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1918

THE
REWARD
OF
TORYISM.

A DISCOURSE ON JUDGES V. 23,

BY NATHANIEL WHITAKER, D. D.

DELIVERED AT THE

TABERNACLE IN SALEM,

MAY, 1783.

Thus saith the Lord, because thou hast let go a man out of thy hand whom
I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy
people for his people.

1 KINGS, XX. 42.

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PREFACE.

THE times are my apology for publishing this discourse. I am prompted to it by a hope it may suggest some useful thoughts to men in public and private stations; and awaken my fellow-citizens to attend to their danger and safety. This being gained, my end is chiefly answered.

My former discourse on this text, would doubtless had cost me my head, had England prevailed; and I suppose that many among us will be displeased with this; and call the author, *sanguine*, *cruel*, *revengeful*, and the like; and he somewhat expects to meet with secret abuse under other pretexs, from some among us, who have tofy hearts, with LIBERTY for their motto, in order to deceive. And perhaps some may even suborn false witness against him, to put him out of the way, as against Stephen, and it would be no marvel. But as his aim is to serve his God and his country, he dare trust in him; and under him rely on the worthy friendship and firmness of the true sons of liberty and virtue, to keep him in countenance and rescue him, should the Tories come upon him in troops. To those worthy friends of liberty and mankind, in court, and out, are these pages dedicated, by their zealous friend and brother,

N. WHITAKER.

A DISCOURSE.

JUDGES, CHAP. V. VERSE 23.

Curse ye Meroz, said the Angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord, against the mighty.

ABOUT six years ago I delivered to you a Discourse from these words.—At that time our public affairs called on us for the most vigorous exertions in defence of our lives, liberties, families and fortunes, which were then in great danger, not only from the power of Britain, but more from the machinations and plots of inbred enemies.

To excite all, as far as in my power, to guard against these, I then shewed the danger we were in from such, whether found in the cabinet, the army or the country.

This discourse was then published, although the times were perilous, and doubtless is in many of your hands ; the perusal of which I recommend at this time, as therein are laid the grounds and reasons of that line of conduct Providence now calls you to pursue.

The Rubicon is now past : Sisera is conquered : Jabin is reduced to reason : the oppressor is confounded : the haughty are humbled : the prey is delivered from the mighty : *America is Free !!* Those who lorded it over us, who threatened to bring us to their feet, are constrained to acknowledge us free and independent, and relinquish all claim to our obedience and submission.

Many of the inferences I then drew from the justice of our cause, the infatuation of Britain, and the barbarous wickedness of our enemies, you may now see verified in this great and glorious revolution ; and the events serve to establish several of the observations I then made. Happy will it be for these States if they shall have wisdom and virtue so to conduct in this important crisis, when the disappointed foe is looking after the prey, snatched from his devouring jaws, with regret and chagrin, and eagerly wishing for an opportunity to ensnare and circumvent us,

as to shun those dangers that my fears prompt me now to suggest and predict.

Among the various means it hath pleased God to make use of to rouse people to vigor in the late contest for freedom, that discourse, with others of a like nature, may doubtless be allowed a place.

Our Independence is gained, but our danger is not over, nor is our work done. Great Britain is not yet our friend, and many of the inhabitants of Meroz are still in our land, and many who fled from us in our distress, and would afford us no help, yea assisted and comforted our enemies, are, under the patronage of Britain, seeking to return, and enjoy those privileges they used their utmost endeavors to deprive us of. The time, the proper time is now come to execute on them the command of God in my text, viz. *Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord.*

If the cases are similar, the command is binding. If it can be shewn that they are not, all must own it will not apply in the present case. But if those who have refused to come to our help against the mighty, but especially those who have gone over to, counselled, comforted and assisted the enemy, and murdered their brethren, and with more than savage barbarity, triumphed in their torture and blood, whom the fortune of war had put into their hands: if such, I say, are not guilty of the sin of Meroz,* if they can be considered as *coming to the help of the Lord against the mighty*, then indeed we ought to bless, and not curse them.

*I have been informed that a certain preacher, exhorting his hearers to a spirit of forgiveness towards the tories, and to restore them to their former privileges among us; in order to blunt the edge of this discourse, which a few days before he heard me deliver, told his hearers, nearly in these words, "That as to *Meroz*, it is uncertain what is intended by it; whether a fallen angel, or a general of some army, or some town or village; for that the Hebrew said nothing of it." But to curse the inhabitants of a fallen angel, or of a general, sounds very odd; not so, of a town or village, &c. As to the Hebrew, he must be incapable even of reading it, who cannot find *Meroz* in the text. What town, village or territory this was, is uncertain: but reason readily concludes, that they were of the community which fought against Sisera. Such kind of evasions are but a too clear proof, that the preacher is a friend to, if not an inhabitant of *Meroz*, whether that be a general, or a fallen angel. We never read that men inhabit fallen angels, but often that they inhabit or dwell in men. Whether the talking, sneering, &c. of said preacher, while he heard this discourse, were owing to this or some other laudable cause, I do not determine.

But does there need a moment's consideration to determine this point? Let the advocates for the tories of these States shew, if they can, from scripture or reason, that they have not been guilty of the sin of *Meroz*, and they will clear them of the curse. But if they stand charged, convicted and condemned for the same sin, then we are bound by invincible obligations from heaven, reason, religion, our own safety, from our fore-fathers and from posterity, to *curse them*; or as it is emphatically expressed in the Hebrew, *in cursing, to curse them*.

