AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,

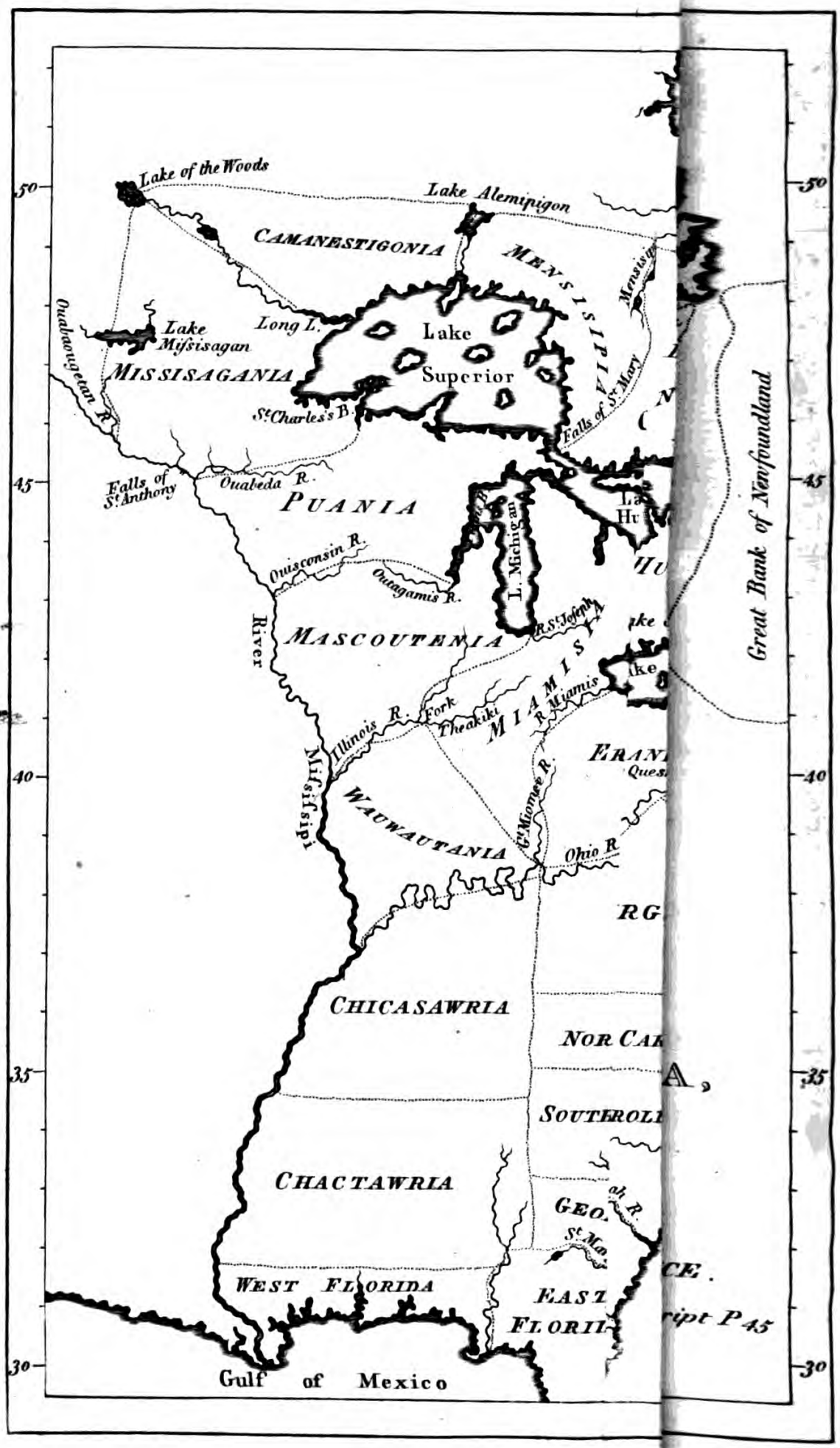
WITH A

COPIOUS APPENDIX,

A

POSTSCRIPT,

&c. &c. &c.


Lake of the Woods
Lake Alemipigon
CAMANESTIGONIA
MENSISIPI
Long L.
Lake Superior
Lake Mississagan
MISSISAGANIA
Ouabaougetan R.
St Charles's B.
Falls of St Mary
Falls of St Anthony
Ouabeda R.
PUANIA
Ouisconsin R.
Outagamis R.
L. Michigan
R. St Joseph
MASCOUTENIA
River
Illinois R.
Fork
Theakiki
MIAMISIPI
R. Miamis
Mississipi
WAUWAUTANIA
Miamee R.
Ohio R.
CHICASAWRIA
CHACTAWRIA
WEST FLORIDA
Gulf of Mexico
Great Bank of Newfoundland
50
45
40
35
30

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
THE
INTEREST AND GLORY
OF
GREAT-BRITAIN.
A NEW EDITION.

To which is added,

A copious APPENDIX, containing two additional Letters to the Legiſlature; a Letter to EDMUND BURKE, Eſq; controverting his Principles of American Government.

AND

A POSTSCRIPT, containing new Arguments on the Subject; A Draught for a Bill propoſed to be brought into Parliament for reſtoring Peace and Harmony between Great-Britain and Britiſh America, and for perpetuating the ſame:

Together with

The eſſential Materials for a propoſed Grand Britiſh LEAGUE and CONFEDERACY, to be entered into by Great-Britain and all the States of Britiſh America.

The whole of which ſhews, beyond Denial or Doubt, that by granting the Coloniſts an unreſtrained civil Freedom and *Legiſlative Independence*, we may moſt effectually ſecure their future *Commercial Dependence upon*, and conſequently ſhall beſt promote the Intereſt and ſupport the Glory of, Great-Britain.

It is not to be hoped, in the corrupt State of human Nature, that any Nation will be ſubject to another, any longer than it finds its own Account in it, and cannot help itſelf. * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

No Creatures ſuck the Teats of their Dams longer than they can draw Milk from thence, or can provide themſelves with better Food; nor will any Country continue their Subjection to another, only becauſe their great Grand-mothers were acquainted. This is the Courſe of human Affairs, and all wiſe States will always have it before their Eyes.

Trenchard on Plantations and Colonies, in Cato's Letters, No. 106. Anno 1722.

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M.DCC.LXXV.

EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To Sir GEORGE SAVILE, *Baronet.*

IT is not only as the brighteſt ornament to the following eſſays, in the cauſe of independence, that the writer uſes the liberty of prefixing to them your name, but being of opinion, that your actions will alſo beſt illuſtrate the principles he wiſhes to inculcate, he hopes to derive from it all the advantages of a well-ſelected motto. Feeling only for the public, you will ſuffer even your own merits to be made the theme of praiſe, ſo long as the public intereſts ſhall be thereby promoted. It is thus that your example will have its due effect; it is thus that your patriotiſm will be reflected from a thouſand mirrors; and that, inſtead of exerting a ſingle voice in the ſenate, you will harangue from a thouſand roſtrums at once; inciting in all the nations, to whom are known the Engliſh laws and language, a love of virtue, and a reſolution to be free. It is this appeal to diſtinguiſhed worth in real life, that gives the ſureſt efficacy to the precepts of the moraliſt; it is this which induces the lips of the orator with the powers of perſuaſion, and is the kindling incentive to a virtuous emulation. How glo-

rious the privileges of patriotic virtue! Not limited by the ſcanty meaſure of perſonal labours, not confined to one age or empire, they extend to unborn times and nations, and the patriot is the common bleſſing of human kind. As an Ariſtides, a Brutus, or a Cato, hath oft given birth to Britiſh patriotiſm; ſo ſhall Britons, in ſome diſtant period, and future Americans, catch the ſame generous flame from the great example of the Savile of theſe days.

