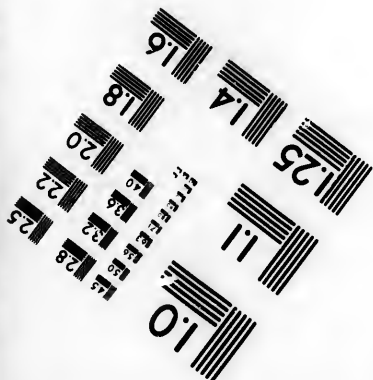
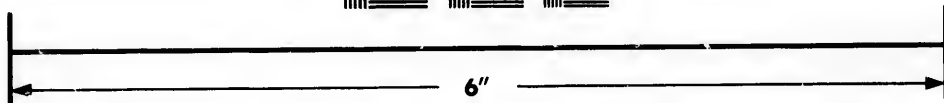
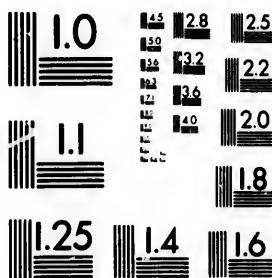


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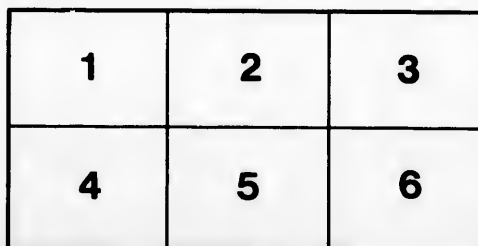
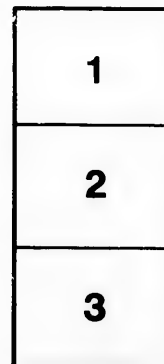
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A
PARAPHRASE ^{by} *Amos*
ON
A PASSAGE
IN
A SERMON