See then the sin of *Meroz*. They did not commit any acts of violence, insult, barbarity or murder; they did not burn, or assist in burning the towns and dwellings of their brethren; they did not, that we know, go over to, assist, counsel, or comfort the enemy, as our tories have done: no; they only neglected their duty; they did not come to their help, when their enemies oppressed them, nor assist in casting off the galling yoke.

This, this is the only crime, the single offence which brought on them this bitter curse. But the tories of these States, many of them, have not only neglected their duty, but endeavored to recommend themselves to the tyrant, by the most barbarous treatment of their brethren, as many yet living can testify.

The consequence therefore follows, *A FORTIORI*, with greater force, that those persons fall with greater propriety under the curse, in proportion as their offence is more heinous.

The point I now mean to discuss, and which naturally results from the words, is this—That when God hath spirited a people, under oppression, to shake off the galling yoke of tyranny, and given them victory over their oppressors, it is his will and positive command, that *in cursing they curse* such of the community as have not joined with them in their struggle for liberty, and especially those who have aided and assisted their oppressors.

I say, such of the community, for these are not only more aggravatedly guilty than the common enemy, but they are now supposed to be in the hands of the states, and, as it is their duty, so it is in their power to curse them.

To illustrate this, I shall

I. Observe as a known and undoubted truth, that the people of these States have, for years, been struggling hard for their liberties, against the mighty power of Britain. The evidence of this is so clear that it needs only to be mentioned.

II. That the tories of these states, whether still residing among us, or gone over to the enemy, are guilty of the sin of *Meroz*.

This is evident from what I have already said, and needs no further illustration.

III. Prove the assertion in the proposition, that it is the command of God that *in cursing we curse them*.

IV. Shew what is implied in this curse.

V. Offer some thoughts as to the mode of treating them.

VI. Point out some of the fatal consequences which must attend not inflicting the curse on them.

The two first I pass over, as being already fully confirmed, and come to

III. The proof of the assertion, viz. That it is the will and command of God that we curse such of the community as have opposed, or even neglected to assist us in our endeavours to secure our liberty. Did men believe the holy scriptures to be the infallible word of God, and the unerring rule both of duty to God and man, and of sound policy, no other evidence than this text, would be necessary to establish the point. But alas, men are generally more attached to the wanderings of depraved reason (and at best she is a wretched wanderer, when left without divine revelation) than to the unerring maxims and dictates of God's word. Yet as there are some who are so wise as to pay more regard to a *thus saith the Lord*, than to the most accurate, refined and cogent reasons of the greatest philosophers; so I shall offer some evidences of the point, from scripture; and then for the conviction of mere reasoners and deists (of which the number, I fear, increases daily among us) I will offer an argument or two from reason and common sense.

I begin with my text as a demonstration of the point. The words are emphatical, and the more so, because repeat-

ed, *Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord ; in cursing curse the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.*

This is delivered to us by Deborah under divine inspiration, and she assures us that the angel of the Lord gave this in command. This was not the effect of an angry, malicious, revengeful, spirit ; nor the dictate of prosperous pride or disappointed rage ; but delivered by command from the angel of God's presence, the kind and compassionate Saviour and Redeemer of sinners, who thought this curse on such atrocious offenders, suitable for a solemn and joyful song of praise to God for deliverance from an oppressing tyrant.

It is worthy of notice that the command is peremptory, and admits of no debate. They were not left at liberty to curse them or not, as they might feel disposed ; but God binds them to this by all his authority, which is absolute and supreme over all men, and which none can evade. Therefore the neglect would have been in them, and will be in us, an act of direct and impudent disobedience to, and contempt of his authority *who is heir and Lord of all things* in heaven and earth, and who disposes of people, kingdoms and crowns, as he pleases.

This glorious angel not only enjoins this by his authority, but shews the reason to draw us to obedience ; *because they came not to the help of the Lord.* q. d. "They refused to be on the side of God, truth and freedom ; they chose the tyrant for their master by their neglect ; they trusted more to his power than mine : they have cast the greatest contempt on me, and have discouraged the hearts of my people. Now therefore take part with your Lord, who hath given you the victory, and execute his just anger on those who deserted his people and cause, and shew that you are my friends ; that the cause you have been defending is my cause and that those who opposed it are my enemies. Vindicate my honor, and plead my cause against those who forsook me in my streights, when the mighty threatened to waste my inheritance."

God is pleased to represent himself as standing in need of the help of his people ; and as injured and abused when they desert him.

The scripture affords further evidence to this assertion, in repeated injunctions given by Moses to the tribes of *Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh*, not to desert their brethren ; but to go over Jordan, and assist in subduing their enemies. God stood in no need of them ; yet he tells them that such neglect will be like the sin of the spies who discouraged the hearts of the people, for which Israel were condemned to wander thirty-eight years, and their carcases to fall in the wilderness : and he assures them, *that their sin should find them out.* Num. xxxii. 6—23

