prevent the sentence? ... Lo, hell is moved from beneath to receive those who are ripe for destruction."²⁰⁴ Jacob Rice and the evangelist, John Wesley, shared more than a disposition for strong language; they also shared an enthusiasm for saving sinners from what both believed would be a miserable fate indeed in the hereafter. The reward for those found acceptable on the day of judgment is presented in equally vivid (and far more attractive) terms by Rice:

... after the Resurrection; the glorified bodies shall [b]e so purified and refined by a divine Spirit and power that they shall become as spiritual as bodies can be ... [t]he perfect ease and tranquility of the mind, will give a new life [a]nd vigour to the Body ... the spirit and joy of another world will afford [s]uch delights as infinitely exceed our present imagination. Such [d]elights as shall be pure and constant, without Interruption and without end. For in that glorious presence of God, there is fullness [o]f joy, and at his right hand are pleasures forever more ...²⁰⁵

Although he did not see much that was good in the present life, Jacob Rice believed there would be a better life beyond death for those who were found worthy by God. His discussions of death were usually moderated by expressions of hope in some form of eternal life with God. In this sense, death was not entirely a sorrowful topic for Rice to preach on but held the promise of new life. And the fact that this new life would be given only to those who prepared for it in the present, blended well with his ideas regarding the need for spiritual rebirth.

d. Sin and Grace

If one's only exposure to Christian teaching were the sermons of Jacob Rice, one would rapidly conclude that sin was far more influential in the affairs of humans than grace. Humans were "by nature born [of] sin" which was "contrary to the nature of God."²⁰⁶ Unlike many preachers of the early eighteenth century, Rice did not hold a positive view of the world, or of human nature, which he constantly asserted was sinful and depraved. This is in sharp contrast to preachers like Tillotson who seemed to believe in the perfectibility of both. This life, Rice believed, was nothing more than a preparation for the next, and the prudent individual would resist sin in all its forms in order to be ready:

A[nd] the converted penitent state is the Christians salvation at present, without which there is n[o] other to be expected hereafter; its being but the very same salvation, in dif[fer]ent degrees, to be saved from sins, and to be saved from Hell; since he th[at] is not first delivered from his sins cannot escape Hell, nor he be Damned that is delivered from them: So that the Salvation of a sinner can necessarily be no other, than a pardon and reformation of sin here, in order to secure safe landing in Heaven hereafter.²⁰⁷

The need for self-judgment figured prominently in Rice's preaching. Self-judgment would mitigate or eliminate the later judgment of God.²⁰⁸ One must turn from their sins in the present life if they were ever to have hope of eternal life with God: "to be saved is to be delivered from the guilt and servitud[e] [of] sin, to serve God here, and live with him hereafter."²⁰⁹ Rice even asserted that, under some circumstances, there could be a realized judgment for sin in the present life, as he preached in his sermon on Exodus 20:8-11 (Sermon 57 in VI-A):

Nor are we without many and very signal instances of severe judgement God hath in every age inflicted on Sabbath Breakers, as well as constant mercies wherewith he hath succesfully blessed the pious observors of this day. Many who have been as notoriously guilty of the sin, have as remarkably been overtaken with their punishment. And particularly it may be observed that those who ... encroach upon the sanctity of this day with their common concerns and business, are usually condemned to continual poverty and unsuccessfullness in all their undertakings ... Insomuch that one would be ready to conclude that in the womb of this one day are ... all the blessings and misfortunes of our whole lives; and that just as we remember to keep holy the Sabbath day; so usually doth God remember us to bless our peculiar employment on our other days.

According to Rice, sin became more powerful the longer a person allowed it in their life. "Sin is never at a stay; if we do not retreat [fr]om it, we shall advance in it; and the further on we go, the more we have to come [ba]ck; every step we take forward [even before we can return hither, into the state [whe]rein we are at present] must be repeated; All the web we spin must be unravel[e]d; we must vomit up all we take in ..." ²¹⁰ He also said that God would withhold grace from one who was too deep in sin: "have we not cause rather to fear that he will chastise presumption by withholding his grace?" ²¹¹ Humans, by failing to repent, "venture the forfeiting of Divine Grace ..." ²¹² At one point Rice (consistent with the teachings of Paul and their later elaboration by Augustine) links God's grace to the Baptism of penitent sinners: "the water whereof washes off the stain of all former sins, and puts them into a state of grace and favour with God ..." ²¹³ The belief that the flow of God's grace into a person's life could be hindered by the presence of sin found acceptance among most Anglican thinkers in Rice's lifetime. However, unlike Rice, who believed that in exceptional circumstances grace could be completely cut off by sin, many of them asserted that nothing could completely prevent grace from entering a person's life. Grace, many felt, was readily attained simply through belonging to the church. George Berkeley enunciated this sentiment clearly: "The christian dispensation is a dispensation of grace and favour. The christian church a society of men entitled to this grace, on performing certain conditions." ²¹⁴ Thomas Sherlock rejected the notion that one's will could become completely enslaved to sin and affirmed the power of God's grace: "you have the Assistance of God to enable you to work; which is a great Reason to love and trust him, since he takes this Care of you. Your danger now is only from yourself ..." ²¹⁵

Rice's preaching on sin and grace, like his preaching on conversion and death, was characterized by a sense of urgency. He believed people must assume personal responsibility for their sins and amend their lives so that God's grace could flow freely.

Other preachers of the first half of the eighteenth century took a more sympathetic view of the predicament of human beings and placed far greater emphasis upon God's grace than upon human sin. For Rice, however, the consequences of losing God's grace were eternal. Rice's universe had both a heaven and a hell, and people must choose in this life where they would spend eternity. To penitent sinners, God would "show himself full of pity and compassion ..." ²¹⁶ And God would not even require that one be completely successful in withstanding sin — sincere effort would be enough: "Where there is a sincere and honest Endeavour to please God and keep his commandments, although persons fail in the manner of doing it, God will accept of such as Righteous." ²¹⁷ But to those who failed to repent, God's judgment would be in accordance with the "proportion and desert of their sins." ²¹⁸

Jacob Rice was quite definite in his views on the issue of human sin and divine grace. According to Rice, sin was a constant threat to the life of grace and only by overcoming sin in all its forms could one receive a full share of grace. This contrasted with the views of more moderate Anglican preachers. While sin and grace also figured in their thinking, most were not nearly as certain as Rice was on this matter. He had a tendency to be literal in his interpretation of scripture and he quite likely drew support from Paul's letters for his convictions regarding sin and grace. Here, as with his views on conversion and death, Rice was unequivocal in his understanding and firm in his assertion.

e. Sacraments

Jacob Rice held a high view of the sacraments of the Church, particularly Baptism and Holy Eucharist. In two of his sermons, he focuses almost entirely upon the latter. A primary concern of his was the failure of a large proportion of the population to partake of the sacrament. In his sermon on 1 Corinthians 11:24 (Sermon 12 in VI-A) he compares this to a "neglect of duty ..." He presents the requirement to receive communion as a

commandment of Christ. "His command to do it is absolute." Those who fail in this obligation are guilty of "disregard to the person, and disloyalty to the Authority of God whose command this is; and for whose sake we are bound to serve it ..."

Rice, in his sermon on Luke 22:19,20 (Sermon 10 in VI-A), separated the sacrament into two parts: the "outward which is the signe; and the inward, which is the thing signified." Rice believed the outward part, the bread and wine, to be based on scriptural precedent, and he saw a great symbolism in both the elements used and the actions of the priest at the altar. The inward part, consisting of the "body and blood of Christ ..." are received "verily and indeed ..." by the faithful. He rejected both the "Lutheran gross notion of Consubstantiation, and the Romish monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation." According to Rice, in the scriptural accounts of the Last Supper, "Christ calls the signs by the name of the things signified; not Changing [t]he nature, but adding hereby only grace unto the nature of them; so that a real [pre]sence is not to be sought in the elements, but in the worthy communicants." This rather subjective assertion that Christ was only truly received by those who were worthy was a doctrine that owed more to Protestant teaching than Roman Catholic thought. According to Rice, adequate preparation *before* communion, followed by a reverent state of mind *during* communion, and then an appropriate response *afterwards*, constituted the proper frame of mind for a worthy communicant:

... it will be requisite, that every man use the same care ... in his approaches to the Lord's Table, as he is wont, out of good manners, to do upon an invitation to feast among his neighbours ... to dress himself before he goes out, to behave himself civilly and handsomly abroad; and endeavour some handsom return of gratitude for the kindness received. Whence will arise many duties incumbent upon us in respect to the Lord's Supper: A diligent preparation before; a reasonable meditation in the time of receiving; and a suitable reformation in the course of our life afterwards:

All which conspire to make a worthy communicant, which none of them can wilfully be neglected without rendering us unworthy guests at this holy feast.²¹⁹

On this point, Rice was in strong agreement with Jeremy Taylor who believed with St. Paul that if one ate and drank unworthily it was at risk to their very soul:

... if you receive it worthily, it will do you good; if unworthily, it will be your death and your destruction. Here the penitent can be cleansed, and here the impenitent are consumed: here they that are justified, shall be justified still; and they that are unholy become more unholy and accursed: here they that have shall have more abundantly: and they that have not, shall lose what they have already; here the living are made strong and happy, and the dead do die again.²²⁰

Jeremy Taylor was one Anglican theologian who invested considerable thought in the importance of sound preparation for receiving Holy Communion. He even wrote a volume called *Worthy Communicant* in which he developed his views regarding this theme. Taylor interpreted the parable of the wedding feast from Matthew 22:1-14 as applying to those who receive the sacrament without preparing for it. According to Taylor, "he that comes to this feast, must have put on the wedding garment, that is, he must have put on Jesus Christ, and he must have put off the old man with his affections and lusts."²²¹ Thomas Wilson, an English Bishop during the time of Rice, also emphasized preparation before Holy Communion and spoke of the Eucharist as medicine to the soul for one who "goes worthily to the Lord's table."²²² Rice, as we have seen, stands in the sacramental tradition of Taylor and Wilson.

Rice believed that frequent participation in the Eucharist helped one to keep sins in check, and in a rather questionable interpretation of the complementary relationship between Baptism and Eucharist in his sermon on Luke 22:19-20, he wrote:

And in this respect the Lords Supper necessarily supplies the deficiency of our Baptism; which [tho]ugh it devotes us to God at first, yet is no means to reconcile us to him, upon our [be]ing offended afterwards; because it is but once administered, and cannot be repeated, therefore is the institution of this other sacrament, in order to the same great [pur]pose, intended to guard and maintain the covenant between God and man, [the]reby Baptismal engagements may be Kept in force, and we continue to be Christ's [fai]thfull soldiers and servants unto our lives end.

In the same sermon, Rice defined the purpose of Holy Communion as instilling three things in the minds of believers: "the mystery of Christs incarnation, the Holyness of his life and conversation, and the meritoriousness of his passion." To understand Rice's views on Baptism and Eucharist within the theology of his day, we need only turn to Robert South who, in one of his infrequent forays into sacramental theology, expounded a similar theology, stating that the Eucharist sustains "that spiritual life, which we do or should receive in baptism, or at least by a thorough conversion after it."²²³

To judge the evidence provided by his sermons, Jacob Rice seems to have been consistent with most of his contemporaries in the treatment of the Lord's Supper. Neither he nor they seemed inclined to focus upon its nature but rather upon the practical dimensions of the sacramental use. As we have noted, the favourite theme of most English preaching was morality and virtue; the favourite theme of Rice was the need to turn away from sin. In his observation that far too few people in Newfoundland availed themselves of the Eucharist, Rice was not alone; similar observations can be found in missionary and ecclesiastical accounts of the 19th and 20th centuries. In England, by comparison, it was reported that large numbers attended church when the sacrament was offered. This,

however, may have been due to the relative infrequency of Communion services in most Anglican churches.²²⁴

f. Church and State

In 1706, the SPG issued a directive to its missionaries that they should "take special care to give no offence to the Civil Government, by intermeddling in Affairs not relating to their own Calling and Function."²²⁵ While it is interesting to wonder if this instruction resulted from complaints about John Jackson who had left Newfoundland only the year before, there can be little doubt that Jacob Rice was already following such a policy. In this, he was consistent with the expressed teaching of the Church of England which prided itself on its loyalty to the crown. Church and state, in the view of Anglicans, were inseparable. As Horton Davies observed, "The Anglican still held the mediaeval view ... that as a child is born a member of the English nation so it should be christened as a member of the English national Church."²²⁶ The Act of Establishment of 1701 even required the monarch to be a member of the Church of England. In his sermon on 1 Timothy 4:16 (Sermon 52 in VI-A), Rice outlined what he believed were the responsibilities of the church toward the state. He called for prayers to be offered for the king and challenged his listeners to remain vigilant as the "Banners of Popery and Tyranny" were displayed throughout Europe. The anti-Catholic sentiments expressed in this sermon would not have seemed unusual among most Anglican preachers of Rice's day. Indeed, his benefactor, the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, was noted for his opposition to Catholicism. Compton encouraged his clergy to use their pulpits to condemn Roman Catholicism and even give anti-Catholic lectures on Sunday afternoons.²²⁷ Compton's anti-Catholic zeal was such that he did not feel bound by the truth. In 1667 he published his own translation of *The Life of Donna Olympia Maldalchine*, a malicious Italian work about a lady who was supposed to have led the Roman Catholic Church

during the reign of Innocent X. In 1669 he translated from French and published a second book with dubious origins, *The Jesuite's Intrigues: with the private Instructions of that Society to their Emissaries*.²²⁸

According to Jacob Rice (in his sermon on 1 Timothy 4:16), the interests of church and state were mutual and all should acknowledge that "our Laws and Religion run in the same Channel, and the Great Protector and Defendor of both, our present Sovereigne guards our Priviledges and Cherishes [o]ur Profession ..." For a favorable comparison, we quote Robert South on the same theme as he encouraged clergy to "serve the government, by testifying against any daring, domineering faction which would disturb it, though never so much in favour with it, no man certainly deserving the protection of the government, who does not in his place contribute to the support of it."²²⁹

Rice believed that every citizen had the responsibility to give up some of their own autonomy to the civil government in order to ensure that public order was protected. In this view, he was in agreement with some of the foremost political thinkers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in England, notably John Locke. In his sermon on Isaiah 5:20-21, dealing with the issue of human freedom to sin (Sermon 77 in VI-A), Rice leaves the impression that he had thought about the question of rights and responsibilities of the citizenry quite carefully:

Nay how can they say that virtue deserves no reward, nor sin punishment, when in so saying they reproach all the wise governments in the world, which make it a principall care to punish wickedness and reward virtue, at least as far as the peace and security of the government is concerned in it ... it is very fitting and necessary that some laws should be agreed on for the prosperous and good government of humane societies; and all men should submit their natural liberties to the restraint of laws for the benefit of publick protection ...

In the case of nations, Rice believed that God would either punish or reward them in the present world because they would not exist in heaven. Because of this, it was vital for citizens to fulfil all religious obligations so that a type of national blessing might accrue. In his sermon on Joel 2:18 (Sermon 31 in VI-A) — preached on the occasion of a government ordered fast day — Rice spoke of the rewards God will grant to nations that are righteous. "The Lord will answer and say unto his people, behold I will send you corn, wine and oil ..." The reward would often take the form of military success:

... I will give you Victorys both by Sea and Land and cover your heads in the day of Battle; before your face your enemies shall be much pained ... Your soldiers and those who fight your battles shall run like mighty men, they shall climb the walls like men of Warr. They shall march every one in his own ways and they shall not break your ranks ... These and greater things than these the Lord will do for us and for our land if we live but suitable to our holy Religion and the fast we are commanded now to observe ...

The above quote demonstrates a form of religious nationalism that has its religious roots in the Old Testament. The same sermon also reveals that Rice believed that there should not only be a national obligation for religious service but a national guilt for sins. "God expects that we should be sorry for our sins our Nationall as well as particular sins and utterly forsake them ... for as righteousness enableth a Nation, so sin is the Reproach and will be the downfall and ruin of any people." Rice concluded this sermon in a most pretentious manner:

If Religion is cherished and encouraged if true solid and unaffected piety is maintained and practiced by us; If we have a conscience voyd of offence toward God and Man, If we are true and Just in all our dealing, if we deny ungodliness and

worldly lusts, and live soberly righteously and Godly in this present world; I am empowered to promise you that their God will be Jealous for his Land and pity his people. he will take care of you and be your safeguard and protection ag[ainst] all your enemies.

Of the six themes that dominate Rice's sermons, nowhere is he more in agreement with the entrenched position of the Church of England than when he preached on matters relating to church and state. He believed firmly that a relationship of cooperation and mutual support should exist between the two and that this would be to the mutual benefit of both. His assertion that God would bestow military victories upon the nation if it fulfilled certain religious obligations was consistent with the church's view, and was precisely what the state wanted to hear. Rice's preaching on this matter seems designed to cement the bonds between religious faith and civil allegiance that was a feature of eighteenth century England. His words must have found a favorable reception among the military and civil authorities in St. John's after years of criticism and conflict with Rice's predecessor, John Jackson.

4. The Piety of Rice's Sermons

It is difficult to determine the quality of Jacob Rice's piety based solely upon an analysis of his sermons. The reason for this is that his sermons are an unusual blend of moderation and fervor. On the one hand, many of his sermons express a very traditional and moderate Anglican piety that was compatible with that of most Anglican preachers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. And yet, on the other hand, many of Rice's sermons reveal a preacher who seemed to harbor a great sympathy for evangelical ideals that would have placed him somewhat at odds with the typical Anglican preacher of his time. Perhaps the closest we can come to determining his piety is to state that it did not fit neatly into either of the above categories.

For Jacob Rice, religion could sometimes be simply a matter of duty. This is evident in Rice's views regarding the sacrament of Holy Communion and the constant preparation required in order to receive it worthily, and also in his feelings regarding one's obligation to observe the Sabbath. There could be a coolly rational component to the type of Christianity presented in Rice's sermons. His sermon on Psalm 119:60 (Sermon 59 in VI-A) is representative of this strain of thought:

We may consider, that the observance of God's commandments is our indispensable duty, our main concernment, our only way to happiness; the necessary condition of our attaining Salvation; that alone which can procure God's love and favour towards us, that unto which all real blessings here and all bliss hereafter are inseparably annexed; fear God and keep his commandments for this is the whole means; (the whole duty, the whole designe, the whole perfection, the sum of our wisdom and our happiness). If thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments.

To be a Christian, according to Rice, could also be a very grave and sober matter. Coupled with his sense of religious duty was an element of seriousness. As we have already noted, Rice frequently reminded his listeners of their mortality and admonished them to forego the pleasures of this world in order to attain still greater pleasures in the next: "That the serious consideration of the shortness and frailty of our life is a fit mean or rational instrument subservient to the bringing our hearts to wisdom; that is to the making us discern, attend unto, embrace, and prosecute such things, as according to the dictates of right reason are truly best for us."²³⁰ The goal of religion for Rice was not necessarily to give fulfillment in one's present life but to make one acceptable to God on the day of judgement: "Let not therefore any carnal, wilful, Presumptuous sinner flatter himself with the hopes of seeing God in Heaven ..."²³¹ It was not that his religion completely lacked any element of happiness, but happiness, according to Rice, had an objective quality and

was grounded not in personal fulfillment but in the knowledge that one was doing what God wanted and that *ultimately* one would be rewarded:

What a mighty advantage therefore have these happy persons who have entirely renounced their own wills and submitted themselves to God. For whilst other Poor wretches do grope about under the conduct of their own blind wills, and do they know not what and go they know not wither themselves, but live by chance and act at random; they are conducted in all their choices and actions by an All-wise will, that never fails to measure their actions by the best rules and point them to the best end. So that while by the directions of that heavenly guide they are sure of their ends, and do know infallibly before hand, all their choices and actions shall finally conspire in their own happiness.²³²

Perhaps the strongest current running through the sermons of Jacob Rice is the need for the sinner to turn away from their old ways of living and toward new ways of living. His belief that this change of heart could be sudden and dramatic found scriptural support in the letters attributed to Paul. In this sense, Rice was Pauline in his biblical theology. He adopted a pattern of Christian preaching that had its roots in the Early Church but that had fallen somewhat into disfavor with the majority of Anglican divines. As we have noted, there were exceptions, but most Anglican preachers had adopted a rather tepid interpretation of the Gospel that placed greater emphasis upon good citizenship and decency than deliverance from sin and spiritual regeneration. Jacob Rice, on the other hand, believed that a change of one's heart and will was necessary if they were to receive the true benefit of religion — life eternal beyond the grave. His emphasis upon turning away from one's former self and adopting a life of Christian ideals as defined by him and the church was central to his preaching; it was the primary theme of many of his sermons, and a secondary theme for many others. Although the high degree of

emphasis that Rice placed upon this theme may have been partly his reaction to the unparalleled vice of early eighteenth century St. John's, it seems that his belief in religious conversion would have been a central feature of his preaching anyway. He did not simply rail against the sin that he witnessed every day. He constantly implored his listeners to turn from the past and accept Christ so that they might prepare themselves to live with God in heaven. Jacob Rice clearly believed that religion was more than a matter of outward appearance and external routine. A transformation of heart and will was, for him, essential in the life of every Christian:

It is true that God is ever ready upon our true conversion to receive us into his favour, that his arms are always open to embrace a sincere penitent; that he hath declared whenever a man turneth from his wickedness, and doeth that which is right, he shall save his soul alive; that if we do wash ourselves ... put away the evils of our doings, and cease to do evil, then although our sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow, though they be like crimson they shall be as wool; if we rend our hearts, and turn unto the Lord, he is gracious and merciful ...²³³

5. Rice's Sermons and the Pastoral Concerns of Newfoundlanders

As difficult as it was to define the religious piety of Jacob Rice, based upon the rather heterogeneous body of sermons he produced, it is even more difficult to establish the relationship between his sermons and the pastoral concerns of Newfoundlanders. This is not because of any apparent contradictions in theme or content, it is because his sermons make almost no mention of Newfoundland and could just as easily have been preached in England or America. The notable exceptions to this rule were his funeral sermons, which generally refer obliquely to the deceased but never discuss in any detail the circumstances of the person's life or death but instead focus on the necessity of preparing

oneself in this life in order to meet God in the next. The following conclusion from one of his sermons on the need for spiritual conversion, apparently preached at a funeral, is as close as Rice ever came to directly confronting the lifestyles of the inhabitants of Newfoundland. One wonders at the reaction of the family and friends of the deceased to these words:

Now after all that can be said to this point, how little of the better part of this argument can be applied to the present occasion; was there any sign of a due regard for Gods just commands and Ordinances, was there a serious and sincere repentance for the manifold sins committed in this world. were there any hearty promises of amendment, or a desirous application for the assistance of God's Grace by the administry of his word was there any apprehension of the great account that we must all one day make or of that state of treat or woe into which he is now entered. I fear not, and can only hope that God who has shown mercy in midst of judgment to many and great sinners has in his great and most condescending Pity received our deceased Brother into his eternal rest.²³⁴

Rice's sermons were almost completely void of illustrations, leaving us with very little to relate in a direct way to the conditions and concerns of Newfoundlanders. We have already noted that his favored method of discourse was to discuss at great length the rather intangible truths of Christianity — particularly the struggle between sinfulness and righteousness — with little in the way of concrete examples in daily life. Rather than condemn Rice for being out of touch with the people in his preaching, we should remember that the tendency to avoid parochial and actual matters in preaching was a feature of eighteenth century Anglican sermons. Rice's training likely prepared him to preach in this manner, and it is likely that he never considered any other approach. This dearth of illustrations presents the modern-day analyst of Rice's preaching with a scarcity

of material that could provide insight into the specific circumstances of life in early eighteenth century Newfoundland. One suspects, however, that it presented his ill-educated and poorly informed listeners with an equally forbidding problem at times as they tried to grasp the rather abstract truths contained in Rice's sermons.