PREACHED BY THE

Most Reverend Dr. MARKHAM,

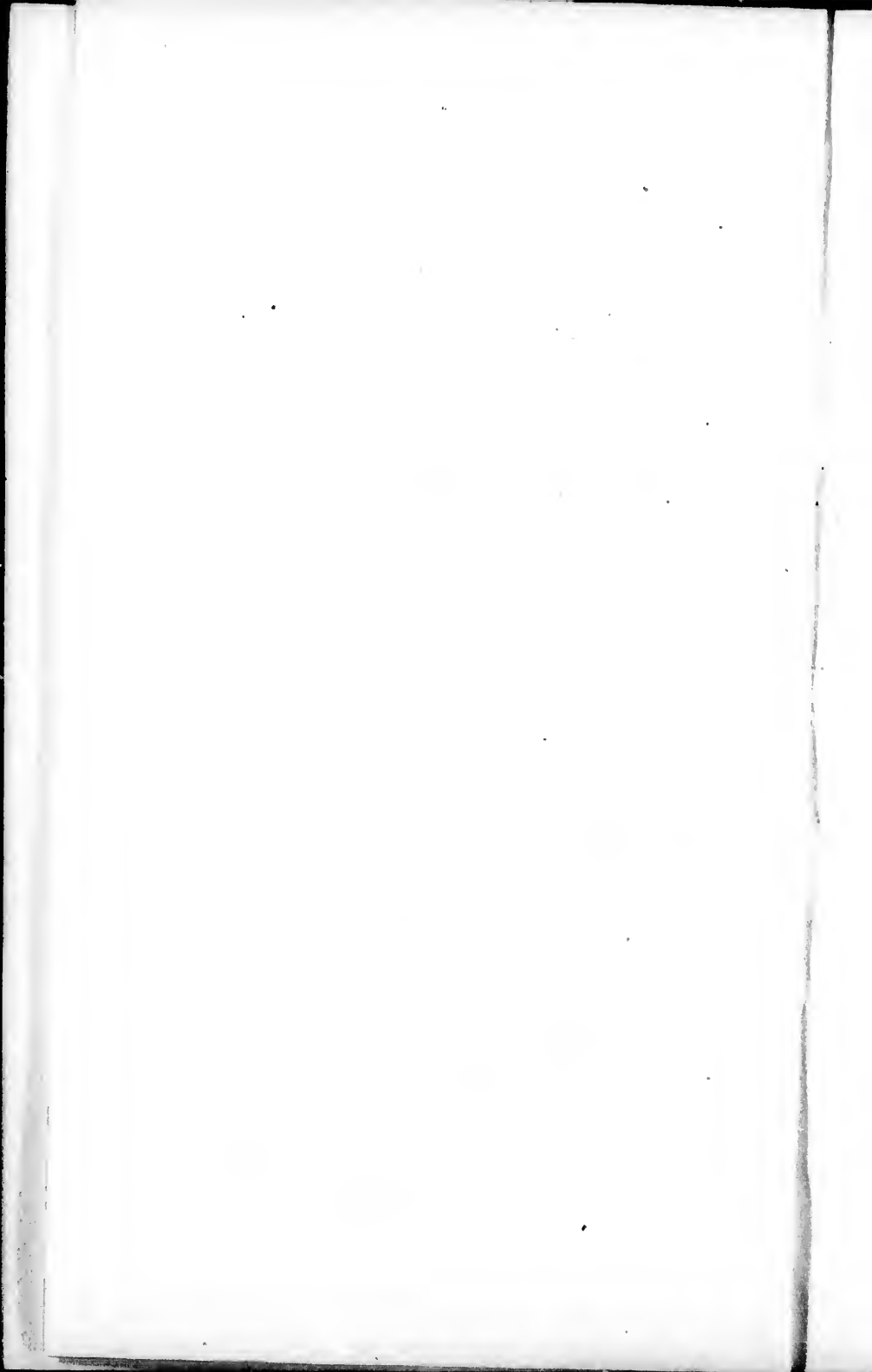
ARCHBISHOP of YORK,

BEFORE THE

Society for Propagating the Gospel,

On the 21st of FEBRUARY, 1777;

When it was expected by the Persons who had
advised the American War, that the re-
volted Colonies in America would soon
be intirely subdued, and reduced
to the obedience of the
British Parliament.



A

PARAPHRASE, &c.

THE Passage itself, which is here intended to be paraphrased, is in these words. “ *Our prospects indeed have been long dark. We may now, perhaps, discover a ray of brightness. But for the continuance and increase of it we must rely on the wisdom of our Governours; in confidence that Necessity will at last provide those remedies which Foresight did not; that the dependance of the colonies may be no longer nominal. And, for our Spiritual interests, we hope the reasoning which was so just in the case of Canada, “ That, if*

B “ you

“ you allowed their religion, you must allow
 “ a maintenance for their Clergy,” will be
 “ thought at least equally strong when it
 “ pleads for our own Church: that those
 “ who are disposed to worship God in peace
 “ and charity, may be thought entitled to a
 “ regular and decent support for their mi-
 “ nisters;----that they may not continue to
 “ want the important office of Confirmation;
 “ without the benefit of which even a tolera-
 “ tion is not compleat;---and those who have
 “ a call to the ministry may not be obliged to
 “ seek ordination at an expence which is very
 “ grievous, and with the hazards of a long
 “ voyage which has been already fatal to
 “ many of them. We have surely a right
 “ to expect, that the only established Church
 “ should not, against all example, remain in
 “ a state of oppression, and that, whatever
 “ encouragements may be afforded, they should
 “ rather be for the professing it than
 “ against it.

“ As

*" As to what relates to the delinquents,
 " we, for our parts, should wish to say,
 " Go, and sin no more." But the interests
 " of great states require securities that are
 " not precarious."*

This passage is expressed in smooth and
 plausible language: but it contains a va-
 riety of most bitter propositions. I pre-
 sume it may be fairly paraphrased in the
 following manner.

*" Our prospects of reducing the rebel
 " Americans to an unconditional submis-
 " sion to the authority of the mother-
 " country, since the breaking out of the
 " present troubles, have, till lately, been
 " but gloomy. Their armies had invaded
 " and reduced all Canada to their obedi-
 " ence, in the winter of the year 1775,
 " except the single town of Quebeck;---
 " and had blocked up General Howe,*

“ with all the British troops that were
 “ then in New-England, within the town
 “ of Boston during the same winter, and
 “ had at last obliged him to abandon it
 “ in the month of March of the follow-
 “ ing year 1776, and fly with his army to
 “ Halifax in Nova Scotia;----and they
 “ had repulsed the British fleet and army
 “ under the command of General Clinton
 “ and Sir Peter Parker, in an attempt
 “ they made in the same year to possess
 “ themselves of Charles Town in South
 “ Carolina:---Infomuch that, about half
 “ a year ago, neither his Majesty’s troops
 “ nor those subjects of his Majesty in
 “ America who had preserved their alle-
 “ giance to him, possessed a single foot of
 “ land throughout all the thirteen re-
 “ volted colonies. But now of late the
 “ fortune of the war has begun to change.
 “ A ray of brightness has broke forth in
 “ the successes of the army under Sir
 “ William