A further confirmation of this assertion is taken from 1 Kings, 20 Chap. where we have an account of two remarkable defeats of *Benhadad* king of Syria, which reduced him to the last extremity, so that he *fled into an inner chamber* to hide himself. His servants move him to cast himself on the mercy of the conqueror, much in the same manner as the tories are cast on the mercy of these States. He made the trial and succeeded. The king of Israel, who was among the most abandoned of men for all kinds of wickedness, now feels, or, for some political, sinister end, pretends to feel compassion, calls *Benhadad* his brother, takes him into his chariot, makes a covenant with him, and sends him away in peace. His motive to this was carnal, which is always foolish policy. He doubtless expected great things from *Benhadad*, who, he thought would be very grateful for saving his life ; in that instant he appeared so, and promised to restore to *Ahab* the cities which his father had taken from him. This was a fine offer. But how mean, how unworthy *Ahab's* acceptance ! He might with more honor and justice have replied to this cringing flatterer, "no thanks to you, *Benhadad*, for your offer. Those cities and *Damascus* too are in my power. Remember with what insult and abuse you treated me last year, when, distrusting my strength, I complied with all your first demands ; but not content with that, you altered them, rose higher, and demanded my absolute submission to your sovereign will ; yea to the will and plunder of your servants. This I refused ; and when you attacked me, God delivered your immense army into my hand. You then blasphem-

ed the God whose cause I defended, and said he *was not the God of the vallies*. Determined on my ruin, you again attacked me in the vallies, where you have been taught that God is as great as in the hills, and by the miraculous victories he hath given me over your vast power, hath shewn me that you are to be destroyed for your horrid wickedness, injustice and oppression. I will therefore accept of none of your cringing offers ; but put it forever out of your power to insult and oppress any more."

Had Ahab answered him thus, and put him to death, he would not have heard that dreadful sentence from God, verse 42. *Thus saith the Lord, because thou hast let go out of thy hand, a man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people*: which sentence was executed on Ahab three years after.

The severe punishment threatened, shews the greatness of Ahab's sin in thus sparing a man God had appointed to utter destruction for the baseness of his temper and conduct.

Many other evidences might be adduced from scripture to confirm the point, but I proceed

2dly. To confirm it by reason, the law of nature, and common sense, which teach the moral fitness of this command, therefore of moral obligation.

The principal objection against this is drawn from the excellency of a tender, forgiving spirit, which is also enjoined by our Lord in his command to forgive our enemies. It must be acknowledged, that if the above assertion is repugnant to this, it ought by no means to be admitted.— But those must be very ignorant of the nature of a forgiving spirit, and of Christ's command too, who suppose that executing public justice on felons and murderers, is inconsistent therewith. Should this be admitted, we must resign all the good and happiness of society into the hands of thieves, robbers and assassins. Love, forgiveness of enemies, and compassion, are most amiable virtues ; but they degenerate into criminal weakness, as they spring from a vitiated heart, when they are employed to dis-

charge criminals from condign punishment. Several reasons shew the weakness of this objection, and confirm the assertion.

I. The good and safety of the public require this.— Caiaphas the high priest spake the truth when he said, *it was necessary that one man should die, and that the whole nation should not perish.* The maxim was true ; but there the application was wrong, as there was no danger to the nation from Christ's setting up for the kingdom, (of which he was accused) but in the present case, nothing more just. God and reason teach, that they who endanger the safety of the community, should be removed from it ; for the happiness of many is of more value than of a few : therefore we are bound to seek the good of the State, in preference to that of individuals.

But it is manifest that the state cannot be safe while the tories remain among us, unless their principles are changed, and their whole man renewed, which we have not the least reason to hope for, as no new arguments have been offered, and no new principles can be supposed to have taken place in them. For the sake of carrying the bag, they, like Judas, wish to return among us, and like him, they will sell us for thirty pieces of silver. Therefore, if we do not curse them, we shall curse the public, which will suffer more than all those traitors will ever compensate. But I shall have occasion to speak more on this point under the sixth head.

II. A further evidence of this point is taken from that moral law, known and acknowledged by all nations, viz. *That he who sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.* The reason of this law is obvious, viz. That a murderer is a pest to society ; that none are safe while persons so abandoned have it in their power to do mischief ; and therefore they must be put away from the public. But the tories of these States have been notoriously guilty of shedding our blood, and consequently we are bound to curse them.

But I pass to shew,

IV. What is implied in the curse we are commanded to inflict on them.

I take this to be nothing more nor less than inflicting on them the punishment they deserve. There are some crimes which it is better, and more for the public good to pardon, than to punish with rigor ; but toryism cannot be ranked among them ; the offence is too high, and the subjects of it too abandoned and left to all virtuous principles, to be allowed a residence in and converse with the public, and therefore God commands us to curse them.

Some may think that this command countenances a malevolent temper of mind, such as wicked persons indulge when they utter bitter and profane curses against their neighbours. But this is a great mistake ; for the curse required is a serious, deliberate, religious act of justice, which God requires of us, as *a terror to evil doers, and an encouragement and protection to them that do well ;* and to cleanse our land from the guilt of blood which these men have shed in abundance : and in the guilt of which we shall involve ourselves, just so far as we act or wish to skreen them from condign punishment. Thus saith the Lord, *he that doeth violence to the blood of any person, shall flee to the pit, let no man slay him.* Prov. xxviii. 17. *i. e.* let every one curse him, by joining in executing the just sentence of condemnation on him. When God says, Deut. xxi. 23. "*he that is hanged is cursed of God,*" it is evident, verse, 22. that nothing is intended but that he is punished according to the divine will. *If a man commit a sin worthy of death, and he be to be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree, &c.*—Those, and only those who are worthy of death are accused of God ; and none else ought to be so cursed of men. The sentence of condemnation is the curse ; and this ought to be passed according to the nature of their crimes ; and for the same reasons it must be executed. If the tories have been guilty of treason against these States ; if they are chargeable with much of the innocent blood that hath been shed, then they ought to be cursed, or condemned and punished ; and no man can take their part, or wish to skreen them from the curse, without proving himself to be an abettor of their crimes, and partaker in their sins ; and all

who desire to maintain justice, peace, liberty and safety (the very objects of our exertions and expence of blood and treasure for eight years past) must concur in executing the curse on them, or forfeit their character and waste their conscience. I pass

V. To offer some thoughts as to the method of treating the inhabitants of *Meroz*, who have belonged, or do yet belong to these States.