To his credit, Rice's language was almost always simple and easily comprehended, even if the thrust of his messages was often more theoretical than practical. John Langhorne, in his volume on pulpit eloquence published in 1765, described in even simpler terms the importance of adapting one's preaching to the level of the congregation:

Here then, my friend, I would rest the argument respecting the Style of Pulpit-Oratory. The capacities of his hearers should, in this respect, be the first object of every Preacher's attention — Let him think nothing too degrading that brings his style and sentiments to the level of their understandings — It is not necessary, I once more observe, that in order to do this he should have recourse to images that are farcically low — It is the mode and structure of their idiom, not the phrase itself, that he is to adopt, when he addresses himself to the low and unlearned — And let him never, if he can possibly avoid it, introduce any word or expression that is not familiarly known to them.²³⁵

As the following quote from the beginning of his sermon on adultery, based upon Exodus 20:14 (Sermon 30 in VI-A), shows, Rice could never bring himself to specifically relate any pastoral concern directly to the lives of his listeners. Rice's indirect approach to moral matters can be contrasted sharply with the approach of a later SPG missionary and evangelical preacher in Newfoundland, Laurence Coughlan, for whom "Hell-fire sermons and deathbed conversions provided the stark relief against which the saving message of Christ was preached."²³⁶ Some of Coughlan's converts realized the need for moral change after hearing him preach and he even went so far as to prevent a prominent merchant from

being a godfather on moral grounds.²³⁷ Throughout this consideration of a topic that must certainly have applied to old St. John's, Jacob Rice speaks only in indirect terms, never once providing a concrete example of the sin. Rice's entire sermon has the aura of a theological dissertation instead of a pastoral discussion:

There is nothing in this world more dear to mankind than Chastity, especially in the conjugal state, which is therefore only expressed in the commandment, as aptest to imply all the other kinds of it. designed by God to succeed hereby according to the perfection of his law, and the comprehensiveness of this system thereof. I shall oblige myself to explain the nature and extent of this prohibition. Examine the grounds and reasonableness of this injunction And direct to the most proper preservatives from its guilt.

Based upon our examination of early eighteenth century Newfoundland in Chapters One and Two, it seems safe to conclude that the primary concern of Newfoundlanders could be summarized in one word — survival. To this concern, Jacob Rice says almost nothing *directly*. Instead, he challenges his listeners to look beyond their present condition and contemplate the future blessing they will inherit if they turn in faith to God. One wonders if that was his way of addressing the issue of survival by seeking to instill in the minds of his people the hope of a better world and a better life. One also wonders if his unrelenting condemnation of sin and preoccupation with death was due to the wretched social and physical environment of St. John's or if he would have been just as passionate had he been preaching in England. These questions cannot be answered with any certainty because we have no comparable sermons of Rice from his ministry in England. Jacob Rice attempted, in an age of great turmoil and change, and without much in the way of indigenous or external support, to plant the seeds of Christianity among a population that knew little of Christian piety. If Rice appeared to ignore the concerns of

the people around him in his sermons, we should remember that as an eighteenth century clergyman he probably believed that his vocation was not to occupy himself with things that he likely considered to be below his station in life. Instead, he saw his task as one of imposing his own concerns (sin, repentance, conversion, etc.) onto the hearts and minds of the population around him and bring them to what he believed was a state of living that was more acceptable to his church and his God.

IV. Conclusion

A. The Place of Rice in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland

If we are to understand Jacob Rice's place within the Newfoundland of 1705-1712 we must, first of all, be aware of the immense disorder that characterized all aspects of life in the colony during those years. When Jacob Rice arrived in St. John's in 1705 as a Church of England missionary, he entered a seasonal fishing port distinguished by an extraordinary level of social, political and religious chaos caused primarily by the unwillingness of the English government to establish year-round institutions on the island. He sought, with varying degrees of success, to impose some semblance of order upon this situation.

The seasonal nature of the Newfoundland fishery ensured that Jacob Rice did not enjoy the benefits of ministering to a population engaged in a stable livelihood. The amount of fish caught from year to year was unpredictable and for this reason the level of support which Rice could count on every year was also uncertain. He lived in constant awareness that he could take nothing for granted and must learn to make do with what he was offered. Matters were aggravated by the fact that many of the fishermen and merchants responsible for his upkeep regarded him as nonessential and refused to contribute anything toward his subsistence. Rice was also unable to convince the SPG of his need for consistent financial and material support.

The tension between year-round inhabitants and visiting fishermen did not nurture a healthy sense of community among the people living in St. John's in the early years of the eighteenth century. This was compounded by the fact that in the minds of many of the West Country merchants and fishermen, as well as many members of the British government, Newfoundland should never become a year-round residence but should instead be a seasonal fishing post. This did not make it easy for Jacob Rice, or any other resident of the island, to receive the necessary support to establish permanent and

enduring institutions among the people. This situation was compounded by the constant danger of French attack which injected a large measure of fear and uncertainty into all aspects of life in early Newfoundland. Ironically, it was precisely this danger of French attack and French conquest that finally encouraged the British government to establish a more permanent presence in Newfoundland.

The state of institutional Christianity in Newfoundland during the years of Jacob Rice can be described as rudimentary at best. As a result, Rice was forced to invest most of his energy trying to establish the basics of an ecclesiastical institution among the people. It is true that he had the benefit of some work already done by John Jackson, but Jackson's legacy was a questionable one and had done little to place the Church of England upon a firm foundation in Newfoundland. Indeed, Jackson's record was more of a liability for Rice than an asset. In some ways Rice faced greater difficulties than Jackson; at least Jackson could count upon the financial support of the SPG. Jacob Rice did not inherit much from the ministry of John Jackson that was lasting and that he could build upon. Instead, Rice was forced to start almost from the beginning in an effort to convince the inhabitants of St. John's that the church was worthy of their support. In this sense, Rice was perhaps the most important of the early missionaries by establishing a stable and enduring church institution among a significant portion of the population in Newfoundland.

Jacob Rice arrived in Newfoundland as an Anglican clergyman who was well-versed in the practice and doctrine of the Church of England. Both his upbringing and preparation for ministry would have instilled within him a strong appreciation for all things Anglican. And yet, despite his past, he was able to adapt to the very underdeveloped state of church and society in Newfoundland and endure the challenges of ministry in St. John's for at least seven years. Rice oversaw extensive repairs to the church building at St. John's and won the cooperation of many of the citizens in this effort. In sharp contrast to his predecessor, John Jackson, he appears to have had cordial relations with the military authorities and, for the most part, accepted his working conditions without undue protest.

There was little in the way of indigenous support for the Anglican church when he arrived, but he showed a willingness to accept what he had and a strong determination to build upon it. Judging from his sermons, he believed that the inhabitants of St. John's were in great need of a moral and spiritual change of heart, and he made that goal the focus of much of his preaching.

B. Rice's Place among Eighteenth century Preachers

The early eighteenth century fell within the period known as the "Age of Reason." Dominated by a new confidence in science based upon observation of the natural world and favoring secular and rational concerns, the "Age of Reason" was not generally conducive to strong religious fervor. Instead, it favored among all learned people an attitude that tended to downplay the emotional and mysterious aspect of religion and emphasized the moral and societal components. In England, at least, one reason for this theological outlook was a reaction against the excesses of the Puritans in the previous century. The Church of England tended to manifest this attitude in movements such as the Latitudinarians which produced a rather moderate faith among most adherents. Despite this, the Church of England included a number of very popular preachers, notably Tillotson and South, who were both sympathetic to the ideals of their age and crafted sermons that met with strong approval among the people and became models for like-minded clergymen. Their blend of simplicity and reason struck a chord in the general population, as they proclaimed a God who did not expect too much from his subjects and who could best be served by good citizenship and decent morals. For the most part, the sermons of the Church of England of the early eighteenth century were structured logically, employed simple language, and possessed a rational development of ideas. There was little in the way of heart-felt emotion or fervent passion. It remains a curious feature of the period that, notwithstanding the rather tepid nature of piety and preaching within

the Church of England, preaching was still the most popular form of public discourse for most people.

Jacob Rice was influenced by this blend of religious sentiments and adopted many of the same preaching methods as most of his contemporaries. Structurally, Jacob Rice's sermons were within the mainstream of Church of England preaching in the early eighteenth century. The simple, well-organized format of his sermons differed little from those of Tillotson and the imitators of Tillotson. His sermons tended to be clear and direct in their development. Stylistically, however, Rice was less restrained than many of his contemporaries, and he often made an appeal to the hearts of his listeners and not just their minds. The strongest point of departure between Rice's sermons and those of the more prominent Anglican preachers was in terms of theme. Whereas most preachers (at least those whose sermons are available for our perusal today) tended to give little emphasis to matters of personal conversion, Rice made it a central theme of his preaching. Humans, according to Rice, were sinners by nature and in need of redemption if they were ever to receive salvation. Life was not meant to be enjoyed but was to be regarded as a preparation for death and all that lay beyond death. Everything accomplished in this life should be done in light of this ultimate encounter. The strongest pastoral concern for Jacob Rice seemed to be the need to save the souls of his flock, and not to educate them in the finer points of citizenship and morality. His urgent appeals for his listeners to repent of their sins would have been out of place among the generally passive and respectable preaching that dominated English pulpits during his lifetime. In his homeland, sermons were often directed more toward preserving the civil order than personal conversion. The content of his sermons suggests that Rice was an evangelical at heart. What was important to Jacob Rice was the surrender of one's will to God, followed by an ongoing process of spiritual development in preparation for the next life. His focus was beyond this world and very much in the realm of the eternal. Rice took his responsibility to preach very seriously and must have devoted a considerable amount of time to the preparation of what were

very lengthy and well-crafted sermons. The sermons reflect an insightful and committed preacher. To the best of his ability, he adapted his message to the level of his listeners.

Preached as they were, under stressful conditions, in a largely religiously uncommitted society, the sermons of Jacob Rice provide us with an important window to the past in the study of preaching in early eighteenth century Newfoundland. The final word is vintage Rice, from his sermon on Job 7:8 (Sermon 7 in VI-A), in which he once more issues his constant plea for all who hear him to repent of their past sins and turn to God:

Let us now at length arise and dress our selves for eternity, by first putting off our old man, with all its corrupt lusts and affections, and then put on the new, which consists in repentance from dead works, in fervent lo[ve] and profound veneration of god, and a sincere subjection to his heaven[ly] will, in Temperance Humility, and Justice, and universal Charity t[o] all men. And when we have thus arrayed our selves, thus excellently ador[ned] and beautified our natures, we have lived to admirable purpose, indeed lived to live happily for ever, to accomplish our selves, for the eternal embraces of the God of love, and for the society and happiness of Angels and of the blessed spirits.

V. Footnotes

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- ³C. Grant Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976), 36-38.
- ⁴*Ibid.*, 82.
- ⁵Jeff A. Webb, "Leaving the State of Nature: A Locke-Inspired Political Community in St. John's, Newfoundland, 1723," *Acadiensis* XXI, no. 1 (Autumn 1991): 157.
- ⁶Head, 63. Head quotes from CSPC 1711, #149ii, CO194/f.54, f.89, ff.327,328.
- ⁷Lounsbury, 207.
- ⁸*Ibid.*, 227-228.
- ⁹John Jackson, letter to Commissioners of Trade, 17 January 1705 (CO 194 V3).
- ¹⁰H.P. Thompson, *Into All Lands* (London: S.P.C.K., 1951), 8-13.
- ¹¹Thomas Bray, *A Memorial representing the Present State of Religion on the Continent of North America* (London: 1700), 10.
- ¹²J. Langtry, *History of the Church in Eastern Canada and Newfoundland*. (London: SPCK, 1892), 79.
- ¹³Thomas R. Millman and A.R. Kelley, *Atlantic Canada to 1900: A History of the Anglican Church* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983), 16-17.
- ¹⁴Hans Rollmann, "Puritans," in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* IV (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1993), 481-482.
- ¹⁵Thompson, 118.
- ¹⁶Keith Matthews, "Lectures on the History of Newfoundland: 1500-1830" (St. John's: Maritime History Group, Memorial University, 1973), 123.
- ¹⁷Thompson, 118.
- ¹⁸Instructions to Governor Henry Osborne, 24 May 1729, PRO, CO 195/7, 199-202, quoted in Hans Rollmann, "Religious Enfranchisement and Roman Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland," *Religion and Identity* eds. Terrence Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1987), 35.
- ¹⁹Rollmann, "Religious Enfranchisement ..." 35.
- ²⁰Paul O'Neill, *A Seaport Legacy* (Erin, Ontario: Press Porcupine, 1976), 711.
- ²¹Thompson, 118-119.
- ²²Christensen, 210.

- ²³ Michael Godfrey, "Jackson, John," in *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography* II (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 293. Millman and Kelly, 18. Christensen, 211.
- ²⁴ F.B. Gill, "Tyranny in St. John's, 1705-1706" (Unpublished papers from the Colonial Records, St. John's, Provincial Archives, 1971), 32.
- ²⁵ Soldiers at Newfoundland, letter to Captain John Powell (CO 194 V2 D CSP 1702 #194) (Journal of C. of T. & P.).
- ²⁶ John Jackson, letter to Colonial Office (CO 194 V2 D 202).
- ²⁷ CO 194 V3 F. Nfld. Microfilm 567 (1) 107. The SPG Journal V1.
- ²⁸ Colonial Office, letter to the Crown, 26 May 1704 (CO 194 V2 D. 203).
- ²⁹ John Jackson, letter to the Colonial Office (CO 194 V3).
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- ³¹ Paul O'Neill, *The Oldest City: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland*. (Erin, Ontario: Press Porcupic, 1975), 83.
- ³² Mr. Campbell and Wm. and Abraham Taverner, letter to Commissioners of Trade, 5 March 1707. Quoted in F. B. Gill, 41.
- ³³ John Jackson, letter to Commodore Bridge, 20 September 1704 (CO 194 V3 F) 88.
- ³⁴ Commanders of Ships and Inhabitants at St. John's, letter to Colonial Office, 21 July 1704 (CO 194 V3) 75.
- ³⁵ O'Neill, *The Oldest City* 84-86.
- ³⁶ Godfrey, 293-294.
- ³⁷ Ibid., 293.
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- ³⁹ Carson I.A. Ritchie, "Rice, Jacob," in *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography* II (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 564.
- ⁴⁰ V.H.H. Green, *Religion at Oxford and Cambridge* (London: SCM Press, 1964), 153.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., 158.
- ⁴² Ibid., 153, 179.
- ⁴³ Ibid., 179.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., 180.
- ⁴⁵ Charles Edward Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford* III. (London: Methuen & Co., 1927), 66-68.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., 60-62.
- ⁴⁷ Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford*, III (Oxford: Parker and Company, 1891), 1250.
- ⁴⁸ Brigid Allen, Archivist of Jesus College, Oxford, Letter to Geoff Peddle, 8 February 1995.

- ⁴⁹Brigid Allen, Letter to Geoff Peddle, 15 February 1995.
- ⁵⁰Janie Cottis, Archivist of Magdalen College, Oxford, Letter to Geoff Peddle 6 February 1995.
- ⁵¹Ritchie, 564.
- ⁵²Alfred W. Newcombe, "The Appointment and Instruction of S.P.G. Missionaries," *Church History* V, (1936): 347.
- ⁵³*Ibid.*, 349.
- ⁵⁴A. Tindal Hart, *Clergy and Society: 1600-1800* (London: S.P.C.K., 1968), 65.
- ⁵⁵Ritchie, 564.
- ⁵⁶"Memorial Relating to the want of Ministers in Nfld," SPG Journal, Minutes of 17 August 1705, Vol. 1, 194. (CNS, Microfilm 567).
- ⁵⁷SPG Letter Books, Series A, Vol. 1, 19. (CNS, Microfilm 471).
- ⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 146.
- ⁵⁹SPG Letter Book, Series A, Vol. 2, 120. (CNS, Microfilm 471).
- ⁶⁰SPG Journal, Vol. I, 194. (CNS, Microfilm 567).
- ⁶¹Newcombe, 342.
- ⁶²SPG Journal Vol. I, 196. (CNS, Microfilm 567).
- ⁶³*Ibid.*, 402.
- ⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 407.
- ⁶⁵SPG Letter Book, Series A, Vol. 1, Appendix B. (CNS, Microfilm 471).
- ⁶⁶Christensen, 213.
- ⁶⁷SPG Letter Book, Series A, Vol. 7, 539-540. (CNS, Microfilm 471).
- ⁶⁸Ritchie, 564. Ritchie described Rice as a "free-lance minister."
- ⁶⁹Christensen, 215.
- ⁷⁰Newcombe, 343. Not only prospective missionaries preached before the body; According to C.F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 833, a standing order of 1701 required that a sermon was to be preached "before the Society on the third Friday in every February, and that the Preacher and Place be appointed by the President." An examination of the list of preachers between 1702 and 1749 reveals a majority to be Bishops with a few Deans and one Archdeacon among them.
- ⁷¹Newcombe, 357.
- ⁷²*Ibid.*, 357-358.
- ⁷³David Humphries, *An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, 1730. (New York: Arno Press, [reprint]1969), 70.
- ⁷⁴Ritchie, 564; Christensen, 214. Ritchie indicates that Rice's appointment to Placentia took place in 1727. Christensen says 1713. An undated letter from the Rev. Charles Davis

in the Fulham Papers at Lambeth Palace Library mentions his replacing Rice when Rice moved to Placentia in 1715. It thus appears that the late date suggested by Ritchie is not correct.

⁷⁵SPG Letter Books, Series A, Vol. 7, 12. (CNS, Microfilm 471).

⁷⁶SPG Letter Books, Series A, Vol. 2, 120. (CNS, Microfilm 471).

⁷⁷Christensen, 214.

⁷⁸SPG Letter Books, Series A, Vol. 6, 154. (CNS, Microfilm 471).

⁷⁹SPG Letter Books, Series A, Vol. 7, 539-540. (CNS, Microfilm 471).

⁸⁰Ritchie, 564. Reference is also found to a visit to England in a letter of Rice to Bishop Compton dated 6 November 1711 and found among the Fulham Papers at Lambeth Palace, Vol. 1, 1. Rice wrote that the sudden departure of the fleet prevented his meeting with the Bishop.

⁸¹Fulham Papers at Lambeth Palace Library, Vol. 1, 1. (CNS, Microfilm 3636).

⁸²H.P. Thompson, *Into All Lands* (London: S.P.C.K., 1951), 118.

⁸³Christopher English, "The Development of the Newfoundland Legal System to 1815," *Acadiensis* XX, no. 1 (Autumn 1990): 101.

⁸⁴D.W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895), 271-272.