“ William Howe in New-York and New-
 “ Jersey, and of that under General Bur-
 “ goyne and General Carleton in Canada.
 “ The siege of Quebeck has been raised,
 “ and the whole of that extensive province
 “ recovered, by the latter generals; and
 “ the principal army of the rebel Ameri-
 “ cans has been defeated by General Howe
 “ in Long Island; and they have been
 “ since driven from their fortified posts
 “ at New-York and King’s Bridge, and
 “ from their forts near Hudson’s river;
 “ and great part of the provinces of
 “ New-York and New-Jersey has been
 “ reduced to the obedience of the British
 “ Crown: And, from the precipitate
 “ manner in which the American army
 “ has every where fled before the British
 “ troops, there is good ground to hope
 “ that in the course of one more campaign,
 “ the whole appearance of resistance to the
 “ authority of Great-Britain in America
 “ will

" will be at an end. *Then* will be the
 " time for *confirming* and *rivet*ting the
 " dominion of the mother country over
 " those turbulent and ungrateful depend-
 " encies, by making such wise and effec-
 " tual civil regulations as shall prevent a
 " return of the present disturbances;---
 " regulations which ought to have been
 " made long ago by the government of
 " Great-Britain, if that government had
 " had a proper degree of foresight and
 " attention to the seditious and republican
 " principles that had long prevailed in
 " those colonies, and to the mischiefs
 " which those principles were likely one
 " day to produce. They will, however,
 " be now made at last, since the want of
 " them has been so fatally experienced.
 " The dependance of those colonies on
 " Great-Britain will be no longer *nominal*,
 " but *real* and *strong* and *permanent*, in
 " consequence of these new regulations
 " which

“ which Necessity will have taught the
 “ British government at length to esta-
 “ blish.

“ What these regulations will be, can-
 “ not yet be known with certainty. But,
 “ from the measures which the wisdom
 “ of Parliament has already adopted with
 “ respect to some parts of North-Ame-
 “ rica, we may conjecture that they will
 “ not be very different from these that
 “ follow.

“ In the first place the democratical
 “ charters of Connecticut and Rhode-
 “ Island (which vest in the people of
 “ those provinces the right of annually
 “ chusing their own governours, councils,
 “ and assemblies without any interference
 “ of the crown,) will be either totally
 “ abolished, as absurd and incompatible
 “ with the genius of the British govern-
 “ ment,

“ ment, (which, though in some respects
 “ limited, is, in its essence and principle;
 “ monarchical,) or will be greatly altered
 “ by the wisdom of the British legisla-
 “ ture, and rendered more dependant on
 “ the crown, as the charter of that other,
 “ and most turbulent, province of *New-*
 “ *England*, the Massachusetts Bay, (though
 “ less democratical than the two former,)
 “ was in the year 1774 by the advice of
 “ those eminent statesmen, Lord North
 “ and Lord George Germaine.*

“ In the second place the proprietary
 “ governments of Pennsylvania and Mary-
 “ land will most probably be also corrected
 “ by the same wise and supreme legisla-
 “ ture; and the powers of government
 “ which are vested by the charters of those
 “ colonies in the heirs of William Penn

* See Almon's Parliamentary Debates for the year 1774, pages 116 — 122.

“ and

“ and Lord Baltimore, (the founders of
 “ them,) resumed into the king’s hands,
 “ upon reasonable compensations in honour
 “ and profit made to the said heirs for the
 “ loss of those hereditary jurisdictions, and
 “ will be annexed perpetually to the crown ;
 “ from which they ought never to have
 “ been separated. This measure we may
 “ consider as almost sure of being adopted
 “ in the new regulation of the American
 “ colonies that is now in contemplation,
 “ on account of its indispensable import-
 “ ance towards establishing that depend-
 “ ance of those colonies on Great-Britain
 “ which is so much the object of our
 “ wishes.