Such indeed is the preſent low eſtate of public ſpirit amongſt us, that a man hath need of ſome fortitude, who, amongſt the generality, would ſo much as contend for the reality of its exiſtence. Nay, it hath not been diſcarded by the bulk of the groſs-minded vulgar only, but our very philoſophers too, ſo deep is the taint, have told us, that wiſdom is not the portion of that man, who can ſacrifice his time and his peace, by taking an active part in public affairs; and yet, notwithſtanding the doctrines of theſe epicurean ſages, and as little regarding the united ridicule of the thouſands, and the ten thouſands of their implicit diſciples, I am not aſhamed to acknowledge myſelf one of thoſe weak mortals, who can believe, that the eaſe and luxury of life are contemptible in the eyes of a good man, when his country demands his labours, his counſel, or his ſword. Being of opinion then, that patriotiſm is a real, an exalted virtue, I muſt neceſſarily think, that to decline its duties,

ties, is a meanneſs unworthy the manly character, and that its wilful violation, is the moſt atrocious of crimes. I believe too, that this virtue burns with no ſmall ardour in many a Britiſh boſom; nay, I am credulous enough to think, that beſides the inſtance I have particularly ſingled out, it is to be found even in the Houſe of Commons: there, I confeſs, its growth is not very abundant; for, it is not of a nature to thrive in the ſame ſoil, which the occaſional occupier muſt needs ſow with the noxious ſeeds of proſtitution and bribery ere he can ſecure poſſeſſion. Happy, could we ſay of this ſeed, that "it is ſown "in corruption, it is raiſed in incorruption; "it is ſown in diſhonour, it is raiſed in "glory:" but we are aſſured, by unerring wiſdom, that "men do not gather grapes of "thorns, nor figs of thiſtles;" and our own experience hath invariably taught us, that in the Houſe of Commons, "a corrupt tree "bringeth forth evil fruit" alone. And until there ſhall be opened clean doors into that Houſe, by which the members may enter undefiled, by the baſe arts practiſed in elections, muſt we not know, that the real patriot, he who is incapable of debauching or invading the rights of his fellow-citizens, is to be looked for without thoſe walls, and not within them? And except theſe unpolluted doors ſhall be opened without much farther delay, will not that Houſe, already the ſink of corruption, inevitably become the putrid grave of

of the conſtitution?—though not, I truſt, its annihilation. How ſevere, or how laſting might be this convulſion, this diſſolution of the ſtate, it is difficult to imagine, but that, as heretofore, it would only periſh for a ſeaſon, like a grain of ſeed-corn, and, like that, be reſtored again, with a reduplication of the principles of life and vigour; I am happy in having an aſſured confidence.

Since I am now addreſſing myſelf to the public, Sir George, no leſs than to yourſelf, it is fit I ſhould remind them, that your parliamentary integrity, is only a natural conſequence of thoſe means by which you became a member. In one, as in the other, neither corrupting nor corrupted, you ſtand a noble exception to a general rule; in which, we clearly ſee, how valuable would be an independent, an upright parliament. Let but the whole of the repreſentative body be elected by the unbribed, and unbiaſſed ſuffrages of the freeholders, and we ſhould once more behold the Houſe of Commons an aſſembly of patriots, the terror, not the tool of bad miniſters; the bulwark, not the abuſers of the people.

Perhaps too, the public may be more indebted to you than they ſeem to conſider, for having, by an uniform conduct, through a ſeries of years, effectually overturned the darling, but infamous maxim of modern politicians, that *every man hath his price*, a ſentiment which could only ariſe in the baſeſt

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and moſt degenerate heart. Notwithſtanding the contrary is a truth, far better eſtabliſhed than any the moſt notorious hiſtorical fact whatever, all hiſtory being enriched with numerous inſtances of it; and that it might be corroborated in the humble and unrecorded ſcenes of private life, by every man, whoſe friends are ſelected from the wiſe and good; and notwithſtanding every human heart ought to revolt at ſo ſhocking a propoſition, yet, it is certain, ſuch is the prevalence of any opinion, how ridiculous ſoever, which falls in with our ſordid devotion to avarice, that maſter-vice of the times! that we continually find this degrading maxim in the mouths, even of thoſe whoſe characters in the world are yet reſpectable. This ſtrange language is very often to be imputed to a weak intellect, or extreme ignorance, and very often to an abſence of thought, or that wretched ſupineneſs of ſoul, which, for the ſake of eaſe, always adopts the mode of thinking and ſpeaking which is moſt in faſhion. But when men of underſtanding, of reflection, and learning, become the controverſial champions of this tenet; when they enter the liſts in form, make a diſplay of their armour, and their arms, and boldly challenge all opponents, what are we to think? Little do they ſeem to reflect, that they have no way of coming off with honour, but by retiring from the field, and wholly abandoning a bad cauſe; for ſo long as they maintain it, do they not, in the very

very act, proclaim themſelves villains in grain, or at beſt, only negatively honeſt, for want of temptation to be otherwiſe, and tacitly acknowledge, it would be a madneſs in you to intruſt them with any ſecret or depoſit, by means of which they could advance their fortune, without hazard from your reſentment, or a gibbet?

Theſe unhappy men, do not only forfeit by this conduct, all title to truſt and confidence in ſociety, but what is ſtill worſe, they expreſsly exclude themſelves from the benefits of religion, ſaying, in effect, that our Saviour's miſſion, for the purpoſes of teaching morality, and beſtowing ſalvation on mankind, ſo far from being an inſtance of divine wiſdom and goodneſs, was executed like the vague ſchemes of purblind mortals, to no manner of purpoſe; for, ſo long as it is their aſſertion, that every man hath his price; ſo long do they aſſert, that it is impoſſible to obey the laws of Chriſt even in a tolerable degree; and to deny, that chriſtianity is capable of inſpiring her followers with an incorruptible integrity, is not only to betray a total ignorance of its doctrines, but to make war upon fact, and the common conſent of mankind. Thus is this hackneyed propoſition, examined either by the rules of reaſon or religion, evidently involved in palpable abſurdity, and in rank impiety.

For the moſt part, they who propagate this wretched opinion, know not what they do; and

and would be exceedingly ſhocked, did they perceive, how they were at once ſubverting their own moral principles, and ſapping the very foundations of all integrity in ſociety, both public and private. So dangerous is it, unthinkingly, to ſwim with the ſtream of popular opinion! eſpecially ſince it is become the great maſter-ſtroke of the arch enemies of religion and virtue, to turn the courſe of this current in their favour, and to make it the vehicle of that poiſon they are for ever pouring in at the fountain head, in order to taint a thoughtleſs world. They uſe all the arts of a ſubtle and ingenious addreſs, to withdraw our attention and reſpect from authors of ſterling merit, and to inſinuate themſelves upon us as our only infallible guides. Under the maſk of candour, they are moſt deciſive and dogmatical, infecting with arrogance thoſe ductile minds, which before were adorned with humility. In a ſtile of Attic elegance, they inculcate a frivolous and vitiated taſte; teachers of intellectual abſtraction and refinement, they promote ſenſuality; with an oſtentation of humanity, they looſen the bands of ſociety; profeſſors of morality, they demonſtrate that it hath no foundation; deep in all philoſophy, they aſſure us, that truth is the only thing we ought to purſue; that it is moſt difficult to attain, except with their aſſiſtance; and when attained, they ſhew us as clearly, that it is not worth our pains; and, like ſuperior intelligences, ſo very refined and

ſpiritual, (as they would have you believe) as to look down upon human nature as upon a lower order of beings, and to contemplate, with an unmoved indifference and compoſure, the blindneſs and prejudices, the little paſſions and anxieties of a fretful and miſerable world, they inform us, that wiſdom conſiſts in this ſublime apathetic inſenſibility, while they, all the while are, in reality, ſacrificing their own tranquillity, in carrying on perpetual hoſtilities againſt the invincible powers of truth, religion, and common ſenſe, and yielding up the guidance of their reſtleſs and indefatigable pens to pride, ſpleen, vanity, caprice, and ſordid avarice. By proſtituting to the worſt of purpoſes a flaſhy wit and ſpecious eloquence, they captivate the ſhallow, the luxurious, and the gay; while, for the reliſh of thoſe who have underſtandings ſomewhat ſuperior, but more gloom and malevolence in their hearts, they ſeaſon their pernicious compoſitions with a poignant irony and ridicule, which is uſually heightened in proportion as the object is ſacred or divine. When referring to the Deity, and to the incomprehenſible things of heaven and eternity, one might expect, even of a philoſopher, ſome diffidence, ſome ſobriety and decency; but this were too great a condeſcenſion from the mad genius of Geneva, the ſcribbling buffoon of Ferney, or that " fatteſt hog of Epi-" curus's ſtye," the " ſee-ſaw ſceptic from the

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" remoteſt North *." With theſe " men of " renown," as leaders of the van, and the Walpolian ſtate-proſtitute to conduct the rear-guard; even the diſorderly, the coward clans of vice and ſeduction, are an overmatch for the feeble guards of virtue in moſt faſhionable minds. By ſtrengthening the party of the diſſolute, and encouraging the unmanly, unprincipled, impious, and diſſipated ſpirit, which marks the character of the times, and by making a jeſt of every thing ſerious and noble; they inſinuate themſelves into the unguarded boſoms of that claſs of triflers, and become their oracles. The buſineſs is now done, for the faſhionable world is the mint, where common opinion firſt obtains its ſtamp and currency; circulating thence throughout the community like current coin, and, like that too, giving conſequence to its poſſeſſor, in proportion to his ſtore of this fictitious, this imaginary wealth. Hence it is, that in almoſt every faſhionable circle, from the peer to the 'prentice, from the profound writer of ſtuff, called *Eſſays on the Origin of Evil*, to the novel-reading miſs in her teens, we are for ever peſtered with traſh, that is the bane of morality, and the diſgrace of rational beings. And while the polite praters vainly imagine they are diſplaying their own talents and erudition, their knowledge and liberal way of thinking; they are only the mere ecchoes of thoſe teachers of falſehood; the

 ſimple

* Heroic Epiſtle to Sir W. Chambers.