⁸⁵Fulham Papers at Lambeth Palace Library, Vol. 1, 3. (CNS, Microfilm 3636).

⁸⁶Prowse, 249.

⁸⁷SPG Letter Books, Series A, Vol. II, 120. (CNS, Microfilm 471).

⁸⁸Fulham Papers at Lambeth Palace Library, Vol. 1, 3. (CNS, Microfilm 3636).

⁸⁹SPG Journal, Vol. I, 132. (CNS, Microfilm 567). If Rice did indeed establish a school in Newfoundland, it would have preceded by several years the school established by the Anglican missionary Henry Jones in Bonavista in 1727, and which has been regarded as the first school in Newfoundland. See: Bonita Power and Hans Rollmann, "Bonavista's 'Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water': The First School in Newfoundland" *Humanities Association of Canada, Bulletin* XVII, No. 1 (April 1989): 31.

⁹⁰John R.H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1980), 273.

⁹¹John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* II, (1690; repr., New York: Dover Publications Inc, 1959), 305-306.

⁹²Moorman, 273.

⁹³Charles J. Abbey and John H. Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), 75-76.

⁹⁴Louis L. Snyder, *The Age of Reason* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1955), 8-13.

⁹⁵Davies, 69.

- ⁹⁶Abbey and Overton, 126.
- ⁹⁷Davies, 69.
- ⁹⁸Gilbert Burnet, *Four Discourses Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Sarum* (London: 1694), 26, quoted in Gerard Reedy, *Robert South (1634-1716)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 127.
- ⁹⁹Robert South, *Animadversions Upon Dr. Sherlock's Book, Entitled A Vindication of the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity* (London: 1693), 3-6, quoted in Reedy, 127.
- ¹⁰⁰George Rudé, *The Eighteenth Century* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), 7, 10, 11.
- ¹⁰¹Snyder, 14-15.
- ¹⁰²L.P. Curtis, *Anglican Moods of the Eighteenth Century* (Archon Books: 1966), 47.
- ¹⁰³James Downey, *The Eighteenth Century Pulpit* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 14.
- ¹⁰⁴Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 52-60.
- ¹⁰⁵Joseph Addison, *The Spectator* 9 July 1711, quoted in Davies, 55.
- ¹⁰⁶A. Tindal Hart, *Clergy and Society: 1600-1800* (London: S.P.C.K., 1968), 65.
- ¹⁰⁷Moorman, 284-288.
- ¹⁰⁸"Select Letters from Fog's Weekly Journal," London, 1732, II, 182, quoted in J. Wickham Legg, *English Church Life: From the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1914), 7.
- ¹⁰⁹Moorman, 287.
- ¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 287-288.
- ¹¹¹Davies, 98.
- ¹¹²Gordon Rupp, *Religion in England: 1688-1791* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 513.
- ¹¹³*Selections from the Tatler and Spectator*, 218, quoted in Rupp, 514-515.
- ¹¹⁴Carson I.A. Ritchie, *Frontier Parish* (Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1976), 130-131.
- ¹¹⁵Arthur Pollard, *English Sermons* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1963), 30.
- ¹¹⁶Joseph Burke and Colin Caldwell, *Hogarth* (London: Alpine, n.d.), 164.
- ¹¹⁷W. Fraser Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), 3-4.
- ¹¹⁸Henry Ward Beecher, *Popular Lectures on Preaching* (Glasgow: John S. Marr & Sons, 1872), 166.
- ¹¹⁹James Fordyce, *Eloquence of the Pulpit, an Ordination Sermon* (London: 1755), 181, quoted in Rolf P. Lessenich, *Elements of Pulpit Oratory in Eighteenth-Century England (1660-1800)*, (Köln: Böhlau-Verlag, 1972), 39.

- 120 Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783; repr., Carbondale, 1965), 190-191, quoted in Lessenich, 38.
- 121 Davies, 67.
- 122 Downey, 10.
- 123 Rupp, 278.
- 124 Lessenich, 163.
- 125 *The Use and Propriety of Occasional Preaching* The Works of William Paley V (1825), 352-353, quoted in Charles Smyth, *The Art of Preaching* (London: SPCK, 1940), 165.
- 126 Davies, 67.
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- 130 Robert South, *Sermons Preached Upon Several Occasions* III, (Oxford: 1823), 33-34, quoted in Davies, 66.
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- 133 Rupp, 515.
- 134 Reedy, 46.
- 135 Charles Dargan, *A History of Preaching* II. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1912), 293.
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- 137 G. Campbell, *Lectures on Systematic Theology and Pulpit Eloquence* (London: 1807), 304-305, quoted in Lessenich, 17.
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- 139 J.W.C. Wand, *Anglicanism in History and Today* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961), 203-204.
- 140 Curtis, 34.
- 141 James Knowlson, *Universal Language Schemes in England and France 1600-1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 224-228.
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- 144Tillotson, *Works* II, "Of Constancy in the Profession of the true Religion," 61.
- 145Tillotson, *Works* II, "Concerning the Perfection of God," 492.
- 146Tillotson, *Works* I, "Concerning the Incarnation of Christ," 446.
- 147Tillotson, *Works* I, "The Example of Jesus in doing Good," 156-157.
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- 149Davies, 56.
- 150Michael Webb, Assistant Librarian, Bodleian Library, Letter to Geoff Peddle 18 November 1994.
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- 152Thomas Secker, *Eight Charges delivered to the Clergy of the Dioceses of Oxford and Canterbury* (London, 1769), 294, quoted in Lessenich, 41.
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- ¹⁷²Reginald Heber, ed., *The Whole Works of the Rt. Rev. Jeremy Taylor, D.D., with a Life of the Author and a Critical Examination of his Writings* (London 1828), IV, "Holy Dying," 468, quoted in C.F. Allison, *The Rise of Moralism* (London: SPCK, 1966), 74.
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- ¹⁷⁴Sermon on Luke 13:5. Sermon 1 in VI-A.
- ¹⁷⁵Sermon on Hebrews 12:14. Sermon 61 in VI-A.
- ¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*
- ¹⁷⁷Sermon on John 4:24. Sermon 21 in VI-A.
- ¹⁷⁸Sermon on Luke 15:18. Sermon 19 in VI-A.
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- ¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*
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- ¹⁹²*Ibid.*
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- 202 Sermon on Psalm 145:9. Sermon 41 in VI-A.
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- 217 Sermon on 1 Peter 4:18. Sermon 66 in VI-A.
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- 224 Moorman, 287.
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²²⁶Davies, 26.

²²⁷Edward Carpenter, *The Protestant Bishop* (London: Longman's Green and Company, 1956), 82.

²²⁸Carpenter, 60-61.

²²⁹South, *Sermons* IV, 240, quoted in Reedy, 96.

²³⁰Sermon on Psalm 90:12. Sermon 54 in VI-A.

²³¹Sermon on Hebrews 12:14. Sermon 61 in VI-A.

²³²Sermon on Matthew 16:24. Sermon 15 in VI-A.

²³³Sermon on Luke 13:5. Sermon 1 in VI-A.

²³⁴*Ibid.*,

²³⁵Langhorne, 51-52.

²³⁶Hans Rollmann, "Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland," *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, John Webster Grant and Charles H.H. Scobie, eds. (McGill: Queen's University Press, 1992), 63-65, 68.

²³⁷*Ibid.*, 63-68.

VI. Texts

A. Index of Extant Sermons by Jacob Rice

Sermon texts of Jacob Rice (CNS Microfilm 465, Reel 1)

1. Luke 13:5
"But except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish."
2. Acts 3:19
"Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord."
3. Matthew 22:37,38
"Jesus said unto him 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment.'"
4. Ecclesiastes 11: 9
"Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment."
5. Acts 26:8
"Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you, that God should raise the dead?"
6. Matthew 1: 21
"And thou shalt call his name Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins."
7. Job 7:8
"The eye of him that hath seen me shall see me no more: thine eyes are upon me, and I am not."
8. Job 7:9,10
"As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away: so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more. He shall return no more to his house, neither shall his place know him any more"
9. John 3:17
"For God sent not his son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved."

10. Luke 22:19,20

"And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you."

11. Matthew 22:3

"And he sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding: And they would not come"

12. 1 Corinthians 11:24

"This do in remembrance of me."

13. Romans 4:7

"Blessed are they whose sins are forgiven, and whose iniquities are covered."

14. Luke 22:42

"Nevertheless, let not my will, but thine be done."

15. Matthew 16:24

"Then said Jesus unto his disciples, if any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."

16. No biblical text.

A notation indicates that this sermon was preached at a funeral on March 3, 1706.

17. Matthew 25:10

"And while they went to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage: and the door was shut."

18. No biblical text.

Subject of sermon is "Prodigal Son."

19. Luke 15:18

"I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee."

20. Malachi 1:6

"A son honoureth his father, and a servant his master: if then I be a father, where is mine honour? And if I be a master where is my fear?"

21. John 4:24

"God is a spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

22. 2 Corinthians 5:11

"Knowing therefore the honour of the Lord, we persuade men; but we are made manifest unto God; and I trust also are made manifest in your consciences."

23. 1 Peter 2:21

"Because also Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his footsteps."

24. John 16:12,13

"I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth; for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will show you things to come."

25. Galatians 6:7,8

"Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the spirit shall of the spirit reap life everlasting."

26. 1 Timothy 1:15

"This is a worthy saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief."

27. Romans 8:6

"For to be carnally minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace."

28. Ephesians 4:6

"One God and Father of all who is above all and through all and in you all."

29. Hebrews 10:26,27

"For if we sin willfully after that we have received knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries."

30. Exodus 20:14

"Thou shalt not commit adultery."

31. Joel 2:18

"Then will the Lord be jealous for his land, and pity his people."

32. Acts 2:38

"And ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost."

33. 1 Corinthians 3:16

"Know ye that ye are the Temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you."

34. 1 Corinthians 11:29

"He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body."

35. Matthew 16:26

"For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? or what shall he give in exchange for his soul?"

36. Matthew 3:8

"Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance."

37. 1 John 2:6

"He that saith he abideth in him ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked."

38. Proverbs 22:6

"Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it."

39. Philippians 4:8

"Finally brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things."

40. Romans 12:17

"Provide things honest in the sight of all men."

41. Psalm 145:9

"The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works."

42. No biblical text.

Appears to be a short note connecting sermon number 41 with sermon number 43. These two sermons seem to have been preached at different times on the same day.

43. Psalm 145:9

"The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works."

44. Psalm 145:17,18,19

"The Lord is righteous in all his ways and Holy in all his works. The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him, yea all such as call upon him faithfully. He will fulfill the desire of them that fear him, he will also hear their cry and will help them."

45. Exodus 20:7

"Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that takes his name in vain."

46. Matthew 22:12

"And he said unto him, friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment?"

47. Luke 14:18

"And they all with one consent began to make excuse."

48. Psalm 39:4

"Lord, make me to know mine end, and the measure of my days, what it is: that I may know frail I am."

49. Romans 11:33

"O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God. How unsearchable are his judgments and his ways past finding out."

50. Galatians 6:7,8

"Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting."

51. Ecclesiastes 8:12,13

"Though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, which fear before him. But it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong his days, which are as a shadow; because he feareth not before God."

52. 1 Timothy 4:16

"Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; continue in them: for in so doing this thou shalt both save thyself, and them that hear thee."

53. Revelations 4:8

"And they rest not day and night saying Holy Lord God Almighty, which was and is and is to come."

54. Psalm 90:12

"So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

55. Philippians 2:11

"And that every tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the Glory of God the Father."

56. Matthew 25:46

"And these shall go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into life eternal."

57. Exodus 20:8,9,10,11

"Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it."

58. No biblical text.

This seems to be a short farewell address.

59. Psalm 119:60

"I made haste, and delayed not to keep thy commandments."

60. Isaiah 55:7

"Let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God for he will abundantly pardon."

61. Hebrews 12:14

"Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord."

62. Ezekiel 20:13

"But the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness: they walked not in my statutes, and they despised my judgments, which if a man do, he shall even live in them; and my sabbaths they greatly polluted: then I said, I would pour out my fury upon them in the wilderness, to consume them."

63. No biblical text.

Possibly a conclusion to sermon number 62.

64. Hebrews 11:6

"But without faith it is impossible to please him: for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him."

65. Matthew 1:20

"For that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost."

66. 1 Peter 4:18

"And if the righteous scarcely be saved where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?"

67. Luke 6:46

"And why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?"

68. Ephesians 6:18

"Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit and watching thereunto with all perseverance."

69. Ecclesiastes 11:8

"But if a man live many years, and rejoice in them all; yet let him remember the days of darkness; for they shall be many."

70. 2 Timothy 3:16

"All scripture is given by the inspiration of God."

71. 2 Timothy 3:16

"All scripture is given by the inspiration of God." This sermon is a continuation of sermon number 70.

72. The Lord's Prayer.

A short note accompanying this does not appear to be part of a sermon.

73. Proverbs 28:1

"The wicked flee when no man pursues; but the righteous are bold as a lion."

74. Matthew 22:39

"And the second is like unto it, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

75. Proverbs 10:9

"He that walketh uprightly walketh surely."

76. John 3:17

"For God sent not his son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved."

77. Isaiah 5:20,21

"Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter! Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight!"

78. Isaiah 5:20,21

"Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter! Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight!" This is a different sermon from #77.

B. Jacob Rice's two Letters of Appointment to St. John's (1705)

(SPG Letter Books, Series A)

1. Henry, By Divine Permission, Lord Bishop of London, To all whom these presents shall concern, Health in our Lord God Everlasting: whereas, By Vertue of an Act of Parliament made in the First Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, King William and Queen Mary, Entituled, *An Act for abrogating of the Oaths of Supremace and Allegiance, and appointing other Oaths*: It is Provided and Enacted, That every Person, at his, or there respective Admission be incumbent in any Ecclesiastical Promotion or Dignity in the Church of England, shall subscribe and declare before his Ordinary, in manner and form in the said Act is contained: Now know ye, That on the day of the date hereof did personally appear before Us *Jacob Rice Clerk to be admitted the Ministerial Function in the Province of Newfoundland in America* and subscribed as followeth, as by the said Act is required *Jacob Rice Clerk* Do Declare, That I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as is now by Law Established. In Witness whereof, we have caused our Seal Manual to be affixed to these Presents. Dated the *third* day of *June* in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand, seven hundred, & *five*: and in the *thirtieth* Year of Translation.

2. Anne by the Grace of God, Queen of England, Scotland, Ireland, Defender of the Faith. To our Trusty and welbeloved Jacob Rice Clerk Greeting. We do by these presents constitute and appoint to be Chaplain to the Garrison or Garrisons of our Forts and Castles in Newfoundland. You are therefore carefully and diligently to the duty of Chaplain by doing and performing all and all of things thereunto belonging; And you are to observe and [follow] such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from the Commander in Chief of our said Forts and Castles now and [] being, or any other Superior Officer, according to the Disciplines of Warr. Given at Our Court at St. James the [] day of May 1705, in the Fourth Year of Our Reign.

By Her M[ajesty]

Jacob Rice's Will (1728) (Public Records Office, London)

This is the last Will and Testament of mr. Jacob Rice of North Cray in the County of Kent Clerk I give to my servant Jane Wait [?] the sum of ten pounds over and above such wages as shall be due to her at the time of my decease and all the rest and residue of my Estate I give and bequeath to my dear wife Henrietta and make her sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twentieth day of August *anno Dom[ini]*. 1728. Jacob Rice. Signed sealed published and declared by the said Jacob Rice as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us.

Mar[tin] Purcell and J[ohn] Kirke[?]

C. Six Selected Sermons of Jacob Rice

1. *Conversion.*

Ecclesiastes 8:12,13 (Sermon 51 in VI-A)

"Through a sinner do evil an hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, which serve before him; But it shall not be well with the wicked neither shall he prolong his days which are as a shadow, because he feareth not before God."

I do not intend from these words to cast any malicious aspersions upon the conduct of our deceased Brother, not uncharitably to declare that a long course of sinning has rendered his present circumstances very dreadfull to our apprehension; but hope that Gods mercies with Christs abundant merits have wiped away the pollutions of his sins which were before his departure hence very grievous to him, which he assured me he heartily repented of and that he had put on an earnest resolution of forsaking all the crimes and follies of his future life if it should please God to restore him to his health and a possibility of putting his good intentions in practice. No, I have chosen these words to warn those who are equally guilty, those who were his accomplices in sinning and who now have it in their power, if they please to work out their own salvation, that it shall be well with those only that fear God and serve before him. But that it shall not be well with the wicked for god will bring them into Judgement.

It is a dreadful consideration to a sinner that god knows all his false [s]teps, all his secret sins, all his falsehood and dissimulation with God and men, to have these not only privately discovered, but exposed and laid ope[n] [to] the view of the world; and not only so but to have every circumstance [e]xamined, and every action scanned, and that by the Great Judge of all the world, whom nothing can escape, nothing can decieve, nothing can withstand, whose justice is inflexible, whose knowledge incomprehensible, whose power is irresistible, and whose vengeance is insufferable, this we cannot but Imagine must strike an awe and terror into the minds o[f] men, when they are pursuing the pleasures of sin, that

for all these thing[s] God will bring them into Judgement. But notwithstanding these and many other expressions to the same purpose in scripture, wherein God hath declared that he will certainly Judge the world in righteousness at the great day, that the secrets of all hearts shall then be disclosed; that w[e] must appear before the Judgement seat of Christ; and that God will render to every man according to his deeds: and notwithstanding it is in [it]self very reasonable from the consideration of Gods justice and providence and the nature and consequence of good and evil actions; yet the generality o[f] mankind go on as secure and careless as if there were no such thing, or that they ought not to be concerned about it. Therefore I shall not spend time in the proof of that which I take for granted you all believe, an[d] I am sure have reason so to do, but shall take occasion to explain Gods justice in proceeding against sinners.

It is no unjust severity in God to deprive men of that Happiness which they have willfully refused, and to condemn them to that misery which their sins have deserved. Hath not God made the most condescending offer of mercy and salvation, that its possible for creatures to expect from him after so many and great provocations? Could heaven stoop lower then it hath done to vile and ungratefull sinners? When the Son of God came down from Heaven on purpose to reconcile God and man togeth[er] when the Spirit of God warns and excites their minds to the consideration of their eternal welfare; when the messengers of this reconciliation are t[o] woo and Interest and beseech sinners in Christs stead as though God did beseech them by them to be reconciled to God; When the Patience an[d] Goodness and long suffering of God is exercised so much on purpose to lead them to Repentance; When God instead of perfect Obedience is willing to pardon and pass by so many Offences, if they truly repent o[f] them, and to receive them still into his favour and mercy; when after all this men do rather preferr the present pleasures of sin, before all tha[t] happiness which God so freely offers, is it an Injustice in him to suffer them for ever to be deprived of that which they so wilfully, so ingratefully, so obstinately refused? and supposing the souls of men to subsist in another world free from all those

clouds of error and mistake, and the false notions they are deceived by here, as well as the diversions and pleasures of this life: it is not to be imagined, but they must for ever suffer an intollerable anguish within (called a worm that never dies, and a fire that never goes out) from the reflections of their own folly. what vengeance beyond this God may inflict, we now know not (may none of us ever know it), but we are sure it will never exceed the proportion and desert of their sins. Which is sufficient to clear the justice of God in his proceedings with mankind in the day of Judgement.

It remains now only to show by what means God bringing us to Judgement may take a deeper impression upon our minds, by considering these two things

1. that our not considering it will not make our condition better, but much worse
2. that our considering it is the best means to prevent the evil consequences of it.

1. Our not considering it will not make our condition better. There were great reasons indeed to walk in the way of our hearts and in the sight of our eyes, and never trouble our selves with what will happen on the great day, if the putting it out of our heads would make our account the easier when it comes. But alas! Whether we think of it or no, the account runs on, and we must answer to every particular at least, and how unprovided shall we be, if we spend no time here in examining, stating and clearing of them as far as we are able. It is a mighty priviledge we have by the Gospel, that God allows us to clear our accounts with him here in this world; for if we would judge ourselves we shall not be judged, [i]f we call our selves to a strict account for our actions, if we repent heartily and sincerely of our sins, then we may with joy and peace in our minds [th]ink of the great day of Recompense. But if we never enter into our selves, search and examine our own actions, never look into the habits of [o]ur own minds, nor charge our selves with the guilt of the sins we have [c]ommitted how can we ever hope to escape the scrutiny or avoid the severity [o]f that day? for our account continually encreases by the neglect of it, and the [b]urden of Gods wrath must be so much heavier when we have taken no care [to] lessen

it, but after our hardness and impenitent hearts have only treasured [u]p wrath against the day of wrath.