Doubtless some difference should be made among those who came not to our aid against the enemy. There are different characters among them, which call for different treatment. I shall wave a particular description of them, and rank the whole under two heads, viz. those who have been commonly called *Neuters*; and those who have taken an active part against us.

I. *Neuters*, if there can be any in a case of such importance. But strict neutrality, I conceive, cannot be admitted, except in things in their own nature indifferent, *i. e.* where the interest of beings capable of happiness is not concerned. The law of love binds all men to take the side of truth, justice, liberty and happiness, and those who are not for, must be against them; and the part they take, when these are opposed, discovers their friendship for, or enmity against them. Nothing can excuse inactivity but want of knowledge of the case, and opportunity for exertion. Prov. xxiv. 11, 12. *If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that be ready to be slain: If thou sayest, behold, I know it not, doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it; and shall he not render to every man according to his works?* There are but two sides to any case, a right and wrong; and they who neglect to take the right side, when in their power, must stand chargeable with all the ill consequences that follow, or that might reasonably be supposed to follow from such neglect.

Therefore when I speak of *Neuters*, I would be understood to mean those who, having knowledge of our cause, and opportunity to assist, yet have stood by as idle spec-

tators, and have kept one foot, at it were on American liberty, and the other on British despotism, ever ready to step into that scale where they thought their interests would be most secure.

Among these may be ranked those who, in the beginning of our troubles, talked and acted in favour of British tyranny : many such when the current grew strong against them, shifted sides, and put on the guise of friends. We cannot determine that none of these were true penitents ; but in general they have given no very convincing proofs of it. If they are, such ought to be forgiven ; but we should be careful how we trust them in our public affairs.

Others, from open toryism have appeared warm for our cause, whose conversion, there is too much reason to suspect, was owing to a view of profit by speculating in trade, privateering, or of some post in the army or State ; into which, men of such principles, will stick at nothing to worm themselves ; and such have generally been a kind of dead weight on all our movements.

All such, of whatever description, who have not, as they had opportunity, exerted themselves in our glorious cause, if they should be allowed to continue among us, (which may perhaps be best with respect to some) yet they ought forever to be secluded from our councils, and the more manifest of them, be deprived of the liberties of freemen, rendered incapable of voting for, or holding the meanest office in the states.

There is another sort who may be termed *Neuters* by some, who have done more mischief to the interests of freedom, and caused the shedding of more blood than any who have gone over and joined with the enemy ; I mean those who have carried on a trade with the enemy during the war. These by draining off our money and sending it to the enemy, have enabled them prosecute the war.*

*The great Commoner, Pitt, late Lord Chatham, said in Parliament, " That the trade of America had enabled Great Britain to carry her arms through the world." And it is evident that our trade with her, has enabled her to carry on the war with us. Had she not drawn money from us, during the war, and been obliged to send her cash out of the kingdom to pay her troops, all the cash in that empire must have been exhausted in a few years, as it is computed not to exceed sixteen millions ; this would have rendered

There may be some who have engaged in this trade inadvertently, not seeing the fatal consequences. But many have prosecuted it with determinate resolution, in defiance of conscience and all the laws that have been made against it. The first ought to be forgiven; the last should be considered as most dangerous members in the community, secluded from all the privileges of free men, and never allowed to import goods into any of the States from any part of the world. If even those who have inadvertently dipt into this trade, cannot avoid the shocking reflection, that they have been instrumental in shedding the blood of their brethren; what remorse and anguish must seize those (when conscience is awake) who have knowingly assisted the enemy to murder them! But alas, the love of gold has rendered these wretched speculators and sharpers callous to all feelings of conscience, and fitted them for any line of conduct however base and unworthy! And that which adds to the distressing idea is that those persons who have been most active in shedding so much innocent blood, will probably (as wealth begets power) in a short time become possessed of the reins of government, direct, or rather pervert the councils of the United States, lull us back into the hand of our enemies, and rivet on us the galling yoke of tyranny more firmly than ever; while the friend to his country, who has virtuously espoused her cause, and sacrificed his all in her defence, may see himself sink into silent contempt, his lands and possessions held and enjoyed by the *Neuters*, or by those very American British-factors who, by their trade with her, have supported their plundering armies; yea even by those who have openly joined our enemies.

II. The other class of tories are, those who have taken an active part against us, of which class are all those who

their bank notes as worthless as our continental bills. But the trade carried on by our speculating tories, to New-York, Canada, Halifax, and neutral West-India islands, and by smuggling more directly to Great-Britain, drew our hard money into the hands of the merchants of those places, who freely parted with it to the troops for bills drawn on England, by which they procured a new supply of goods, which, by means of these murderous traders, found their way among us again, and so drew a constant stream of our treasure, and so of our blood into their power. The small check given to this iniquitous trade last year, humbled the pride of Britain.

have deserted us and gone over to the enemy. It may be said, that even among these there are different characters, and some whose crimes are more aggravated than others. This is readily admitted, and therefore, were they in our power, they ought to receive different degrees of punishment. But the most innocent of these are highly criminal. These may be divided into two sorts ; those who went to the British from fear of the issue, and have remained quiet among them ; and those who, from hope of favour, pensions, promotions, or interests of any kind, went over, counselled, assisted and comforted the enemy, and lent all their aid in the war against us. These last, I should suppose, not even a semi-tory in the States could wish to return, lest those hands so long soaked in the blood of their brethren ; those hearts so long inured to barbarity and slaughter, to burning and devastation, should, as it were by habitual impulse act over the same scenes with them. For, let the Ethiopian change his skin, and the Leopard his spots, then will such abandoned wretches cease to do evil, and learn to do well ; then, and not till then, may we hope they will be safe members of society, and leave their murder and treason.