ſimple and obedient tools, by whoſe agency thoſe cunning engineers are undermining all the defences of religion, of public ſpirit, and of private virtue.

It is matter of no ſmall aſtoniſhment and concern, to obſerve how much an indifference to moral rectitude, a habit of evading the toil of thinking, and this paſſive reſignation to the ſentiments and principles of others, debilitate the human mind, though naturally active and vigorous, and ſubject it to the reproach of yielding to the groſſeſt credulity, and even of aſſenting to manifeſt contradictions. Nothing is more common, than for thoſe, who have the Walpolian maxim we have been ſpeaking of always at their tongue's end, to form to themſelves, I know not how, an ideal diſtinction between public integrity and private honeſty. While they lay it down, as a fixed principle, that the ſenator may be corrupted by a court bribe, to injure or oppreſs his country, they will yet allow, that he is rigidly juſt in all his private dealings; that he is the kindeſt landlord, the gentleſt maſter, the tendereſt relation, the trueſt friend; ſo very moderate in ſelf-gratification, and of ſo humane a nature, as to bound his expences very far within his income, and to diſtribute large ſums in ſecret charities, with a minute attention to the meaſures of diſtreſs amongſt the objects of his beneficence. And, is it to be believed, that ſuch a man—that a Savile

vile is to be made a traytor?—Ye ecchoes of abſurdity, think and bluſh!

But whatever hopes may be entertained of the ingenuous majority of miſtaken perſons, I know there is yet a party, whoſe incapacity for a generous thought, or whoſe malignity is ſuch, that when, by the mention of his name as a ſincere patriot, they have been ſtruck dumb with uneludible conviction, and obliged, in their own deſpite, to confeſs his virtue, have yet ſought to tarniſh its luſtre, by baſe inſinuations, to the prejudice of his underſtanding. Theſe inſidious creatures are not ſparing of cold panegyrics on his general character; but, with much pity for the weakneſs of a well-meaning man, they lament that he ſhould be ſo deluded; they are amazed, forſooth, that he can fancy he is ſerving the public, by oppoſing and embarraſſing the neceſſary and wiſe meaſures of government; they are ſorry, that ſuch a man ſhould keep in countenance others, who only act the patriot, in order to obtain their own fooliſh ends; and they muſt needs ſay, they think him ſomewhat too much attentive to popular clamours and popular praiſe, and too much guided by a blind popular zeal. But what they are moſt anxious to inform you of, with ſome parade they affect to ſuppreſs. In tenderneſs to him, they do not chooſe to ſpeak freely on that head—there is no neceſſity to explain themſelves—they are convinced he is ignorant how much he is impoſed on—but they take care, however, before

before they have done, by certain circumlocutions, by broken ſentences, and unambiguous givings-out; to inform you, in pretty plain terms, that he is no better than the dupe of a dangerous party, a mere puppet, played off by the crafty leader of a faction, attached to his intereſt by flattery alone, and courted, not for his own intrinſic importance, but merely to grace the cauſe with a name, upon which the ſilly multitude have thought fit to beſtow an unmerited popularity. What a return for the labours of a life, devoted to the ſervice of that community, of which theſe wretches compoſe a part! But no benefits can touch the viprous heart of ingratitude! Nor ſhall malice and envy ever ſleep, while a ſpark of virtue remains to bleſs mankind! Merit, however raiſed to ſuch an elevation, is a mark placed far above the idle efforts of their fever-ſhaken diſtempered nerves. Expoſing their own hideous deformity, they aggrandize by the contraſt, that virtue they mean to depreciate, and madden with ſelf-inflicted torment, their peculiar curſe. Theſe ingrates to their benefactor, ſtupid as they are, ought to know, that though his character, like things moſt ſacred, may be profaned, yet that the broad ægis of wiſdom and virtue renders it invulnerable.

Forgive me, Sir George, that I ſay theſe things in an addreſs to yourſelf! As humility itſelf, in a private ſtation, cannot decline to make thoſe honeſt boaſts which beſpeak its merit, when that is baſely traduced, or ungratefully

gratefully forgotten; ſo the public labourer, will not be offended, that his honeſt fame is held up to his countrymen, for the purpoſes of exalting truth, and ſubduing falſehood, as an incitement to a ſteady and high ſpirited patriotiſm, and an encouragement to the timid in the public cauſe: while to thoſe foul harpies, who wallow in the filth of corruption, and batten at the ever-bleeding wounds of their country; and to thoſe minor miſcreants, doomed by their dulneſs, and their abject meanneſs, to remain the drudges of wickedneſs without its wages; it ſhall ſerve as an adamantine mirror, before whoſe brightneſs, if they have power to open their faſcinated eyes, they ſhall ſhrink at the withering blaſt, like adders in a conſuming fire; praying, but praying in vain, to loſe the bitter conſciouſneſs of their own infamy.

I ſhall likewiſe hope for your pardon, on this occaſion, becauſe you underſtand the world well enough, to know the endleſs ſhifts and evaſions of the diſingenuous and perverſe, who perſiſt, with unparalleled effrontery, to deny the moſt undoubted truths, until they are borne down by the weight of demonſtration and the force of facts. They will deny, in turn, the exiſtence of every command in the decalogue; and you will diſpute with them in vain, until you open the bible, and reduce them to the neceſſity, of either giving up their argument or their ſenſes. So, when any one ſhall undertake to reply to theſe maligners of mankind, if he content himſelf with

with proving ever ſo clearly from nature, from reaſon, or religion, that a real patriot may be found, he had as well argue with the ſtones under his feet, unleſs he produce the man, and put it upon his adverſaries to diſprove the fact.

If by thoſe, who are themſelves incapable of a generous ſentiment, and cannot believe a diſintereſted affection can warm the human breaſt, I ſhould be accuſed of an unworthy deſign to flatter you in this epiſtle; I ſhall be ready to acknowledge the charge, whenever they prove that I have, in any particular, exceeded the truth, or endeavoured to miſlead you into a deviation from the paths of honour. And I would obſerve, that he, who is the profeſſed friend to every virtue, and the declared enemy of every vice, may indeed, and ought to be applauded; but puts it out of the power of even a * Decius to flatter him——except to acts of goodneſs. Not having any favourite vice to be ſoothed, he is only aſſailable on the ſide of virtue; and the exquiſite ſatisfaction, ariſing from the juſt praiſe of virtue, being one of the rewards deſigned it by Providence, and intended alſo to animate it, and urge it onward to its final goal with unremitting ardour, to beſtow it where it is due, is therefore as much the duty of every good man, as it is to "render "unto Cæſar the things that be Cæſar's."

I am, SIR,

Your grateful Countryman,

The AUTHOR.

* Shakeſpeare's Julius Cæſar.

PREFACE.

THE same motives, which first prompted me to publish the following letters separately, have, upon farther consideration, determined me to do it in a collective form. To the generality, it may not, perhaps, be a recommendation of them, when I assure my readers, they wholly proceed from a strong conviction of mind, and a zeal for the cause of liberty, and not from a view of serving, or of distressing any party or particular person whatsoever, except the arguments they contain shall make converts to my political creed concerning America; I fear they are not very likely to please any party, for Britons of all parties, and of almost all denominations, seem far too unanimous in wishing to tyrannize over their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic. Happy, most happy, should the writer esteem himself, could he entertain any flattering hopes, that his plain and humble pen might inspire his countrymen with more generous sentiments! But are not his countrymen the brave sons of freedom? lovers of justice, and by nature generous? He will then—he must entertain these pleasing hopes. To know, that he had thus influenced a single individual, would afford him reflections, that would more than counter-balance the ordinary evils of life. If, however, he had no other satisfaction on this occasion, it would yet be sufficient, that his American kindred should say, 'There was 'ONE Englishman an advocate for our freedom;' but I trust there are, in the private and independent walks of life, many of the same sentiment; and that their numbers will daily increase, as a free discussion of the