2. Our consideration that God will bring us to Judgement is the best means to prevent the evil consequences of it. For although we cannot hope to plead Innocency yet (which is next in point of wisdom) this is the most effectual motive to bring u[s] to Repentance: And that which makes us Repent makes us grow wise in time, a[nd] to lay a good foundation for eternal life. There are many arguments to induce us to it in the folly and shame of our sins; the wisdom of Reflectio[n] and Reformation; the Instances of it, and exhortation to it recorded in Scripture, but there is none more sensible and which touches men more in point of Interest and concernment then this of a Judgement to come. Must I then saith a penitent sinner give a strict account to God of al[l] the evil actions of my Life, and suffer according to the desert of them if I die in Impenitency? How much doth it then concern me to repent in good earnest, to repent, to repent while there is hopes of merc[y] away then all ye deceitfull vanities of this wicked world, ye have too long deceived and seduced me: what will all this vain shew, this busi[e] seducer signifie when I shall be stript of all and stand guilty and acc[used] by my own conscience before the Judgement seat of Christ? O how wretched shall I be if my conscience condemns me before the sentence of the Jud[ge] therefore I am resolved to prevent the Judgement of that Day! I will accuse, Judge and condemn my self, nay I will proceed to execution as to all th[e] vicious habits and corrupt inclinations within me, and although I cannot wholly mortify them, I will crucify them. i.e. nail them to the c[ross] and allow them no longer Liberty; and albeit they may struggle for a tim[e] yet I will give way to their Dominion over me any more, that so Death and Judgement may find me prepared, if not with unspotted Innocen[cy] yet with Hearty and sincere Repentance.

To conclude all let the consideration of this day of Judgement to come ente[r] deep into our minds and awaken us out of our Lethargy and security. We are y[et] to put off displeasing things from time to time, and to pass away our time he[re] as easily as may be,

but his is no part of wisdom, and we extreamly blam[e] our selves for it one time or other. The best we can do now is to recover wha[t] is past by Repentance, and to set our selves, to the making up our accounts with God in this world: For we are all walking upon the brinks of Eternity an[d] know not how soon we may drop into it. But what eternal Horrou[r] and conf[usi]on must follow us, if we go on to slight the opportunities he still affords as of making our peace with him who is to be our Judge! May God therefore awaken [us] all to a timely and serious Repentance, and then our Iniquities shall not be ou[r] [s]in.

Sermon 2 — Freedom and Will

Luke 22:42 (Sermon 14 in VI-A)

"Nevertheless let not my will, but thine be done."

The great controversie managed with such earnestness and obstinacy between [G]od and man, is this, whose will shall take place, his or ours: Almighty God by [w]hose constant protection and great mercy we subsist, doth claim to himself the [au]thority of regulating our practice, and disposing our fortunes; but we affect to [be] our own masters and carvers; not willingly admitting any law, not patiently [br]ooking any condition which doth not sort with our fancy and pleasure: to make [g]ood his right, God bendeth and severly (persuading us by arguments, soliciting us by entreaties [a]lluring us by fair promises, securing us by fierce menaces, indulging ample [b]enefits to us, inflicting sore corrections on us, working in us and upon us by [se]cret influences of grace by visible dispensations of providence) yet so it is, that [c]ommonly nothing doth avail, our will opposing it self with invincible re[s]olution and stiffness.

[Th]ere indeed the business pincheth [?]; herein as the chief worth, so the main difficulty [o]f Religious practice consisteth, in bending that Iron sinew; in bringing our proud [h]earts to stoop, and our sturdy humours to buckle, so as to surrender and resigne our wills to the just, the wise, the gracious, will of our God, proscribing our duty and [a]ssigning our lot unto us. We may accuse our nature, but it is our pleasure, we [m]ay pretend weakness, but it is wilfulness, which is the guilty cause of our misdemeanors; for by Gods help (which doth always prevent our needs, and is never wanting to those who seriously desire it) we may be as good as we please, if we can please to [be] good; there is nothing within us that can resist, if our wills do yield themselves up [t]o duty: to conquer our reason is not hard; for what reason of man can withstand [t]he infinite cogency of those motives which induce to obedience? What can be mōre [e]asy then by a thousand arguments, clear as day, to convince any man that to cross Gods will is the greatest

absurdity in the world, and that there is no madness comparable [t]hereto? nor is it difficult, if we resolve upon it, to govern any other part or power of [o]ur nature; for what cannot we restrain, what passion cannot we quell or moderate. [W]hat faculty of our soul or member of our body is not obsequious to our will? Even [h]alf the resolution with which we pursue vanity and sin, would serve to engage us in [th]e ways of wisdom and virtue.

[T]herefore in overcoming our will the stress lieth, this is that impregnable fortress which everlastingly doth hold out against all the batteries of reason and grace; which [n]o force of persuasion, no allurements of favour, no discouragement of terror can [r]educe: this puny, this impotent thing it is, which grappleth with Omnipotence, and [o]ften in a manner baffleth it: And no wonder; for that God doth not intend to over power our will, or to make any violent impression on it, but only to draw it. ([A]s it is in the Prophet Hossea 11:4) with the cords of a man, or by rational inducements, [t]o win its consents and compliance; our service is not so considerable to him, that he should extort it from us; nor doth he value our happiness at so low a rate [to] obtrude it on us; his victory indeed were no true victory over us, if he should g[ain] it by main force, or without the concurrence of our will; our works not bein[g] our works if they dont issue from our will; and our will not being our wil[l] if it be not free, to compel it were to destroy it, together with all the wort[h] of our virtue and obedience; Wherefore that Almighty doth suffer himself to [be] withstood, and beareth repulses from us; nor commonly doth he master ou[r] will otherwise, than by its own spontaneous conversion and submission to h[im], if ever we be conquered, as we shall share in the benefit and wear a crown; so we must joyn in the combat, and partake of the victory, by subduing our se[elves], we must take yoke upon us; for God is only served by those that come voluntar[ily]. he summoneth us by his word, he attracteth us by his grace, but we must fre[ely] come unto him.

Our will indeed of all things is most our own; the only gift, the most prop[er] sacrifice we have to offer; which therefore God doth chiefly desire, doth most[ly] prize, doth most

kindly accept from us. Seeing then our duty chiefly moveth on this hinge, the free submission and resignation of our will to the will of God; if [is] this practice which our Lord (who came to guide us in the way to happiness, not only [to be] a teacher by his word and excellent doctrine, but as a leader by his actions [a]nd a perfect example) did especially set before us; as in the constant tenour of hi[s] life, so particularly in that great exigency which occasioned these words, wherein renoun[cing] and deprecating his own will, he did express an entire submission to Gods will, a[n] hearty complacence therein, and a serious desire that it might take place.

For the further understanding of which case, we may consider that our Lord, as partak[er] of our nature, and in all things (saving sin) like unto us, had a natural huma[n] will, attended with senses, appetites and affections, ap[a]rt from objects incident to wi[cked] congruous impressions of pleasure and pain; so that whatever is innocently gra[ce]ful and pleasant to us, that he relished with delight, and thence did incline to embr[ace] whatever is distasteful and afflictive to us, that he resented with griefe, and the[n] was moved to []; to this probably he was liable in a degree beyond our ordin[ary] rate; for that in him nature was most perfect, his complexion very delicate, h[is] temper exquisitely sound and fine; for so we find that by how much any mans [con]stitution is more sound, by so much he hath a smarter gust of what is agree[able] or offensive to nature: If perhaps sometimes infirmity of body, or distemper [of] soul (a savage fiercity, a stupid dulness, a fondness of conceit, or stiffness of humour supported by will oppinions or vain hopes) may keep men from bein[g] thus affected by sensible objects; yet in him pure nature did work vigorously[y] with a clear apprehension and lively sense, according to the design of [o]ur maker, when into our constitution he did implant those passive faculties, disp[osing] objects to affect them so and so, for our need and advantage; if this be deem[ed] weakness, it is a weakness connexed with our nature, which he therewith did take, with which (as the Apostle saith) he was encompassed. Such a will our Lord had a[s] it was requisite he should have it; that he thence might be qualified to discha[rge] the principal

instances of Obedience, for procuring Gods favour to us and putting an exact pattern before us; for God imposing on him duties to perform, and [dis]pensing accidents to endure, very cross to that natural will, in his compliance [a]nd acquiescence thereto, his obedience was thoroughly tried: his virtue did shine [m]ost brightly; Therefore (as the Apostle saith) he was in all points tempted. Thence to meritorious capacity, and exemplary influence he was perfected through [su]ffering.

The[nce] was the whole course of his life and conversation among men, so designed[d] [and] modelled as to be one continual exercise of thwarting that humane will, and [c]losing with the divine pleasure: it was predicted of him. Loe I come to do thy [wi]ll O God; and of himself he affirmed, I came down from Heaven not to do mine [ow]n will, but the will of him that sent me whereas therefore such a practice is [li]ttle seen in achieving easy matters, or in admitting pleasant occurrences, [that] was ordered for him, that he should encounter the roughest difficulties, and be [e]ngaged in circumstances, most harsh to natural apprehension and appetite, so [t]hat if we trace the footsteps of his life from the sordid manger to the bloody [cr]oss, we can hardly mark any thing to have befallen him apt to satisfie the [w]ill of nature. Nature liketh respect and loatheth contempt; therefore was [h]e born of mean Parentage and in a most homely condition; therefore did he [l]ive in no garb, did assume no office, did exercise no power, did meddle in no [a]ffairs, which procure to men consideration and regard; Therefore an Imposter, Blasphemer, a sorcerer, a loose companion, a seditious incendiary were [t]he titles of honour, and the elogies of praise confirmed on him; therefore was [h]e exposed to the lash of every slanderous, every scurrilous, every petulant and ungoverned tongue.

[N]ature doth affect the good opinion and good will of men, especially when [g]ave in grateful return for good courtesie and beneficence; nor doth any thing [m]ore grate thereon, then abuse of Kindness; therefore could he (the worlds great [f]riend and benefactor) say the world hateth me; therefore were those, whom he, [w]ith so much charitie and bounty, had instructed, had fed, had cured of diseases (both corporal and

spiritual) so ready to clamour, and commit outrage upon [h]im; therefore could be thus expostulate (John 10:31) Many good works have I [s]hewed you from my father, for which these works, do ye stone me? Therefore [d]id his kindred sight him, therefore did his disciples abandon him; therefore [d]id the grand traitor issue from his own bosome; therefore did that whole nation which he chiefly sought and laboured to save, conspire to persecute him with most ancorous spite and cruel misusage.

[N]ature loveth plentiful accommodations, and abhorreth to be pinched with any [w]ant; therefore was extreme penury appointed to him; he had no revenue no [e]state, no certain livelihood, not so much as a house where to lay his head, or a piece of money to discharge the tax for it; he owed his ordinary support to [a]lms, or voluntary beneficence; he was to seek his food from a fig-tree on the way: [A]nd sometimes was beholden for it to the courtesie of Publicans; he was (saith St. [P]aul 2 Cor. 8:9) a beggar for us.

Nature delighted in ease, in quiet and liberty; therefore did he spend his days in continual labour, in restless travail, in endless vagrancy, going about and doing good; ev[er] hastning thither, whither the needs of men did call, or their benefit invite; therefo[re] did he take on him the form of a servant, and was among this own followers as on[ne] that ministreth; therefore he pleased not himself; But suited his demeanour t[o] the state and circumstances of things, complied with the manner and fashion, comported with the humours and infirmities of men.

Nature coveteth good success to its design and undertakings, hardly brookin[g] to be disappointed and defeated in them: therefore was he put to instruct a most dull and stupid, to reform a most perverse and stubborn generation; a[nd] therefore his ardent desires, his solicitous cares, his painful and endeavours f[or] the good of men did obtain so little fruit; had indeed a contrary effect, ra[ther] aggravating their sins then removing them, rather hardening then humb[ling] their hearts, ra[ther] plunging them deeper into perdition, than rescuing them fr[om] it: Therefore so much in vain did he, in numberless miraculous works [dis]play his power and goodness convincing few, converting fewer by them.

Therefore although he taught with most powerful authority, with most cha[rm]ing gracefulness, with most convincing evidence yet, who (could he say) ha[d] believed [o]ur report? Though he most earnestly did invite and allure men to him offering the richest boons that heaven itself could dispense, yet (was he forced to say John 5:40) ye will not come unto me that ye may be saved; although with assiduous fervency of affection he strove to reclaim them from courses tending to their ruine, yet how he prospered, sad experience declared, and we may learn from that doleful complain, How often would I hav[e] gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings but ye would not. Your will did not concurr, your depraved nature did not submi[t].

In fine natural will seeketh pleasure, and shunneth pain; but what pleasure d[id] he taste; what inclination, what appetite; what sense did he gratifie? How d[id] he feast or revel? How, but in tedious fastings, in frequent hungers, by pass[ing] whole nights in prayer, and retirement for devotion upon the cold mountains. What sports had he, what recreation did he take, but feeling incessant grip[e], compassion, and wearisom roving in quest of the lost sheep? In what convers[ation] could he divert himself, but among those whose doltish incapacity and forwar[d] humour did curing form his patience these words, How long shall I be with yo[u] how long shall I suffer you? What musick did he hear? What but the ratling of clamorous obloquy and furious accusations against him? To be despise[d], maligned, to be insotently mocked, to be stiled a king, and treated as a slave, [to] be spit on to be buffeted, to be scourged, to be drenched with gall, to be crowne[d] with thorns, to be nailed to a cross; these were the delights which our Lord enjoy[ed], these the sweet comforts of his life, and the notable prosperities of his fortun[e]. Such a portion was allotted to him the which he did accept from Gods hand, with patient submission, with perfect contentedness, with exceeding alacrity, never repining at it, never complaining of it, never flinching from it or fainting under [i]t proceeding on in the performance of all his duty, and prosecution of of his great designe with undaunted courage, with unwearied industry, with undisturbed tranquility and [s]atisfaction of mind.

[H]ad indeed his condition and fortune been otherwise framed; had he come into the [w]orld qualified with a noble extraction; had he lived in a splendid equipage, had [h]e enjoyed a plentiful estate and a fair reputation, had he been favoured and [c]aressed by men; had he found a current of prosperous success, had safety ease and [p]leasure waited on him; where had been the pious resignation of his will; [w]here the precious merit of his obedience; where the glorious lustre of his example. [H]ow the precious merit of his obedience; where the glorious lustre of his example. [H]ow then had our frailty in him become victorious over all its enemies; how had he triumphed over the solicitations and allurements of the flesh; over [t]he frowns and flatterings of the world, over the malice and fury of Hell. how [t]hen could he have demonstrated his immense charity toward us, or laid so [m]ighty obligations upon us?

[S]uch in general was the case and such the deportment of our Lord; but these [w]as somewhat peculiar, and beyond all this occurring to him, which drew forth the [w]ords of our text: God had tempered for him a potion of all the most bitter and loathsome ingredients that could be: a drop whereof no man ever hat, or could endure to slip; for he was not only to undergo whatever human rage could impose of ignominious disgrace and grievous pain; but to feel dismal agonies of spirit [a]nd those unknown sufferings, which God alone could inflict, God alone could sustain [be]hold and see (he might well say) if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is [d]one unto me; wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger? [H]e was to labour with pangs of charity, and through his heart to be pierced with deepest [c]ommiseration of our wretched case: he was to crouch under the burden of all the [s]ins (the numberless most heinous sins and abominations) ever committed by mankind; [h]e was to pass through the hottest furnace of Divine vengeance, and by his blood to [q]uench the wrath of heaven flaming out against iniquity; he was to stand [as [i]t were] before the mouth of hell, belching fire and brimstone on his face; his [st]rife was to supply the defects of our remorse; and his suffering in those few moments [t]o countervail the eternal torments due to us: He was to

bear the hiding of Gods face and eclipse of that favourable aspect, in which all bliss doth reside a case which he [t]hat so perfectly understood, could not but infinitely resent: these things with the [c]learest apprehension he saw coming on him; and no wonder that our nature started [a]t so ghastly a sight, or that human instinct should dictate that petition, Father [i]f thou wilt let this cup pass from me; words implying his most real participation [o]f our infirmity, words denoting the height of those sad evils, which encompassed him [w]ith his lively and lowly resentment of them; words informing us how we should entertain Gods chastisements and whence we must seek reliefe of our pressures (that our soul receive them not with a scornfull neglect or sullen insensibility, but with a meek contrition of soul; that we should entirely depend on Gods pleasure for support under them, or a releasment from them) words which in conjunction with those following do shew how instantly we should quash and over rule any insurrection of natural [d]esire against the command or providence of God. We must not take that prayer to signifie any purpose in our Lord to shift of his passion, or any wavering in resolution about it; [I]f he could not any wise mean to undo that which he knew done with God before the worlds foundation, he would not unsettle that, which was by his own free undertaking and irreversible decrees [] that so often with satisfaction did foretell this event, who with so earnest desire longed f[or] its approach; who with sharpness of indignation did rebuke his friend offering to divert hi[m] from it; who did again repress St. Peters animosity with that serious expostulation, The cu[p] which my father hath given me, shall I not drink it? John 18:11. Who had advisedly lai[d] such trains for its accomplishment, would he decline it? could that heart all burnin[g] with zeal for God and charitie to men admit the least thought or motion of aversion from drinking that cup which was the soverigine medicine administered by divine wisdom for the recovery of Gods creation? No, had he spake with such intent, legions of Angels had flown to his rescue; that word which framed the worlds, which stilled the tempests, which ejected Devils, would immediately have scattered his enemies, and dashed all their projects against him; wherefore those words did not proceed

from intention, but as fr[om] instinct, and for instruction, importing that what our human frailty was apt to say, that his Divine virtue was more ready to smother; neither did he vent the former, b[ut] that he might express the latter.

He did express it in real effect; immediately with all readiness addressing himself [to] receive that unsavory potion; he reached out his hand for it, yielding fair opportun[ity] and advantages to his persecutors; he lifted it up to his mouth, innocently provoking their envy and malice; he drank it off with a most steady calmness, and sweet comp[o]sure of mind, with the silence, the simplicity, the meekness of a lamb, carried to the slaughter, no fretful thought rising up, no angry word breaking forth, but clear patience, enlivened with a warm charity, shining in all his behaviour, and throu[gh] ever circumstance of his passion.

Such is his life, such at his death was the practice of our Lord, in conformity whereto w[e] also readily should undertake whatever God proposeth, we gladly should accept whatever God offereth, we vigorously should perform whatever God enjoyneth, we patiently shou[ld] undergoe whatever God imposeth or inflicteth how cross soever any duty, any dispensat[ion] may prove to our carnal sense or humour.

To do thus the contemplation of this example may strongly engage us, for if our lor[d] had not his will, can we in reason expect, can we in modesty desire to have ours? Must [we] be coked and pleased in every thing, when as he was treated so course[ly], and crosse[ly] in all things? can we grutch any kind of service or sufferance; can we think much (for our tryal, our exercise, our correction) to bear a little want, a little disgr[ace], a little pain, when the son of God was put to discharge the hardest tasks to end[ure] the sorest adversities?

But further to enforce these duties, be pleased to cast a glance in two consideratio[ns]

1. what the will is to which 2. who the willer is to whom we must submit.

1. What is the will of God? Is it anything unjust, unworthy, or dishonourable, anythin[g] incommodious or hurtful, anything extremely difficult, or intollerably greivous th[at] God requireth of us, to do or bear? No: he willeth nothing from us or to us, which doth no[t]

best become us, and most behove us; which is not attended with safety, with ease, with the solidest profit, the fairest reputation, and the sweetest pleasure.

Two things that he willeth; that we should be good, and that we should be happy; the first [in] order for the second, for that virtue is a certain way and a necessary qualification to felicity.

The will of God, saith St. Paul 1 Thes. 4:3 is our sanctification; what is that? Wh[at] [b]ut that the diseases of our frame, and the defacements of Gods image within us should be eraised, that the faculties of our soul should be restored to their original Integrity and [v]igour, that from most wretched slaveries, we should be translated into a happy freedom and into a glorious kingdom, that from despicable beggary and baseness we should be [a]dvanced to substantial wealth, and sublime dignity; that we should be cleansed from [t]he foulest defilements, and decked with the goodliest ornaments; that we should be cured [o]f most loathsome diseases, and settled in a firm health of soul, that we should be delivered from those brutish lusts, and those devilish passions, which create in us a hell of darkness, of confusion, of vexation, which dishonour our nature, deform our soul, trouble [o]ur mind, and wrack our conscience, that we should be endowed with those worthy dis[po]sitions and affections, which do constitute in our hearts a heaven of light, of order, joy and peace; signifie our nature beautify our soul, clarify and clear our mind; [th]at we should eschew those practices, which never go without a retinue of woeful mischiefs and sorrows, embracing those which always yield abundant fruits of convenience and comfort, that in short we should become friends of God, fit to converse with angels and capable of paradise.

God (saith St. Paul again) willeth all men to be saved he willeth not (saith St. Peter) that any man should perish; He saith in himself, yea he sweareth it, that he hath no [p]leasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked should turn from his way and live (Ezek 33:11): And what is this will, what, but that we should obtain all the good whereof [w]e are capable; that we should be filled with joy and crowned with glory; that we should [b]e

fixt in an immovable state of happiness, in the perpetual enjoyment of Gods favour, and in the light of his blisful presence. That we should be rid of all the [e]vils to which we are liable; that we should be released from inextricable chains of guilt, [f]rom incurable stings of remorse, from being irrecoverable engaged to pass a discon[s]olate eternity in utter darkness and extream woe? Such is God (how grim, how rough soever it may seem) doth tend: and do we refuse to comply with that good will; do we set against it [a] will of our own, affecting things unworthy of us, things unprofitable to us, things [p]rejudicial to our best interests; things utterly baneful to our souls? Do we reject the will that would save us, and adhere to a will that would ruin us; a foolish and senseless will, which slighting the immense treasures of heaven, the unfading glories of Gods Kingdom, the ineffable joys of eternity doth catch at specious nothings, doth pursue mischeivous trifles, a shadow of base profit, a smoak of vain honour, a flash of sordid [p]leasure; which passeth away like the mirth of fools, or the crackling of thorns, leaving only soot black an bitter behind it.

