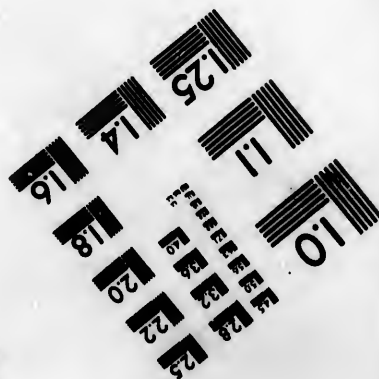
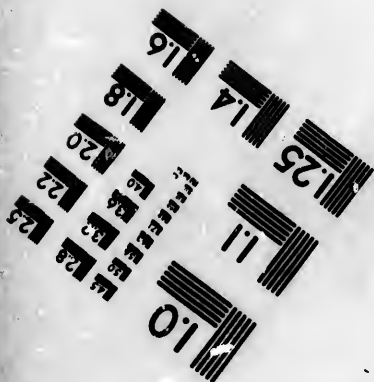
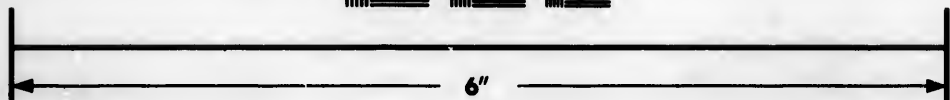
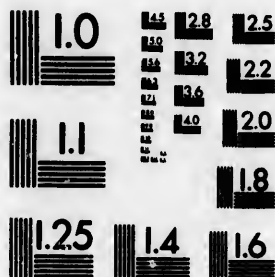


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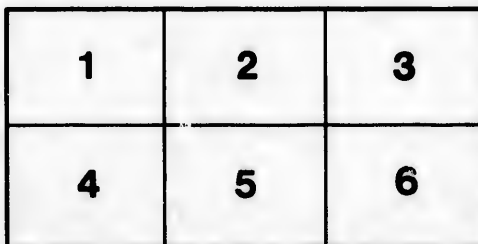
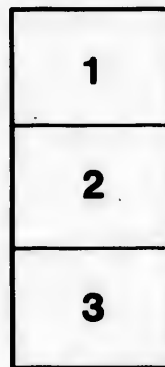
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A  
FRIENDLY ADDRESS  
T O  
ALL REASONABLE AMERICANS,  
O N  
THE SUBJECT O F  
O U R  
POLITICAL CONFUSIONS:  
I N W H I C H  
THE NECESSARY CONSEQUENCES  
O F  
Violently opposing the KING'S TROOPS,  
A N D O F  
A GENERAL NON-IMPORTATION  
A R E  
F A I R L Y S T A T E D.

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*Am I therefore become your Enemy, because I tell you the Truth?*  
ST. PAUL.

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NEW-YORK:  
Printed in the Year M,DCC,LXXIV.

FRIENDLY ADDRESS

TO

ALL RESPONSIBLE AMERICANS

ON

THE SUBJECT OF

THE

POLITICAL CONSPIRACY

IN WHICH

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

IS

Violently Opposed by the Slave Trade

AND

GENERAL NON-RESISTANCE

AND

FAITHFUL STATE

---

By the Author of the "Friendly Address to the Slave Trade," &c.

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NEW-YORK: PUBLISHED BY G. W. WOODS, 1837.

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W. WOODS

1837

FRIENDLY ADDRESS, &c.

Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow-Subjects!

“OUR civil government (says an excellent English Writer) is happily placed between the two extremes of *despotic power* and *popular licentiousness*: it is wisely composed of such a due mixture of the several simple forms of government, those of one, of a few, and of many, as to retain as far as possible the advantages, and to exclude the inconveniencies, peculiar to each; and the parts are so nicely combined and adjusted, that the several powers co-operate and move on together in concert and agreement, mutually tempering, limiting, and restraining; yet at the same time aiding, supporting, and strengthening each other.”

This frame of government, for the admirable wisdom of its structure, has always been the wonder of the world; and under its protection and mild influence, the subjects of Great Britain are the happiest people on earth. But of all the subjects of Great Britain, those who reside in the American Colonies have been, and, were they sensible of their own advantages, might still be, by far the happiest: surrounded with the blessings of peace, health, and never-failing plenty—enjoying the benefits of an equitable and free constitution—secured by the protection and patronage of the greatest maritime power in the world—and contributing, in but a small proportion, to the support of the necessary public expences.



Under these advantages, the colonies have hitherto flourished beyond example. They have become populous, both by natural increase, and the yearly influx of foreigners, the sure indications of a happy country; and they have become rich, by practicing, at their ease, the peaceful arts of agriculture and commerce. And were they to pursue the same path which has brought them thus far, there is no doubt but they would go on to flourish and prosper in the same proportion, till, in process of time, they would excite either the admiration or envy of the whole human race. The advice therefore of Moses to a people highly favoured of Heaven, is justly applicable to them; and nothing could be wanting to their happiness, but hearts to follow it, "Only take heed to thyself; says he, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thine heart, all the days of thy life."

But a far different prospect, at this time, presents itself to view. The darkness of a rising tempest is beginning to overspread our land. The thunder roars at a distance, and appears to be swiftly approaching. It is high time therefore to awaken the thoughtless to a sense of their danger, and to think of providing for our common safety.

There is, there can be, but one way to prevent the ruin that threatens us. Our own misconduct has brought it forward; and our immediate reformation must stop its progress. He must be blind, that is not convinced of this; and he must be insatuated, that will pursue the road, which evidently terminates in darkness and destruction.

Whether

Whether the British Parliament has been right or wrong in its late proceedings, towards the Colonies; our behaviour has been such as every government must and will think intolerable. If the supreme power of any kingdom or state, through want of due information or attention, should adopt measures that are wrong or oppressive, the subjects may complain and remonstrate against them in a respectful manner; but they are bound, by the laws of Heaven and Earth, not to behave undutifully, much more not to behave insolently and rebelliously. The bands of society would be dissolved, the harmony of the world confounded, and the order of nature subverted, if reverence, respect, and obedience, might be refused to those whom the constitution has vested with the highest authority. The ill consequences of open disrespect to government are so great, that no misconduct of the administration can justify or excuse it. The guilt of it is so aggravated, that Christians are required, under the heaviest penalty to avoid it, and to be *subject to the higher powers*, of whatever character, *for conscience's sake*. No tyrant was ever more despotic and cruel, than *Nero*, and no Court ever more corrupted than his; and yet to the government of this cruel and despotic tyrant, and his corrupt ministry, peaceable submission was enjoined by an Apostle, who had a due regard for the rights and liberties of mankind. To disturb or threaten an established government, by popular insurrections and tumults, has always been considered and treated, in every age and nation of the world, as an unpardonable crime: and were we the subjects of the *Grand Turk*, it is as certain that we ought not to encourage such practices, as that St. Paul and St. Peter, who condemned them, were inspired men.

But

But my design is not to consider, how far the conduct of the Colonies is, or is not, conformable to the rules and precepts of the Christian religion; but, how far it is to be condemned or justified by the maxims of sound policy and prudence. Our temporal interest and safety are considerations which all will regard, how much soever they may slight or despise the obligations of religion.

The voice of complaint, to call it no worse, is now heard through every corner of our land; and we are daily exhorted to prepare for the defence of our liberties, and all that is sacred, with united efforts. — But before we proceed, it concerns us to be well informed, both as to our real danger, and the steps proper to be taken.

Were the Americans actually in a state of oppression, it would shew their wisdom and prudence, to submit with patience to their present condition, rather than to provoke the power that oppresses them, without some fair prospect of obtaining relief. One degree of distress, in consequence of the weight of illegal power, is a grievance; ten degrees of distress are proportionably a greater evil; but bad as it is, he must be an idiot or a madman, who would not prefer them to twenty. But it appears to me that, of all people under heaven, the King's subjects in America, have hitherto had the least ground for complaint; and that the present confusion of the Colonies has been occasioned by misinformations and false alarms. If none of our *legal* rights have been invaded, no injury has been done us; if we have not been injured, we have no room for complaint; and we can never be justified in resenting that, which it would be unreasonable to complain of.

My

*My Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow Subjects*  
 suffer, for a few minutes, an American, one who has often gloried in the title, who loves his country as much, and has as great a regard for its honour, as any of you, to reason and expostulate with you, in plain language, on a subject now of the highest importance, both to you and him.

You are taught to exclaim loudly against "the arbitrary proceedings of the British Parliament." But consider; wherein have they been arbitrary, and in what do you suffer? Why, it seems, "a duty of three pence a pound, has been laid, by Parliament, upon their teas exported to America; and we cannot purchase the tea, without paying the duty." But if this may be called a burden, so may the weight of an atom on the shoulders of a giant: besides, this burden may be easily avoided; for we have no occasion to purchase the tea, and unless we purchase it, we are under no obligations to pay the duty.

You will say: "the Parliament had *no right* to lay the duty." But I suppose we are, most of us, but indifferent judges of the rights of Parliament; or however, the Parliament must act according to their own judgment, and not according to ours, if it be different from theirs. They assert, and believe, that they have the right in question; and we have never proved that they have not. Nay, we ourselves have always believed and allowed that they have it, till the present occasion. I might add, that we have always allowed that they had a right to regulate not only the trade, but all concerns of the Colonies; such a power they have always exercised, and we have submitted to their acts. Thus, for instance, we have paid a duty on wine and molasses, in obedience to Parliament, and without protestations or remonstrances; and, for the same reasons, we are as much obliged

liged to pay the duty on tea. If we would act consistently, we should either refuse to pay the duty on wine and molasses, or consent to pay it on tea; for it is, in both cases, imposed from the same principle, and has the same effect.

Perhaps it will be replied, "These and all other duties ought to be rejected, because they are *precedents*, and intended to prepare the way for higher demands; and if Parliament has a right to take from us one penny, without our consent, it has a right to strip us of our whole property, and to make us absolute slaves.