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parliamentary pretensions to the sovereignty of America, shall more and more discover their total want of foundation; and, I am very far from despairing, that this truth shall, ere long, be acknowledged, even by the minister and the legislature. We may naturally expect, however, that they will be the last amongst the intelligent to receive this doctrine; for long and established habits form, even in liberal minds, very inveterate prejudices. Accustomed so long to govern, and habituated to the regular exercise of authority, they will find it very difficult to believe, that it ought to be lodged in any other hands; and they must be above the common weaknesses of our nature, could they part with it without an internal struggle, since a love of power is, perhaps, the most deep-rooted of all the human passions. But, for the honour of human nature, and the glory of this free nation, I must believe, that our legislators will, in the end, gain this noble victory over themselves. Could I suppose a British minister of state to have a few leisure moments, from the drudgery of his office, and the worse drudgery of sopping the hungry hounds that are for ever ready to devour him; from directing the endless schemes and manœuvres of the ministerial campaign, and from superintending their operation. Could I suppose a minister, I say, to have so much leisure from all these avocations, for seriously contemplating the present alarming situation of his country, and for bestowing a little fore-thought upon what will probably be its fate, in a very short period of time, unless some great reformations take place; and, could I farther suppose this minister, turning his eyes within himself, to meditate upon what it is from which he can hope to derive any real satisfaction; to examine thoroughly the cobwebs of all mysterious and arbitrary policy, and the rotten pillars of his state and power; and, when sufficiently disgusted with their loathsomeness and folly, could I then imagine him to

revolve

revolve in his mind, how pleasant it would be to carry on the public business on a liberal and simple plan, pure from corruption, and uniformly friendly to freedom; I have not a doubt but he would most ardently wish to embrace such a plan. How gladly, if a man of sense, and a lover of integrity, would he exchange for it, his toils and perplexities, his provocations, his anxieties, and distracting cares; but above all, that consciousness of criminality, which no state-necessity can effectually eraze from the mind of a minister, who, wanting the fortitude to forsake the wretched system of the base-minded Walpole, continues to work the wheels of government by the streams of corruption, and who, by being involved in the labyrinths, unavoidable in all systems but the right one, and, in order to avoid the most fatal of all imputations to a minister, that of doing nothing, finds himself obliged to commit frequent violations on the most sacred rights of his fellow-subjects, so that he may get forward at any rate with the work of the day, and keep the people amused, by letting them see he is doing something. Until fair experiment shall have convinced me of the contrary, I shall never, I believe, think otherwise, than that the most practicable system of government is, at the same time the most simple, upright, coercive, and immoveable. Founded in freedom, and the common good of the people, it will cherish the spirit of liberty as its vital principle; having no dangerous or selfish designs, it will affect no mystery; knowing the necessity of virtue, and the advantages of integrity, it will discountenance vice, suppress corruption of every kind, and be inflexible to justice; and thus, by affording general protection, it will find unanimous support. But, it being our more immediate business at present, to confine our ideas of reformation to what regards the North American colonies, which make, at this unhappy time, no small addition to that burthen which galls the ministerial shoulder. I have

only to add, that I muſt firmly hold my confidence, that our preſent miniſter would, in the following letters, meet with the neceſſary hints and rudiments, from which, without the ſmalleſt difficulty, he might plan the means for eaſing himſelf of it; to the infinite advantage and glory of his country, to his own honour and ſatisfaction, and to the inexpreſſible happineſs of the whole people of America.

As I am certain, that no party principles will betray me, to have written from any other motives than thoſe I profeſs; ſo, when I aſſure the reader, that the ſtile and manner in which I have done it are my very beſt, I hope he will be convinced, that I have not folly enough to aſpire at literary fame; and that his candour will overlook the very many imperfections of this little work.

A M E-

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, &c.

To the LEGISLATURE.

LETTER I.

March 20, 1774.

EVEN the moſt ignorant perceive this to be a criſis of the utmoſt importance to Great Britain, and to North America: but it doth not appear that the moſt ſage have yet formed a plan of proceedings that is likely to give content to both parties. With deference to the ſentiments of others, and with a ſincere deſire of rendering a ſervice to my country, permit me to offer a few thoughts on the ſubject, and to throw ſome hints in your way, which I do not perceive to have been as yet ſtarted by any political writer. It is moſt deeply to be lamented, that paſſion and prejudice, pride and ſelf-intereſt, have evidently too much influence over the minds of moſt men, to ſuffer them to decide impartially and equitably in ſuch delicate conjunctures as the preſent. We want now to diſcover, and to eſtabliſh a principle of laſting union between our colonies and the mother country; while the meaſures of adminiſtration, the deliberations in parliament, the ſentiments of political writers, and the language of the people at large, all tend to prove, that the moſt probable event will be mutual jealouſy, ani-

 moſity,

mosity, and strife. It is the misfortune of this country, surely without necessity, that schemes of reformation, and plans of a great and comprehensive nature, for the general benefit of the people, are rarely or never formed before-hand in the peaceful closet of a provident minister; and, it is as unusual for them to attain their completion by dispassionate contemplation, and the calm determinations of wisdom. On the contrary, we suffer every trivial error and irregularity to ripen into mischief before we think of reformation; when we undertake it at last with minds heated to fermentation, and we perform it with rashness and violence. Let not, however, on this great occasion, any thing so intemperate and faulty mark your deliberations, nor leave a stain upon your measures. Reflect, that the fate of empires is now in suspence, and that the balance is in your hands. No patriots of any age or country ever had a nobler opportunity of immortalizing their fame; nor, what is infinitely more to be desired, of obtaining the inward reward of self-approbation for having given happiness to millions. Remember your duty to mankind; remember your duty to God. Let not the breath of anger or resentment sully your councils; let not jealousy or ambition poison your breasts, nor hang upon your tongues. Be calm, contemplative, candid, prudent, wise; let justice and benevolence rule your hearts; in one word, be Christians! embracing with love and charity your American brethren; and consulting their happiness equally with your own.

The two grand questions now to be decided are; 1. Whether or not the British parliament or legislature, hath the right of sovereignty over North America? And, 2. Whether or not a British parliament hath a right to tax the North Americans *?

Although the latter question be properly involved in the former †, since taxation is a part of legislation, yet being extremely simple and well understood, I shall consider it first, in order to get rid of it; so as it may not embarrass our discussion of the other, which it will be necessary for us to treat with all possible perspicuity. As for those who, with great warmth, maintain the right of parliament to tax the North Americans, surely they are rather to be pitied than argued with! Must they not be totally

tally ignorant of the principles of that inestimable constitution, under which they have the happiness to live? How then shall we expect them to be acquainted with the principles of the law of nature, from whence they flow? When I meet a man inclined towards this opinion, I do not contradict him; and I beseech him to avoid disputation above all things. I beg of him also to divest himself totally of every previous inclination for seeing the point in this or in that light; to consult immediately the great Mr. Locke, and other authors of note, and after a careful examination of the arguments for and against the question, to decide upon it himself impartially and honestly. I remind him likewise, that it is his interest, as well as for the advantage of his country, that he should discover the truth: but a matter of total indifferency on which side it lies. If this fail to set him right, I do not dispute with him myself, nor do I assume the countenance or manner of an opponent; but I intimate to him, that, were he of my opinion, it would afford him great satisfaction of mind; since it gives me a consistency of sentiment, by which I see every right of legislation perfectly consonant with the freedom and the happiness of mankind; and I then simply state my reasons for holding it. I have ever found this appeal to a man's own heart and understanding, the most successful way of enlightening the one, and improving the other. Very few indeed of those with whom I have thus reasoned, on the present subject of American Taxation, have gone away unsatisfied, or found a necessity of reading, in order to be convinced: but ignorance and obstinacy, heated by former debate, have sometimes rendered my endeavours ineffectual; and such as were notorious for a vicious ambition, or servility to the ruling powers, have generally remained immoveable, though without producing one just or wise argument in support of their sentiments, or rather their assertions. Such men are not aware how much they lay open to the light that part of their characters they always mean to hide; and that there is as much dishonesty in that disposition which denies an evident truth, as in that which gives a false evidence, or takes a purse. It would have required no learning, but only common sense and common honesty, to have known that a man hath no property in that which another can *by right* take from him

 without

without his consent,' had not the world been pestered with writers of corrupt hearts, who, for wicked ends, have brought this clear proposition into dispute, and involved it in a casuistical jargon, which persons of plain sense, and too busy or too indolent for reflection, are apt to mistake for learning and superior skill; and to compliment it, first with doubting, and then denying upon trust, what they once understood and believed. But I trust, that characters so weak as these, so profligate as those, will have no influence with the British legislature; that its deliberations will be carried on with too much wisdom and too much dignity to give a hearing to the drivelings of shallow and impudent pratters; or to suffer the unseemly violence of furious and tyrannical spirits, to discompose that serenity and divestment from passion, which ought ever to be observed in the presence of Majesty, and in the awful councils of the nation. Here I must express my concern, that it should seem to be thought by very sensible men, that it is necessary to appeal to antient times, in order to ascertain the right of a free subject not to be taxed without his consent, either in person or by representation. With as much reason might we go about to prove, that no ancient King had a right to take from every subject at his good pleasure, an eye or an ear. It is sufficient that we know any maxim in our law, to be at the same time a maxim of the law of nature, or demonstrably deducible from its fundamental principles. What is it to the purpose, whether such a maxim was received and acquiesced in only yesterday, or a thousand years ago? Truth is not the less truth, though mankind were in ignorance of it until lately. No mathematician, in demonstrating an astronomical problem, thinks it necessary to prove the properties of a triangle, a circle, or an ellipse; why then should the politician waste his time and embarrass his argument, with proving principles and axioms universally assented to by all just reasoners? not but that a maxim carries more weight and authority with it, as this of the necessary connection between taxation and representation, when we find it has been the uniform sentiment of all ages; and references to antient times, and to various histories, serve very properly to illustrate political arguments; sometimes facilitating their reception among the timid and suspicious, who are apt to shrink at bold

bold and honeſt truths, to which they have not been familiarized.