As to the first sort, what plea can be offered for them ? Why ; they were good and honest men ; they had no enmity to us, nor to the cause of freedom ; they wished to have peace, liberty and safety, but they feared the issue ; viz. that Great Britain would prevail, and that they might suffer : they wished no hurt to America, but only sought safety for themselves.

This perhaps is the best plea that can be made for them. But by seeking safety in this way, did they not discourage and weaken our hands, as the spies did the Israelites, and are guilty of a like sin ? and did they not encourage the enemy to prosecute the war, and thereby became accessory to the death and slaughter of thousands of their brethren ?

No man is so void of sense as to imagine that Great-Britain would ever have begun, much less prosecuted the war for so many years, and after so many defeats and disappointments, had all those who went to her help from a-

mong us, and all who were her secret friends who resided here, been firm and resolute in the cause of freedom.

The best character therefore among them, is justly chargeable with the guilt, I had almost said, of all the blood shed on both sides in this contest. And to them may be applied what David said to Saul in a similar case, 1. Sam. XXVI. 19. *If the lord hath stirred up England against us, let him accept an offering; but if the tories, cursed be they before the Lord.* But it is time to pass to

VI. The fatal consequences that will probably follow not inflicting the curse on these.

Could sagacity discover yet time would not allow to point out all the ill consequences which may, and probably will follow from receiving the tories into these States. I shall hint a few.

1st. This will greatly endanger the internal peace of the States.—Should our rulers open the door for their return, agreeably to the fifth preliminary article, they will soon find a general discontent among their constituents, They will soon hear thousands of the innocent, peaceable, defenceless inhabitants of these States, who have been driven from their possessions, their property rifled, their dwellings burnt, their interest diminished by the war; for whom no provision is made; to whom there is no restitution of estates; no compensation for losses:—they will soon hear thousands whose husbands, sons, brethren and near friends have perished in purchasing for us our freedom; in whose blood the tories have stained their murdering hands; to whose tortures, cries, and dying groans they have danced, as to the sweet sound of the viol; to whose humble and piteous cries and prayers for a draught of water or a morsel of bread, when famishing with hunger and thirst in their noisom goals and prison-ships, they have returned nothing but insult and horrid imprecations, and who have escaped their rage with the skin of their teeth, and still carry the scars of their barbarity in their bodies; and still deeper wounds of their scoffs and insults in their mind.—They will soon hear those whose daughters, wives, mothers, these abandoned beings, and the slaves of their British Lord they called to their assistance,

have ravished and abused. They will soon hear the brave, the virtuous and gallant soldier, who has forsaken the pleasures of domestic life, and endured hunger, cold and innumerable fatigues in the field, to defend our rights and purchase our freedom, to whom no compensation is made ; I say, they will soon hear a mighty throng of these, and other sufferers in the glorious cause of liberty, cry aloud of unreasonable, cruel and unjust conduct in their rulers, for permitting those who have been the wicked occasion of all their distresses, to obtain restitution of the estates they forfeited to the justice and laws of their country, and, in common with them, to enjoy that freedom and sweet liberty which they spared neither pains nor conscience to destroy.—They will soon hear them lamenting, if not cursing, their folly, for risking their all, and loosing their dearest enjoyments on earth, next to their liberty, to purchase and defend their freedom and rights, now equally shared among their betrayers and murderers, who wisely slipt out of harm's way till they had gained the prize for them.

These cries will not expire in mere noise, but, like a loaded cannon, will make impression. Actions will naturally follow such roused passions, and internal discontents, broils and commotions, to say the least, must ensue. *Be wise, therefore, O ye rulers, be instructed ye legislators of these States ; kiss the Son, bow to his command, and inflict his curse on the tories, the inhabitants of Meroz, lest he be angry and ye perish ; blessed are they, and only they, that put their trust in him.* Ye have no right to admit them among us without the previous consent of your constituents at large ; and should you do it, you will probably find that they who dared to oppose the power of Britain, will not fear to call their stewards to account.

Besides, when these murderers shall be seen among us, exulting in the smiles of that liberty they have endeavoured to destroy, and perhaps reproaching us for our folly in buying such a treasure for them with our wounds and blood, where is the man of sensibility, of a grain of spirit, who will not feel emotions which nothing but great grace and prudence can restrain ? What son of freedom can see,

much less take an insult, an indelicate word, or a wry look from a tory, or sit at the feast of freedom with him, when he reflects on the blood of a son, a brother, a father, shed by his impious treachery; he that can do this without uneasy sensations, must imbibe the same slavish and murderous spirit. What a source this, of broils, quarrels, and even of bloodshed!

2d. The admission of the tories will be a shameful breach of the public faith.

When the state made laws to confiscate their estates for public use; they passed that property to the people, as an encouragement for them to support the war. And will they now break their faith so solemnly pledged, and rob their constituents of their property without their consent? They may as well take away the private property of every man in the state, and give it to the British soldiers who ravaged our country: and who would ever again rely on the public faith? and I may add, who need ever fear public threatening?