But at least ere we do thus let us consider, whose will it is that requireth our [c]ompliance. [1]t is the will of him whose will did found the earth, and [r]ear the Heaven, whose will sustaineth all things in their existence and operation, whose will is the great law of the world, which universal nature in all its motions doth observe, which reigneth in Heaven the blessed spirits adoring it, which swayeth in Hell it self, the cursed fiends trembling at is; And shall be alone (we pitiful worms crawling on earth) presume to murmur or dare to kick against it?

[2] It is the will of our maker, who together with all our other faculties did create and confor[m] [t]his, the very power of willing: and shall we turn the work of his hands, the gift of his bounty against him?

It is the will of our preserver, who together with all that we are, or have continua[lly] doth uphold our very will itself; so that without applying any positive force, m[ay] be letting us fall out of his hand, he can send us and it back to nothing: and shall will clash with that on

which so wholly dependeth; without which it cannot subsist on[e] moment, or move one step forward in action?

It is the will of our sovereign lord, who upon various undisputable accounts hath a right to govern us, and an absolute power to dispose of us. Ought we not therefor[e] [to] say with old Eli. It is the Lord, let him do to me as it seems good to him 1 Sam 3:18. [Is] it not extream iniquity, is it not monstrous arrogance for us in derogation to h[is] will, to pretend giving law, or picking a station to ourselves? Do we not manifes[tly] incur high Treason against the King of Heaven by so invading his office, usu[rping] his authority snatching his sceptre into our hands, and setting our wills in [his] throne?

It is the will of our Judge, from whose mouth our doom must proceed, award life or death, weal or woe unto us; and what sentence can we expect, what fav[our] can we pretend to, if we presumptuously shall offend and oppose that will which is the supreme rule of justice, and sole fountain of mercy?

It is the will of our Redeemer, who hath bought us with an inestimable price, with infinite pains hath rescued us from miserable captivity under most barbarous enemies, that obeying his will we might command our own, and serving him we might enjoy perfect freedom, And shall we declining his cal[l] and conduct out of that unhappy state bereave him of his purchase, frustrate his undertakings, and forfeit to ourselves the benefit of so great Redemption?

It is the will of our best friend, who loveth us much better than we do love our sel[ves], who is concerned for our welfare as his own dearest interest, and greatly delighteth therein, why by innumerable experiments that demonstrated an excess kindness to us; who in all his dealings with us purely doth aim at our good, n[ot] charging any duty on us, or dispensing any even, so much with intent to exerci[se] his power over us, as to express his goodness towards us, who never doth afflict[i]on grieve us more against our will, than against his own desire, never indeed when goodness itself calleth for it, and even mercy doth urge thereto; to who[m] we are much obliged, that he vouch safety to govern and

guide us, our service, [be] altogether unprofitable to him, his governance exceedingly
 \ beneficial to u[s]. And doth not such a will deserve regard, may it not demand compliance
 from us? to neglect or infringe it, what is it? is it not palpable folly, is it not fon[d]
 disingenuity, is it not detestable ingratitude?

So doth every relation of God recommend his will to us; And each of his attribut[es] doth
 no less for,

It is the will of him who is most holy, or whose will is essential rectitude: ho[w] then can
 we thwart it, without being stained with the guilt, And wounded w[ith] a sence of great
 irregularity and Iniquity.

[I]t is the will of him who is perfectly Just; who therefore cannot but assert his own
 righteous will and avenge the violation; is it then advisable to drive him to that point by
 wilfull provocation; or to run upon the edge of necessary severity?

[I]t is the will of him who is infinitely wise, who therefore doth infallibly know [w]hat is
 best for us, what doth most befit our capacities and circumstances; what [i]n the final
 result will conduce to our greatest advantage and comfort: shall we then prefer the
 dreams of our vain mind before the oracles of his wisdom; sha[l] we forsaking the
 direction of his unerring will follow the impulse of our giddy [h]umour?

[I]t is the will of him who is immensely good and benign; whose will therefore can [b]e no
 other than good will to us; who can mean nothing thereby but to desire mercy and bounty
 on us: can we then fail of doing well, if we put ourselves entirely [i]nto his hands; are we
 not our own greatest enemies, in withstanding his [g]racious intentions?

It is finally the will of him who is uncontroulably powerfull; whose will therefore must
 prevail one way or other: either with our will, or against it, either so as to bow and satisfie
 us, or so as to break and plague us: For my counsel (saith Isa. 46:11) shall stand, and I
 will do all my pleasure. As to his dispensation[s] [w]e may fret, we may wail, we may
 bark at them, but we cannot alter or avoid [t]hem: sooner may we by our means check the
 tides, or by our cries stop the sun [i]n his course, than divest the current of affairs, or

change the state of things [e]stablished by Gods high decree; what he layeth on no hand can remove, what he hath destined no power can reverse; our anger therefore will be ineffectual, our patience will have no other fruit, than to aggravate our guilt, and augment our griefe.

And to his commands we may lift up ourselves against him, we may fight stoutly, we may in a sort prove conquerors; but it will be a miserable victory. [T]he trophies whereof shall be erected in Hell, and stand upon the ruins of our happiness, for while we insult over abused grace, we must fall under incensed justice: If God cannot fairly procure his will of us in way of due obedience, he will surely execute his will upon us in way of righteous vengeance; if we do not [s]urrender our wills to the overtures of his goodness, we must submit our Backs to [t]he stroaks of his anger. He must reign over us, if not as over loyal subjects to [o]ur comfort, yet as over stubborn Rebels to our confusion, for this in that [c]ase will be our doom, and last words God will design to spend upon us, Those mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring them hither and slay them before me (Luke 19:27).

Now the God of peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight; through Jesus Christ to whom be glory for ever and ever, Amen.

Sermon 3 — Death

Psalm 90:12 (Sermon 54 in VI-A)

"So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

In discoursing upon these words (according to their most common and passable interpretations) that which I chiefly observe is this: That the serious consideration of the shortness and frailty of our life is a fit mean or rational instrument subservient to the bringing our hearts to wisdom; that is to the making us discern, attend unto, embrace, and prosecute such things, as according to the dictates of right reason are truly best for us. ☞

1. The Truth of which observation I shall largely declare from hence; [t]hat the said consideration disposeth us to judge rightly about these goals; which ordinarily court and tempt us, viz worldly glory and honour; riches, [p]leasure, knowledge; to which I might add wit, strength, and beauty, What their just worth and value is; and consequently to moderate our [a]ffections, our cares our endeavours about them; for that if all these goals be uncertain and transitory, there can be no great reason to [p]rize them such, or to affect them vehemently, or to spend much [c]are and pains about them.

2. I shall next in the same scale weigh our temporal evils and say, that also, the consideration of our lives brevity and frailty doth avail to the passing a true judgement of, and consequently to the governing our [p]assions, and ordering our behaviour in respect to all those temporal evils, which either according to the law of our nature, or the fortuitous course of things, or the particular dispensation of providence do befall us, upon the declaration of which point I need not insist much, since what was before discoursed concerning the opposite goals doth plainly enough infer it; more immediately indeed in regard to the mala damni, or privation is (the evils which consist only in the want, or else of temporal goods) but sufficiently also be a manifest parity of reason in respect to the mala sensus, the real pains, crosses and inconveniencies, that assail us in this life. For if worldly glory do hence appear to be no more than a transient blaze, a fading show, a

hollow [s]ound, a piece of theatrical pagentry, the want whereof cannot be very considerable to us obscurity of condition (living in a valley beneath that dangerous height, and deceitfull lustre) cannot in [r]eason be deemed a very sad or pitifull thing; which should displease [o]r discompose us; if we may thence learn that abundant weath is rather a needless clog, or a perillous snare, than any great [c]onvenience to us; we cannot well esteem to be poor a great infelicity [o]r to under go losses a greivous calamity; but rather a benefit [t]o be free from the distractions that attend it; to have little to keep for others, little to care for our selves. If these present pleasures be discerned hence to be only wild fugitive dreams; out of which being soon so used we shall only find better regretts to abide; why should not the wanting opportunities of enjoying be rather accounted a happy advantage, than any part of misery to us? If it seem that the greatest perfection of curious knowledge (of what use or ornament soever) after it is hardly purchased, must soon be parted with; to be simple or ignorant will be no great matter of Lamentation: as those will appear no solid goods, so these consequently must be only umbramalaem, Phantasms, or Shadows of evils, rather than truly or substantially so; (evils created by fancy and subsisting thereby; which reason should and time will surely remove) that in being impatient or di[s]consolate for them, we are but like children, that fret and wait for the want of petty toys. And, for the more real or possitive evils such [as] violently assault nature, whose impressions no reason can so withstan[d] as to distinguish all distaste or afflictive sence of them, yet this consideration will aid to abate and assuage them; affording a certain hope and prospect of approaching redress. It is often seen at sea, that men [from unacquaintance with such agitations, or from brackish streams arising from the salt water] are heartily sick, and discover themselves to be so by apparently greivous symptoms; yet no man hardly these doth mi[nd] or pity them, because the malady is not supposed dangerous, and within a while will probably of it self pass over; or that however, the remedy is no[t] far off; the sight of land, or tast of the fresh air will releive them: Tis our case; we passing over this troublesome sea of life; from unexperien[ce] joyned with

the tenderness of our constitution, we cannot well endure th[e] changes and crosses of fortune; to be tossed up and down; to suck in the sha[llow] vapours of penury, disgrace, sickness and the like, doth beget a qualm [in] our stomachs; make us nauseate all things, and appear sorely distem[per]ed; yet is not our condition so dismal, as it seems, we may grow hurlier and wear out our sense of affliction; however the lan[d] is not far off, and by disembarking hence we shall suddenly be discharg[ed] of all our molestations: Tis a common solace of grief, approved by wise men. si gravis, brevis est, si longus levis; if it be very greivous and acute, it cannot continue long without intermission or respite; if it abide long it is supportable; intollerable pain is like lightening, it destroys us or is it self instantly destroyed. However, death at length (which never is far off) will free us; be we never so much tossed with storms of misfortune that that is a sure Haven; be we persecuted with never so many enemies, tha[t] is a save refuge; let what pains or diseases soever infest us, that is a[n] infallible remedy for them all; however we be wearied with the labours of the day, the night will come and ease us; the grave will become a bed of rest unto us. Shall I dye? I shall then cease to be sick, I shall be no more pinc[hed] with want; no more tormented with pain. Death is a winter that as it withers the Rose and Lilly, so it kills the Nettle and thistle, as it stifles all worldly joy and pleasure so it suppresses all care and greif, as it hushes [the] voice of mirth and melody, so it stills the clamours, and the sighs of misery, as it defaces the worlds glory, so it covers all disgrace, wipes off all hea[lth], silences all complaint, buries all disquiet, and discontent, King Philip of Macedon once threatened the Spartans to vex them soberly and bring the[m] into great streight; but answered they, can he hinder us from dying; that indeed is a way of evading, which no enemy can obstruct, no tirant dela[y] men from, they who can deprive of life, and its conviences, cannot kee[p] away death from them. There is a place: Job tells us, where the wicked cease fro[m] troubling, and where the weary be at rest, where the prisoners rest togeth[er], they hear not the voice of the oppressor, the small and great one there and the servant is free from his master. tis therefore but holding out a way and a deliverance from

the worst this world can molest us with, shall of its own accord arrive unto us. In the mean time tis better that we at present see the benefit of our comfort to reason, than afterward to time, by rationale consideration to work patience and contentment in ourselves, and to sue the shortness of our life as an argument to sustain us in our affliction, than to find the end thereof onely a natureal and a necessary means of our [r]escue from it. The contemplation of this cannot fail to add something of courage and solace to us in the greatest pressures; these trancent and short lived evils, if we consider them as so, cannot appear such horrid bugbears, as much to affright or dismay us; if we remember how short they are, we cannot esteem them so great, or so intolerable. There is I must confess divers more noble considerations, proper and available to cure discontent and impatience. The considering that all these evils proceed from Gods just will, and wise [p]rovidence, unto which it is fit, and we upon all account are obliged readily [t]o submit, that they do ordinarily come from Gods goodness, and gracious [d]esigne toward us; that they are medicines (although ungratefull yet wholesomely administered by the Divine wisdom to prevent, remove or abate our distempers of soul) to allay the tumours of pride, to cool the feavers of [i]ntemperate desire, to rouse us from the lethargy of sloth; to stop the tangneen of a bad conscience] that they are fatherly corrections intended to reclaim us from sin, and excite us to duty; that they serve as instruments or occasion to exercise, to try, to refine our virtue; to beget in us the hope to qualifie us for the reception of better rewards, such discourses indeed are of a better nature, and have a more excellent Kind of efficacy, yet no fit help, no good art, no just weapon is to be quite neglected in the [c]ombat against our spiritual foes. A Pebble stone hath seen sometimes found more convenient than a sword or a spear to slay a Giant with, Baser remedies (by reason of patients constitution, or circumstances) do sometime produce good effect, when others in their own nature more sick and potent want efficacy. And surely frequent reflections upon our mortality, and living under the sence of our lives frailty cannot but conduce somewhat to the begetting in us an indifferency of mind [t]oward all these temporal occurrents; to

extenuate both the goods and [t]he evils we here meet with; consequently therefore to compose and [c]alm our passions about them.

3. But I proceed to another use of that consideration we speak of emergent from [t]he former, but so as to improve it to higher purposes, for since it is usefull [to] the diminishing our admiration of these worldly things, to the withdraw[ing] our affections from them, to the slackening our endeavours about them, it will follow that it must conduce also to beget an esteem, a desire, a prosecution of things conducing to our]he obstacles of doing so, and by engaging us to consider the importance of those things in comparison with these. By removing obstacles I say; for while our hearts are possessed with regard and passion toward these present things, there can be no room left in them for respect and affection toward things future. Tis in our soul as in the rest of nature, there can be no penetration of objects (as it were) in our hearts, nor any in them; our mind no more than our body can be in several places. Or tend several ways to abide in perfect rest; yet somewhere it will always be, somewither it will always go; somewhat it will ever be doing. If we have a treasure here (somewhat we greatly like and much ca[re] in) our hearts will be here with it; and if here they cannot be here with it; and if here they cannot be elsewhere; they will be taken up; they will rest satisfied; they will not care to seek farther. if we affect worldly glory and delight in the applause of men, we shall not be so cheerful to please God, and seek his favour. If we admire and repose conti[nuance] in riches, it will make us neglectfull of God and distrustfull of h[is] providence, if our mind thirst after and sucks in greedily sensual pleasur[es] we shall not relish spiritual delights, attending the practice of virtue a[nd] piety, or asising from good conscience; adhering to, attending upon mat[ters] of so different, so opposit a quality is inconsistent; they cannot abide peaceably together, they cannot both rule in our narrow breasts; which shall love and hold to the one, hate and despise the other. if any man love th[e] world, he love of the father is not in him; The love of the world as the present guest, so occupying and fulls the room; that it will not admit, cannot hold the love of God. But when the heart is

discharged, empti[ed] of those things; when we begin to despise them as base and vain; to dista[ste] them as insipid and unsavory; then naturally will succeed a desir[e] after other things promising a more solid content; and desire will breed endeavour; and endeavour (furthered by Gods assistance alwa[ys] ready to back, it) will such a glimpse and taste of those things, [that] will so comfort and satisfie our minds, that thereby they will be drawn and engaged into a more earnest prosecution of them. When (I say) drivin[g] on ambitious projects, heaping up wealth, providing for the flesh [by] reflecting on the shortness and frailty of our lives] become so insipid [to] us, that we find little apttite to them, or relish in them; our restles[s] minds will begin to hunger and thirst after righteousness, desirin[g] some satisfaction thence: discerning these secular and carnal fruits to be mere husks [the proper food of swine] we shall bethink our sel[ves] of that better nourishment (of rational or spiritual comfort) which o[ur] fathers house doth afford to his children and servants. Being somew[hat] disentangled from the care of our farms and our trafficks from goa[d]ing our oxen and being married to our present delights: we may b[e] at leasure, and in disposition to comply with divine invitations to entertainment spiritual, experiencing that our trade about thes[e] petty commodities turns to small accompt. and that in the end we shall be nothing richer thereby; reason will induce us with the Merchant in the Gospel to sell all that we have (to forgo our presen[t] interrests and designes) for the purchasing that rich pearl of Gods Kingdom, which will yield so exceeding profit; that gain of the present comfor[t] to our conscience, and eternal happiness to our souls, In fine, when we consider seriously, that we have here no abiding city, bu[t] are only Sojonours and pilgrims upon earth; that our care and pain here do regard only an uncertain and transitory state; and will therefore suddenly as to all fruit and benefit be lost to u[s] this will suggest unto us, with the good Patriarchs, to long after a better country, a more assured and last[ing] state of life; where we may enjoy some certain and durable repose, to tend homeward in our desires and hopes, towards those eternal mansio[ns] of joy and rest prepared for Gods faithfull servants in heaven. Thus will this consideration help toward

bringing us to inquire after and regar[d] the things concerning our future state; and in the result will engage [t]o compare them with these present things, as to our concernment in them and the consequence of them to our advantage or damage, when a right judgement, and a congruous practice will naturally follow.

Thus immediately or by an easy inference doth the consideration of this lifes shortness and uncertainty confer to that main part of wisdom, rightly [t]o value the things about which we are conversant; disposing us consequently [t]o moderate our affection and rightly to guide our actions about them, [f]itting us therefore for the performance of those duties so often enjoyned [u]s; of not caring for, not trusting in, not mind in (unduly that is, and immoderately) things below; of dying to this world, and taking up [o]ur cross, or contentedly suffering (in submission to God will) all loss [a]nd inconvenience; as also the placing our meditation and cares, our love and desire; our hope and confidence; our joy and satisfactio[n]; [o]ur most earnest pains and endeavours upon things divine, spiritual and eternal.

[I] might add to the precedent discourses, that Philosophy it self hath commended this consideration as a proper and powerfull instrument [o]f virtue; reckoning the practice thereof a main part of wisdom; the [g]reatest proficient therein in common esteem, Socrates, having defined Philosophy (or the study of wisdom) to be nothing else, but the study of Death intimating also (in Plutos Phosdon) [t]hat this study the meditation of death and preparation of his mind [t]o leave this world, had been the constant and cheif employment [o]f his life. That likewise according to experience, nothing more [pr]evails to render the mind of men sober and well composed, than [s]uch spectacles of mortality, as do impress this consideration [u]pon them. For whom doth not the sight of a coffin or of a grave gaving to recieve a friend perhaps or an antient acquaintance; however a man in nature and state althogether like [o]ur selves; of the mournfull looks and habits, of all the sad poms and solemnities attending man unto his long home, by minding him of his own frail condition, affect with some serious, some honest, some wise thoughts: are if we be

reasonable men we may every day supply the need of such occasions, by representing to our [s]elves the necessity of our soon returning to the dust; dressing in though[ts] our [o]wn hereses, and celebrating our own funerals; by living under [t]he continual apprehension and sense of our transitory and uncertain [c]ondition; dying daily or becoming already dead unto us to perform, since we know not [t]he time when God will bring us into judgement, which we must all one time [o]r other expect, of which we have continued examples; can there be a greater [i]nstance of the frailty of even the strongest constitution then this which we have now before us, I believe, and those gentleman who are of his [ac]quaintance do very well know, that by his natural strength of body, his [m]oderate and orderly course of living (having had the happiness of a liberal education which taught him to abominate those vices at this day so notoriously canvassed) the number of his years, and his constant practice of devotion, he might have as fair a prospect of doubling his age as any man here present; but we see that all these guardians of health and age were not sufficient to rescue him from the Icy paws of death. [bu]t was snapt off even in the full perfection of his bloom, let us all therefo[re] from this fresh instance of mortality take heed to our selves least at any time our hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and Drunkenness, and cares of this life, and so that day come upon us unawares, let us wake therefore and pray that we may be counted worthy to escape and to stand before the son of man. the doing which effectually being the gift of God, and an especial work of his grace, let us of him humbly implore it, saying after the Holy prophet, Lord so teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom. Amen.

preacht at the funeral of Mr. In Yeates Merch[ant] July the 3rd 1706

Sermon 4 — Sin and Grace

Luke: 13:5 (Sermon 1 in VI-A)

"But except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish."