NOTES, &c. to LETTER I.

* Let me recommend to the readers peruſal, an excellent pamphlet, under the title of Letters from a Farmer in Penſylvania, to the inhabitants of the Britiſh colonies. It is printed for Almon.

† I think a noble Lord has lately aſſerted the contrary; but we ſhall probably be of the ſame ſentiment, when we come to an explanation of our words. I here mean that juſt legiſlation only which is founded on liberty, and in which the people, either perſonally, or by their repreſentatives, have a ſhare. Every other ſpecies of legiſlation, being clearly an infringement on the inherent rights of mankind, is totally excluded from my ideas of government; ſo that confining myſelf to a free government, where the people have a ſhare, it ſtill appears to me, that taxation is a part, and included in the general idea of legiſlation. If it be the ſole province and excluſive right of that branch, which conſiſts of the people or their repreſentatives, to grant money for the ſupport of government; yet taxation is not completed, nor can it be carried into execution, until the other branches of the conſtitution have given their concurrence. A mere free gift of the Commons, without an act of legiſlation, would not be a *tax*; and we muſt remember, that though it be wiſely provided, that in all taxations, the Commons alone ſhall *give and grant*, yet, that the Lords are not exempt from *paying*. May we not therefore ſay, with propriety, that taxation is a part of legiſlation.

LETTER II.

March 22, 1774.

TO every man of candour, I apprehend it muſt be evident, that 'Parliament hath not the rights of 'ſovereignty over his Majeſty's American ſubjects.' Every ſpecies, indeed of declamation and ſophiſtry, have been made uſe of in order to ſhew that it hath, becauſe it gratifies the pride of Engliſhmen in general, to think that that legiſlature, in which they feel themſelves to have a ſhare, ſhould govern half the world: but there are not wanting an honeſt few who think more juſtly and more generouſly. Amongſt this number, a writer who ſubſcribes himſelf A. B. in the Public Advertiſer of the 22d, deſerves the thanks of every friend to freedom. Except in his idea of the country of America, having been by the prerogative the property of the crown, which, in the ſenſe of the paſſage, ſignifies the *King excluſively*, I entirely agree with him in ſentiment. He hath clearly and elegantly refuted the notion of parliamentary ſovereignty; he has, with a generous warmth becoming an Engliſhman, appealed to the manly ſenſe and to the virtue of his countrymen *. It would be an endleſs, as well as an uſeleſs work, to follow the many daily writers along all the mazes they wander through, in order to aſſert the ſovereignty of parliament, and to juſtify adminiſtration in the harſh meaſures they are now carrying into execution. Notwithſtanding their laboured and fine-ſpun performances, there is in reality no difficulty in the caſe. We have no need of profound learning, nor an intimate acquaintance with antiquity, nor even of the hiſtory of the reſpective provinces and their different origins; neither do we want copies of grants, charters, or acts of parliament, in order to judge of the queſtion before us. If we comprehend but the moſt well-known principles of the Engliſh conſtitution; if we comprehend but a few of the plain maxims of the law of nature, and the cleareſt doctrines of Chriſtianity, all which are ſo ſimple and plain, as to be underſtood by hundreds, nay

thouſands, of plain men who know not that they are poſſeſſed of ſo uſeful a treaſure, we have knowledge enough on this occaſion. The only requiſite wanting beyond this, is a heart ſtrictly devoted to truth and virtue, without which we ſhall never underſtand any doctrine that does not ſoothe our paſſions.

The goſpel of civil as well as religious ſalvation 'is 'hid from the wiſe and prudent, and revealed unto 'babes;' that is, unto thoſe who are not puffed up with vanity and falſe learning, nor blinded by pride, ambition, and ſelf-intereſt, but whoſe minds are in a ſtate of humility and innocence. But we have our political Popes, who would fain have us diſtruſt our common ſenſe and our feelings, and believe implicitly in their infallibility; nor do I doubt, but they would prove as faithful guardians of civil, as the Roman Pope is of religious, liberty, was it once put into their hands.

It is a capital error in the reaſonings of ſeveral writers on this ſubject, that they conſider the liberty of mankind in the ſame light as an eſtate or chattel, and go about to prove or diſprove their right to it by the letter of grants and charters, by cuſtom and uſage, and by municipal ſtatutes. Hence too we are told, that theſe men have a right to more, thoſe to leſs, and ſome to none at all. But a title to the liberty of mankind is not eſtabliſhed on ſuch rotten foundations: 'tis not among mouldy parchments, nor in the cobwebs of a caſuiſt's brain we are to look for it; it is the immediate, the univerſal gift of God, and the ſeal of it is that free-will which he hath made the nobleſt conſtituent of man's nature. It is not derived from any one, but original in every one; it is inherent and unalienable. The moſt antient inheritance cannot ſtrengthen this right; the want of inheritance cannot impair it. The child of a ſlave is as free-born, according to the law of nature, as he who could trace a free anceſtry up to the creation. Slavery in all its forms, in all its degrees, is an outrageous violation of the rights of mankind; an odious degradation of human nature. It is utterly impoſſible that any human being can be without a title to liberty, except he himſelf hath forfeited it by crimes which make him dangerous to ſociety.

Let us then hear no more of a right in our preſent-conſtituted parliament to govern the Americans, as being derived

derived from any former exercise of this sovereignty, from the original dependence and protection of the emigrants and infant colonies, or from the tenour of grants and charters! The respective governments in America, are no longer dependent colonies; they are independent nations.——Not that I allow they ever were otherways than free (although dependent) in the most absolute sense: All their original constitutions either were, or ought to have been on the true principles of freedom. They are not to be deprived of it as a man would lose an estate, by a flaw in their title; for I have already proved, that their title can have no flaw. Those who are so fond of placing them metaphorically in the relation of children to a parent state, and thence are childish enough to argue for a blind filial obedience, should recollect, that the power of a parent, even during childhood, doth not extend to any act of tyranny or injustice; and totally ceases when the child arrives at years of maturity. Then, as to the *property* of a child, a parent cannot take it from him even *with* his consent; and as soon as his independency puts it in his power to give it to his parent, he hath also the power of with-holding it if he think proper. In short, during infancy, he must be protected agreeable to the laws of equity; when arrived at manhood, he is free, and becomes his own protector. But analogy not being the safe road of reason, we resign it again, after this short excursion, to those who carelessly range the fields of politics for amusement; but are not solicitous, as we are, of reaching the abodes of truth and freedom.

The Americans, in common with the whole race of man, have indisputably an inherent right to liberty; and to be governed by such laws as shall best provide for the continuance of that liberty, and for securing their property. These are the hinges on which turn the welfare and happiness of society; these are the true, the only ends of civil government. But how are they to be obtained under the sovereignty of a British Parliament? Are not the legislators of every free state to be bound themselves by the laws they make? And, must they not tax their own purses, together with those of their constituents? Is there any safety for the people without these ties upon their legislators? Will a member of the British parliament be bound by any law enacted for, and confined

to,

to, America? Muſt the purſes of the Americans be at his mercy, while his own ſhall be exempt from every taxation he may vote? What Engliſh ſchool-boy, ſo ignorant of the conſtitution, as to admit theſe abſurdities! He muſt firſt go out into the world, and, by the help of a little political ſophiſtry, unlearn his common-ſenſe, and even his A B C.