“ And, thirdly, we may suppose that in
 “ the said province of Pennsylvania, (in
 “ which hitherto, Can you believe it ?
 “ there has been no council to ballance
 “ and controul the assembly elected by the
 C “ people,)

“ people,) the wisdom of parliament will
 “ think it necessary to establish a council
 “ that shall be composed of persons of the
 “ greatest weight and dignity in the pro-
 “ vince, to be nominated by the crown,
 “ and who shall also be removeable at the
 “ pleasure of the crown. And it seems
 “ probable also that the number of coun-
 “ sellors so to be appointed will be made
 “ variable at the pleasure of the crown be-
 “ tween the numbers of *twelve* counsellors
 “ and *thirty-six*, or some other pretty distant
 “ limits; so that the king, in his royal
 “ wisdom, may, at any time, either add
 “ to, or take from, the said council a great
 “ number of members, whenever he shall
 “ think the members already belonging to
 “ it not sufficiently attentive to the mainte-
 “ nance of his royal prerogative. For this
 “ has been already done with respect to
 “ the new council established in the
 “ Massachusset's Bay by the late judicious
 “ act

“ act for amending their charter, which
 “ was passed in the year 1774 by the ad-
 “ vice of the aforesaid great statesmen.

“ In the fourth place we may hope that
 “ all the judges and sheriffs, and other
 “ officers of justice in the several provin-
 “ ces in America, will be made compleat-
 “ ly dependant on the crown, so as to be
 “ both nominated by the king, and remove-
 “ able by him at his pleasure, instead of
 “ either being elected by the people (as
 “ they now are in some of the colonies
 “ by virtue of their unfortunate charters,)
 “ or of being appointed by the crown in
 “ a permanent manner, or during their
 “ lives or good behaviour, as the judges
 “ are appointed here in England. And at
 “ the same time we may presume that the
 “ British parliament, or the crown, will
 “ take care to increase the salaries of these
 “ judges and other officers of justice in

“ every province, so as to make their offi-
 “ ces become objects of ambition and
 “ competition to all the most able and
 “ active lawyers in the province, who will
 “ thereby be induced to vie with each
 “ other in duty and loyalty to the king’s
 “ majesty, and in zeal for the maintenance
 “ of his royal prerogative, in order to ob-
 “ tain them. This will be a most useful
 “ regulation, and cannot fail of producing
 “ the best effects : and it has been already
 “ adopted in the important province of
 “ the Massachusets Bay with respect to the
 “ judges of the superiour court there.

“ In the fifth place we may surely ex-
 “ pect that the British government will
 “ greatly increase the number of officers
 “ employed in the collection of the cus-
 “ toms in America and in enforcing the
 “ execution of the laws of trade amongst
 “ them, which have hitherto been most
 “ shamefully

“ shamefully evaded. This will be doubly
 “ useful ; inasmuch as it will not only
 “ tend to produce the just and full execu-
 “ tion of those laws, but will create a new
 “ set of persons dependant on the crown
 “ and disposed to support its prerogative.
 “ This has already been done in some de-
 “ gree by erecting the Board of Commis-
 “ sioners of Customs for North-America,
 “ with handsome salaries of 500l. a year
 “ apiece. But much more of the same
 “ kind remains to be done in order to give
 “ this measure its full and proper effect.

“ In the sixth place it seems by no
 “ means improbable that a most judicious
 “ piece of policy which has lately been
 “ adopted with respect to the great pro-
 “ vince of Quebeck, may be extended to
 “ the other provinces of North-America :
 “ I mean the measure of annexing a salary
 “ of 100l. sterling a year to the office of
 “ a coun-

“ a counsellor of the province, or member
 “ of its legislative council. For it is ob-
 “ vious that such a measure, if extended
 “ to those other provinces, would greatly
 “ contribute to keep the members of the
 “ several councils of them in a habit of
 “ constant fidelity and attachment to the
 “ interests of the crown and of Great-
 “ Britain.

“ In the seventh place it will evidently
 “ be proper to build forts, or citadels, in
 “ all the principal towns of North-Ame-
 “ rica, and likewise at the mouths of all
 “ the principal rivers there; more espe-
 “ cially at Boston, New-York, Philadel-
 “ phia, Albany in the province of New-
 “ York, and Charles-Town in South-Caro-
 “ lina, and at the mouths of the rivers
 “ Connecticut, Hudson, and Delaware;—
 “ and to keep up strong garrisons in them;
 “ —in order to curb the licentiousness
 “ of

“ of the people, and to keep them in that
 “ state of peace and subjection to the crown
 “ to which we have reason to hope they
 “ will soon be reduced. The number of
 “ troops requisite for this salutary purpose
 “ will, I presume, be about thirty thou-
 “ sand men.