This, I believe, is the first time that a sovereign power has been in want of *precedents*, to justify its making laws to govern any part of its dominions. It is a contradiction in the nature of things, and as absurd as that a part should be greater than the whole, to suppose that the supreme legislative power of any Kingdom does not extend to the utmost bounds of that kingdom. If these Colonies, which originally belonged to *England*, are not now to be regulated and governed by the authority of *Great Britain*, then the consequences are plain; they are not dependant upon *Great Britain*—they are not included within its territories—they are no part of its dominions—the inhabitants are not English, they can have no claim to the privileges of Englishmen; they are, with regard to *England*, foreigners and aliens; nay, worse, as they have never been legally discharged from the duty they owed it, they are rebels and apostates. On the above supposition, they are, at best, as much the dominions of *Denmark* or *Russia*, as of *Great Britain*; for there can be no difference in this case, unless one has an authority over them, which the others have not. But if *Great Britain* possesses

a sovereignty over the Colonies, she certainly has a right, at least, to regulate our commerce; and especially to regulate the importation of such articles of mere luxury, as we can choose whether we will be concerned with, or not, with but little inconvenience to ourselves. Now the present duty on tea is exactly such a regulation.

You allow that this duty is a thing that is but trifling in itself; but then you conceit that you ought to oppose it, because it is a *precedent*, which hereafter may be used to your disadvantage. I am sorry to see that men can be so easily deluded by such sophistry. Can you imagine that Parliament will not do whatever they think right to be done by them, without waiting for *Precedents*? Yet precedents of their own for regulating the trade of the Colonies, are not wanting. Every reign, since the settlement of the Colonies has produced them; in consequence of which you are daily paying duties that, in every view, are as liable to exception, as the duty on tea. From hence it is evident, that you yourselves have no inclination to be governed by precedents, whatever regard the Parliament may be supposed to have for them.

As to the argument that, "If Parliament has a right to take from us one penny, without our consent, it has a right to strip us of our whole property;" altho' so great a man as Mr. LOCKE was the father of it, it appears to me to be weak and sophistical. A right to do what is reasonable, implies not a right to do what is unreasonable. A father may have a right over his son, so far as to send him on an errand, or upon any reasonable service without having such an absolute authority as can oblige him to throw himself down a precipice, or to hang himself. In like manner, cases may happen, in which it would

be reasonable for Parliament to take from us some small matter, though we were unwilling to part with it; but the case can hardly be supposed, in which it would be reasonable to take from us every thing, unless we should have forfeited it. Every society has a right to make a moderate use of its power over its own members, but not to abuse it. There can be no right to do what is unquestionably *wrong*.

But you will say, it is *wrong* to tax us at all, *without our consent*. But the duty on tea, which has occasioned all our confusions, is not such a tax; for unless you consent to the tax, you are not to pay the duty. You may refuse it, if you please, without incurring any penalty, or considerable inconvenience. As to such taxes as arise from the general regulation of American commerce, they must be imposed without our formal consent, if they are imposed at all. For if all the Colonies must be consulted, and all must agree, before such a regulation can take place; it is easy to foresee, that nothing of this kind can be established, as nothing can be proposed, in which all the Colonies, having each its peculiar views and interests, would be likely to agree. Therefore *Great Britain* must either impose such duties upon our imports and exports, as may be thought proper for the good of the whole community, without our consent, or she must not attempt to regulate our trade; and if she is not to superintend and regulate our trade, she had better relinquish at once her claim of authority over her colonies; after which they cannot expect to enjoy her protection.

But you further object, that "if we are to be bound by laws to which we have never consented, we have not the rights of Englishmen." In answer



to this, let me remind you, first of all, that it never was, nor can it be, the right of Englishmen to be exempted from the authority of an English or British Parliament. It is not a *proper* consent to the laws enacted by the British Parliament, but the being *bound* by those laws, that distinguishes a British subject from a foreigner. So long as a man resides within any dominions, he is a subject of it, and is obliged to submit to its laws, as far as they concern him, whether he approves of them or not. There are many people in England, who are natives of the country, that do not consent to acts of Parliament that are passed, unless by a bare *fiction of the law*; which can make a *nominal* consent, but *not a real* one. This is always the case of the Minority, where there is a division, whose votes are over-ruled by the major part; for the law necessarily passes, not only without, but contrary to, their consent.

Besides, there are millions of people residing in *England*, who have no votes in elections, and are never consulted about the expediency of laws. I hope these are all Englishmen, although they give no other consent to acts of Parliament, to which they are bound to submit, than what is implied in their freely residing within the jurisdiction and protection of Parliament. In this sense, the Americans, by fixing themselves, and continuing to reside, within the British dominions, consent to be governed by the British laws. When the Colonists first settled on English American ground, they well knew that the authority of Parliament was not to be suspended or withdrawn, in their favour; and they knew too, that they had no power of sending representatives to Parliament of their own choosing. *On these terms* they willingly settled here; and they have always enjoyed every



advantage which they originally expected to receive, and which was contracted for in their stipulation with the Crown, and they can have no just reason to complain on this account. Yet notwithstanding all this, they have been lately told by their agents, who had it from the best authority, that if they chose to send over persons to represent them in Parliament, they should be admitted to seats in the House. In my opinion, they have done wisely in not accepting of the offer; but after refusing it, they have surely no reason to complain, that they have no representatives in the Parliament that must govern them.

It has been frequently asserted, in justification of your claim, that, “ as the charters granted by the “ Crown, have allowed a legislative authority to the “ several Colonies, the inhabitants are to be bound “ by no laws, but what are made by their respective “ provincial legislatures, to which they consent by “ representation.” With regard to this doctrine, I beg leave only to ask a few questions. Can you be made to believe, that it was ever the intention of the Crown, to establish by charter a power of legislation, in any of the Colonies, that is sovereign, independent, and incontrollable by the supreme authority of the nation? Can you imagine, that in any instance, more than a *subordinate* right of jurisdiction was meant, for the internal regulation of the district mentioned in the charter; or conceive that such a grant can place you beyond the reach of parliamentary authority? Would not the arguments that perhaps have deceived you, prove as strongly, that the charter of the city of *Albany*, granting a power to make laws for its internal regulation, *provided they are not contrary to the laws of the Province*, places the inhabitants of that city beyond the reach of laws made by the assembly of *New-York*?  
You,

You, one and all, talk of your rights by charter: but are not some of the Colonies without charters? And do all the charters convey exactly the same privileges and rights? Do any of them say, that you shall not be bound by laws made in Great Britain? Nay, does not the charter of *Pennsylvania* say expressly, that *taxes* may be laid upon the inhabitants *by act of Parliament*? None therefore have a right to plead their charters, in the present controversy, with the mother country, who reside in the colonies that are without charters, or in *Pennsylvania*; and it is high time for those who reside in the other colonies, to furnish some kind of evidence, that their charters give *them* the right for which they contend. They have not yet done this; they have not attempted to do it; I suspect they never will attempt it; and I challenge them to do it if they can. You may have heard some of them *declaim* on this topic, and you may hear them again; but, if you expect the *proof* called for, you will be disappointed.

What has been offered is in order to shew, that, in reality, no proper *right* of the colonies is infringed by the late act of Parliament, that imposes a small duty on the teas exported to America. And here it is worthy of notice, and we ought to attend to it all along as we proceed, that the colonies of *Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas* and *Georgia*, are not affected by any other of the late acts of Parliament; and have no dispute of their own with the mother country, but what arises from the tea-act.

But let us now *suppose*, that we have been really injured by this act; and that our paying the duty would be dangerous to our constitutional liberties.

On

On this supposition, which the Americans in general seem to have adopted as the true state of the case, the great question is,—*What method the colonies ought in wisdom to pursue, in order to get rid of the duty?*

Different measures have been already taken, in the different colonies, to avoid the operation of the act. In *South-Carolina*, the obnoxious tea was landed; but the inhabitants formed a resolution, to which they have the virtue punctually to adhere, not to purchase it. Happy would it have been for the colonies, if this measure had been universally taken! In that case, we should still have enjoyed tranquility, uninterrupted by seditious alarms; and the black cloud, charged with storm and thunder, that now darkens our land, would not have collected.

In most of the other colonies, the tea was not suffered to enter their ports; but it was sent back unhurt. This indeed, in all its circumstances, must be considered as a kind of insult upon government; but yet it was such a species of misbehaviour, as, in all probability, the nation would have overlooked, and many of the friends of America would have thought worthy of commendation. But, as the evil genius of the colonies would have it, the tea that was sent to *Boston*, was neither stored, nor sent back, but outrageously destroyed by the hands of violence.

Whatever may be thought of consigning, or sending back the tea, there are but few people so abandoned to all sentiments of fitness, propriety, and justice, as to think the destruction of it excusable; and the government at home, as all governments would in the like case, thought it unsufferable.—It was soon determined, to inflict an exemplary punishment upon the town that was guilty of such  
shameful

shameful and flagrant injustice; and an act was passed, for shutting up the port of *Boston*, till proper satisfaction should be made for so provoking an outrage.

It is certain, that all the Americans are out of the reach of this act; that it was not intended to affect them; and therefore that they have nothing immediately to do with it, excepting the inhabitants of *Boston* themselves. Accordingly I should have passed it by, as foreign from *our* part of the dispute, had it not been voted by all our county and provincial COMMITTEES, to be *dangerous to the liberties of the British colonies*. For this reason I shall offer some observations on what appears to have been the policy of the act; which I shall address to those only, who are so reasonable and modest as to allow, that the tea ought not to have been destroyed.