The ſecure enjoyment of liberty and property, in which conſiſt the welfare and happineſs of a people, being the true ends of all civil government; this is the foundation alone on which we muſt argue concerning who have a right to govern. The anſwer is obvious and ſhort. The rights of ſovereignty reſide in the people themſelves; that is, they have a right to chuſe their own governors. Minds that do not feel the force of ſelf-evidences may deny the truth of this ſimple propoſition: but they may be aſſured, that if they ſet themſelves about controverting it, they will only bewilder themſelves in their own ſubtleties, without telling us any thing that will benefit mankind. Don't we all acknowledge, that the Americans are a free people? But how are they free, if they cannot chooſe their own governors; if their laws be not enacted by their own repreſentatives? In what doth our freedom conſiſt if not in theſe very rights as the eſſence of it? In theſe rights which we have ſo often aſſerted, for which we have ſo often bled! That people cannot be free who are *not* governed by their own conſent. Thoſe who *are* governed by their own conſent, *chooſe their own governors*. This is indiſpenſably requiſite towards the welfare and happineſs of every people; it is an unalterable law of nature; that is, it is the law of God.

NOTES, &c. to LETTER II.

* The letter alluded to, is ſo well worth preſerving, and ſo much to our preſent purpoſe, that I ſhall take the liberty of tranſcribing it for the uſe of my reader.

THE daily papers abound ſo much in idle declamation againſt the northern colonies, that it is not ſurpriſing, ſuch admirable reaſons are advanced in moſt companies, where the converſation turns upon this important

topic, why force ſhould be uſed to bring them to obedience. Neither is it much to be wondered at, that the people of England are ſo unanimous in their opinions, The ſame motives, which induce their rulers to abridge their privileges, make the people of England willing to abridge the liberties of America. The ſubjects of the King of Great Britain conſider themſelves as the ſovereigns of his Majeſty's American ſubjects; for, if the Houſe of Commons have a legiſlative power over the colonies, the people of England muſt have the ſame right ultimately, as the Houſe derive all their power from the people by election. But it would be worth an enquiry how the people of England obtained this ſovereignty. Was it by the free conceſſions of the American provinces? By no means; or, did it reſult from the ſpirit of the Engliſh laws or government upon the migration of oppreſſed religioniſts and their ſettlement in thoſe regions, which, by the prerogative, were the property of the crown †, and which the King, by the ſame prerogative, had the power of alienating without the conſent of the people of England, particularly when ſuch alienation was made to a part of his own ſubjects? It would be difficult to ſhew that this was the caſe, and I believe it has never been attempted. That the King ſhould have the ſovereignty of the colonies is but reaſonable, is conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the Engliſh laws. If Engliſh ſubjects ſettle upon the lands of the crown out of this realm, with the King's permiſſion and conſent, they do not thereby become a ſtate independent of the kingly power; as they were ſubjects in England, ſo are they ſubjects in their new country; but they do not become ſubjects of ſubjects; deſpicable indeed would be their ſituation were ſuch the caſe. On the contrary, they have the ſame rights which they had before, and ſame ſovereign executive power. The rights of Engliſhmen are not confined to this little ſpot of land; but they follow the perſon as a ſhadow follows the ſubſtance; however, it may vary its ſituation, whether it goes North, Weſt, Eaſt, or South. The Houſe of Commons can claim no power of impoſing laws on the coloniſts, for they derive no ſuch power by election. The power of the Commons of Great Britain is circumſcribed; from the ſpirit of the laws, they have only a legiſlative power, and that

power

power bears relation to the purpoſe for which it was given; which was to impoſe laws upon the people of Great Britain, but by no means the people of America, becauſe the power of the electors extended only to themſelves. The three orders united, i. e. the parliament have a moſt extenſive power over the ſubjects of Great Britain, becauſe every power in the ſtate meets in that body: but conſidered with reſpect to the colonies, their pretenſion to ſuch a power there claſhes with the legiſlatures of thoſe colonies, they can never ſubſiſt together in the ſame place. As to the relation of parent and child, in which Great Britain and the colonies are ſaid to ſtand by ſome ingenious men, I confeſs it would be a tolerable good figure in a rhetorical flouriſh, or would ſound very prettily in metre; but with ſubmiſſion, when the rights of many opulent and populous provinces are in queſtion, ſomething more than a ſimile or alluſion ought to decide it. Let Engliſhmen, who have been admired for ages, for their regard to liberty, bluſh, when it is now ſaid, that, by ſuperior force, they would deprive three or four millions of their fellow-ſubjects of thoſe rights and privileges to which they are ſo attached themſelves. How depraved a mind would that individual be ſaid to poſſeſs, who would defend his property at the riſk of his life, exclaim againſt the aggreſſor as a lawleſs invader, and yet, at the ſame time, or a moment afterwards, behave in the ſame unjuſtiable manner to his neighbour. Is this the people, will foreigners cry, who are ſo fond of liberty? No; we have always miſtaken them: they are ſelfiſh, arbitrary, and tyrannical, fond of the privileges they enjoy; but they would exclude the reſt of the world, nay, their fellow-ſubjects, from the ſame advantages—advantages which they have hitherto enjoyed in common with Engliſhmen. Is this the people ſo celebrated for humanity? No; they are moſt inhuman: they invade the moſt precious rights a human being can enjoy, and would render the reſt of mankind miſerable ſervile wretches.—'Tis really ſtrange, the national character of Engliſhmen ſhould have been ſo much miſtaken!

A. B.

Tueſday, March 22, 1774.

† *Although the King, by his prerogative, be vested with the power of making grants, it is only officially; and, I am of opinion, that ever since a legislative authority hath been established in any colony, his Majesty's prerogative of making grants within the same, ought, in strictness, to have been in his official capacity, as first magistrate of* that colony, *and not as first magistrate of England or Great Britain. As the people of Great Britain have no power beyond themselves, nor a shadow of a right in the soil of North America, so it is inconsistent with reason to admit, that the King can derive from them a power of granting away those lands; more especially on any conditions, which should give them a title to sovereignty over their American kindred, who have as good a right to freedom and independency as themselves.*

LET.

LETTER III.

March 24, 1774.

AT the ſame Time that I hold that "Parliament hath not the Rights of Sovereignty over his Majeſty's American Subjects," and that "theſe rights reſide in themſelves," I do not mean to promote an ungrateful forſaking of the mother country by her children, to ſever and eſtrange the ſons from the fathers; but where filial duty and obedience ceaſes, to ſubſtitute in its ſtead a brotherly affection, a manly and independent friendſhip, which naturally takes place where the parent hath truly loved and exerciſed his authority for the ſole end of promoting the welfare of the child, without a view to ſelf-intereſt, or the gratification of pride, ambition, or other vicious paſſion. I would conſider the American governments, like that of Ireland, as ſiſter kingdoms; and I would cement a laſting union with them as between the ſeparate branches of one great family. * We know that it is impoſſible to effect ſuch a family union, if the arrogance of the elder branch expect to govern the others, or even demand their homage; and how much more ſo, if it demand the uſe of their purſes at its own diſcretion, as a return for former aſſiſtance, or under pretence of maintaining the honour and intereſt of the whole combined family. But while every one is left independent, and no other influence is made uſe of but that of ſincere brotherly affection, a reciprocation of good offices, and a fair repreſentation of the general advantage of the whole, there is little doubt but that all will be ready to contribute their reſpective ſhares, and that due reſpect and deference will ever be paid to the elder houſe. Family pride, no leſs than thoſe advantages which reſult from unions of ſuch a nature, will produce this effect, except we be aſhamed of our family. I hope a ſelfiſh and tyrannical ſpirit in the Engliſh, will not make the Americans aſhamed of their deſcent: but illuſtration is miſleading us again into the tempting, but unſure, path of analogy.

analogy. Let us quit it once more before we lose sight of the direct road.