“ Without this, very important, mea-
 “ sure it would not be possible to carry the
 “ former measures into execution ; — at
 “ least till the people of those provinces
 “ had become habituated to the new kind
 “ of government established over them,
 “ and had formed their hopes, and views,
 “ and sentiments, accordingly. This mea-
 “ sure is therefore indispensably necessary,
 “ that the dependance of the colonies on
 “ Great-Britain may be no longer nomi-
 “ nal, as, by the supine conduct of for-
 “ mer ministers of state, it has been hi-
 “ therto.

“ And

“ And, as the foregoing regulations,
 “ and more especially the last, will evi-
 “ dently require a very considerable sum
 “ of money to be every year expended by
 “ government ; and it is but reasonable
 “ that the Americans should pay this mo-
 “ ney, which their own ingratitude and
 “ obstinacy will have made it necessary for
 “ Great-Britain to expend upon them ; —
 “ and the produce of the few port-duties
 “ now subsisting in America will be much
 “ too small to defray this great expence :
 “ —it will be necessary in the eighth place
 “ that the parliament of Great-Britain
 “ should establish some further port-duties
 “ in America, to be applied to the fore-
 “ going purposes, or to the support of the
 “ new civil and military establishment
 “ which will be made there. — And per-
 “ haps also it will be thought expedient
 “ to lay some reasonable and equitable in-
 “ ternal tax on the Americans in aid of
 “ the

“ the said port-duties, which might hardly
 “ by themselves be sufficient to defray the
 “ whole expence of so large an establishment.
 “ Such, for example, might be another
 “ stamp-duty, upon the plan of that which
 “ was laid upon the Americans by the Bri-
 “ tish parliament in the year 1765, and too
 “ hastily, and most unhappily, taken off in
 “ the following year 1766 ; and which, by
 “ the confession of the Americans them-
 “ selves, was the most judicious internal tax
 “ that could be imposed upon them, if
 “ (say they) it had been right to impose
 “ any at all. This tax, therefore, might
 “ be again imposed upon the Americans;
 “ after the appeal to the decision of
 “ the Almighty, which the Americans
 “ have made concerning the right of the
 “ British parliament to govern them, shall
 “ have been determined against them ;
 “ as we may hope it will now soon be.
 “ And, if this tax should be again imposed

“ on them, it will probably be necessary
 “ to double the quantity of it, on account
 “ of the great excess of the expence of the
 “ new American establishment, (which the
 “ rebellious conduct of the Americans will
 “ have rendered necessary,) above that
 “ which was thought sufficient at the time
 “ of the former stamp-act.

“ These, and other such, measures will
 “ probably be thought by the British par-
 “ liament to be the proper and necessary
 “ remedies for the seditious disorders of
 “ America, and will, therefore, no doubt,
 “ be applied without delay, in order to
 “ preserve a *real*, and *not a nominal*, de-
 “ pendence of those colonies on Great-
 “ Britain. And thus the *temporal* affairs
 “ of that country will now speedily be
 “ arranged.

“ But what more immediately demands
 “ the attention, and, no doubt, must ex-
 “ cite

“ cite the concern of the congregation
 “ here assembled, is the *state of religion* in
 “ those provinces; which, it must be con-
 “ fessed, has hitherto been too little at-
 “ tended to by the government of Great-
 “ Britain. But now we may justly hope
 “ this fault will be repaired, and that such
 “ measures will be adopted, in favour of
 “ the pure and holy church of which we
 “ are members, as shall effectually establish
 “ and support it throughout all America.
 “ These, we may presume, will be as fol-
 “ lows.

“ In the first place parliament will now,
 “ at last, establish tythes, or some other
 “ legal payment, in the colonies of Ameri-
 “ ca, for the maintenance of the clergy of
 “ the church of England that are settled
 “ in it. This seems so highly reasonable
 “ that it is almost a matter of strict justice.
 “ For it is no more than what has been

“ done in Canada, by the late Quebeck-act,
 “ in favour of the clergy of the church of
 “ Rome, upon this equitable principle,
 “ That, if the British government allowed
 “ the religion of the Roman-catholicks to
 “ be professed in that province, (which,
 “ by the capitulation in 1760 and the
 “ treaty of peace in 1763, it seemed bound
 “ in justice to do) they must also provide a
 “ maintenance for their priests.” “ Now,
 “ surely, the same principle may be applied
 “ to our own church, and will prove that,
 “ since it is necessary to allow the religion
 “ of the church of England to be professed
 “ in the other colonies of North-America,
 “ it is also necessary to provide a mainte-
 “ nance for its ministers.