If the conduct of the Bostonians, in destroying the tea, was criminal, it deserved punishment; and punishments should always be regulated by the nature and degree of the crimes for which they are inflicted, and the circumstances that attended the commission of them. Now the crime of the Bostonians was a compound of the grossest injury and insult. It was an act of the highest insolence towards government; such as mildness itself cannot overlook or forgive. The injustice of the deed was also most atrocious: as it was the destruction of property to a vast amount, when it was known that the nation was obliged in honour to protect it. At the same time it was very notorious, that the intention of the perpetrators was, by this example, to lead and excite others, when the expected opportunity should present, to the same wanton excess of riot and licentiousness. Under these circumstances,  
found

found policy was thought to require, that both a severe and a speedy punishment should be inflicted—severe, that it might bear some proportion to the guilt; and speedy, that it might prevent the like mischief in other instances.

Many, I know, who admit that Boston ought to have been punished, yet exclaim loudly against the punishment decreed by Parliament, as being too severe in its manner: And if any other punishment had been inflicted, many of them, I dare say, would have exclaimed still. For when people are once disaffected towards an administration, whether with or without just reason, they will always find some pretence for blaming any measure that can be taken by it.

As to the *severity* of the punishment in question, it was no more than shutting up a port, till satisfaction should be made for a flagrant injury and insult, of which it had been guilty. While this restraint was laid, a free use of all the neighbouring ports was allowed; so that no people but the inhabitants of the town of *Boston* were intended to be punished by this act; and a sufficient time was indulged *them* to remove all their vessels out of their harbour, that they might be usefully employed during the restraint of their port. And as soon as compensation should be made for the injury done, and a proper acknowledgment of the offence committed, every appearance shews that government intended to be satisfied, and to remove the punishment. For provision was made, that, on such an event, the King might immediately suspend the operation of the act, without waiting for the meeting, or the formal proceedings of the Parliament, which might require time. Surely none, who have as high  
a sense

a sense of public guilt, as of private, can think this punishment too severe for the crime, considered under all its aggravations. For, no people are entitled to the use of any advantage, which they wantonly abuse to the injury of others.

An outcry is also made, that "the punishment of the *Bostonians* was hasty and precipitant, offering no alternative, and not suffering the party to be heard." It is freely confessed that, in common cases, none ought to be punished without a regular trial and conviction. But here the case was uncommon and extraordinary. The most essential rights of government were audaciously invaded—the crime was notorious and unquestionable—a regular trial must have been the work of time—and while this would be depending, it was imagined the evil would spread. Both the letter and spirit of the law had been openly insulted and defied, by the people in Boston; and, in such a case, the *forms* of the law, in bringing them back to a sense of their duty, when it was apprehended that the delay of punishment would be dangerous to the community, were thought to be dispensible. Such considerations indeed will not authorise a judge, or any court of justice, to proceed in this compendious manner; but when a case comes before the whole legislative body, they have always the power to dispense with the ordinary forms, and to do what is conceived to be most conducive to the public safety. For, to use the words of the justly celebrated Dr. BLACKSTONE, "The bare idea of a state, without a power, somewhere vested, to alter every part of its laws, is the height of political absurdity."

It is moreover objected, that "such a mode of punishment involves the innocent in the same calamity

“mity with the guilty.” In answer to which, it is sufficient to observe, that this inconvenience must always attend all punishments inflicted on a people, whether by God or man, and necessarily arises from the condition of the world. There is no body of people so bad, but many innocent persons are intermixed with them. At the very worst, there is always a number of innocent children, who are connected with, and dependent upon, the proper delinquents. The consequence of which is, that no people, and commonly no individual, can possibly be punished, without hurting some innocent persons. The objection therefore, if it has any weight, will hold good against all public, and most private punishments, of what kind soever. In the town of *Boston* there are many innocent, worthy and respectable persons (many more than is commonly imagined) who are as free from the public guilt, and hold it in as much abomination, as any men within his Majesty’s dominions. For their sake, more especially, those who have the greatest regard for the honour of government, wish that the punishment could have been avoided. But as this was politically impossible, they must bear their own share, with prudence and patience, as well as they can,—enjoying a consciousness of their own innocence,—maintaining their integrity, “in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation”—and looking forward to that time, which I hope is not distant, when they may expect to be distinguished with such favours as the public can give.

The *resolves* of the above-mentioned *committees* also express, their brethren in *Boston*, meaning the offenders against government, are to be considered “as suffering in the common cause of American  
“liberty.”



“liberty.” But I hope the *licentiousness* of their behaviour, is not avowed to be any part of the system of *American liberty*; and I should be extremely sorry to find, that the *common cause of the colonies* requires such defences as theirs. If a raving enthusiast, in order to promote the cause of *American liberty*, should take it in his head to assassinate his Prince, and afterwards should be punished for his treason, he might with equal propriety, be considered as suffering in the cause of *American liberty*. But, in that case, I believe no sober Americans would think themselves bound to abet the assassination; and for the same reasons, we are under no obligations to abet the destructive violence of the people in *Boston*, or to endeavour to screen it from public justice. So far as they meant well, they ought to be commended; but so far as they did wrong, they ought to be condemned. And we both expose ourselves, and injure our cause, by appearing to countenance their lawless and unwarrantable proceedings.

The same *resolves* also condemn, as *oppressive and dangerous*, the other *act* for altering the administration of justice in the *Massachusetts-Bay*; and it has been used as an instrument, in the hands of our popular incendiaries, for farther enflaming the minds of the Americans against the King and his Ministers. But it deserves notice, that the alteration made by the *act*, is rather an imaginary than a real evil. For it introduces into that province a regulation, which is far from being inconsistent with the happiness of the people; as it only reduces them to a form of proceedings, under which the inhabitants of *New-York* and *New-Jersey* have been as happy as any people in *America*. Indeed it abridges them of some privileges that had been granted by charter. But no pri-



vilages are curtailed by the act, but such as had been abused and forfeited over and over, and such as probably would continue to be abused, to the great injury and disturbance of that province, as well as to the dishonour and reproach of the nation. It is the opinion of the best friends to the rights of mankind, that charters *may* be forfeited; and, it is a proof of the mildness, not of the rigour, of the administration, that the *Massachusetts* charter, after so many abuses and provocations, has not been totally vacated, rather than abridged.

Besides the two last-mentioned acts, there is a third, for settling *the government of Quebec*, which has been as successfully applied to the same noble purpose of enraging the Americans against the measures of government; and more lies and misrepresentations concerning this act have been circulated, than one would think malice and falsehood could invent. It is positively asserted, and generally believed, on the evidence of positive assertions, that by this act the Popish religion is *established*, throughout the vast extent of country now subject to the government of *Quebec*; and that the Protestant religion is there obliged to skulk in corners, not daring to lift up its head. Whereas, if we have recourse to the words of the act, we shall see, that the Popish religion is no more than *tolerated* within that dominion; which was one of the conditions on which the country surrendered itself to the crown of Great Britain; and that a proper foundation is laid for the establishment of the Protestant religion, which is meant to take place. Tithes, which are the property of the tolerated Romish church in all the parishes, are indeed ordered to be paid, as formerly, to the minister of the parish; but the very moment a man declares

declares himself a Protestant, he is freed, by the act, from the obligation to pay tithes to the Popish incumbent. In that case, it is provided, that "his Majesty, his heirs or successors, may make such provision out of the—accustomed dues and rights, for the encouragement of the Protestant religion, and for the maintenance of a Protestant clergy within the said province, as he or they shall, from time to time, think necessary and expedient." It is true, the Papists in *Canada* might have had a toleration less generous than is granted them, without the Parliament's allowing to the clergy their tithes, or to the parishes their churches. But such a toleration, although it might have fulfilled the letter of the articles of the treaty, would not have answered their expectations, nor have left upon their minds favourable impressions of the British justice and honour. If we had taken from them their churches, or stripped the clergy of their tithes, which might have been done with equal propriety, it would probably have encreased the number of his Majesty's disaffected American subjects; which appears to be too great without them. And as to *trials by juries*, they are affirmed to be excluded by the act; but the assertion is groundless and false. Juries are no more excluded from *Canada*, than they are excluded from the other American colonies. They have never been established by act of Parliament in any of the colonies, excepting the late act for the regulation of the *Massachusetts-Bay*. They owe their being in *America* to acts of our provincial Assemblies, confirmed at home; and the provincial legislature of *Canada* may introduce them as soon as they please, and it is expected that they will, as soon as the inhabitants desire

fire them, or the state of the country will admit of them.\*

I have taken this notice of the three last acts relating to the colonies, in order to shew, that in themselves they are not of so alarming a nature as has been represented, and that they wear not that tremendous aspect which our wild imaginations have given them. Two of them were meant as punishments for crimes against the state, and to make examples of those who were considered as the greatest offenders, and from whose republican spirit a general mischief was apprehended. The design of the other act was to secure to a new colony the religious toleration it had a *right* to demand, and otherwise to ease the minds of a numerous body of people, whose behaviour towards government had been decent and unexceptionable since they owed it allegiance, and who were likely to prove his Majesty's *most loyal and faithful subjects* in his American dominions.

Notwithstanding all that has been suggested, and in spite of all that can be said, I am aware our political incendiaries will go on in their own way, and still contend, that these acts are tyrannical and arbitrary, and threaten the destruction of American liberty. But if we would recollect ourselves, and attend a moment to the conduct and characters of these men, we should be convinced that no representations

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\* See this point cleared up, in a candid and satisfactory manner, in a pamphlet entitled, *The Justice and Policy of the Act of Parliament, for making more effectual Provision for the Government of Quebec*, which has been lately reprinted by Mr. GAINÉ. See also a defence of the general policy of this act, in *A Letter (said to be wrote by Lord Lyttelton) to the Earl of Chatham*, reprinted by Mr. RIVINGTON.

tations of theirs are worthy of regard. For, in all their motions, they discover themselves to be under the undue influence of prejudice and passion. Thro' this dark and misty medium every object appears to them under a violent distortion; and as thus distorted, they must ascribe it to others. No wonder then, that they put the very worst constructions upon, and assign the very worst motives for, all the proceedings of the British Parliament.