Besides, will not France, our faithful ally, have just cause to complain, that we have taken into our bosoms, those who, while they reproached us as tools to a domestic faction of tyrants, have scandalized them as deceitful betrayers of our liberties; as having nothing in view but to enslave us, after we should be separated from Great Britain?

3d. The restoration of the tories among us will expose us to innumerable and constant dangers which will naturally result from having, in our bowels, a multitude of subtil enemies, void of all honor and virtue, who as they never will be reconciled to us, will plot our ruin, and lie ever on the watch for the most favorable advantage to avenge themselves, by betraying us into the hands and under the tyranny of Great-Britain, in order to recommend themselves to places of honor and profit under their now avowed sovereign. Some may imagine that they will gratefully acknowledge the favour, and become good subjects of these States, if permitted to return.

But what ground for such a fancy? Is it common to find gratitude such a powerful principle in the human

heart?—It is a true proverb, that he who injures cannot forgive. We may as well hope for Satan's cordial friendship to mankind, as for that of the tories to these states : for

“Never can true reconciliation grow,
“Where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep.”

MILTON.

We have an instructive instance of this in *Benhadad* king of Syria, 1. Kings, 20. and 24th. Chapters. Two years successively he had met with a defeat by Ahab. In the second his army was well nigh cut off ; and he fell into Ahab's hands. He humbled himself, begged his life, promises Ahab fine things, obtains forgiveness, restoration to his kingdom, and reconciliation with the conqueror whom he had most shamefully abused and insulted.

We may imagine that he never would forget such a favor, or be unkind to his benefactor. Yet we find, three years after, this same Benhadad, whose malice was incurable, like that of the tories, marked out, from among thousands, this very benefactor, as the single object of his hatred. 1. Kings, xx. 31. *And the king of Syria said—fight with neither small nor great, save only with the king of Israel.* “I am in torment to feel such obligations to a petty king. The thought that I owe my life to him is a dagger in my heart! I would rather die than see the man prosper, who looks on me as his most devoted debtor—away with him from the earth, that he may never reproach me with his kindness.”

Disappointed malice cannot brook submission ; and kindness bestowed on such is the most unpardonable offence.

This shews what we are to expect from Britain ; and especially from the tories, should they return among us.

4th. Should we restore those murderers, we shall bring on these States the guilt of the innocent blood that has been shed in our late struggle, of which they have been the chief, if not the only procurers and authors.

Our cause was either right or wrong. If wrong, the guilt of all the blood lies on us ; and we ought to atone for it by the sacrifice of an Hancock, an Adams, a Washington, and other leaders in the horrid rebellion and bloody

massacre, and by an humble and penitent return to the authority of Britain's Lord.—If right, the tories ought to atone for it, as being the chief authors, by a sacrifice of, at least, their property now among us, and an everlasting banishment from us, if not of the lives of their principals who fall into our hands.

The guilt of blood is not easily purged away. Let our rulers, let all consider what God saith, Num. xxxv. 33. *For blood it defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it :* and let all take notice of that mark of divine vengeance against the whole kingdom of Israel, in the days of good king David, for the innocent blood of the Gibeonites that Saul in his zeal for Israel had shed. For this God sent three years famine, and nothing could atone for the crime, or render God propitious to the land, but the blood of some of Saul's wicked house. 11. of Sam. xxi. 1—14.

We cannot hope that God will give us rain and fruitful seasons, defend us from our enemies, and make us happy, while we shew favour to such cruel murderers. And should the honorable Congress recommend to the states to restore them, they would, as I conceive, involve themselves in the guilt of innocent blood : and should any of the general courts or assemblies of the states comply, they would partake with them in the horrid guilt : and should the people at large tamely submit, the whole land would be polluted with blood, and divine vengeance and judgements must be expected to follow. In this case none can avoid the guilt, and clear their own souls, but by an open protest and testimony against a measure so sinful.

And as I would not, under the price of innocent blood, concur with such advice from Congress, the general court, or any other power in the universe except that of JEHOVAH ; I do hereby enter my public and most solemn protest against it, for reasons herein assigned, and call on all the friends of God, religion and their country, to join with me in this, and in every lawful exertion to prevent a measure so sinful, so calamitous and destructive, and

thereby, as far as possible, clear themselves, if they cannot save the land, from the guilt of innocent blood. But this is not all, for,

5th. Should they return, they will probably soon engross the chief wealth of these states; and, as wealth usually begets power, they will (as before asserted) easily possess themselves of the chief seats of government, pervert our counsels, and reduce us, by their arts, to that subjection to Great-Britain which the power of her arms could not accomplish. * It is too manifest that Great-Britain is far from approving our independence. Necessity compelled her to a cessation of hostilities. The check given her the last year, by preventing British goods from coming among us, reduced her to shift the plan of subjugating us; (for this is still her object) her resources here, were by this, cut off, and she reduced to the greatest dis-