“ Nor ought these payments for the
 “ maintenance of the ministers of the
 “ church of England to be made only by
 “ those persons who are members of the
 “ church

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“ church. This would be much too nar-
 “ row a fund for the decent and honourable
 “ support of that denomination of protestants
 “ who may be called the *only established church*
 “ in all America. In consequence of this
 “ pre-eminence of our holy church above
 “ all the sectarian persuasions in religion,
 “ (which indeed are but too frequent and
 “ numerous in those provinces, but which,
 “ in a legal consideration, are *only tolerated*
 “ in them, and *not established*; any more than
 “ they are here in England,) it is fit and
 “ just that a general contribution should
 “ be made for the maintenance of its mi-
 “ nisters by all the inhabitants of America
 “ without distinction, even as here in Eng-
 “ land presbyterians, and quakers, and
 “ other dissenters from the established
 “ church are obliged to pay tythes to its
 “ ministers. For those who are disposed
 “ to worship God in peace and charity,
 “ that is, the members of the church of
 “ England,

“ England, are *intitled* to a regular and
 “ decent support for their ministers.

“ In the second place, it may be hoped
 “ that the parliament will make use of the
 “ present glorious opportunity *to establish*
 “ *bishops in America*. This is a measure
 “ of the utmost consequence to both the
 “ laity and the clergy of the church of
 “ England in America; — to the laity,
 “ that they may not want the important
 “ office of confirmation; without the be-
 “ nefit of which even a toleration of the
 “ church of England is not compleat: —
 “ and to the young men who devote them-
 “ selves to the ministry of the gospel, by
 “ affording them an opportunity of receiv-
 “ ing episcopal ordination in the country
 “ in which they have been born and edu-
 “ cated, without being forced, (as they
 “ have been hitherto,) to come to England
 “ for that purpose, at an expence which
 “ they

“ they can ill support, and with the hazard
 “ of their healths and lives in a long sea-
 “ voyage, which has been already fatal to
 “ many of them. Till this important
 “ measure is adopted, and carried into ef-
 “ fectual execution, by establishing a pro-
 “ per number of bishops in America with
 “ revenues suitable to the dignity of their
 “ office and station, the church of England
 “ (though it is, in point of *right and law*,
 “ the only established church in America,)
 “ may be truly said to be *in fact* in a state
 “ of persecution or oppression, while every
 “ other denomination of protestants enjoys
 “ the highest degree of liberty: which is
 “ an event of a singular nature, and con-
 “ trary to the example of all other govern-
 “ ments in the world; as *they* always take
 “ care to provide suitable encouragements
 “ and supports for the several religions
 “ they think fit to adopt and establish. It
 “ is fit therefore that England should, at
 “ last,

“ last, follow the same just policy, and
 “ that every encouragement that the British
 “ government can afford to any religion in
 “ America should be afforded to that of
 “ the church of England.

“ As to what relates to the persons who
 “ have engaged in this wicked and unnatu-
 “ ral rebellion, we, that are ministers of
 “ the gospel of peace and mercy, should,
 “ if we were to follow the inclinations of
 “ our hearts, rejoice to see those offenders
 “ discharged, at the close of these troubles,
 “ with no other punishment, or reproof,
 “ but our Saviour’s exhortation to the wo-
 “ man taken in adultery, “ *Go and sin no*
 “ *more.*” “ But policy and prudence for-
 “ bid so mild a conduct, and make it ne-
 “ cessary to the future safety and tranquillity
 “ of the state, that many of those who
 “ have been most guilty in exciting this
 “ rebellion in America should receive due
 “ punish-

“ punishment for their crimes by the sen-
 “ tence of those laws which they have so
 “ wantonly and atrociously violated. The
 “ members of the continental congress in
 “ particular, who have passed the vote of
 “ independance, and thereby themselves
 “ renounced, and instigated their country-
 “ men to renounce, the allegiance due to
 “ the king’s sacred majesty, must be con-
 “ sidered as having offended beyond all
 “ hopes of mercy; which, if it were ex-
 “ tended to offenders of that deep malig-
 “ nity, might be justly censured as weak
 “ and dangerous and injurious to the pub-
 “ lick welfare. For it would counter-act
 “ the good effects of the successes with
 “ which God hath been pleased to bless
 “ our arms in this unhappy contest, and
 “ would render precarious the future peace
 “ and tranquillity of the American colonies;
 “ and the future authority of Great-Britain
 “ over them, (by which alone that tran-
 E “ quillity