As Repentance is a Gospel term of Salvation, so the danger and mischief of [dela]ying there of (too commonly met with in this world) is what should be our great care [to] [r]esist and avoid: Since if we do but consider, that the more we defer, the more difficult [an]d painfull our work must needs prove; every day will both enlarge our task and [dim]inish our ability to perform it: Sin is never at a stay; if we do not retreat [fr]om it, we shall advance in it; and the further on we go, the more we have to come [ba]ck; every step we take forward (even before we can return hither, into the state [whe]rein we are at present) must be repeated; All the web we spin must be unravel[e]d; we must vomit up all we take in, which to do we shall find very tedious and greivous a serv[ice] as it groweth in age so it improveth in stature and strength; from a [pu]ny child it soon waxeth a lusty stripling, Then riseth to be a sturdy man, [and] after a while becometh a massy Giant, whom we shall scarce dare to encounter, whom we shall be very hardly able to vanquish, especially seeing that as [it] groweth taller and stouter, so we shall dwindle and prove more impotent. [As] it feedeth upon our vitals, and thriveth by our decay; it waxeth mighty by [str]ipping us of our best forces, by enfeabling our reason, by perverting our [a]ll, by corrupting our tempter, by debasing our courage, by seducing all our [ap]petites and passions to a treacherous compliance with itself; every day [our] mind grows more blind; our will more rusty, our spirit more faint, our appe[ti]es more fierce, our passions more headstrong and untameable: The power and desire of sin do strangely by degrees encroach, and continually get ground upon us. As it hath quite subdued and enthralled us; first we have to bear it, then we come to [li]ke it, by and by we contract a friendship with it, then we doat upon it, as last [we] become enslaved to it in a bondage, which we shall hardly be able, or willing [to] shake of; when not only our necks are fitted to the yoke, our

hands are manac[l]ed, and our feet shackled thereby; but our heads and hearts do conspire in a [b]ase submission thereto; when vice hath such impression on us, when this per[n]jicious wood hath taken so deep root in our mind, will and affection, it will dema[nd] extremely toilsome labour to extirpate it.

[I]ndeed by continuance in Sin the chief means (afforded by nature or by Grace) of [re]straining or reducing us from it, are either cut of, or enervates render ineffectual. Natural modesty while it lasteth, is a curb from doing ill; men in their first [de]flections from virtue are bashful and shy; out of regard to other men's opinion [a]nd tenderness of their own honour they are afraid or ashamed to transgress [p]lain rules of duty; but in process this disposition weareth out, by little and little arrive to that character of the degenerate Jews, whom the Prophets call [i]mpudent children having a brow of brass, and faces harder then a rock; so that they commiteth sin with open faces, and in broad day, without any mask without [any] blush; they despise their own reputation, and defy all censure of others; [t]hey outface and outbrave the world, till at length with prodigious insolence they [c]ome to boast of wickedness, and glory in their shame, as on instance of high [c]ourage and special gallantry.

Conscience is a check to beginners in sin, reclaiming them from it, and rating [t]hem for it; but this in long slumbers becometh useless either failing in discharge [of] [i]ts office, or assaying it to no purpose, having often been slighted it will be wear[y] of chiding; or if it be not wholly dumb, we shall be deaf to its reproof: As those of live by cataracts or downfalls of water and by continual noise so deafened as not to hear or mind it, so shall we in time grow senseless, not regarding the loudest peal, and rattlings of our conscience.

The Heart of a raw Novice in impiety is somewhat tender and soft, so that sin can pierce and sting it, his neck is yielding and sensible, so that the yoke of sin doth gall it; but in stout proficientes the heart becometh hard and stony. the n[eck] [sti]ff and brawny; (an Iron Sinew, as the Prophet termeth it) so that they do not resent any thing but like those of

whom St. Paul speaketh Eph. 4:19 Who being past feeling all sorrow or smart have given themselves over unto lasciviousness, unto all uncleanness with greediness.

When first we nibble at the bait or enter into bad courses reason doth con[inuall]y remonstrate against it, faithfully representing to us the folly the ugliness, the b[adness], the manifold ill consequences of sinning; but that by continuance is muffled so as not to discern, or muzzled so as not to declare; yea often it is so debauched as to es[teem] avow and maintain, yea to applaud and extol our miscarriages.

For a time a man retaineth some courage and a hope that he may repent; bu[t] [exc]ess in sin dispiriteth and casteth into despair; whether God be placeable, whether [him] self be corrigible; an apprehension concerning the length of the way, or the diff[iculty] of the work discourageth, and despondency renderth him heartless and careless to [do] it. There is no man that hath heard of God, who hath not at first some dread of [oppos]ing him, and some dissatisfaction in transgressing his will; it appearing t[o] (not yet utterly blinded and depraved) power, an absurd thing to thwart his infallible wisdom a detestible thing to [] his immense goodness; but obstinacy in sin doth quash this conscientious awe [and] at length God is not in all his thoughts, the fear of God is not before his eyes; the [] of the Almighty seemeth a Bugbear, the fiercest menaces of Religion sound b[ut] Rattles to him. As for the gentle whispers and touches of Divine Grace, the monitory dispen[ces] of providence, the good advices and wholesome reproofs of friends with the like[ness] of reclaiming sinners; these to persons settled on their less, or fixed in bad custom but as gusts of wind brushing an old tree, or as waves dashing on a rock without [at] all shaking or stirring it.

Now when a person is come to this pass it must be hugely difficult to seduc[e] to retrieve a deflowered modesty, to quicken a jaded conscience, to suppl[e] a call[ious] hear, to recover a s[oul] miserably benumbed and broken, to its former vigor and integrity can be no [easy] matter.

The diseases of our soul no less than those of our body, when once they are inves[ted] they are become more incurable; the longer we forebear to apply due remedy the [more] hard their cure will prove; if we let them proceed far, we must ere we can be r[id] them, undergo a course of Phisick long tedious and offensive to us, many a rough [] many a sore Phlebotomy, many an irksome sweat we must endure, yea further.

2. We may consider, that by delaying to amend, to do it may become quite impossi[ble], it may be so in nature of the thing, it may be so by the will of God; The thing may become naturally impossible; by vice by custom may pass into nature and prove congenial as if it were born with us; so that we shall propend to it as a stone fa[lls] down, or as a spark flieth upward: by soaking in voluptuousness we may be transformed into bruits, by sleeping in malice so converted into Feinds, that necessarily shall act like creatures of that kind into which we are degenerated; Then in no wise without a down right miracle are we capable of being reformed; long, (Saith Solomon Prov. 6:9) wilt thou sleep, O Sluggard, When wilt ~~arise~~ arise out o[f] [thy] sleep? We may be so often called on and tis not easie to awaken us, when we are into spiritual slumber; but when we are dead in trespasses and sins, so that [the] breath of holy affection is stopt, and no spiritual pulse from our heart doth app[ear] that all sense of duty is lost all appetite to good doth fail, no strength or activi[ties] move in a good course doth exert itself, that our good complexion is dissolved, an[d] our finer spirits are dissipated; that our mind is quite crazed, and all its power shattered or spoiled; when thus, I say, we are spiritually dead, how can we raise our[selves], what beneath omnipotency can affect it! As a stick when once is dry and stiff, you [can] break it but you can never bend it into a streighter posture, so doth the man become in[corri]gible who is settled and stiffened in vice, The stain of habitual sin may sink in so de[ep], [an]d so thoroughly tincture all our soul, that we may be like those people of wh[om] [the] Prophet saith, can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the Leopard his spots? then may [ye] also do good that are accustomed to do evil: such an

impossibility may arise from nature, [on]e greater and more insuperable may come from God.

[T]o an effectual repentance the succour of Divine grace is necessary but that is arbi[te]rily dispensed; the spirit bloweth where it listeth, yet it listeth wisely with regard [wi]th to the past behaviour and present capacity of men so that to such who have [ab]used it, and to such who will not treat it well; it shall not be imparted: And can we [be] well assured, can we reasonably hope, that after we by our presumptuous delays [ha]ve put off God and dallyed with his grace; after that he long in vain hath waited [to] be gracious, after that he hath endured so many neglects, and so many repulses from [us]; after that we frequently have slighted his open invitations and smothered his kindl[y] [n]otions in us; in short after we have so unworthily misused his goodness and patience, [th]at he farther will vouchsafe his grace to us? When we have forfeited it, when [we] have rejected it, when we have spurned and driven it away, can we hope to [re]cover it?

There is a time, a season, a day allotted to us; our day it is termed, a day of [sa]lvation, the season of our visitation, an acceptable time; wherein God freely doth exhibit grace and presenteth his mercy to us; if we let this day slip, [t]he night cometh when no man can work; when the things belonging to our [P]eace will be hidden from our eyes; When (as the Prophet expresseth it) We shall [g]rope for the wall like the blind, and stumble at noonday as in the night and [ar]e in desolate places as dead men, after that day is spent that comfortless night is sett, a dismal night of Darkness, of cold, of disconsolateness will succeed; When God being weary of bearing with men doth utterly desert them, and deliver [t]hem over a reprobate mind; when subtracting his gracious direction and [as]sistance, he giveth them over to their own hears lusts, and to walk in their [o]wn counsels; When they are brought to complain with those in the Prophet, Lord, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways; and hardened our heart from thy fear, when, like Pharaoh they survive only as objects of God's [j]ustice, or occassions to glorify his power; When like Esau they cannot find a place of Repentance, although they seek it carefully with tears; When [a]s to

the foolish loitering virgins, the door of mercy is shut upon them. When [t]hat menace of Divine wisdom cometh to be executed; they shall call upon me but I will not answer, they shall seek me early but they shall not find me; for that they [h]ateth knowledge, and did not chuse the fear of the Lord. And if by neglecting our reason and present means, we once fall into this state, then is our case most deplorable; we are dead men irreversibly doomed, and only for a few moments [r]eprieved from the stroke of final vengeance; we are vessels of wrath fitted (or made up) for destruction, by a fatall blindness and obluration. Sealed up to ruine; we are like the terra damnata that earth (in the Apostle) which [d]rinking up the rain that cometh off upon it, and bearing thorns and briars [i]s rejected, and is nigh unto cursing, and whose end is to be burned. Wherefore according to the advice of the Prophet. Seek ye the Lord when he may be found and call ye upon him wither he is near.

It is true that God is ever ready upon our true conversion to recieve us into favour, that his arms are always open to embrace a sincere penitent; that he hath declared whenever a man turneth from his wickedness, and doth that which is right, he shall save his soul alive; that if we do wash ourselves [as] clean, put away the evils of our doings, and cease to do evil, then although our sins [be] as scarlet, they shall be white as snow, though they be like crimson they shall be as wool; if we rend our hearts, and turn unto the Lord, he is gracious and merciful, and will [] him of the evil, that God is good and ready to forgive and plenteous in mercy un[to] [all] that call upon him; that whenever a prodigal son with humble confession and contrition for his sin doth arise and go to his father, he will embrace him tender[ly] [and] entertain him kindly; that even a profane Apostate, and a bloody Oppressor (as Mana[sseh]) a Leud strumpet (as Magdalene) a notable thief (as he upon the cross) a timerous renouncer (as St. Peter) a furious persecutor (as St. Paul), a stupid Idolator, (as all in this world when the Gospel came to them was) the most heinous sinner that [there] hath been or can be imagined to be, if he be disposed to repent, is capable of m[aking] those declarations and promises are infallibly true, those instances

proven from evidence, that repentance is never superannuated and, that if we can turn at all we not turn too late; yet nevertheless delay is very unsafe, for what assurance can [we] have, that God hereafter will enable us to perform those conditions of bewailin[g] sins, and forsaking them? have we not cause rather to fear that he will chastise presumption by withholding his grace? for although God faileth not to yield com[pe]tent aids to persons who have not despised his goodness and long suffering that [bring] them to repentance, yet he that wilfully or wantonly loitereth away the time, and squ[and]ereth the means allowed him; who refuseth to come when God calleth, yea wo[o] and courteth him to repentance, how can he pretend to find such favour?

We might add that supposing God in superabundance of mercy might be presum[ed] to withhold his grace; yet seeing his grace doth not work by irresistible compuls[ion] seeing the worst qualified are the more apt we shall be to cross and defeat its ration; seeing that we cannot hope that hereafter we shall be more fit than to comply with it: Yea seeing we may be sure, that after our hearts are hardened by perseverance in sin, we shall be more indisposed thereto; we by delay at Repent[ance] do not only venture the forfeiting of Divine Grace, but the danger of abusing [it] when heinously will aggravate our guilt, and hugely augment our punishment.

We should do well therefore most seriously to regard the Apostles Admonition, Exhort one another today, while it is called today, lest any of you be hardened by the deceit[fulness] of sin; Now that we find ourselves invited to repent, now that we apprehend so much reason for it; now that we feel our hearts somewhat inclined thereto; now that we have time in our hands, and are not barrd from hopes of mercy; now that it is not ext[remly] difficult, or not absolutely impossible, let us in Gods name lay hold upon the occas[sion]. Let us speedily and earnestly set upon the work for by entering into a good life, we enter into the favour and friendship of God, e[ng]aging his infinite power and wisdom, for our protection, our succour, our direct[ion] and guidance; enjoying the sweet effluxes of his mercy and bounty; we therewith bec[ome] friends to the Holy

Angels, and blessed Saints; to all good men, being united in a hol[y] happy Consortship of judgement, of charitie, of Hope, of devotion with them; become friends to all the world, which we oblige by good wishes, and good deeds, and the influence of good example, we become friends to ourselves whom we thereby [] and adorn with the best goods; whom we gratifie and please with the choicest delig[hts]. But persisting in sin we continue to affront, wrong and displease our maker, to be disl[o]yal [t]owards our sovrigne Lord, to be ingratefull toward's our chiefe benefactor, to disoblilgle [t]he best friend we have, to provolke a most just and severe judge, to cope with omnipotency, to contradict infallibility, to enrage the greatest patience, to abuse immense goodness: we [there] by become enemies to all the world, to God, whom we injure and dishonour, to the friends of God whom we desert and oppose; to the creatures which we abuse to our Pride; Lust and Vanity; t[o] [ou]r neighbours whom we corrupt or seduce, to ourselves whom we bereave of the best goods, an[d] [sw]ay to the worst evils.

Beginning to live soberly, we begin to live like men, following the conduct of reason; begi[ni]ng to live in Chasity, we commence the Life of Angels, enjoying in ourselves most sweet [con]tent, and procuring great benefit to other, but going on in sinful voluptuousness, [th]en we proceed to live like beasts, wholly guided by sence and swayed by appetite; being [p]ertinacious in malice we continue to be like Feinds, working torment in ourselves [a]nd mischief to our neighbours.

[E]mbracing virtue we become wise and sober, worthy and honorable, beneficial and useful to the world, but continuance in vice, we continue to be foolish and vain, [to] be vile and despicable, to be worthless and useless.

[B]y our delay to amend what do we gain? what but a little flashy and transient pleasure instead of a solid and durable peace; but a little counterfit profit instead [o]f real wealth; but a little smoak of Decietful opinion, instead of unquestionable so[und] Honour, shadows of imaginary goods instead of those which are most substantial and true; a good mind the love of God the assured welfare of our souls. But this field [o]f discourse is too

spacious I shall only therefore for conclusion say, that speedily employing ourselves to obedience; and breaking off our sins by repentance, is in effect [n]othing else but from a present Hell in trouble, and the danger of a final Hell in [t]orment to be translated into a double Heaven, one of joyful tranquility here, [a]nother of blissful rest hereafter, unto the which Almighty God in his mercy bring us through Jesus Christ etc. etc.

Sermon 5 — Sacraments

Luke 22:19,20 (Sermon 10 in VI-A)

"And he took bread and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them saying. This is my bread which is given for you; This do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, this cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you."

These words present us with the history of the first institution of the sacram[ent] of the Lords Supper, describing its nature both as to its parts and end.

The parts of the sacrament of the Lords Supper, are both outward which is the signe; and the inward, which is the thing signified.

The outward part or sign, our catechism from our [] teacheth us to be bread and wine which the Lord hath commanded to be received for he took bread, likewise also the cup.

The inward part, or the thing signified is the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithfull in the Lord's supper. Our Saviour saying, (when he gave thanks, and brake and gave the bread) This is my body which is given for you: And (after also he had consecrated the cup) adding, This cup is the new testament in my blood which is shed for you. The end of which institution is in our catechism also taught us to be for the continuall remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ and the benefits which we received thereby, because in the text it is not only said, do this in remembrance of me, but also intimated that such doing is meant to be in confirmation of a covenant procured by the sacrifice of the Death of Christ in order to benefitt; this cup being said to be the new testament (or covenant) in Christs blood shed for us.

So that what our catechism thus teaches us concerning the nature of this [sa]crament, is but a comment on our text; both which will, therefore necessarily be explained and improved together in this discourse; considering it.

1. As to its parts; which as a proper sacrament, are outward and inward

I. The outward part or sign of the Lords supper, is bread and wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received: For he took bread -- Likewise also the cup etc. The one to be eaten the other to be drank. and therefore [t]herein is to be distinguished both the elements themselves, and the actions [i]ncurring to make up the outward part or sign of the Lords Supper. The elements are positively determined to bread and wine, [only] and equally to [both] of them.

That only bread and wine are fixt upon is evident; because these and no other [e]lements were made use of in this institution. Which however unlikely and odd Memorandums of what is to be signified thereby in this sacrament; presenting neither the picture nor Image of any one lineament of Christ whom we are to remember hereby, and being such a token as never any one before or since thought it to be remembered or honoured by in their absence; yet being Divinely appointed as this usage ought not to be disputed but received so to be concluded the contrivance of infinite wisdom, most suitable and proper for what it is [i]ntended. And that probably it would have been both unsafe and unfit and no ways conducing to the spiritual end intended in this sacrament to have indulged a more lively representation of a saviour to us; since any other might have occasioned Idolatry to the Ignorant, and this is capable of contributing to the service of Religion among the considerate; patly enough [r]epresenting the union intended to be ratified by this holy rite both between [him] and his Disciples, and in him among themselves; and also the suffering undergone by him in order thereto.

For bread being made up of many grains into one loaf and wine of many grapes mixt into one cup; and these also being things that are vulgarly known to have passed through much bruising and rough handlings and they come to be perfected, are natural enough to put us in mind both of the one and of the other. Besides there is a genral usefulness of these elements to our necessary nourishment, without which we are not able to [s]ubsist by any other elements. Bread being the staff of life, and wine the cleanser of mans heart; they are certainly no very improper representat[i]ons of him in whom is our life, and without whom

we can have no life. these memo[rials] are similiar bodies, every part whereof may as much represent what is intend[ed] [as] any: and altogether they make one body of the same sort; easily seperated and [] to be Divided, yet so as all may communicate in the same thing. They [are] of continual service; and what Melchizedeck brought out to Abraham as a p[roof] of his blessing, and as a signification (as some interpret it) of this sacrament w[hich] God would have Abrahams seed to feed upon, when the True High Priest after th[e] grat mans order should come: However tis certain these were part of the J[ewish] Passover, when Christ was typically eaten in Egypt; and were fitter to be retain[ed] thenn the flesh thereof, since Christ being come, all sacrifices were to cease an no more blood to be shed for sin: And it is not to be fōrgotten, finally, how agreeable th[e] things are to what Christ resembled himself whilst on earth; calling himself the vin[e] John the 15:5. Whereof his disciples are the branches to bring forth fruit by virt[ue] recieved from him: And the bread of life which came down from heaven, fore the supp[ort] and nourishment of souls, as the Manna in the wilderness was fodod from heaven, [for] the boyd, for which and the like reasons the agreeableness of there elements determ[in]e to such use, seems satisfactorily enough apparent, so as to exclude all use of an[y] other in this rite whereto they are thus appropriated.

2. And wherein as both are equally used, so ought neither to be omitted. bread [is] not sufficient alone, nor is wine instituted alone, neither are both prom[is]cuously and together allowed to represent the grace of this rite sacramentally because the precept and example of Christ in its institution are for both dist[inct]ly; and both alike were so bequeathed as a legacy, by the last will and test[ament] of our Lord, confirmed by the death of the testatour; without a violation, whereof one cannot be withheld. Neither can the sacrament be comple[te] without both one only not answering the end of its institution, wherein both were equally admitted; Bread broken being peculiarly significative of t[he] body, and wine poured out no less of the Blood of Christ and whereby as manifest seperation between the body and blood of Christ is intended to be represented in the sacr[ament] as was made of

them upon the cross; and thereby two distinct acts of Eating an[d] Drinking are required in the participation thereof. To which all having an eq[ual] right, they ought to be equally administered to all. Whereof the Apostles first recei[ving] otherwise then as representatives of the whole church; without either of which [elem]ents, it would be an uncouth feast: Both which St. Paul taught the Corinthians to retain, as he had learnt it from Christ himself: according whereto was the practice of the Catholick Christian Church for a thousand years; and no good reason can be alledged why one rather than the other should be omitted; s[o] where Christ speaketh of eating, only, the passage is not either meant of this ordi[nal] or not exclusively of drinking also. And as to the mention made of only bread of bread from house to house, either there is no necessity of trying the words [in] such sense (being equally capable of two different interpretations) or else a necessity of understanding a Synecdoche in them, importing (according to [a] Hebrew phrase of expressing it) making a meal, which is not to be supposed to exclude drinking, especially seeing the Apostles were concerned herein [them]selves, who as Priests had an unquestioned rite to the cup also. All which h[aving] duly considered well yield sufficient argument against and confutation of [the] unreasonable sacrilegious practice in the Church of Rome, where this sacrame[nt] is administered only in one kind, and consequently not at all to the Laity. [The] cup being allowed only to the priests.

And this shall suffice to have been said concerning the Elements themsel[ves], both as to their suitableness and use (it being better not to mention, then to p[ass] our selves with other niceties, concerning the want or kind, or nicture less having no relation either to our practice or edificati[on]) as they are the outw[ard] part of sign representing in the Lords Supper.