However, let us now suppose the truth and reality of the facts as stated by them; yet the inferences they intend, will by no means follow. Supposing Popery were actually *established* in *Canada*, on the request of the inhabitants; would it follow, that it was designed also to establish it in the other colonies, where the inhabitants are averse to it? Can any man, in his senses, believe this to be the design of Parliament? Again: supposing the punishment inflicted on the Bostonians to be arbitrary and severe; yet those who are free from their guilt, and mean not to contract it, have no reason to fear the like punishment. "For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil." So far as we are innocent, we are safe; but if we undertake to justify or abet the crimes of others, we share in their guilt; and particularly, if we are fomenters of the sedition that rages in *Boston*, we must take the consequence.

But

But the Bostonians, you say, are *over-punished*. If that be the case, they are entitled to our pity, and to our influence in obtaining a mitigation of their punishment. But this can be no reason, for our putting ourselves in the same predicament with them, for making ourselves partners in their guilt, or for bringing upon ourselves a similar punishment. We must be fools to think of doing this; and if they desire us to do it, their modesty is like that of *the fox in the fable*, who, because he happened to have lost his own tail, requested of his brother foxes, that they would all suffer their tails to be cut off too. But the foxes had more wisdom than to comply; and so should we have. As the punishment of the Bostonians was designed to be local, and peculiar to them; we have no business to cause it to be general. Their case is not yet ours; and, God grant that it never may be!

The proper dispute subsisting between Great Britain and any of her colonies, excepting that of the *Massachusetts Bay*, is only *de Lana Caprina*, about an act imposing a duty of *three pence a pound* upon tea. This is the only ground *we* have for complaining of the administration; and yet this has occasioned, throughout our colonies, such an indecent and violent opposition to government as is truly astonishing. Can such behaviour on so slight a provocation, proceed from *dutiful and loyal subjects*? No; it is impossible. Whatever we may think, or say, of ourselves; if we had any true principles of *loyalty*, or any tolerable sense of the *duty* that is due to the supreme legislative power, under which the providence of God, and our consent, have placed us, no trifling considerations could prevail with us to behave towards it in so petulant and disrespectful a manner.

manner. But there is too much reason to believe, that our minds are unprincipled, and our hearts disposed for rebellion. Ever since the reduction of *Canada*, we have been bloated with a vain opinion of our own power and importance. Our ease has produced pride and wantonness. We have been intoxicated with such draughts of liberty, as our constitutions would not bear; and under this intoxication, we have conceited that all the privileges indulged us were the effects of fear. From thinking, we have proceeded to speaking, disrespectfully of our mother country; and our language now is—"It is contrary to reason and nature, that the petty island of *Britain* should govern, and give laws to, the extensive and mighty regions of *America*."

Yet whatever *time* may produce, at present the petty island of *Britain* is able to govern ten such *Americas* as this, if she will exert her power. But she wishes by lenity and forbearance and indulgence (I will venture to use these words, notwithstanding her demand of a duty of three pence a pound upon her tea, if we see fit to make use of it) I say, she wishes by lenity, forbearance and indulgence to secure our affections, and to render us sensible, that our greatest political happiness must arise from her smiles and fostering protection. We should be fully convinced of this, were it not for our ignorance, and want of consideration; and willing to confess it, were it not for our pride. But if we determine to deny her authority, or to question her *right* to command us; she will prove to the world, and bring us to confess, that though she is ancient, she is not superannuated or exhausted; and that she still possesses the spirit and vigour that have animated her best years.

Were she only to do nothing, but barely to leave

the Colonies to themselves with their jarring principles, and interests, and projects; we should soon see province waging war against province, and our country would be involved in such misery and distress as are beyond all our present conceptions. Should it be known abroad that *Great-Britain* had withdrawn her protection, and would no longer interest herself in our preservation and safety; within the compass of one year our sea-ports would be ravaged, and our vessels plundered or seized as soon as they left our harbours. We should therefore soon feel the necessity of purchasing the protection of some maritime power, and on terms not of our proposing, but of theirs; and which could never be able to secure us against any hostile attempts of *Great-Britain*, should she see fit to make any; while she maintains that Empire of the sea which she now holds, and of which all the Maritime powers of the world are unable to dispossess her.

But replies the ignorant and deluded American: "Notwithstanding all that can be said of the naval strength of *Great-Britain*, it is asserted by our patriotic leaders, and we have reason to think, that these colonies, of themselves, are able to withstand all her force." The judgment of Heaven visibly appears in this dreadful infatuation. It was but a few years ago, that we believed, and found by experience, that the colonies were unable to withstand the militia of *Canada*, supported by a few regiments of regular troops from *France*. That this was the general opinion, most of us may remember; and it is evident from the messages that passed between Governor SHIRLEY and the House of Representatives of *Boston*, from the address of the assembly of *Virginia* to the King at the beginning of the late war, and



and from many other authentic documents of that period. The Colonies then humbly and ardently implored that *Great-Britain* would speedily step in to their rescue, and preserve them from a destruction that threatened to overwhelm them. Their prayers were soon heard; and what was the consequence we all know. The strong bulwarks and fortresses of *Canada* were stormed, and the country conquered by the discipline and invincible bravery of but a small part of the British troops.

There is no room to doubt but such an army as was employed in the reduction of *Canada* would be more than sufficient for the conquest of all the disaffected American Colonies, should such a resolution become necessary in order to reduce them to obedience. For they are open and accessible on every quarter, and have not a single fortress to cover them, nor one regiment of regular troops to defend them; and they are without military stores, without magazines, and without the skill that is necessary for supporting an army. Under such circumstances what would the boasted numbers of our inhabitants avail us against an attack from *Great-Britain*? If an army was sent in upon us, which a body of forty thousand of our militia was unable to withstand (for it is impossible that a greater number of undisciplined men could act to advantage) it would be able to carry desolation through the whole country; and all the men in the Colonies were they firmly united, would not be able to oppose it. But yet if the army here supposed, should be found unequal to the design of reducing the Colonies, *Great-Britain* could send of her own troops a second, of equal strength to the assistance of the first; to these she could add a third of *Hessians*, a fourth of *Hanoverians*, and so on till the work were



completed. She could easily take possession of all our sea-coasts where our wealth is principally seated, and force us to fly into the back parts of the country for immediate safety. There an army of *Canadians* might be ordered to meet us, and unnumbered tribes of *savages* might be let loose upon us at the same time, while our lands would lie uncultivated, our stores exhausted, our families unsheltered, and those that happened to escape the sword, glittering and flaming both in the front and rear of our settlements, would soon perish by sickness or famine.

All that is here mentioned *Great-Britain* is able to do; and all this I believe she *would* do, should she be obliged to enter into a war with the Colonies---- provided the Americans had resolution and *firmness* enough (for so some would call it) to hold out to such extremity. But I am too well acquainted with their character to expect that they would prove thus *obstinate* in the day of trial. When they come to find that on their side there can be no prospect of victory, but that every day must deepen their distress and render their condition worse and worse; their natural understandings will return to them, and irresistibly plead the necessity of a submission as soon as possible. In that case happy would it be for them, if they could be considered only as conquered enemies; but alas! they must be viewed in the light of *vanquished rebels*, and treated accordingly. Their leaders must be given up into the executioner's hands; confiscations of their estates forfeited by rebellion, must follow, and all must be left at the mercy of their vanquishers. When one people is conquered by another in war, private property is restored to its former possessors; but when rebellions are crushed, the most to be expected is, that the lives of those that belong to the lower classes will be spared. To

To this wretched and accursed state of rebellion, the principles that have been propagated, and several steps that have been taken in the American Colonies directly tend. Nay, a rebellion is *evidently commenced* in *New-England*, in the county of *Suffolk*, without room for retreating. The inhabitants of that large and populous county have openly bid defiance to the united authority of the King, Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament; they have most contemptuously rejected the regulations of their courts of justice &c. established by Parliament; and not only so, but they have set up in *direct opposition* to their authority, a government of their own. In the spirit of outrageous licentiousness, they have compelled by brutal violence, those respectable gentlemen that held Commissions under the Crown, to resign them in forms of their own inditing, and to relinquish their stations; and they have appointed others of the same factious and turbulent disposition with themselves to fill their places, till their long-projected *republic* \* shall be settled, which is the glorious object. They have already if we may believe *credible information*,

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\* I am persuaded that there are not many men in the other Colonies of any denomination, who have not a general prevailing principle of affection, esteem and veneration for our civil Constitution, however it may be darkened by the gross exhalations occasioned by the heat of the present disputes. But in *New-England* I conceive, the real sentiments of the people are of a *peculiar* complexion. Many of the first settlers imported with them an aversion to the *regal* part of our Constitution, and were thorough-paced *Republicans*. To every species of monarchy they were as inveterate enemies as any of their brethren, whom they left behind them in *England*; some of whom could not bear to read the word *King* in their *Bibles*, but wherever it occurred they substituted *Civil Magistrate* in its place. It is well known that even good old father BAXTER was a remarkable instance of this

information, marked out the inland town of *Worcester* for the *seat of this Republic*; they are now collecting an artillery for its defence, and some of them have nominated the man who is to be their PROTECTOR.

Whether this be for or not, it appears from *authentic intelligence*, dated *Boston* September 27th, that they

this nature. In the time of CROMWELL'S usurpation, he published his book of *Saints everlasting Rest*, in which he thought fit to use the phrase of *The PARLIAMENT OF HEAVEN*, instead of saying *The KINGDOM OF HEAVEN* †. Now those original settlers of *New-England* stiffly maintained, and zealously endeavored to propagate their own antimonarchical principles; and those principles have been handed down by an uninterrupted succession, from father to son, and from generation to generation, to the present day.

Although many of their descendants have acquired liberal sentiments, and have renounced the bigotry and prejudices of their well-meaning fore-fathers, whether relating to matters of religion or government; yet this is by no means the case with regard to the body of the people. They still retain an hereditary aversion to the frame of the English Constitution, and to the controll of monarchy; and this aversion has been from time to time, occasionally animated and inflamed by a set of *Pulpit-Incendiaries*, for which that part of the country has been ever famous. By these and other instruments they have been prepared whenever the word is given, to declare and exert themselves at all hazards for an *independent* government of their own modelling.