“quillity can be preserved,) by preventing
 “the existence of the strongest of all secu-
 “rities for the continuance of those bless-
 “ings, to wit, the terror arising from the
 “sight and memory of a severe and exten-
 “sive execution of the laws against those
 “who have so wickedly overthrown them.
 “These very great offenders, therefore,—
 “together with the principal members of
 “the several provincial assemblies, or con-
 “ventions, that have usurped the govern-
 “ment of their respective provinces since
 “the general rejection of his Majesty’s law-
 “ful authority,—we must now prepare
 “ourselves to see punished in the man-
 “ner the laws direct, in order to insure
 “to future generations the advantages
 “of peace and harmony between Great-
 “Britain and the American colonies, with
 “a due subordination of the latter to
 “the parental authority of the former,
 “which, by God’s blessing on his Ma-
 “jesty’s

“ jesty’s arms are likely now soon to be
 “ established.”

This I take to be a fair and moderate interpretation of the above-mentioned passage of the Archbishop of York’s sermon. The seven propositions, or regulations, herein before distinctly set forth in the first part of the foregoing paraphrase, are those which I conceived, upon reading the said passage of that sermon, the archbishop must have had in his mind at the time he wrote it, and would have set forth and avowed, if he had been under a necessity of pointing out distinctly *what those remedies* of the political disorders in America *were*, which, he says, Necessity will now at last provide, though Foresight did not. And I am confident that no American that reads that sermon, will conceive it to mean less. — And, as to the latter propositions concerning the state of the church of England in
 E 2 America,

America, and the necessity of establishing tythes there, or some other legal and general payments, (to be made by all the inhabitants of America, as well as by the members of the church of England,) for the maintenance of the clergy of the church of England, and likewise of establishing bishops there;— I say, as to these latter propositions, they are expressly contained in the archbishop's own words, which cannot be made intelligible, or consistent with themselves, by any other interpretation. — Nor can the last paragraph of the aforesaid passage of the archbishop's sermon, in which he says concisely, "*That the interests of great states require securities that are not precarious,*" be well supposed to have a less extensive meaning than that which is above ascribed to it.

There is also another very remarkable passage in that sermon of the archbishop of
 York,

York, which relates to a most respectable body of people here in England itself; I mean the protestant dissenters. These people have so far incurred his grace's displeasure, by expressing a disapprobation of the measures that have been taken against America, that he treats them as the worst enemies of government, and declares that the severe laws which were formerly made against papists in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James I. in consequence of their frequent plots to dethrone and assassinate the former, and of the famous gunpowder plot in the beginning of the reign of the latter, (by which they designed to destroy at once the king and both houses of parliament,) ought now to be extended to these new, but equally dangerous, domestick enemies. The passage in which this sentiment is conveyed, is in these words. "*When a sect is established, it usually becomes a party in the state: it has*"

" its

" its interests; it has its animosities; toge-
 " ther with a system of civil opinions, by
 " which it is distinguished, at least as much
 " as by its religious. Upon these opinions,
 " when contrary to the well-being of the com-
 " munity, the authority of the state is pro-
 " perly exercised.

" The laws enacted against papists have
 " been extremely severe: but they were not
 " founded on any difference in religious sen-
 " timents. The reasons upon which they were
 " founded were purely political.

" The papists acknowledged a sovereignty
 " different from that of the state; and some
 " of the opinions which they maintained made
 " it impossible for them to give any security
 " for their obedience. We are usually go-
 " verned by traditional notions, and are apt
 " to receive the partialities and aversions of
 " our fathers. But new dangers may arise:
 " and,

*" and, if at any time another denomination
 " of men should be equally dangerous to our
 " civil interests, it would be justifiable to lay
 " them under similar restraints."*

I presume it can hardly be doubted that the meaning of the last sentence of this passage, when turned into still plainer English, is as follows. " The presbyterians and other protestant dissenters of England are at this day as much enemies to government, and as dangerous to our civil interests, as the papists were in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James I. when those severe laws were made against them. Therefore it is now equally just and necessary to make the like laws against the said protestant dissenters."