The other thing which we are to distinguish herein is the actions concurring to [make] up and compleat the outward part hereof, employed about these elements, and [to] the signs applying which are of two sorts. viz: of the Minister who [in] the text was our saviour

himself; and of the communicants, who were [in] this first institution only the Apostles, as then Representatives [of] the whole church.

[The] actions of our saviour representing the actions of God himself toward mankin[d] [and] the dispensation of the thing signified by these signes, and are here instituted to [be] afterwards used by all ministers in the celebration of this holy rite are evidently [thes]e four viz.

[T]aking of these elements: to wit, in his hands, and probably from off that table [wher]eon they were placed so as to sepearate them from the rest left there for common [use]. Signifying and representing Gods sealing and setting apart the person of Christ [fo]r the great work of mediation between himself and man.

Giving of thanks, or as St. Matthew and St. Mark express it, in the paralell places to our [te]xt blessing the elements, whereby they became actually signified into a sacram[ent] a[an]d useful for that and for which they were appointed: signifying and representing [the] sending of his son in the fulness of time to perform and execute the office of a mediator, unto which he was ordained.

Breaking of the bread, in conformity to what was done to that used in the passover [a]nd to prepare it for distribution: signifying and representing the bitter passion and [the] [o]ffering of our Saviour; the breaking of his heart by sorrow, and wounding of [h]is body by the nails and spear, which let out his precious blood an offering for our [s]ins, And, finally,

[G]iving, and distributing to the communicants, as willing to part with, that they [m]ight partake in, what had been sepearated, consecrated, and prepared for their sake [si]gnifying And representing the offering of Christ to all, even Hypocrites as well as [be]lievers, but the giving him only ato the worthy and true Christians for spiritual health and comfort.

The actions of the Communicants also herein are these two, viz: The taking [and] [r]eceiving the elements into their hands: to signifie and represent their apprehens[i]on of Jesus Christ by faith. And the eating the one and Drinking the other, whereby [t]hey

digest and concoct them, so that they grow into their bodies, to signifie and repres[ent] [t]he effectual, particular and especial application of Christ unto the soul: that their [tr]ue, spiritual, Real union and participation with him may become more near and sensible.

That we see that all these actions employed in this mystery are of excellent use [an]d significancy to stir up devotion, and assist the understanding in apprehending [th]at great thing, of which all these are but the signs and type signifying and apply[ing] viz.

The inward part of thing signified hereby; and that is the body and blood of which are verily and indeed taken, and received by the faithful in the Lords Supper, [ou]r Saviour in the text saying [when he blest, and brake, and distributed the bread] [th]is is my body which is given for You: And after he had consecrated the cup also [ad]ding, this cup is the new testament in my blood which is shed for you. Not as if Christs body [a]nd blood were earnally present in these elements; but only signified and represent[ed] to us by them; Whereof they are the sign to us; and whereby are communicated all [t]hose saving graces purchased by them to the worthy receiver.

[A]nd therefore Christ calls the signs by the name of the things signified; not Changing [t]he nature, but adding hereby only grace unto the nature of them; so that a real [pre]sence is not to be sought in the elements, but in the worthy communicants. [Ou]r Christ says first, Take and eat [what he had broken and given] then after that [s]aith, This is my body, intimating that before we take and eat, it is not the body of [Christ] unto us; but that when we take and eat as we ought, then he gives us his whole [sel]f and puts us into possession of all such saving graces as his sacrificed body can [or] [cou]ld and our souls do then need; whereof the sacramental bread and wine is the [o]utward signe. And therefore as there is no necessity of interpreting these words [li]terally, so is there a great deal of reason of understanding them only in such figurative sense in opposition both to the Lutheran gross notion of Consubstantiation, and the Romish monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation. That offering less violence to reason then this to sense also, and both to the genuine [m]eaning of the text. For.

By the first we are required to believe that the very body and blood of Christ [is] so united to the bread and wine in the Lords Supper, as to make up one compou[nd] received at once by one sacramental action. Which improperly supposes th[at] Christs words of institution must necessarily be understood literally, and falsly th[erefore] infers that this only can be the meaning of them. Whereas their figurative sen[se] only is consistent with the nature of a body, that cannot be in many places at on[ce] nor in the same place with any other body. (which are absurdities this notion [in]cludeth) and in a literal meaning being made use of do authorize no more consubstantiation then Transubstantiation.

Whereby the Church of Rome also would make us believe that the bread a[nd] wine in this sacrament are not only the signe of the body and blood of Christ bu[t] become the very thing it self. Whereas these words of the institution are, we see capable of another meaning, even in the sense of all our adversaries thems[elves] as to one of the parts of the outward sign, and by some of the best learned [of] them, is ingeniously acknowledged to be equally incompatible to both. And [a] great deal of reason there is it should be so; since such like figurative exp[re]ssions are so very usual in scripture, and accounted no way prejudicia[l] either to the plainness or propriety of languages: And especially here wh[ere] the words understood literally are neither sense nor truth; or however, [] a truth as hath not been always the constant belief of the Christian Chur[ch]. Neither the name nor the thing of Transubstantiation being heard of amo[ng] the Ancients for more then the first five hundred years after Christ. And if it was not opposed with more noise, when it was first heard of there, [it] can be imputed to nothing more then to the general Ignorance and gr[eat] superstition of that age it took the advantage of. And no church (how[ever] pretending to Infallibility) can have authority to obtrude at any time an article of faith upon Christians at pleasure; so as to make Religion unr[easonable] and endless, and persuade people out of their senses, to magnifie the pow[er] of a Preist in working a miracle incapable ever to be proved one. And much reasonably rejected, for its infinite scandal and monst[rous] Absurdities.

Even scandalous for its stupidity, that attracts the scorn and hatred o[f] Atheists and Infidels, because of its barborousness that humanity loaths [and] condemns; and because of its bloody consequences, that hath occassioned by all the other articl[es] [of] Religion put together: Besides the danger of Idolatry not be hazarded [by] such evident and insuperable uncertainty.

And no less absurd, for its absolute contradictoriness to reason and sense, a[nd] [the] other extirpation of the very evidence of all religion; whereby all certai[nty] is invallidated; and nothing we see to be believed, upon better evidence, to be believed upon better evidence, to [be] true, than that this Doctrine of Transubstantiation is false. It utterly frus[trates] the evidence of sense; the authority of which our saviour made it his first to settle, by his appeal thereto after his resurrection. And therefore he that [be]lieves Transubstantiation must necessarily believe (sais one: A.B. Till.) these two viz; that the last thing our saviour did before his death, was to teach his disci[ples] not to believe their own senses; and the first thing he did after he was risen f[rom] the dead, was to teach them the quite contrary. All which laid together a[nd] duly considered cannot but gain our assent to what the same great man so remarkably, and (without Divine inspiration) prophetically said upon [this] subject. That this doctrine is like a Millstone hung about the neck of Pe[ople] which will sink it at the last. Amen.

And thus have we considered the nature of this sacrament in its both outward and inward, proceed we to consider it also.

As to its End; in order to know the meaning of thus feeding on such elements, to [dis]tinguish it from an ordinary repast, and discern the Lords body herein.

[An]d as for this purpose we are taught in our Catechism, that it is for the con[tin]ual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and the Benefits which [we] receive thereby; so in the text it is commanded that we do this in rememb[rance] [of] the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and the benefits which [we] receive thereby so in the text it is commanded that we do this in [remembrance] [of] Christ, and intimated that we hereby

confirm the covenant made by the sacrifice [and] the death of Christ, for our benefit and advantage; and therefore the cup is called [th]e new testament in Christs blood which is shed for us: So that the ends of this sacram[ent] [ar]e principally these two, viz. A commemoration of our Saviour; and a ratification of a league or covenant with him.

Eat bread and drink wine in the sacrament of the Lords supper, is a commemoration of Christ. this is expresst in the text to be one end of the institution [a]nd corresponds to the design of the Paschal Supper, among the Jews, [whi]ch was its Type, and in the room whereof it succeeds as a Memento of a [gr]eater deliverance wherewith to possess our minds; and whereof a feast hath [a]nd, by common usage, been esteemed no improper instrument; whereby [ou]r Lord, therefore, will also be remembered by us in this manner. And to be capable of doing this, it ought to be distinctly considered, both what [understand]ings of Christ we are here by put in mind of, and in what manner we are to [en]deavour to remember them of him.

The principal things this feast is designed to put us in mind of, may be rela[t]ed to these three particulars; even the Mystery of Christs incarnation, the Holyness of his life and conversation, and the meritoriousness of his passion. The Mystery of Christs incarnation, is represented by the visible signs of the corporeal elements used in this sacrament; which would no way be properly figu[rative], [an]d hereby, were it not to mind us of the truth of Christs Humanity, and of [th]e Word being made flesh; the staff of whose life is bread. And which therefore with [wo]nder and joy we reflect on and proclaim by our sacramental use hereof.

The Holiness of Christs life and conversation, cannot but occur with a remembrance of his person, for which he was so eminent and memorable, the representation of whose body and blood by these sacramental signs, naturally leads [o]ur reflections to the remembrance, not only that there once was such an one, [bu]t what he is to us; How faithfull a Lawgiver and teacher! How gracious a [Lor]d and Master! How thankfull it concerns us to be for

them! And how truly [wicked] that we have had no more regard for them! But especially in fine,

1. The meritoriousness of Christs passion is most lively displayed, to be commemorated in this Holy Rite, by bread broken and wine poured forth, and both [] distributed and received, that it may never be forgott how his vital [b]lood was emptied from his heart, and veins, and body reduced to. [a] Dead [c]arcass for our sakes; and by eating and Drinking whereof we do therefore [remem]ber our Lords death till he come; keeping up this Rite as an Obelisk to the [e]trnal memory of the passion of the son of god, as a Pyramid of everlasting [d]uration to perpetuate in the church a solemn memorial of our Lords [d]eath; looking upon ourselves, as put, by our own approaches hereto, into the [ci]rcumstances of those who did actually behold our Saviour hanging upon [t]he cross. bleeding and dying for our sins, and for our sakes; exerting our [t]hankfullness for his love, and penitence for our guilt. These are the principal things, intended by this sacrament to be remembered by us of Christ.

2. The manner wherein we are to endeavour to remember them of him, implies [t]he engagement of our affections herein, and the intention of our wills to publish [a]nd propagate the knowledge hereof. Rememberence importing both a Recording [o]r registering its impression in the mind and heart, and a solemn Declaration and report of its fame abroad; even so remembering the incarnation, and life [and] passion of Christ, hereby that we may never forget him our selves, and that every one else may be mindful of him.

These things, therefore are hereby to be remembered by us of Christ, so as the im[pres]sion thereof may sink upon our hearts, and move our affections so as to [improve] our lives; which is the end and perfection of remembrance. A dead im[age] of Christ upon the mind, without life is gastly and useless; and cold and pale thoughts, which have no feeling of themselves, nor leave any footsteps or memo[rial] behind them, are but the picture of Remembrance without the thing it self. A[nd] Therefore then only in Christ truly remembered hereby when he is formed in the he[art] and moves and acts the soul,

and draws out the affections after him, and his Image reflected upon him, in all those Christian graces and virtues, wherein he hath exemplified himself to us.

Nor are we only to influence our selves, but to inform and excite others by th[e] memorial of our Lord; publishing his incarnation, Life, and passion hereby to [a]ll the world; according to St. Pauls expression of it shewing the Lords death till [he] come. Making open profession of our belief and hope in him before ma[n] and pleading his merits for us hereby before God. that as men seeing this ou[r] good work they may be thereby induced to glorifie with us our Heavenly fa[ther]. So God looking upon it, may remember the sacrifice of his own son for us, to g[ive] the grace and pardon with all other benefits thereof, hereby represented to us an[d] expected from him. And upon this account only hath this action obtained th[e] name of a sacrifice among the Ancients, whereof it is a memorial, and wherewith prayer and thanksgiving are continually offered; which yet is [t]o be had as a proper propitiatory sacrifice (as it is falsly esteemed and us[ed] by the Church of rome) not only upon the account of all these arguments, a[lle]dged against Transubstantiation (for themselves acknowledge, that those reas[ons] which destroy one must necessarily overthrow the other) but because it is so much besides the designe of our Lord in his institution hereof, so opp[osit] to the sence and doctrine of the scriptures; so inconsistent with the notion of such a sacrifice (being bloody and often offered) incompatible with the pres[ent] state of our Lord: Derogatory to his sacrifice he once made of himself upon the cross; and contrary to the practice of the Apostles and sence of the first Christians. Which therefore is used by us as a commemoration, and not sacrifice of our Saviour, according to one end of its institution.

2. The other end whereof is for the satisfaction of a league and covenan[t], the Lords Supper being a Federal Rite uniting us to God and to one anot[her] Therefore:

1. We are intended to eat brad and drink wine in this sacrament in confirm[ation] of the new covenant between God and us, purchased by the death of Christ and fi[rst] entered into by our Baptism: for so much the general nature of sacrame[nt] doth fairly intimate.

The end whereof is to devote us to Gods service and to entitle us to his promi[se] of Grace, whereof these are the means of conveyance, and Pledges to assure us the[m] so much the using of so considerable an act of worship reasonably suppose[d] it being no otherise to be communicated in, then as an [], whereby we acknowledge Christian Religion, and engage ourselves therein entirely to him. This, furth[er], eating and drinking at Gods table more plainly declares, whereby less cann[ot] be professed then that we are of Gods family, Retainers to Christ, in friendship, forasmuch as the Bread in this sacrament is called Christs body, to the same intent[i]on the Paschal lamb was wont to be called (as we are told) the body of the Passover was federally eaten; and the cup is called the new testament (or covenant) and we d[o] [drin]k of it, which is an application of it to ourselves, and a known ceremony of con[for]ming leagues. Which it being, also, a feast upon a sacrifice, necessarily infers; sa[cri]ficing being one way of covenanting with God; and feasting upon it the way [of] [s]haring and partaking therein. And which, finally, its being the appointed means of [conve]ying all the blessings of the covenant to us undeniable proves; because other[wise] then by federal promises and performances, these are not to be had; for our [sa]viour tells us of the brad we eat, and the wine we drink, that they are his [bod]y and blood; though not in nature, yet the least we can hereby understand is, [tha]t they are so in effect; forasmuch as they are intended to convey to us, all those [ble]ssings which the peirceing of his Body and shedding of his blood procured for [us] contained in the new covenant, such as the forgiveness of sin, the assisten[ce] of Gods Holy Spirit, and a right to life eternal. Whose blood is therefore [sai]d to be shed for the remission of sins; whereof the Cup in this sacrament is [the] signe and pledge. He that eateth Christs flesh, and drinketh his blood is said [to] dwell in Christ and Christ in him. Mat. 26:25; and whoso eateth his flesh and drinketh his blood to have eternal life. Which being federal blessings are only to [be] had by federal performances; and which being the effects of the due use of the [Lor]ds Supper, manifesteth it also to be a federal action; wherein therefore as we [ar]e to remember Christ, so we do renew our

engagements to him; repeating the [promi]se made in Baptism; professing sorrow for its often violations; giving new security and strength to our obligations; and in the most solemn manner addict[ing] our selves to a more constant love and service of the Lord Jesus, against all our [spi]ritual enemies whatsoever. Whereby future sins become more exceeding sinful, [repentance] more necessary, and rewards and helps more ascertained, as we are hereby more [tru]ly united and engaged unto God.

And in this respect the Lords Supper necessarily supplies the deficiency of our Baptism; which [tho]ugh it devote us to God at first, yet is no means to reconcile us to him, upon [be]ing offended afterwards; because it is but once administered, and cannot be repeated therefore is the institution of this other sacrament, in order to the same great [pur]pose, intended to guard and maintain the covenant between God and man, [the]reby Baptismal engagements may be Kept in force, and we continue to be Christ's [fai]thfull soldiers and servants unto our lives end.

We are also intended by the use of this sacrament, to ratifie a league [of] love and friendship with all fellow communicants, as Christian brethern, hereby [is] it not only to our head and common lord by faith, but endeared to one [a]nother by love. Eating and Drinking together at the same table, and [p]artaking of the same feast, hath always been esteemed a note of friendship, [an]d is the common way of the world to profess Kindness, to compose differences, [a]nd to beget endearments among men. For which end also the paschal supper [a]mong the Jews was celebrated, not only among the members of the same [fa]mily, but by that whole notion, assembles from all parts, at the same [ti]me, into one place, as one body, feeding on a whole lamb, assigned to [e]very family, not a bone whereof was to be broken or divided, with bread not [rai]sed by any Leaven, the better to represent and inforce the unity and [f]ullness that ought to be among them; and which being Type and forerunner [of] this our Christian feast; now that Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us, the [Ap]ostle exhorts us to keep the feast - not with the leaven of malice and [wi]ckedness, but with the unleaven bread of sincerity and truth. And the rather;

[be]cause ours is in remembrance of the Highest excess of love, showed to us by [Our] Lords laying down his life for our sakes, obliging us never to forget to return [on]ce again to him by his appointed proxies, which are our brethren

And therefore we are all herein, made partakers of one bread, sharing in [the] same food, as servants of the same Lord, and communicating in the same priviledges: To testifie which was at first annexed The Holy Kiss, and the f[east] of love mentioned in the New Testament: And the result whereof was ev[en] such expressions of hearty affection towards one another, as beca[me] the talk of Heathens and the badge of Christians.

So that we having been to the Lords Supper, therein to remember o[ur] Saviour Christ, and to confirm the new covenant with Almighty God, we entered also into a league of love with all our brethren, and thu[s] ought to promise an inviolable league of friendship with them to. This then being the nature, and these the ends of this holy sac[rament] as they ought highly to recommend its use; so do they necessarily [ob]ligue our case to use it rightly. Which is not designed only to f[east] the body, but to employ the soul, in the utmost intention of the mind, and strongest affections of the heart. Whence arise va[rious] and important duties for us to learn and practise, in order to ap[pre]hend its benefit to improve by its virtue, and (as the Apostles [ex]pression in 1 Cor. 11:29) to discern the Lords Body therein. For whi[ch] that God would dispose us, and assist and succeed us in it, pray w[e]

Almighty God, who through thine only begotten Son Jesus Christ, hast overcome Death and opened unto us the gate o[f] everlasting life, we humbly beseech thee, that as by th[y] special grace preventing us, thou dost put into our minds good desires; so by thy continual help we ma[y] bring the same to good effect, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Ho[ly] Ghost ever one God world without end Amen.

Sermon 6 — Church and State

Fast sermon April 4, 1706

Joel 2:18 (Sermon 31 in VI-A)

"Then will the Lord be jealous for his land, and pity his people."

Will he so? Then I am sure we shall be very wanting to ourselves, very backward to our own happiness; very enemies to the constitution we live under, very Rebels to the Queen that governs us [and] very ungrateful to the church we live In, and of those communion we have the happiness to be members; If we do not contribute all that lies in our power, if we do not employ all the faculties of our souls and make use of head heart and hands to provide this end; and to engage the Lord to be jealous for his land and to pity his people.

The prophet assures us that if we sanctify a fast and call a solemn assembly; if we perform all the duties of Repentance; and Joy with the Ministers God has appointed In his church In deprecating his wrath in the manner and form the church has appointed and state has appointed In prayers set forth for this purpose; he tells us that if we cry to God to spare us, and make supplications to him, not to give his Heritage to Reproach, that the Heathen and Idoloters should rule over us; he tells us if we do this; we shalt In all the Instances of a sincere and honest Repentance, If we turn to the Lord with all our heart with weeping fasting and prayer; if we rent our hearts as well as our Garments and have inward sense as well as an outward show of our sins; and send up our prayer and supplications unto God in a most solemn and devout manner for the success of our fleets and Armies and those of our Allies; if we [do] this as God requires; as the government upon this day commands upon pain of such punishment as it may Justly Inflict for such contempt and neglect of performance; as our own Good and private interest prompts us to as Englishmen and Protestants; In short if we are this, which very Relation and capacity we are in, demand of us to do as Men, subjects, Christians and Englishmen; if we do this; if we turn from every evil way; and keep this fast as we are commanded; and are truly penitent for our sins, then

will the Lord be jealous for his Land and pity his people. The Lord will answer and say unto his people, behold I will send you corn, wine and oil; I will give you Victorys both by sea and Land and cover your heads In the day of Battle; before your face your enemies shall be much pained; and all people shall gather blackness: Your soldiers and those who fight your battles shall run Like mighty men, they shall climb the walls like men of Warr. They shall march every one In his ways and they shall not break your ranks. neither shall one thrust another, they shall walk every one In his path, and when they fall upon the sword they shall not be wounded. They shall run to and fro In the cities of your enemies; and the Lord will make your Armies to flee before them; he will drive them into a land barren and desolate; and their stink shall come up and your Ill savour, because they boasted of the great things they had done and the Invincibleness of your troops.