The confusions of the present time have been thought to afford a favorable opportunity, for putting their design in execution. The Colonies are discontented, and it has been imagined that they might all be persuaded to encourage the attempt. On this presumption, the decree has gone forth to *erect the Republic*; the *Rubicon* has been passed, and there can be no thoughts of retreating. They have drawn the sword, with an aim to plunge it into the bowels of our ancient and venerable Constitution; and henceforward the scabbard must become useless. The cry now is: *We have no part in DAVID, neither have we inheritance in the son of JESSE: Every man to his tent, O ISRAEL.*

† GREY'S answer to NEAL.

they have done as bad \*. For *the SELECT MEN and the COMMITTEE of CORRESPONDENCE* have proclaimed the King's troops to be public ENEMIES, and declared to Mr. SCOT that he DESERVED immediate DEATH, for selling warlike stores to them; and the people actually did assemble to put THIS sentence in execution, but Mr. SCOT was so fortunate as to make his escape. And besides this the King's General and Governor farther complains of their continual acts of hostility. "Orders, says he, are given to prevent all supplies for *English* troops: Straw purchased for their use is daily burnt, vessels with bricks sunk, carts with wood overturned, and thus even the King's property is destroyed in every manner in which it can be effected." And he justly observes that all this is "not the effect of rash tumult, but of evident system."

Now these rebellious Republicans, these hair-brained fanaticks, as mad and distracted as the ANABAPTISTS of MUNSTER, are the people whom the American Colonies wish to support! It seems to be a mark of *judicial infatuation* inflicted on us by the righteous judgment of Almighty God, that we of the other Colonies can *think* of espousing *such* a cause, and of *risquing* every thing that is dear, *against such inexpressible odds*---in support of a scheme which all of us, but a few Presbyterians and Independents, in our hours of reflexion, if we have any, must despise and abhor.

The hopes of all moderate and considerate persons among us, whose numbers I believe are not small, were long fixed upon the general *American Congress*. They imagined it to be the business and design of this

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\* See Mr. GAINÉ'S *Mercury* of October 10.

this grand COMMITTEE OF COMMITTEES, to find out some way consistent with our claims for obtaining the restoration of our common tranquillity, and a happy reconciliation of Great-Britain to her Colonies. The *known* character of *some* Gentlemen appointed as Delegates, and the *supposed* character of *most* of the others, led us to expect from them all that we wanted; and to believe that the united wisdom of the Americans would shine in full splendor at the *Congress*, and that the prudence and policy of the Councils there taken would be such, as would have done honour to an Assembly of the greatest sages of antiquity. But---the poor Americans are doomed to disappointment. The first discovery of the sentiments of the *Congress* was shocking. Every thing was kept secret for some weeks, and we flattered ourselves with hoping for the best. But when the news arrived at *Philadelphia*, that the people of SUFFOLK had OPENLY REVOLTED FROM THEIR ALLEGIANCE to the *King* and his *government*; in a sudden transport of joy, the veil of the *Congress* was drawn back, and a mystery revealed that filled the minds of many with surprize and astonishment; the mystery was, that the Gentlemen of the *Congress*, in whom we confided as the faithful guardians of the *safety*, as well as *rights* of America, were *disposed* to enter into a league offensive and defensive, with its *worst enemies* the New-England and other Presbyterian Republicans. This fact is notorious to the world; it can neither be denied nor palliated; for they hastily and eagerly published, (and it was the first thing that they *did* publish) their cordial approbation of the *Suffolk Resolves* for erecting an *Independent Government* in *New-England*; and recommended to the Americans the support of those measures *with united efforts*.

*efforts.* From that time every moderate man among us has despaired of seeing any good produced by the *Congress*; and from that time every thing that was bad has been growing worse.

Ex illo fluere, ac rero sublapsa referri spes danaum.

*Friends, Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects!* let me entreat you to rouse up at last from your slumber, and to open your eyes to the danger that surrounds you---the danger of your being hurried into a state of rebellion before you are aware of it, and of suffering all that resentment which a mighty nation can discharge upon a defenceless people. Whether *Great-Britain* did right or not, in imposing the duty on tea, and whether we pay it or not, are matters of trifling consequence: But whether we shall bring down upon our own heads the full weight of her vengeance, and undergo all the horrors of a civil war, or not, are matters of dreadful importance to us. If you persist in the steps which many of you have taken; and especially if you go on to encourage the New-England fanaticks to attack the King's troops, whenever they can meet them; the time cannot be distant, in which both you and they will be legally proclaimed *Rebels and Traitors*---they as principals, and you as their abettors. You may still profess yourselves to be his *Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects*, as you did in your late RESOLVES, and as the leaders in the grand rebellion of 1641 did, in their messages to the King immediately after the battle of *Edge-Hill*, where they had fought against him in person; but this will not screen you from vengeance. No: HAVOC will be the cry; and *the dogs of war* will be let loose to tear out your vitals. Then, if not before then, the *Dæmon* of discord will rise to distract you. Brother must fight against

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brother,

brother, and friend against the friend of his bosom. In short, the country that is now "fair as *Eden*," will become a field of blood, overspread with desolation and slaughter. I tremble, and my blood retires to my heart at the prospect of such amazing anguish and misery. The sun and the moon begin already to be darkened and the stars to withdraw their shining. O all-pitying Heaven! Preserve me! Preserve my friends! Preserve my country!

If we are now upon the brink of a horrid civil war, and there be no hopes of relief from the wisdom, prudence and good temper of the *Congress*, there can be but one day of safety left; which is, that we all endeavor to see with our own eyes, and make use of our own understandings, and resume the liberty of thinking, and speaking, and acting for ourselves. Let us then like men of sense, sit down calmly and count the cost, in the first place, before we undertake to finish the work proposed to us. Let us consider, before we proceed farther and get more deeply embarrassed, whether we are able to go through with our enterprize against *Great-Britain*, or not: And, I am persuaded, it will soon appear to be impossible.

What then remains to be done? Our blessed Savior, for our instruction, supposes a case, in which the inequality of strength was not comparable with ours, and tells us how common sense would determine. "What King, says he, going to make war against another King, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand? Or else, while the other is a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and desireth conditions of peace\*."

Here

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\* *Luke* xiv. 31, 32.



Here one Independent state is supposed to be at war with another; but, upon conviction of the superior power of its antagonist, instead of rushing on to destruction, it proposes a treaty of accomodation, upon such conditions as the situation of affairs would admit of, and as *speedily* as possible. This divine parable instructs us, that when it appears that we are not able, without the utmost hazard, to go forward with any warlike design, the only way is to retreat from it as soon as we can, and secure to ourselves such advantages as may be still in our power. This would shew our wisdom and discretion, were our cause allowed to be ever so just, and had we no peculiar connexion with the power we were disposed to contend with. For it is an eternal maxim, which holds in all cases, that a less evil is to be chosen, when it frees us from a greater. But in our case, where the justice of our cause is at best but *doubtful*; and when the power to be opposed is that, which has cherished us in its bosom, and kindly protected us from our earliest infancy—which we have always heretofore acknowledged our obligations to obey—to which many of us have solemnly sworn allegiance—and which has seldom thwarted our inclinations at all, and never but in matters of comparatively trifling consequence:—In this case, I say, the necessity of such accomodating measures strikes us with still more irresistible evidence.

If those who have been most active among us, in raising seditious tumults, and in filling the country with distraction, will not be persuaded, by the foregoing considerations, to recede, it is hoped that others will; and it would be no small point gained, in favor of the Colonies, if those who are friends to order and government, and enemies to the riots and



disturbances of abusive *mobs*, would assume the courage openly to declare their sentiments. All those who are still loyal to their sovereign, should do the same. His Majesty's good subjects of the town of *Rye*\*, to their lasting honour, have set the example. Not only their names, but their numbers, are very respectable; and, were the example to be followed, through all the towns and districts of our several Colonies, I doubt not but it would appear, to the confusion of some among us, that, in every province, there are more than *seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee*, and who will not bow it, to the *Baal* of independency. And I now congratulate all such on the pleasure of finding, from the information of Gentlemen of unquestionable veracity, that the *Resolves* from *Georgia* were far from expressing *the sense of the inhabitants* of that grateful and loyal Province; but that they were framed only by a company of hot-headed fellows, met together in a tavern †.

I will only observe farther on this subject, that all who have the courage now to declare themselves friends to Government, will undoubtedly think themselves bound in honour, interest and conscience, to resort to the King's *Standard*, when it comes to be erected in our different Colonies, should that melancholly event happen; and these, of themselves, will compose a body, which, in a good cause, will be formidable to its opposers. But many thousands of others, and indeed the greater part of those who shall not have rendered their cases desperate, when they see the danger thus nearly approaching, and the storm ready to burst, will be glad to fly for shelter too

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\* See Mr. RIVINGTON's *Gazetteer* of October 13.

† RIVINGTON's *Gazetteer*, ut sup :

too to the Royal standard, if human nature continues the same that it ever has been; and they will be zealous to *signalize* themselves in the King's service, in order to render unquestionable that loyalty which was formerly suspicious. It is morally certain that, in the day of trial, a large majority of the Americans will heartily unite with the King's troops, in reducing *America* to order. Our violent republicans will then find themselves deserted by thousands and thousands in whom they now confide; and inexpressibly dreadful must be their disappointment. "O! that they were *wise*, that they *understood* this, that they would *consider* their LATTER END!"

I shall say no more on the supposed case of our waging WAR AGAINST THE KING, and entering into a STATE OF REBELLION; the thoughts of which, all sober men, and all conscientious men, and all who prefer the good of their country to the gratification of their own obstinate humors, must reject with horror.