This is a strange accusation to be brought against that body of men in England
 land

land who have, of all others, been most uniformly and zealously attached to the government of the princes of the house of Hanover, ever since the first moment of their accession to the throne of these kingdoms! — and for no other crime but expressing a disapprobation of the wild and dangerous project of attempting to govern three millions of people, at the distance of three thousand miles, in a manner they did not like, by means of a great army composed in part of hired foreigners; — a project which was likely to be almost equally pernicious to Great-Britain, whether it did, or did not, succeed. For, if it had succeeded, it would have increased the power and influence of the crown (which are already generally thought to be too great,) in so great a degree as to have rendered the liberties of England itself precarious, or dependant on the personal character and virtues of the king upon the throne;

throne, and it would likewise have occasioned a prodigious additional annual expence to Great-Britain, to maintain the army which would have been necessary to keep America in subjection, after it had been subdued; — an expence which would have far exceeded all the taxes that could be raised for that purpose in America, together with all the profits that Great-Britain could have derived from the preservation and monopoly of its trade. And, if it did not succeed, (which was much the more likely event, and that which, we now see and feel, has happened,) it was likely to be attended with the total loss of the colonies of North-America, (which would in such a case make themselves independent of Great-Britain,) together with that of the West-India islands, and the Newfoundland fishery, and, (in consequence of these losses) with the diminution of our trade and maritime power, the decrease

Of the produce of the customs and excise, the lessening of the security of the national debt, and the necessity, at the same time, of continually laying on new taxes, which must, in such a state of things, be principally levied upon the landed property of the kingdom. All these misfortunes, and more, were likely to be the consequence of the failure of success in this attempt to subjugate America. And that this attempt would fail of success, was easily foreseen, and publickly and repeatedly foretold, not only by many of the protestant dissenters of the kingdom, but by numbers of people of other descriptions in it, who thought it highly improbable that France (notwithstanding her professions of friendship and fidelity to her engagements with Great-Britain,) would forbear to interfere in favour of the colonies in one period or other of the dispute, in order to prevent the reconciliation and re-union of those two great members

members of the British empire, and (to use Dr. Franklyn's expression in his memorial to the court of France in the autumn of the year 1777,) *to improve the most favourable opportunity that had ever been offered her, of humbling her most powerful and hereditary enemy.* And now the event has shewn that this apprehension was but too well grounded. It ought not therefore to be imputed as a crime to the protestant dissenters of the kingdom, that they opposed that impolitick system of measures which, they saw, was likely to bring ruin on the nation and deprive his Majesty of a great and most flourishing part of his dominions ;—and much less ought it to be considered as a crime of so deep a dye as to warrant the very severe measures which the archbishop recommends to be taken against them, of treating them as a set of people who, by principle, are enemies to the constitution of their country, and of extending to

them, on that account, the laws formerly made against papists.

As for the other event of this attempt to subjugate America, I mean the successful one, the archbishop himself has furnished all lovers of civil liberty with the most substantial reasons for wishing that it might not happen, by displaying to them the system of measures which, he thinks, in that event, ought to have been, and would have been, adopted, by those who direct the publick counsel of this nation, for the future regulation of America, to wit, the system which is contained in the first passage above-recited from his grace's sermon, and of which I have ventured in the foregoing pages to furnish the reader with a paraphrase. For, if America had been perfectly subdued, and reduced, (as the fashionable expression was,) to *unconditional submission*, and, in consequence of
such

such reduction, the aforesaid system of measures, (which are described in the above paraphrase, and which I conceive to have been those which the archbishop must have had in his eye when he preached that sermon,) had been adopted by the British parliament; I must freely confess that I should have thought it a greater misfortune than even the contrary, and more probable, event, which has happened, with all the train of melancholy consequences that seem likely to accompany it; such as the loss of all our possessions both in North-America and the West-Indies, together with that of the Newfoundland fishery (though so valuable to us as a nursery for seamen,) and that of Gibraltar and Minorca, and of all our possessions in Africa and the East-Indies. These, I acknowledge, are great misfortunes: but the loss of the civil liberties of the nation, or their being rendered precarious and dependant
on

on the personal character and virtues of the king for the time being, (which would have been the consequence of the system of measures recommended by the archbishop,) would be a much greater. And in this opinion, I trust, I am not singular, but have the concurrence of thousands and tens of thousands of my fellow-subjects.

*Prohibe lamenta sonare;
veta populos; Lachrymas, luctusque
ere pejus erat. — remitte:
Lucani Pharsal.
F I N I S
Lib: 7.*



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