These and greater things than these the Lord will do for us and for our land if we live but suitable to our holy Religion and the fast we are commanded now to observe: The Lord has given us assurance of what he is not only able but willing to do for us already. We have seen Europe ready to be swallowed up; and the Remains of the Once famous Roman Empire once more ready to come under the subjection of the French; we have seen an Ambitious Prince plotting and fighting for the subversion of that government, he was sworn to defend; we have seen him ready to execute all that his Ambition could hope and we have seen him with a power answerable to effect all the Great and Golden designs he had formed to himself. We have seen him seconded and encouraged by [a] Prince that was never used to be baffled; by an Army that was never used to be beat, and commanded by Generals who allways returned with Laurels. And yet we have seen all those mighty hopes of Empire vanish and expire; we have seen Europe delivered, Germany saved; Bavaria lamenting the unreasonableness (and as the consequences of which) the misfortune of the prince and people. We have seen France envying the good fortune of England; cursing our better genius and drooping under the weight of Its own misfortunes. We have seen their generals made caged captives and brought Into our land; and their

withering Lilies carried through our street. And what was all this but An assurance that God will do such things again and more for us if we obey him, and turn from our evil ways to the practice as well as the knowledge of the truth? What was all this but an Argument that God had a favour unto us; and that If we obey him and serve him as we ought, repent us of our sins and turn unto the Lord our God, That he will be Jealous of our Land and take pity of our people; that he will preserve our constitution In church and state, Bless our most Gracious sovereign In all her designs for the good; and continue us a Happy and a free people: free from the reproach of unreasonable[ness], and superstition and the dominion of designing and idolotrous men. Free in our property and estates from tyranny In the state, and free In our conscience from spiritual slavery.

In the Lord then will do such great things for us upon our Repentence and ammendment. If our Lord shall be thus Happy by our discharging the duties of our most Holy Religion; If a hard fast and Humiliation will crown us with success In our undertakings, provide us with peace and plenty; If this will be the effects, if such will be the Issue of our humbling ourselves before God. If so, sure we cannot be backward in so necessary a point and what concerns us so nearly. We cannot shew a coldness and Indifferency upon such a day as this but pour out hearts before God in all the passionate eloquence of; we cannot but be zealous and warm in our petitions to God for success, as the woman in the Gospel was to our Saviour for relief to her daughter who was grievously vexed with a devil. And if we are to, the prophet assures us, that then (upon our sincere repentence) the Lord will be jealous of his land and pity his people.

Now that we may all contribute to this good work, that God may take care of us and assist with his providence; I shall mark out some of those things which God more especially is pleased with all, and which will engage him In a most particular manner to fight our Batles and to go abroad with our Armies; to be jealous of our Land, to watch over us for Good, and to pity our people.

First he expects that we should be very sincere in our serving of him; and those Religious duties we perform to pay him.

Secondly he expects we should be very constant in this our Acknowledgement of his majesty and greatness In begging his favour and Protection.

Thirdly he expects we should not only be sorry for our sins but perfectly forsake them.

And Lastly as the surest Infance and indication of our Repentance that we live holy and unblamable lives and excell In those works of charity his Gospel recommends, and the Christian Religion more Immediately requires.

And first In order to procure God's favour and assistance In our behalf to be Jealous of our land and to pity our people He expects we should be very sincere In our serving of him; and just in performing those Religious duties we pretend to pay him. And this is Intimated in the 12th and 13th verses of this chapter. Therefore also now says the Lord, turn ye unto me with all your hearts, and rent your heart and not your garments. That is be serious and unfeigned, let God have your hearts and your minds and desires and Inclinations, as well as your tongues and your bodies. For the meaning Is not that our services should be all spiritually, and no bodily worship paid him; no; It is not designed to forbid the latter but to prefer the former; so much to prefer It, that if one must be undone, the former Is of so great consequence, that provided this be done effectually, it matters not comparatively speaking whether the latter be done or not. It Is of the same nature with that of our Saviour cited from Hosea. I will have mercy and not sacrifice; he requires the one as well as the other but not In the same degree and measure, the one is the Weightier matters of the law which ought to be done In the first place the other Is only secondary to this, and therefore ought not to be left undone.

Now It Is an easy a very easy matter to pretend to serve God and to pay him homage. it Is easy to come to church and there pay our vows to him In the face of the congregation; to assemble on such days as this and confess our unworthiness In all the becoming postures of humble and penitent sinners; It easy I say to do this, but alas unless our hearts and souls

are sincerely affected with what we are about. This will be of no use or significancy to us. For it is not the form but the power of Godliness will engage God to us; It is not they cry to him Lord Lord, but that they do his will, shall have his assistance and protection. If our Devotion and worship doesn't proceed from a warm goal and a passionate regard to him; If It Is only putt on for form and fashion sake; if our fasting or assembling ourselves together Is not attended with real Intentions of service and repentance, if all our Actions and behaviour have nothing of real design, nothing but shew In them, this will never make God Jealous of our Land for Good, this will never make him pity, much as will it make his rescue and deliver his people. So far from him that nothing will provoke him sooner to give us over for a prey unto our enemies; that they may have dominion over us.

For this double dealing with God and dissimulation with him; Is such an affront and such an Insufferable peice of Insolence and Mockery that nothing can be more heinous and provoking, nothing more for this robs God of his nobles attributes and his brightest perfections; as a searcher of hearts, and a discoverer of such. For the Hypocrite and the flatterer must suppose that they can overreach those they act upon or els their design if lost; and It certainly Is a reproach and an argument of the weakness of his judgement that Is put upon, and Is deceived and abased by such pretexts. Now certainly they might think God such as One as themselves, that take his covenant in their mouth. and at the same time hate to be reformed, and cast his words behind them. They must entertain every mean and unworthy thoughts of God, They think to cheat him into their favour, and to come over his for his protection. They might think their own beyond his cunning; and think him defective in his foresight and skill.

The folly and the wickedness, the Absurdity and the ridiculousness of such trifling, Is apparently dangerous: The people of Judah felt the destructiveness of this sin; they honoured God with their lips and drew near to him with their mouth; but their heart was all the while far from him. this Mockery this dissimulation with God rendered all their worship Vain; and made all their endeavours of escape useless. This made the wisdom of

their wisemen to perish and the understanding of their prudent men to be hid: and if we do the same thing must we not expect the same condemnation; we cannot be so foolish, so stupidly Ignorant as to suppose that God Is able to be overreached; for as the Psalmist very truly argues, He that planted the ear shall not he hear? or he that made the eye shall not he see? or he that chastiseth the heathen It Is he that teacheth man knowledge, shall not be punish?

It is therefore vain very vain and foolish to think that any disguise can shelter us from his all seeing eye.. and If we expect any return of good from our present service and Devotion, if we expect any success to our Arms from the prayers we pour up to the throne of Grace, they must be the thoughts of our hearts as well as the words of our mouths, they must be endited by the soul as well as expressed by the tongue, We must be sincere In the duties of Religion we pretend to say, if we expect the Lord to be Jealous for our Land or to have any pity for our people. Secondly In order to this end, to procure the Lord to be Jealous of his land and to pity his people, He expects that we should be constant In this our Acknowledgement of his Majesty and Greatness In begging his favour and Protection. It Is not enough for us to appear zealous and warm once a year or so, as the state appoints, no we should have the same thoughts the same heart the same devout Inclinations all the year round we ought never to forget the majesty and greatness of God; [but] we ought to be always mindful of a being that Is so very near to every one of us: If we only beg his protection upon such days as this; That is only like a visit when we are tired at home and have nore other company. it is bounded within self love and has no manner of Regard to God or his Service, but as it derives a good and a benefit unto ourselves. And let anybody Judge what can a people reasonable expect, from so narrow a devotion? Is It not a tacit Implication that if we did [not] stand In need of God and have occasion for his assistance, we should need t[o] trouble ourselves about him or think of him at all. And most assuredly God will not, he cannot bless and do Good to such a people that are so careless and so very remiss. he expects and very Reasonably may he

expect It, that as we are daily protected by his providence so we should daily return him thanks for it; that as we cannot subsist one minute without his preservation so we should always beg the continuance of It, and own his power In our deliverance and safety: This is a debt upon us, Naturally Religion requires It and It Is one of those Principles that need not be proved because tis self evident and Demonstrative.

And therefore we ought to be constant In our services to God, In our petitions In behalf of the Queen and kingdom of this Land and people, because we have no other Protection but what comes from him; If we did not uphold us our constitution would fall to pieces, our Land become a prey to our Insulting neighbours and our people slaves and Heathen and Idolaters should have the rule over us. And though this day Is particularly sett apart for this purpose to humble ourselves before God and to beg a blessing upon our fleets and Armies, yet it Is not, it cannot be [] that this takes away the obligation at any other time. No, it must be understood otherwise that this is a duty Incumbent allways, upon us and the reason Is very plain, because we always stand In need of God's protection and favour; but more especially we are obliged now when engaged in a war that is so thretning to Europe; and so defective to Its Liberty in consequence of It; if god should forsake us and take the contrary part.

Thirdly God expects that we should be sorry for our sins our National as well as particular sins and utterly forsake them, if we hope for any countenance or releif from him or expect him to be Jealous for our Land and to pity our people. for as righteousness enableth a Nation, so sin Is the Reproach and will be the downfall and ruin of any people: It Is not consistent with the Justice of God to leave publick bodies and communities of men to be unpunished or unrewarded; for if they do not receive the reward of their Good Action or the punishment of the bad ones In this life, the God's Laws are Ineffectual and his Justice means nothing; for In the next world people shall not be Judged but according to their own words, and every one then shall bear his own burden. so that publick societys and combinations wherein men are now linked under several governments shall be then

dissolved. And therefore if there be any national sins, if we are guilty of any crimes against God as we are a people linked together In society those we must expect must be punished by the ruin of our Land, the decay of our trade, the expensiveness of war; or some other visible way of punishment, such as famine and want, storms and tempests or any other public calamity. These and such things as these we must expect, and God cannot help doing of it to us if we go on in our sins because he Is obliged by his Laws to reward Religious and virtuous nations with temporall Blessings and prosperity and to recompense evil and sinfull ones with calamities and sorrows.

It is true God does not all of a sudden bring his Judgement upon a nation; he Is unwilling to give a strict execution of his laws and sometimes delays, or gives warning In hopes they will repent as publickly as they sinned; but if this won't do, and they go on and fill up the measure of their Iniquity: then God makes bare his arm and gives them up to destruction: and to be sure the longer the punishment the heavier will the Judgement be, so much the more terrible and astonishing when it comes; the Greater our destruction and the more unavoidable our ruin.

And sure if any people, we have had warning enough to repent; and if after all this is come upon us we go on In our wickedness, what can we expect? What but Retribution and anguish, what but a fearful looking for of Judgement. What but Poverty and decay of trade; what but Provoking and losses; what but Jealousys and animosities among one another, What but folly In our wise Men; and lack of prudence In our men of understanding? What but War and rumor of wars. What but the burden of heavy taxes; and at last after all this, the ruin and dissolution of our most happy constitution; the overthrow of the Legal establishment. the eclipsing our church and giving the Lord's heritage to decay.

Let therefore every man examine his own conscience, let him debate the matter between God and himself, and turn from his evil ways and humble himself before God for the Nation's sake as well as his own. If private persons began a Reformation at home and

took care of your families, it would soon break abroad and shed its Influence In publick: and till that Is done we may talk, but I believe we shall hardly find a thorough reformation of Manners. For If people at home are under the security and carelessness of living that they never think of God or of prayer till the Bell puts them In mind, what mighty matters can we expect, What fruit of Repentance can we hope for; what zeal, what warmth for religion and the service of God. And therefore if we would be truly sorry for our sins. If we could be as Generally penitents as we were sinners, and without that It Is Impossible for us to engage God to our Quarrel; We must first begin at home; take care of ourselves and our families, and this by degrees will have a mighty Influence upon the neighbourhood and at last upon the Nation in General and be more effective and sure to procure the real Good and Reformation of the Nation then perhaps all the societies tho never so warm and zealous that you can think of.

In the last place the trust Influence and the best Indication of our repentance, Is that we live Holy and unblamable Lives, and excell In those works of charity which the Gospel recommends and the Christian Religion more Immediately requires.

And unless this Happens, all our Humiliations and fasting Is to no purpose: this Is the fruit by which not only we but God likewise will judge of the tree and if we bear proportionable to the care taken of us if our repentance breaks out in real Actions of Love and endearment of piety and devotion of benefice and bounty; if sobriety and temperance, if helping the weak, relieving the oppressed, of feeding the hungry, clothing the naked; if our outward Actions declare the Inward sense of our hear: If Vice and Irregularity are under subjection and rule, if our lusts are mortified and our passions governed; if the corrupt Inclinations of our nature are chequed and sin discountenaced and putt under Infamy and neglect: If Religion is cherished and encouraged if the solid and unaffected piety is maintained and practiced by us; If we have a conscience voyd of offence toward God and Man, If we are true and Just In all our dealing, if we deny ungodliness and wordly lusts, and live soberly righteously and Godly In this present world; I am empowered to promise

you that their God will be Jealous for his Land and pity his people. he will take care of you and be your safeguard and protection ag[ainst] all your enemies.

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Letters and Papers of Jacob Rice

Letters to SPG (SPG Letter Books)

1. Letter dated 20 November 1705, from Jacob Rice to Mr. Whitfield asking him to convey to the members of the Society the difficulties he is having in Newfoundland.
2. Letter dated 6 November 1711, from Jacob Rice to the Secretary of the SPG detailing his accomplishments since arriving in Newfoundland and requesting some additional supplies.
3. Letter dated 6 November 1711, from Jacob Rice to the Rev. Mr. Philip Stubbs in which he expresses his gratitude for what the SPG has done and asking that their support continue.

SPG Journals

1. 17 May 1704. William Foulkes and Phillip Phillips provide testimonials for Jacob Rice.
2. 21 June 1704. Latin testimonial to Jacob Rice.
3. 28 November 1705. Rice (at St. John's) complains of climate, people and army.
4. 18 May 1705. Letter from Lord Bishop of London recommending Jacob Rice be sent to Newfoundland.

5. 17 June 1705. SPG Secretary stated that qualifications of Rice had been examined but that he had not yet produced satisfactory "Testimonials" to receive official support of the SPG.

6. 17 August 1705. Request received from several merchants trading in Newfoundland that one or more clergy be appointed. Merchants promise to support said clergy.

7. 30 May 1709. SPG requests testimonials from Rice.

8. 19 August 1709. Petition received from Jacob Rice. Referred to next meeting.

9. 16 September 1709. SPG declines to offer official support to Rice.

10. 21 October 1709. Petition from Newfoundland Merchants asking that Rice be granted full support from SPG.

11. 14 November 1709. Letter from three members of the clergy in England testifying to the morality of Jacob Rice.

12. 18 January 1712. Letter from Rice requesting SPG support.

13. 12 February 1712. SPG discusses providing a gift of church furnishings to Rice in Newfoundland.

14. 10 October 1712. Rice complains that his requests have not been granted. Asks again.

15. Undated letter from Newfoundland merchants in support of Jacob Rice and requesting support from the SPG for him.

Fulham Papers at Lambeth Palace Library

1. 6 November 1711. Jacob Rice to Bishop Compton detailing his hardship in Newfoundland and asking for continued support.

2. 20 October 1712. Testimony of a military court in St. John's in which the members state their high estimation of Jacob Rice and their opinion that the inhabitants of St. John's have not been supporting him as they should.

3. 6 November 1712. Jacob Rice to Bishop Compton in which he indicates that there are some in Newfoundland who oppose him. He is having trouble getting his proper

allowance. An addition to the letter asks that the Bishop recognize the commander of a naval vessel who came to the assistance of Rice during the past year.

2. Archival Sources Pertaining to Newfoundland and the Church

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Selected Newfoundland Extracts 1667-1738 from the Calendar of State Papers at the P. R. O.

Correspondence of Rice's Predecessor, John Jackson

SPG Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library Relating to John Jackson

1. 11 May 1703. Letter from Bishop Compton to SPG asking aid for Jackson in St. John's.
2. 18 March 1704. Henry Newman writes to SPG Secretary stating that he has sent a parcel of newspapers to Jackson in Newfoundland, at the request of the SPG.
3. 7 September 1704. Bishop Compton asks that Jackson's allowance be paid to his agent.
4. 4 March 1705. Committee of SPG decides that Jackson is owed £60.
5. 17 May 1705. Mention is made that Jackson is being recalled from Newfoundland by the government.
6. 16 August 1706. Henry Newman writes to SPG Treasurer asking that Jackson be helped financially as he is presently unemployed.
7. 16 August 1706. Jackson writes to Newman requesting financial aid.
8. 20 September 1706. Society decides to give Jackson £10.
9. 17 October 1706. Jackson writes SPG asking for aid.

10. 20 December 1706. Jackson requests aid.
11. 23 December 1706. Jackson requests aid.
12. 17 January 1707. Archbishop of Canterbury is asked to present Jackson's case to the Lord Keeper.
13. 3 March 1707. Jackson requests aid.
14. 21 March 1707. Jackson asks Secretary to find out if the Archbishop has spoken to the Lord Keeper about him.
15. 16 July 1708. Jackson requests aid.
16. 21 October, 1709. Jackson requests aid.

CO 194 v. 22-23
 Original Correspondence B 214
 Secretary of State
 v. 22 Nfld. 1702-1710.

1. Letter to Colonial Office from Jackson dated 7 October 1704 in which he complains of the "knavery committed" in these "forraigne parts."
2. Jackson's name appears on a list of names signed to a letter dated 20 September 1704 to Colonial Office expressing concern about number of soldiers deserting.
3. Letter of 18 January 1705 from John Jackson to Colonial Office complaining of behavior of Lt. Thomas. Lloyd.
4. Letter of Jackson to Charles Hedges(?), one of H.M. Chief Secretaries of State. Jackson writes about the state of the garrison, the state of trade in general, and abuses. It is dated 7 February 1705.

CO 194 v. 3-4 1703-10

1. Letter of 23 March 1705 from John Jackson to the Right Honourable Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in which he states he will reply to a letter of theirs to the Bishop of London dated 14 November 1705 accusing Jackson of wrongdoing.
2. Letter from John Jackson to the Right Honourable Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in which he refers to a "paper" sent to Her Majesty from St. John's dated 20

November 1705. He says only one name on the list is from St. John's and the others are false.

3. Letter from John Jackson to the Right Honourable Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations dated 23 March 1705 in response to letter of 17 November 1705 from Commander's of Ships in which they give thanks for *Major* Lloyd's return. Jackson says the men who signed had never been in St. John's while Lloyd was there so they are not familiar with his practices.

4. Letter from John Jackson to the Right Honourable Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations dated 2 April 1706. He is now in England and says he was not paid last year in Newfoundland because he could not find anyone in power to support him. He asks that the inhabitants who owe him fish be required to pay him.

CO 194 v.2
D (190, 191)

1. A letter from Jackson complaining about his treatment at the hands of the military authorities and the people of St. John's. Dated September 1701.

CO 194/2
D 202

1. Letter from the Bishop of London conveying the grievances of Jackson to the government. Received 31 December 1701.

CO 194/2
D. 203

1. Letter from Captain Powel at Newfoundland, dated 9 November 1701 with a petition from the soldiers asking that they not have to contribute to the upkeep of Jackson.

2. Letter from John Perry(?) stating that Jackson had been badly treated by the soldiers and officers.

3. Letter of 26 May 1704 from John Thurston in Newfoundland indicating difficulty in getting the soldiers to contribute toward Jackson.

CO 194/3
(306)

1. Letter from Popple to Burchett, dated 3 June 1703, referring to complaints made to the Bishop of London that the soldiers in Newfoundland are disrespectful to Jackson.

CO 194

Vol. 2D

Frame #234ff (CSP 207. FC of T & P. to the Queen)

1. Refers to complaint from John Jackson regarding ill usage received from Capt. Powell and Samuel Francis (forwarded by Bishop of London) requesting one or both men be removed.

CSP 1702 # 194 (Journal of C. of T. & P.)

1. Regarding petition from soldiers to be discharged from contributing to maintenance of a Minister. (cannot find date)

CO 194 v.3 1703-1706 p. 75? #23

1. Letter from Jackson in which he complains, among other things, of the poor quality of his house.

2. Letter from Jackson, read 9 January 1704, discussing a mutiny among the soldiers.

3. Letter of 21 July 1704, from captains and certain inhabitants of St. John's attesting to the good character of John Jackson.

4. Lengthy letter by Jackson, dated 16 January 1706, giving his view of the behaviour of Lieutenants Lloyd and Moody.

CO 194/3 (F)

Page 88

1. Letter from Mr. Jackson to Commodore Bridge of 20 September 1704 relating to a house for his residence.

Nfld. Microfilm 567 (1)

p. 107

The SPG Journal Vol. 1

1. 21 May 1703. SPG resolves to assist Jackson financially.

2. 16 April 1703. Discussion of Jackson's state of affairs.

Selected Newfoundland Extracts 1667-1738 from Calendar of State Papers at the P.R.O.
(From the collection of Dr. Gordon Handcock.)

Colonial Papers 1702-3

10 December 1703. Jackson's name signed to a letter asking for increased protection from the French.

1706 p. 588 iv. {301}

Affidavit of John Davis, Naval Commander, stating that Dr. Jackson drank to the "confusion of Capt. Michael Richards, and became intoxicated,"

p. 588 v.

Inhabitants of St. John's to Commander Underdown. Reasons for not paying Mr. Jackson his allowance of fish are: "his coarse and cruel behavior. He has always sowed discord among the inhabitants and goaded the soldiers to mutiny etc."

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