But another scheme is proposed, at first view less shocking, which also appears to be recommended by the *Congress*, and which many at present are inclined to adopt; I mean, *a general non-importation agreement* throughout the Colonies. Against a proposal of this nature I have two objections to offer: Namely, that it will greatly distress a country which I love; and that it will not answer the purpose.

In order (N. B.) to get rid of a duty of *three pence a pound on tea*, it is proposed to stop all importation from *Great-Britain*, and even from the *West-India Islands*, till the act imposing it shall be repealed. But a remedy of this kind is ten thousand times worse than the disease. It is, for the wisdom of it, like cutting off an arm, in order to get rid of a small fore in one of the fingers.

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On a late trial of non-importation from *Great-Britain* only, as soon as the stores of English goods began to be exhausted, every family among us experienced such inconveniences and difficulties, as produced a general murmur and complaint. For although the articles imported from *England* are not absolutely necessary to support *animal* life; yet it was found that the *civilized* life we had been used to, and which is necessary to the happiness of all but savages, depended, in no small degree, upon our importations from *Great-Britain*. And had the non-importation continued much longer, it would have excited insurrections in most parts of the country.

But a non-importation from the *West-Indies* would still more tenderly affect us. For to say nothing of *Rum*, or of *Molasses* for the use of our distilleries, without which more than a hundred thousand American dram-drinkers would soon be clamorous; the want of the single article *Sugar* would distress every family upon this Continent. For this, in the quantity that is necessary, we could find no sufficient substitute: the hardened juice of our *Maple*, where it could be had, would be but a sorry one; and as to *Honey*, we all know its use; and were our stock of it ever so large, it would prove but a bad sweetner of the bitter draught of a non-importation.

Here then it is proposed, that, to the non-importation which we have experienced and could hardly bear, another should be added, that would affect us still worse; and that a double weight should be fastened upon those shoulders, which were ready to give way under a single one. But this is not the worst of the case. It is generally believed, and intimations from *England* have confirmed the opinion, that if the Colonies should resolve to import nothing  
from

from *Great-Britain* and the *West-Indies*, they will not be suffered to import from any other quarter—not, even the salt that is necessary to cure their winter's provisions, or to season their porridge: And besides this, that an absolute *non-exportation* will be ordered, and not a single vessel suffered to go out of our harbours. Such an order, we know, can effectually be executed, with the greatest ease. It is but commanding the several Custom-Houses to grant no clearances; and then every vessel that offered to sail, would be a lawful seizure. A few of the King's frigates would be sufficient to do the business, for all the Colonies on the Continent. Two or three of them stationed at the *Capes of Virginia*, would command every vessel belonging to the Ports, and to the fine navigable rivers, of *Virginia* and *Maryland*. As many stationed at the *Capes of Delaware*, would secure *Pennsylvania* and *West-Jersey*—and so of the rest.

Now a total stagnation of all foreign commerce, would at once place us in a glorious and blessed state. In the first place, all that live by this commerce would be thrown out of employ. Our *sailors* would be turned ashore; our ships would rot in our harbours; and our estates, which consist of wharfs or warehouses, would become as worthless, as those of the same nature are at present in the town of *Boston*. Our *ship-builders*, and their attendants, their *joiners*, *carmen* &c. with all that are employed in the business of cordage and rigging, must be immediately discharged. The numerous body of *pilots* and *boatmen* must be turned adrift. Nor would it fare much better with our *shop-keepers* and *merchants*, whose families are supported by the profits arising from their respective occupations. The expensive business of all our *iron-works* must stop; and the many thousands which they provide

provide for, must, unprincipled as those wretches commonly are, be let loose upon the country, to get their living as they can.

Now all these classes of people, and many others which I have not enumerated, must have a support, and but few of them will be able to support themselves; and if their poverty is not relieved to their satisfaction, they will soon learn to carve for themselves. There are but few parishes and counties among us, which have not complained of the burthen of their own poor. But what will they say, when the burthen comes to be encreased an hundred-fold, as it necessarily must, when a general non-importation and non-exportation take place; and all their wanted resources fail them at the same time. The want of the money, of which we have been lately drained, in order to pamper the Boston fanaticks, will then be severely felt: Nor can we expect any return of assistance in our distress from that Province, as their sufferings will be much greater than ours.

In the Province of the *Massachusetts Bay*, there is a large number of populous sea-port towns, which have no other support than their fishery. The town of *Gloucester* has three hundred schooners employed in that service, with a proportionable number of hands. In the town of *Marblehead* there are supposed to be near four thousand men, and many of them with families, that know of no other means of subsistence than the cod-fishery. I might mention *Plymouth*, *Salem*, *Beverly* and a number of other towns, that are nearly in the same situation. Now, when all these fishermen are turned ashore, and their vessels become usefess; they must, with their unprovided families, disperse themselves amongst the inhabitants, and while the country affords any thing to eat, they will not starve.

But

But to return to these Colonies. I have mentioned the distress that must immediately overwhelm many orders of people, on a general stagnation of commerce; but have said nothing of our Farmers, or those that live by the cultivation of their lands.— These may think themselves a kind of *privileged* persons, and imagine that such a revolution of affairs will affect them but little; yet a very short experience will open their eyes, and convince them of the contrary. It is their farms, as all other resources will fail, that must support all the abovementioned thousands of distressed people. Who must furnish them with food? None can do it, but, **THE FARMERS.** Who must supply them with cloathing? **THE FARMERS.** Who must shelter many of them in their houses? **THE FARMERS.** And can they expect pay for all this? Alas! those poor creatures will have nothing to make payment with. And if they are employed as labourers, they are all unacquainted with the business; and their labour will turn to but little account. Indeed, were the markets abroad open, the farmer might somewhat increase the quantity of his beef, his wheat and other produce, by their means, so that his bargain would be less intolerable. But the foreign consumption, on which he is now growing rich, will entirely cease; and there will be no demand for his beef, and his wheat and other produce. All that he raises must perish on his hands, except what he expends in his own family, and on the poor that will be pressing upon him.

When all people are thus distressed; when every mind is uneasy and discontented: it will be natural for them to fall to reproaching one another, with being the authors of this general calamity. This will be productive of eternal quarrels, and riots, and disturbances,

turbances, and acts of violence, amongst ourselves; and then our misery will be compleat.

Yet after all, were it likely that these political agonies and convulsions would produce a repeal of the act in dispute, it would be *some* alleviation of our misfortunes to consider, that we should gain by them *Three pence a pound*, on all the tea we should have occasion to purchase. But my *second* objection against a general non-importation agreement is, that it will not answer the purpose.

After what has been said and done by the Colonies, a general non-importation agreement will be considered by *Great Britain* as an act of hostility, intended to *compel* her to relinquish her claim; and she will not submit to be conquered by *suicidal* weapons, any more than by force of arms. It is not pretended that she is altogether invulnerable in this part. The blow would reach her, and be felt by her; but the wound would not be mortal. The strength and vigour of her constitution would bear much more, than we are able to inflict. But—the shaft, ungraciously aimed at the vitals of our Mother, on the rebound may prove fatal to ourselves.

A total stagnation of commerce would affect *Great Britain*, in much the same manner, that it would affect her colonies, or any other commercial people; that is, it would rob her of her subsistence. — But a partial stagnation could not affect her in the same manner that we should be affected by a total stagnation. Now, the non-importation in question, while it would cause a total stagnation of our commerce, would produce no more than a partial stagnation of hers; and consequently would not place her in a situation so distressing, as it would place us. Her trade is not confined to her American Colonies.

She



She has ships and factories in every quarter of the globe; and the treasures of the East and West are perpetually flowing in upon her. She receives no necessary or useful articles from these Colonies, but what she formerly received, and may at any time be supplied with, from foreign nations. Her manufactures that are consumed in the Colonies, she can shortly find ways to dispose of at other markets.

There is one branch of this hopeful project, that will contribute immediately and directly to the advantage of *Great Britain*, almost in the same proportion that it will distress ourselves. The Reader scarcely needs to be told, that what is here meant, is the stopping all intercourse and communication between the Colonies and the *West-Indies*. As soon as this takes place, the markets of Great Britain will be supplied, not only with the quantity of goods from the *West-Indies* which they have formerly received, but with the addition of all that is now consumed in the American Colonies. The British merchants will likewise have the advantage of supplying the Islands with many articles, which at present are not scored in any of their invoices.

The West-Indians themselves indeed may be somewhat injured and disconcerted at first, by the execution of this part of the plan; but far less, than seems to be generally expected and intended by us. The Island of *Jamaica* can supply her Planters with all kinds of provisions, but butter and flour; and with all the lumber that may be required, for a hundred years to come, excepting staves and heading for their *Rum Puncheons*. These she has often received from *Hamburg*, from whence she might receive them again. But there will be no occasion for sending so far. *Canada* can supply her, and all the other islands, with these

these articles, as well as with flour, in any quantity that may be ordered; to say nothing of Georgia and the two Floridas, which abound in common lumber, at the service of the *Windward, Leeward, and Caribbee* Islands. So that after the first year, new channels may be opened, plans formed, and correspondences settled, in such a manner, that the *West-Indies* may be nearly as well supplied without our assistance, as they now are with it; and with some articles, perhaps better.

But supposing the contrary; yet what should we gain by this curious bargain? Why, the ill-will and resentment of all the West-Indians. For some years past, they have cultivated a peculiar friendship with the North-American Colonies, and proposed to themselves much happiness from a closer alliance.

They have sent hither their children, in large numbers, for their education: and many of them have brought over their families, and liberally spent the incomes of their estates among us. But when they find that, we can so ingeniously contrive schemes to distress them without benefiting ourselves; as they are generally not wanting in spirit, they will be apt to resent such ill usage, by withdrawing their sons and their families from among us, and perhaps by breaking off all further connexion with us in the way of commerce.

From what has been said, it will naturally be concluded, that by a general non-importation agreement we shall carry on a very unequal warfare with Great Britain; which will much sooner compel us to yield, than her to comply. The want of her North-American trade may hurt her, but it will not reduce her to extremity; and, if I may judge from my own feelings, nothing but the utmost extremity will induce her,

her, where she believes she has right of her side, and where her honour is deeply at stake, to give up the point in dispute.