*How this may follow is not hard to conceive. They must be infatuated who imagine that Britain will, for a long time, be reconciled to our separation from her. We ought to be very jealous, that every art in her power will be used to reduce us under her dominion. Many are the plots already laid, and artifices used to this end. But the principal, I apprehend, is to procure the return of the tories amongst us, as being the most suitable tools by which to work our ruin. This is the *Trojan horse* contrived to take us in; which, if admitted into our city, the fleet and armies from Tenedos will soon return, and lay our country in ruins, or at least reduce us to slavery. The tories here among us, but especially the refugees, have doubtless formed their connections already with the merchants, and probably with the court of Britain, for a large supply of goods. By these means those murderers, who ought to suffer for treason, will get the start of all the friends of liberty who have not yet formed any connections there; will have the run of the trade: will sell even below the sterling cost to gain custom; sink the price of goods in the hands of our honest merchants which they procured at a high price, and so break them; stop all our home manufactures; drain off all our money into the hands of Britain, except what sticks in the hands of the tories, and by which they will be able to influence our elections, rise in power and pervert our counsels; weaken, by disabling us to pay our taxes, and strengthen Great-Britain to renew and prosecute the war, or to rise in their demands in the definitive treaty of peace. These tory-merchants, in the mean time, will probably be secured by the British court, for sinkage on their goods; which would be of a peice with their conduct during the war, when, as I have been informed, they paid the overplus of insurance above 10 per cent. in order to lead the trading part of the nation to think the risque was small. And should that same court furnish them with money for bribery, to gain such a boon as the reduction of these states, it need not surprize any who have been acquainted with their gross corruption.

tress.* Her only safety lay in a present cessation of hostilities; this would give her respite, to repair her strength, 'till a more favourable opportunity should offer

*Had I been of the council of Great-Britain, and disposed to subjugate these states, I would have advised to the very measures they have taken, respecting the truce. I would have told them, "The people of America are at length awake to their true interests;—they have dried up the spring which supported our troops there—we have no money to send for that purpose, lest we break our own bank, and render our paper as worthless as theirs' has been; we are without allies, and almost without credit at home and abroad—our trade is ruined in all parts, and the nation on the precipice of ruin. What can we do? Why, agree to a truce; acknowledge the independence of the thirteen states, on condition we can make peace with France: but let us keep Canada and Nova-Scotia as a check on them—cede to France all America which they formerly claimed by the treaty of Utrecht, (which includes the most of Nova-Scotia as we claimed it; the state of Vermont, and the greatest part of the unsettled lands on their backs; let us cede the same also to the states) (a) by which mean we shall excite a jealousy; if not a war between them and France; let us oblige them to receive the loyalist among them—whom we must encourage with goods at the lowest rate, to draw the money from America into our hands. They, by these means will break and impoverish the merchants there who have opposed us, will grow rich themselves, be able to influence their elections (to assist them in which, let them have a handsome sum, now and then, from our treasury) will soon fill their seats of government, corrupt the people by bribery, disable them from paying their taxes, or the debt they owe to France and other nations; lead them perhaps, in their frenzy for joy of peace, to disband their army—provoke France, for giving us the first fruits of their trade, to demand the money they lent them, which they will not be able to pay when we have drawn all their cash from them.—Let us severely punish the Canadians who rebelliously assisted Montgomery in the expedition against Quebec, which will enrage them against the states for their perfidy in not including them in the treaty, and securing to them their lives and fortunes which they, by that conduct, forfeited to us; and who now lie at our mercy. This will terrify them from ever joining with the states again, and dispose them to revenge. In the mean time, let some of the most obnoxious of the refugees, who have been most employed in plunder, burning and blood, be transported to Port-Rosoway, a most convenient place, well situated to annoy the states by sea, as the harbor is good, and about 90 leagues east of Boston, and opposite to it's bay. Let others be sent to Oswego, just on the line between them and us, a place which will command the fur trade; secure the friendship of the Indians, who we can hound out at pleasure on the defenceless frontiers. Let these two places be well fortified, and an army kept up in both, ready to annoy the states whenever the loyalists shall inform us of a favorable opportunity, which their hatred to the states will ever dispose them to do. By this, you will soon find America fall an easy prey, and naturally return under our dominion; and when this is the case, we shall be able to bid defiance to France, and to all the world; and to avenge ourselves for the injuries she hath done us in the present war." This would have been my advice to Britain had I desired the slavery of these states. She is now waiting till we swallow her bait, in order to take us, as fishes are taken in an evil net, and as birds are caught in the snare, as I fear America will be ensnared in an evil time when it cometh suddenly on them, i. é. before they think of it. But remember my fellow citizens, you are warned.—May God prevent the calamity.

(a) See the French Map, published 1778, at Paris.

to attain her wished-for-end, the enslaving America. If she gains this, with more rigor than ever will she claim the power "to bind us in all cases whatsoever." Then we must expect new scenes of horror and slaughter. Then will our defenceless frontiers bleed afresh; our sea-coast be infested by their fleets; our trade ruined, our sons murdered, our wives, daughters and mothers ravished, our country plundered, and our fair edifices and towns laid in ashes. These days are not far distant. The seeds are sown, yea, the plants already flourish which threaten to produce this noxious fruit. But *who will believe our report?* who will lay to heart our danger? Alas! we are so intoxicated with the joy of peace; so bewitched with the love of gain; so enamoured with the cheapness of their goods, (which is the very bait to their barbed hook, that is designed for our ruin) that there is reason to fear, that no warnings will move us; no dangers alarm us; no plots, however open, awaken our fears and jealousies, 'till the match is put to the fatal train, and we perish in the horrid explosion. As it is said to sinners in Zion on spiritual accounts, so I may say to my fellow citizens with respect to our civil and political concerns; *wo to them that are at ease* in these States; or rather, wo to those States who are not, both rulers and people, awake to their present danger, and jealous of the plots of our cruel foes.