Every one of those writers, who endeavour to support the pretensions of parliament to the sovereignty of America by any shew of abstract reasoning, have, so far as they have fallen under my observation, either sat out upon defective premises, or from good ones, have drawn false conclusions; as needs must be in this case, until truth become a changeling. Plain sense, and an ingenuous mind, are sufficient to guard any one against their sophistry: but we have need of a little more penetration, and to be somewhat conversant in affairs, when we would dispute with a different sort, who plunge headlong into the depths of politics, and hurry us unprepared into all the intricacies of commerce; placing at once before our eyes, in an indirect point of view, that multiplicity of wheels within wheels, pulleys upon pulleys, and springs upon springs, which belong to the complicated machines of government and trade, instead of directing our attention to the first principles of motion, and the few master springs, on whose movements all the rest depend in a regular order and subordination. By these means they endeavour to confound, when they cannot convince us. But these are dishonest arts, the common tricks of designing men in every sphere. They are too stale and hackneyed, however, to impose upon men of sound and cultivated understandings. These know, that government and trade, as well as every science whatever, are established on a very small number of fundamental principles of the utmost simplicity, since they must be self-evident, or they are no principles at all; and they know also, that those who mean honestly, do always ultimately refer every maxim, by clear inferences, to some one or other of these simple, self-evident principles. All the subtleties and refinements, all the arguments that the wit of man can invent, will never be sufficient to justify any species of arbitrary dominion, while we retain a knowledge of this short and simple proposition—"the good of society is the end of civil government;" nor will they ever justify a discretionary taxation by a prince or government, the people being unrepresented, so long as we know, that "a man hath no property in that which another can by right take from him without his consent,"

One of the moſt ſpecious arguments made uſe of in ſupport of a ſovereign power in parliament over the Americans, is that drawn from a ſuppoſed neceſſity of equipping a powerful armament at a ſhort notice, for the protection of the *whole empire*, as theſe gentlemen will have it: hereupon we are aſked, if his Majeſty is to have impoſed upon him the arduous taſk of firſt obtaining a majority in two Houſes of Commons in Europe, and about thirty provincial aſſemblies in America, before he can raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies? and the interrogators ſeem to plume themſelves much upon the impoſſibility of carrying on the executive part of government under ſuch reſtraints. Let me, in return, aſk how we draw ſupplies from Ireland? Are they voted in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons? Then, in the firſt place, I anſwer, that if an empire be too large, and its parts too widely ſeparated by immenſe oceans, or other impediments, to admit of being governed on the principles eſſentially belonging to all free governments, it is an over-grown empire, and ought to be divided before it fall to pieces. The welfare and happineſs of mankind ſupercede every other poſſible claim or pretenſion to govern. When we find ourſelves ſubject to a diſtant power, which cannot poſſibly govern us on any other principles than thoſe of tyranny, we have an inherent right, by the law of nature, and it is an indiſpenſible duty to ourſelves, and to our poſterity, to ſhake off ſuch an unjuſt yoke, and to erect a free government amongſt ourſelves. Thoſe degenerate Engliſhmen, who are now ſeeking to enſlave the Americans, would ill brook the government of the Emperor of Germany, if by any means he ſhould lawfully inherit the crown of theſe kingdoms, and make Vienna the ſeat of government. Would they ſuffer themſelves to be taxed by German miniſters, or German diets? Would they not ſay to their ſovereign, 'either come and reſide amongſt us, or delegate to your 'vice-roy all the prerogatives of the crown, and leave 'us, in conjunction with him alone, to tax and to go-'vern ourſelves according to our own juſt laws, and 'the rights of a free people?' Can any language be plainer? Can any doctrine be more intelligible or more equitable? But, in anſwer to the above interrogatory, I have another anſwer as intelligible as this.

Eſtabliſh

Eſtabliſh the mode of governing which theſe perſons contend for, and there will ſtill be the ſame inevitable delay, with regard to the American ſupplies, as they would have us believe is peculiar to the mode which the people there claim a right to exerciſe. For tho' a Britiſh parliament might *vote* them with their uſual alacrity, yet we muſt ſend to America to *collect* them. And if our armament cannot go on without firſt ſending ſo far for this collection, its operations may as well be ſuſpended a few days or a few weeks longer, in order to obtain it on *Britiſh*, rather than on *Pruſſian*, principles. But the truth is, we ſhould not defer the equipment of any neceſſary armament one moment on this account †. Do we at preſent wait for the aſſembling of parliament, and a vote of ſupplies, before we arm in any juſt cauſe in which the ſafety, the intereſt or honour of the ſtate is concerned? Doth not the executive branch of government, by virtue of its own powers, and in diſcharge of its duty, put the ſtate in a poſture of defence upon every alarm without loſs of time, and then apply to parliament for its approbration and ſupport? Is it ever with-held in a juſt cauſe? Hath the government no reſources, no ways and means of its own, for diſcharging, or contracting for the future diſcharge of, theſe prompt expences of the ſtate? If the uncertainty of meeting with like ſupport from America, as they find in Great Britain, ſhould be a clog upon our miniſters in their warlike projects, might it not be fortunate for the people of both countries? Would it not make them extremely cautious and prudent how they involved us in continental politics and in German wars? No ingenuous man will, however, entertain a ſerious doubt of the readineſs of the Americans to contribute their ſhare to every neceſſary expence of government, ſo long as they ſhall find themſelves in poſſeſſion of their freedom ‡.

They *muſt* contribute their ſhare; that is to ſay, they muſt preſerve their own exiſtence as a people, and defend their own property, under any form of government whatever. When men tell us, that an enlightened and free people are refractory; that they will not contribute their proportion of taxes; that at the hazard of their lives by the ſword or the halter, they oppoſe and ſeek to ſubvert the government, and this for a ſucceſſion of years; they

tell

tell us, with a moral certainty, though perhaps without meaning it, that they feel ſome real oppreſſions, ſome real invaſions made on their rights or liberties; for no other cauſes ever did, or ever will, produce a general and permanent oppoſition in the whole body of a people towards their governors. When we remark likewiſe, that, in the preſent conteſt, there is no religious zeal of perſecution; no national antipathy or rancour, but quite the reverſe; no introduction of a new code of laws by a foreign conqueror; no imaginary pretender to weaken the allegiance of the people towards their ſovereign; nor indeed any one cauſe of diſſatisfaction, but the avowed one; and that, on the part of the people, clearly juſtified on the obvious principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, can we heſitate a moment to pronounce what ought to be done? We ought to allow the Americans to tax themſelves as an inſeparable adjunct to freedom.

NOTES, &c. to LETTER III.

* It is not my meaning, that the American colonies ſhou'd feel the effects of that narrow, and, may I not call it, barbarous policy, by which this country hath conducted herſelf towards her ſiſter Ireland. Beſides the liberty of raiſing her own taxes, and that ſhare of legiſlation which ſhe enjoys in her own parliament, I muſt confeſs, I ſee no reaſon why her trade ſhould not be as free as that of Great Britain. Nature ſeems to have formed her for an union with the greater iſland. This once effected, on a liberal plan of equality in trade and freedom, any future jealouſy would be an inſtance of that folly which is expoſed in the fable of the belly and members. Humanity, wiſdom, and virtue dictate an union. Should Ireland then rival us in trade, (which *I fear* it would never be in a condition to do) I know of no conſequences but good ones. It might poſſibly tend to abate our luxury and extravagance, by a more equal diviſion of wealth, and of circulating money in the two kingdoms; at the ſame time, that it would excite an induſtrious emulation in commerce, to the mutual benefit of both countries; and, conſequently, augment the numbers of uſeful people, the riches and ſtrength of the united ſtate.

† If the Britiſh parliament will not relinquiſh its arbitrary ſovereignty, let it not, however, double the injury by ſuch oppreſſions, needleſs even to its own unjuſt policy.

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‡ I make uſe of the word *freedom* in this place, although I am arguing on a ſuppoſition of the Britiſh parliament continuing to exerciſe a ſovereign power over the Americans, which I hold to be tyrannical in its principle; becauſe the Americans themſelves are as yet not averſe to it, and univerſally breathe towards it none but ſentiments of reſpect and ſubmiſſion, ſo long as it ſhall not be exerciſed to tax or to oppreſs them. Perhaps I may be aſked, why do I, while the Americans are thus ſubmiſſively inclined towards parliamentary ſovereignty, officiouſly endeavour to withdraw their reſpect and obedience; therefore, as a general anſwer on this head, let me ſay once for all, that it is the dictate of my conſcience; the ſame as it would be to warn any individual againſt ignorantly or heedleſsly acquieſcing in any ſelfiſh, crafty, or unjuſt pretenſions of another perſon, which, in its natural and unavoidable conſequences, muſt end in his own diſtreſs, and the ruin of his children, and all this without even benefiting his oppreſſor; but, on the contrary, rendering him criminal and unhappy, and preparing the way for his haſty downfal. If an ordinary regard to juſtice, and the duties of humanity, would have required this at our hands, in a caſe where only a few individuals were concerned, how much more is it the duty of a good citizen to ſound the alarm, when he ſees millions, and ſucceſſions of millions thro' future ages, in danger of ſinking into ſlavery, with all it's attendant curſes! and I moreover think it my duty, to ſeize this occaſion, of advancing my opinions againſt the ſuppoſed and pretended right of ſovereignty in the Britiſh parliament over America, becauſe too many writers, through miſjudgment, diſingenuouſneſs, or a baſe proſtitution to the luſt of tyrannic power, have taken advantage of this acquieſcence on the part of the coloniſts, and of this principle with regard to the ſovereignty being ſo generally acknowledged, as a good political axiom; to deduce from it a right in parliament even to *tax* the colonies. Thus, by proving *too much*, they raiſed a ſuſpicion, that their firſt principles were unſound, and their leading propoſition a mere ſophiſm; and, upon examination, the reader, I flatter myſelf, finds them to be ſo. Leave our adverſaries but poſſeſſed of this intrenched ground of *parliamentary ſovereignty*, and the event of the conteſt, concerning the right of *taxation* will be doubtful; at leaſt, they will ſo long be enabled to make a ſhew of maintaining the diſpute; but when truth and fair argument have forced this feeble intrenchment, as I cannot but think they have now done, they will ſoon be driven out of the field; and the ſtandard of freedom, ſupported by the hand of juſtice, be fixed there for ever.