At the time of our former non-importation, the case was materially different. The *Stamp-act* was so contrary to all our ideas of American rights, and so much was offered against the policy of the act, both here and at home, that there was no difficulty in repealing it. Afterwards when we exclaimed against the duties imposed upon paper, glass, &c. and agreed not to import the several articles loaded with duties; our views were comparatively moderate, and we had a large body of friends in England to support us. And were the proposition now only not to import, or to consume, the tea that is charged with the duty; the case would be the same that it was then—we should have the same friends that we then had—and the duty would probably be removed, on the same principle that those duties then were. But our conduct now is so wild and distracted—our tumults and disorders are carried to so unreasonable and unwarrantable a length—nay, such a spirit of rebellion has broke forth among us, and such a determined enmity against the *supremacy* of *Great Britain* now predominates in the Colonies, that we have hardly a single friend remaining in *England*. Even the Manufacturers join with all other orders of people, in condemning our extravagance; and, which is still more, the Writers and Speakers against the King's ministry allow that it is inexcusable.

It appears, therefore, that nothing will be likely to procure a repeal of the *Tea-act*, or the removal of any other grievance of the like kind, but, the restoration of peace and order amongst ourselves—a candid acknowledgment of our political errors and offences

fences—a formal allowance of the rightful supremacy in general, of *Great Britain*, over the American Colonies—a declaration of our aversion to a state of independency, with a *corresponding behaviour*—a respectful remonstrance, in the subject of taxation—an assurance of our willingness to contribute, in some equitable proportion, towards defraying the public expences—and the proposal of a reasonable plan for a general American constitution. This, it is humbly conceived, was to have been the business of the *Congress*; and if they had acted upon these principles, and with such views, not only the present, but all future generations, would *call them blessed*.

Notwithstanding all unfavorable symptoms and appearances, I would not presume to form a final judgment of the *Congress*, till their whole plan of proceedings shall be known. It is possible, that all that has been wrong may be rectified in the end; and that moderate and wise measures, tending to restore the tranquility, the happiness, the honour and safety of the Colonies, may at last be concerted. Should this appear, in the general result of their councils, the members will be entitled to the grateful respect of every American, and the mistakes made in the former part of their proceedings ought never to be mentioned to their disadvantage. But, on the other hand, should it appear, that they mean to encourage acts of hostility against *Great Britain*, or to support the madmen of *New-England* in their scheme of an *Independent Republic*: in that case, I affirm, that the *Original Contract* between them and the *most respectable* part of their constituents will be *dissolved*—that we shall be at full liberty to consult our own safety, in the manner we shall think most conducive to that end—and that we shall owe them no greater respect and obedience,

obedience, than they themselves pay to the British Parliament.

The foregoing considerations are addressed—not to those obstinate, hot-headed Zealots, who are at the bottom of all our confusions; for arguments would be as much wasted upon them, as upon men that are intoxicated with liquor—but to *all reasonable Americans*, to those who are still in the exercise of their understandings; and whose minds are open to conviction. People of this character, it is presumed, will see the necessity of giving up the present system of American politics, as essentially wrong and destructive; and of entering unanimously upon moderate and conciliating measures, as they regard the restoration of peace and tranquility in this, heretofore, happy country.

The great object in view, should be a general *American Constitution*, on a free and generous Plan, worthy of *Great Britain* to give, and of the colonies to receive. This is now become necessary to the mutual interest and honour, both of the Parent Kingdom and its American offspring. Such an establishment is only to be obtained by decent, candid and respectful application; and not by compulsion or threatening. To think of succeeding by force of arms, or by starving the nation into compliance, is a proof of shameful ignorance, pride and stupidity. All such projects must operate ten times more forceably against ourselves, than against *Great Britain*. They are, at best, but *Penny wise*, and *Pound foolish*; and therefore inconsistent with every maxim of sound wisdom and genuine Patriotism.

All violent opposition to lawful authority partakes of the nature of rebellion; and a rebellion of the Colonies, whether it should prove successful or unsuccessful,

cessful, would necessarily terminate in ruin and destruction. We are now in the utmost danger of being hurried, before we are sensible of it, into this desperate and dreadful state ||, when most of us think that we have grievances to complain of, in consequence of the exercise of unconstitutional power; and when many are practicing every wicked art to seduce us from our allegiance. It therefore highly concerns us to be upon our guard, at such a critical season as this. A small degree of reflection would convince us, that the grievances in question, supposing them to be real, are, at most, no more than a just ground for decent remonstrance, but not a sufficient reason for forcible resistance. These two things

|| Among the various denominations of Americans, most men would be startled and shocked at the proposal of entering into an open *rebellion*; but seditious principles, that directly lead to, and must finally bring on, a rebellion, have been gradually instilled into many of them, without alarming their apprehensions, under the cover of fair and specious pretences. Wrong principles are naturally productive of wrong conduct; and one wrong step prepares the way to another, and that to another, till at last there can be no retreating.

*Nemo repente fit turpissimus, i. e.* No one arrives at a gross and enormous pitch of wickedness at once, is an old and just observation; and it is particularly true with regard to *rebellion*. The grand English rebellion, in the last century, was a remarkable proof of it. In the first place, men gave way to unfavourable suspicions concerning the King and his Ministers, and thus lost the reverence that is due to the regal authority. They then began to take pleasure in blackening the King's character, and in giving an invidious turn to all his actions. From thence they proceeded to *caballing* against him; and, at last, they took up arms, deluded with the pretence of liberty and property, and religious rights. And when they had once taken up arms against their Sovereign, they found it necessary to destroy him, for their own security. This soon brought on a general destruction of liberty and property, and the ruin of the nation, as well as of themselves. Such is the common progress, and the effect, of rebellions in general.



things are widely and essentially different; and if we mistake one for the other, the consequence may be fatal.

It has been fully shewn, that a rebellion of the colonies can have no reasonable prospect of succeeding; and that it must prove the destruction of all that are concerned in it. But supposing that it were likely to succeed, it is of the utmost importance to consider, what we should gain by it; which would be, after the desolation of our country, and the sacrifice of thousands of lives, an exemption from the authority of the British Parliament, and subjection to the authority of an American republic. A blessed exchange this! especially if we take into the account the character of our future masters. The principal conductors of the rebellion, would naturally have the principal authority in the republic; and these are men, whose tyrannical usurpation would be more oppressive, than the scorpion power of the most despotic Prince in Europe. There would be no peace in the colonies, till we all submitted to the republican zealots and bigots of New-England; whose tender mercies, when they had power in their hands, have been ever cruel, towards all that presumed to differ from them in matters either of religion or government.

As soon therefore, as people of this stamp come to be in possession of an established authority, which would be the case should the rebellion succeed, the dire effects of their persecuting, and intolerant spirit will be dismally felt by all that shall have courage to dissent; particularly, the members of the Church of England, the Friends or people called Quakers, the Baptists, those that belong to the German and Dutch Churches, and the moderate and candid part of the Presbyterians themselves. All these classes of people then, by promoting the present scheme for an independent government, are absurdly acting against their own interest and honour, and contributing to prepare yokes for their own necks.

O my infatuated Countrymen! My deluded Fellow-Subjects, and Fellow-Christians! Open your eyes, I entreat you; awake from your dreams, and regard your own safety!

As to you, who are members of the *Church of England*; it is amazing, that any of you should be so blind to your own interests, and such apostates from common sense, as to countenance and co-operate with a plan of proceedings, which, if it succeeds, will at once distress and disgrace you. You are endeavouring to provide arms for your enemies, and to put power into the hands of those who will use it against you. You are setting up a sort of people for your masters, whose principles you despise, and who were always fond of subduing by the iron



rod of oppression, all those, whose principles or sentiments were different from their own. Their inveterate enmity to the Church of England, has polluted the annals of the British history. Their intolerance in *England*, towards the members of the Church, when the sovereign power was usurped by them, is recorded in characters of blood; and the same spirit was dreadfully triumphant in *New-England*, from the first settlement of the country, till the mild disposition of Parliamentary power interposed to restrain it. In 1629, they banished and transported even some of the original patentees of *New-England*, who were men of abilities and of a respectable character, merely because they discovered them to be Churchmen, declaring to them as they sent them off, that *NEW-ENGLAND WAS NO PLACE FOR SUCH AS THEY* ||. Their descendents, who inherit their principles, are the very persons that will govern you, if the projected revolution should take place. As they have now broke loose from the authority of Parliament, which for some time past restrained them from mischief, they begin to appear in their natural colours. They have already resumed the old work of persecuting the Church of England, by every method in their power. The members of it are daily misrepresented, insulted and abused by them; and they have lately driven several of its clergy from their parishes and families, which are left in a state that is truly deplorable.

The pretence indeed is, that the members of the Church in *New-England* are thus roughly treated, on account of their *political*, and not of their *religious* principles. But, Good God! is there to be no liberty of the press, no liberty of speaking, no liberty even of thinking, on political subjects, where those republicans have the ascendant? This is despotism with a vengeance; and such as we must be all fools if we voluntarily submit to. Nor will the case be at all better, with regard to religion. For it is a truth, which the history of all ages confirms, that those who will distress men on account of their *political* principles, will not scruple to persecute them for the sake of their *religious* principles, when they have it in their power.