The Searcher of hearts is my witness, that I wish and pray that all remembrance of Britain's former barbarity, injustice and abuse, may be forever blotted from the mind of every son of Freedom in America; and that not only a political, but cordial harmony and friendship may be restored on scriptural, *i. e.* rational and solid ground. But it is weakness and folly to suffer such a desire to blind us to our danger, and suppress our jealousy of a nation so long mad on our destruction; which, to this hour, hath not in the least changed her principles, nor discovered any new reason for acknowledging our independence, but pure force of necessity. Be assured, that all her former ambition, lust of power, dominion, tyranny, and aggrandizing herself, still remain, and like one whose lusts are

abated by sickness, when vigor returns, she will put forth the same acts, play the same game. As *Jehu* said to *Joram*, 2. Kings, 9—22. "*What hast thou to do with peace, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel, and her witchcrafts are so many?*" So we may say of Great Britain; what hath she to do with peace whilst every internal and external motive to raise and prosecute an eight-years-war against us, and heaven too, still exist in full vigor, except that of power to conquer us. It is therefore folly, yea madness to imagine that she seeks peace with us for any other end, but to recover strength to renew and prosecute the war with more prospect of success.

6th. Another and a very fatal consequence that will probably follow the re-admission of the tories is, a very great increase of taxes on the good people of those States who have borne the burden of the war. This might be easily illustrated were the subject proper for the pulpit * —But it is time to close.

The view we have now taken administers cogent motives to the utmost watchfulness and care to prevent the growth of bribery and corruption, which, there is the utmost reason to fear will prevail among us. This is a fatal poison, and will as certainly destroy any State, if

*The fifth preliminary article agrees, "That Congress shall recommend to the states to re-consider the laws made to confiscate the estates of the refugees; and to allow them to return to these states, and to endeavour for one year to recover their property, which they are to have, paying the same price for it, that the present possessor gave. But where is the man, possessed of one of those estates, will resign it back to government for the price he paid for it, after he has improved it for several years? Have government any demand on him for it? Surely no. Can they compel him to sell it to them or any one else? No, not without Ahab's and Jezebel's wickedness, in the case of Naboth's vineyard.-- Can they refuse the same to the returned refugee, if they accede to this article? No,--- he must have it for the sum given for it by the present possessor? and the court must instate him. But how will they get possession? They must purchase it of the present possessor---at what price? At any price he pleases to ask, if it should be a thousand guineas for a single paper dollar when sunk fifty for one. Had I one of these estates, and were disposed to play a large and sure game for a fortune at one cast, I would do all in my power to have the tories return agreeable to that article, and would force government to come to my terms.

It is easy to see how this would increase the public debt, and burden the people with new and enormous taxes only to aggrandize a few who possess such estates, and to introduce to the feast of liberty a set of slaves who have despised, abused and murdered us.-----Awake, ye citizens of America! Prevent the evil e're it be too late!

not curbed, as arsenick does the animal frame. Every thing that has the shadow of this monster, whether threats, promises, or rewards, should be treated with indignation and scorn by every American son of Freedom ; and with exemplary punishment by our authority. This monster has shewn its odious head already among us in open daylight, and few, very few were terrified at the sight. Some citizens have threatened their fellows with loss of property for voting according to their own judgment ; and menaces of death have been uttered against the execution of lawful authority ; and that with impunity.—How alarming this to our liberty and safety, to all good order and happiness among us ! *If the foundations are thus destroyed, what shall the righteous do ?* And why have we jeoparded our all in an eight-years-war, if the dear-bought prize of freedom may, with impunity be snatched from us by the haughty and insolent threats, or the money and wheedling arts of those who pique themselves on their riches, who, at this day at least, are not all the best of men ; nor the most zealous for religion, the safety of the States, and good of mankind.—Surely some effectual laws should speedily be made and strictly executed, to prevent all corruption both among ourselves, and from abroad.

And as we have abundant reason to tremble with fear of divine judgments for the sins our land now groans under ; for our profaneness and immorality, contempt of the blessed gospel and profanation of the Lord's day ; which is now professedly slighted by too many professing christians ;—let us tremble at the thought of adding thereto the guilt of blood, which we shall certainly bring on ourselvss, if we inflict not the curse on Meroz as far as God hath put it in our power. Did not Ahab act thus in the case of Benhadad ? and did not God execute this curse on him three years after, viz. *Thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people ?* Remember, that *a State all mercy, is a state unjust.*" Mercy, yea public mercy may, and sometimes ought to be shown to penitent felons : but obstinate rebels and traytors, who have been inured to desolation, and whose souls still ab-

hor peace, (as the stories manifest they do by their peti-
 tions and remonstrances against the peace) ought to suf-
 fer condign punishment. Let us then purge our land from
 blood; let us beseech the Lord to save us from blood-
 guiltiness, by giving us firmness and courage to put away
 the Achans, the accursed things from among us, lest we,
 like Israel, flee before our enemies. Let us execute judg-
 ment, righteousness and truth, as well as mercy in our
 land, and not set them at variance. Then may we hope
 that God, even our, and our father's God will bless us,
 give us rain and fruitful seasons, continue our health,
 prosper our trade, increase our stores, defend us from
 force and plots of our enemies, succeed the means of
 instruction, religion and piety, give us faithful rulers and
 teachers that will guide us in the way to heaven, pour
 out his holy spirit on us, and on our children, revive re-
 ligion and piety in our land, be a wall of fire round about
 us, and a glory in the midst of us; and in all our glory
 create a defence. AMEN.