You then, who are members of the Church of England, must renounce your principles relating both to religion and government, or you can expect no quarter under the administration of such intemperate zealots. You must cease to be Churchmen,

or

§ This appears from a valuable book written by a co-temporary author Mr. MORTON, and entitled, *New-England's Memorial*.

or become victims of their intolerance. Indeed it must be confessed, and I am sorry to say, that many of you appear already to have renounced one half of your principles; or you could not proceed, as you do, in direct opposition to the established rules and doctrines of the Church. The principles of submission and obedience to lawful authority, are as inseparable from a sound, genuine member of the Church of England, as any religious principles whatever. This Church has always been famed and respected for its *loyalty*, and its regard to order and government. Its annals have been never stained with the history of plots and conspiracies, treasons and rebellions. Its members are instructed in their duty to government, by Three *Homilies on Obedience*, and six against *Rebellion*, which are so many standing lessons to secure their fidelity. They are also taught to pray in the Litany, that the Almighty would preserve them, "from all sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion." And more than one solemn office is provided, for the annual commemoration of former deliverances from the power of those, whether Papists or Protestants, "who turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction." But if you regard none of these things, you are untoward, undutiful, and degenerate sons of the Church; and she will be ashamed to own you for her children.

However, even those of you who are but half-principled in the doctrines of the Church, will be looked upon with an evil eye, un- the intended republic; and they must give up the other part of their principles, before they can be secure against harm or molestation. The Church of England has always been the great obstacle in the way of those republican fanaticks; and when once they are established, no appearance of a Churchman will escape their resentment, or be tolerated among them.

Nor will it fare better with the *Friends*, or people called *Quakers*; however peaceable in their disposition, or however useful members of society. What they formerly suffered in *New-England* under the same sort of men that must and will govern this country, if it should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the British parliament, is too well known, and can never be forgotten. You, my respected friends, have experienced the genuine spirit and temper of their authority; and you can never wish to have your necks again encumbered with that *Presbyterian* yoke of bondage, which neither you nor your fathers were able to bear. On the other hand, you have the sense to see, and the gratitude to confess, that you have been happy under the relief and protection afforded you by the King and Parliament, in common with other good subjects. You will therefore

fore remember (to use your own expressive language) "that, as under divine Providence, you are indebted to the King and his royal ancestors, for the continued favour of enjoying your religious liberties, you are under deep obligations (on *this* occasion) to manifest your loyalty and fidelity; and to discourage every attempt which may be made by any, to excite disaffection, or disrespect to him."

The *Baptists* have never had fair quarter allowed them by the demagogues of *New-England*; and they are perpetually complaining, from year to year, of the acts of oppression and violence with which they are harassed by them. Now if the people of *New-England* have been thus intolerant, towards those that differed from them only with regard to the case of baptism, while they possessed an authority that was subordinate to the British Parliament; what cruelty, towards all that dissent from them, may be expected, should they be armed with absolute and incontrollable power?

As to the *Germans* and *Dutch*, to whose industry and good behaviour the Colonies are greatly indebted; if they should become subject to the jurisdiction abovementioned, they will be considered as persons, not only of a different religion; but of different nations and languages, from whom they have such an aversion, that they have never admitted them to settle in *New-England*; and consequently all the Colonists who are of a *foreign* growth or extraction, must expect to meet with a double portion of rancour and severity from their new masters.

Nor can the moderate part of the *Presbyterians*, and *Congregationalists* themselves, have any prospect of continuing free from molestation under their government. Nothing can be more odious to bigots, than generosity and candour; or more intolerable in the opinion of the furious, than moderation and meekness. This assertion might be supported by the history of all ages and nations; but we need not go far for a confirmation of it. For among the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* in the Colonies, when the meek and the moderate, the candid and generous have been brought before the tribunals of the bigotted and furious, as has frequently happened; they have been treated with as much unrelenting rancour and roughness, as if they had been Mahometans and Heathens. So that there is no chance or probability, if the latter should come to the possession of despotic power, which is the aim of the revolution they propose; that their dispensations towards the former, would be less cruel than they commonly have been.

In a word : no order or denunciation of men amongst us would enjoy liberty or safety, if subjected to the fiery genius of a New-England Republican Government ; the little finger of which we should soon experience to be heavier than the loins of Parliament. *This* has sometimes chastised us with *whips*, when we deserved punishment ; but *that* would torment us with *scorpions*, whether we deserved it or not.

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## P O S T S C R I P T.

I Have said [see page 20.] that the Popish religion is not established in *Canada* by the late act, but *only tolerated* ; and that this was one of the *conditions* on which the country surrendered to the crown of *Great Britain*. Since the greatest part of this *Address* was printed off, the papers published by the *Congress* have come to hand ; in which they say, that “ the Roman Catholic Religion, instead of being *tolerated*, as stipulated by “ the treaty of peace, is *established*,” by the act.

In order that the reader may see with his own eyes, and judge for himself of this matter, I will present him with the following *Extracts*, from the *Treaty of Surrender*, the *Definitive Treaty of Peace*, and the *Act for more effectual provision*, &c.

### EXTRACT from the CAPITULATION of CANADA.

Art. XXVII. “ The free exercise of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, shall subsist *entire* ; in such manner, that “ all the states and people of the towns and countries, places, “ and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the church- “ es, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without be- “ ing molested in any manner *directly or indirectly*.”

“ These people shall be obliged by the English government, “ to pay to the priests the *tithes*, and all the taxes they were used “ to pay, under the government of his most Christian Majesty.”

GRANTED, as to the free exercise of their religion. The obligation of paying the *tithes* to the priests, will depend on the King's pleasure.

Art. XXVIII. “ The Chapter, Priests, Curates, and Missionaries, shall continue with an *intire liberty*, their exercise “ and function of their *Cures* in the parishes of the towns and “ countries.”

GRANTED.

## EXTRACT from the TREATY of PARIS.

Art. IV. So far as relates to the matter in question. " His Britannic Majesty on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada. He will consequently give the most effectual orders, that his new Roman catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit."

## EXTRACT from the CANADA ACT.

" And for the more perfect security and ease of the minds of the inhabitants of the said province, it is hereby declared, that his Majesty's subjects professing the religion of the Church of Rome, or and in the province of Quebec, may have, hold and enjoy the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King's supremacy, declared and established by an act made in the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, over all the dominions and countries which then did, or thereafter should belong, to the Imperial Crown of this realm; and that the clergy of the said Church may hold, receive and enjoy, their accustomed dues and rights, with respect to such persons only, as shall profess the said religion.

" Provided nevertheless, that it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to make such provision out of the rest of the said accustomed dues and rights, for the encouragement of the Protestant Religion, and for the maintenance and support of a Protestant Clergy within the said province, as he or they shall, from time to time, think necessary and expedient."

The next clause of the act provides an oath of allegiance, to be taken by the Canadian Papists, instead of the oath required by the 1st Elizabeth. The succeeding clause enacts, " that all his Majesty's Canadian subjects, within the province of Quebec, the religious orders and communities only excepted, may also hold and enjoy their property and possessions," &c. The last clause provides, that the King shall have the power of " creating, constituting, and appointing such courts of ECCLESIASTICAL Jurisdiction, within and for the said province of Quebec, and appointing from time to time, the judges and officers thereof, as his Majesty, his heirs and successors, shall think necessary and proper for the circumstances of the said province."

Thus we see in what manner the toleration of the Popish religion was secured to the Canadians by treaty; and the act of Parliament allows them no more than, the free exercise of their religion, without being molested, in the public use of it, and that entire liberty in religious matters, for which they had stipulated.

Indeed the parochial Clergy, are permitted to enjoy those tithes, by which they had been always supported. This was proposed in the treaty; but in was neither granted, nor rejected,

by the British General, who left it to depend upon the King's pleasure. After thirteen years experience of the dutiful, peaceable and good behaviour of his Canadian subjects, and at a time when his other American subjects were become turbulent, licentious, and refractory, the King, to whose goodness the matter had been referred, thought proper, with the approbation and consent of Parliament, to comply with the reasonable expectations and requests of the Canadians, in allowing the clergy to enjoy their wonted support, under certain restrictions and limitations. But this indulgence by no means converts the stipulated toleration into an establishment, as the Gentlemen of the Congress are pleased to assert.

*Tithes* in *Canada* are the property of the Romish church; and permitting a tolerated church to enjoy its own property, is far short of the idea of an establishment. If the city of *New-York* should be conquered by the Papists from *France*, or the Independents from *New-England*; (which I believe in my conscience would be much the worst event of the two) and at the time of its surrender, the corporation of *Trinity-Church* should contract for the free exercise of their religion, &c. the confirmation of this liberty, with a permission still to enjoy the estate that belongs to them, (upon which some people have long cast an envious and wishful eye) would not amount to what is commonly understood by a religious establishment. An established religion, is a religion which the civil authority engages, not only to protect, but to support; and a religion that is not provided for by the civil authority, but which is left to provide for itself, or to subsist on the provision it has already made, can be no more than a tolerated religion.

Now the Popish religion in *Canada* the Government is under no engagement to provide for; it is only allowed to enjoy such provisions as it has made for itself, in a general way; and when this proposition is curtailed, whenever a Papist embraces the Protestant religion; and the various religious orders and communities are entirely dispossessed of their respective effects. But it evidently appears from the act, that it is the object of Government to make provision, as fast as the state of the country will admit of it, "for the encouragement of the Protestant religion, and for the maintenance and support of a Protestant Clergy."

From what has been offered, the inference is clear, that the Popish religion is only tolerated in *Canada*; and that it is meant to establish the Protestant religion in that colony. If, after all, men will confound the meaning of words, and make no distinction between toleration and establishment, they degrade themselves into the rank of quibblers and praters, and it is loss of time to dispute with them.

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The Reader is desired to correct with his Pen the following *Errata*.

- Page 4 line 11 for *excite* read *excite*,
- line 14 for *could*, read *can*,
- p. 7 l. 21 for *suppose*, read *suspect*.
- p. 10 l. 30 for *relinquish*, read *relinquish*.
- p. 14 l. 28 for *confusing*, read *confusing*.
- p. 18 l. 33 after *express*, add *that*.
- p. 23 l. 6 for *ascribe*, read *describe*.
- p. 33 l. 5 for *retro*, read *retro*.
- p. 34 l. 12 for *day*, read *way*.
- p. 40 l. 14 for *wanted*, read *wanted*.

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