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LETTER IV.

March 25, 1774.

SOME theorists make a proposal to allow the Americans a representation in the British parliament, in order to justify our taxation of them; but from the small number of such representatives, which I have understood to be proposed, and their being restricted from voting, as some would have them, in any but American questions, I should fear that this proposal proceeded from a sense of shame, as not appearing to preserve even the common forms of justice, rather than from a strict and sacred regard to justice itself; or on a supposition, that this representation should be an adequate one, how would it be possible for the American representatives to serve their constituents in a proper manner. Could they, during every recess of parliament, visit their respective counties, as the members can in Great Britain? Could they, by a post letter, in a day or two, communicate to, or receive from, their constituents all necessary intelligence? or, could they meet and consult with them on all emergencies at a short notice? Must they reside a thousand or fifteen hundred leagues from their estates and compting-houses, in order to serve their country in parliament? Surely so weak a system of government must have been the visionary suggestion of a dream! But we may rest assured, that while the Americans are themselves awake, they will never consent to it. Will they trust their property, their freedom, their dearest rights, their every thing, in the hands of exiles, sent half-way to the Antipodes, in order to sit in council for their government! sent to reside in a luxurious, extravagant country, immersed in dissipation and corruption, and exposed to every temptation to betray them! Believe me, they are not so senseless. In the imaginations of these visionaries, the vast Atlantic is no more, I presume, than a mere ferry.

Those who have thought proper to indulge themselves in the way of declamation, tell us of the mighty things

done for the Americans by the mother country, and make a great cry of their rebellion and ingratitude. Nay, they are silly enough to urge these obligations as so many irrefragable reasons why the Americans are bound to obey the British parliament: on this foundation they build our right of sovereignty. But whoever heard of a suit prosecuted in any English court of justice for ingratitude? Is a frugal son, out of his little competency, and to the prejudice of his own children, obliged, by any law of England, or of nature, to minister to the extravagancies of a proud, luxurious parent, and in what degree that parent shall direct? Do the obligations of friendship deprive the person obliged of his future freedom and independency? Doth not an attempt to enslave, cancel, in a moment, every former obligation? These declaimers should keep in mind, that voluntary good offices are moral and religious, not civil or political, obligations. We may safely admit the whole catalogue of them in their full force, without thereby affording parliament the most shadowy pretension to the rights of sovereignty over the Americans: but, in justice to the character of that people, we must positively deny their existence; for they have been amply repaid in a profitable commerce to this country. Men must surely be lost to a sense of common decency, who would impose upon us as truth, that the part which government hath ever taken, in settling and assisting the American colonies, was solely or primarily to benefit the settlers; whereby they have been laid under this vast load of obligation to the mother country, which nothing less than a surrender of their liberty can conceal. Every honest, unprejudiced man, who will reason, and not wrangle, must acknowledge, that government's first object was, as indeed it always ought to be, to extend the commerce of this kingdom. This was the end: the countenance and assistance given to American settlers, was only the means, and therefore could be no more than a secondary consideration. When the colonies were in danger of falling a prey to France, was it pure *affection* and *generosity* towards *them*, or *jealousy of that ambitious power*, which caused Great Britain to take up arms? Did not her own existence depend on the preservation of her American colonies? so that, though we do not mean to say affection, for her kindred had no share in moving her

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to draw her ſword, yet, we preſume, it will be admitted, that *her own* ſafety, *her own* intereſt, *her own* honour, were the only motives that could have engaged her to proceed ſuch lengths at that juncture; and this will the more evidently appear, when we conſider, that according to her notions of her right to the ſovereignty, ſhe ſaw the protection of her colonies, literally in the light of *ſelf*-defence, and the more heartily undertook it accordingly. Surely, it muſt be a very bad title to dominion, which is built upon an error of her judgment, and a political ſelfiſhneſs. Had the *Hanoverians*, or *Dutch*, the *Pruſſians*, *Portugueſe*, or *Hungarians*; had even the very *French*, with whom ſhe fought, at that time ſtood in the place of her American colonies, ſhe would, on the ſame principles, have been as laviſh of her blood and treaſure in their ſupport, as *every one of them* hath heretofore experienced; and yet our opponents in argument, would not have maintained, that ſervices of this kind, done to any ſuch ſtate, would have entitled this kingdom to the ſame right of ruling and of taxing it, as they contend for upon the ſame principle in the caſe of America. America, therefore, is not ungrateful; but is not rather Great Britain unwiſe, ambitious, and tyrannical? The obligations, in fact, were mutual, and as equivalent as the nature of things would admit; ſo that it would be a very nice, perhaps an impoſſible, but certainly an uſeleſs ſpeculation, to decide which party hath been moſt benefited. The attempt is inſidious, and he who makes it, is no friend either to America or Great Britain.

Many definitions of government have been given us, and a multitude of arguments employed, in order to ſhew the well-known neceſſity of one central ſupreme power being ſomewhere lodged in every empire, which ſhall be all ſufficient of itſelf to perform the whole of legiſlation, and conſequently taxation, as an eſſential part of it. But this will make nothing for the claims of parliament to the ſovereignty of America. On the reverſe, it only points out more ſtrongly the error which moſt people have fallen into in their notion of the Britiſh empire. They will have it, that the Britiſh empire comprehends within it all his Majeſty's dominions in America; whereas the American governments, except that of Newfoundland, are independent nations, having within themſelves the rights

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and the actual powers of legiſlation, which cannot be taken from them, and lodged in the hands of Britiſh legiſlators, without a manifeſt wrong, and the ſubverting of ſo many free governments. Here we ſhall be told, that our Kings, in granting them their original charters and privileges, only exerciſed a prerogative which they derived from the conſtitution; wherefore the Americans are ſtill dependent upon, and owe allegiance, not to the King alone, but to the ſtate of Great Britain. But ſtill I maintain, that the inherent rights of mankind, above all, their freedom, are not to depend on caſuiſtical niceties and logical diſtinctions, (which, by the way, muſt be falſe, when they would diſprove theſe rights) but are theirs independently of all the Kings, all the governments in the univerſe. Kings and conſtitutions of government are the creatures, not the creators, of theſe rights. They are held immediately of God himſelf, who gave them. Had the original charters to the American ſettlers been granted on the expreſs and ſole condition of acknowledging the ſovereignty of parliament, even all that would not have bettered our preſent title one jot; for freedom, notwithſtanding all that ſophiſtry may ſay to the contrary, cannot be alienated by any human creature; much leſs can he enſlave his poſterity; and, therefore, ſuch a contraſt could only be binding, ſo far and ſo long as freedom ſhould not be infringed by it; but, with regard to a virtue in it, of depriving a future people, many nations, of their freedom, it would be null and void in its own nature to all intents and purpoſes; and, 'tis a mockery to our common-ſenſe, to plead it as an authority to this end.

It is a miſtaken notion, that planting of colonies, and extending of empire, are neceſſarily one and the ſame thing. Even the *intention* of the planters will not make it ſo, where the rights of mankind, and the nature of things are not adapted to it; where growing colonies are ſo ſituated and ſo circumſtanced, that, in the nature of things, they cannot be governed by the parent ſtate on the principles of juſtice and freedom; it is ſurely paying little reſpect to our underſtandings, and ſhocks every feeling of a free mind, to aſſert, that they muſt nevertheleſs ſubmit to its oppreſſive rule. Having denied that America, when we drop the popular language, and ſpeak correctly, is a part of the Britiſh empire, it will naturally be expected

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I ſhould ſay what are, and where are its limits. The Britiſh empire, then, I hold to be confined to the Britiſh Iſles *, and to the various *ſettlements and factories of our trade* in the different parts of the world, including *the government of Newfoundland*; together with the garriſons of *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*. As to the Weſt India iſlands, they, as well as the continental colonies, certainly have a right to their independency, whenever they ſhall think proper to demand it, as they contain within themſelves every neceſſary of legiſlation; but, if it be their choice, to acknowledge the ſovereignty of the Britiſh parliament, as I apprehend it may, becauſe, I believe, it will be their *intereſt*, I ſee no objection in that caſe to its being exerciſed. If it be true, as I believe all writers agree, that they would be depopulated, was it not for annual ſupplies of white men as well as blacks, this, and ſome other arguments, drawn from Weſt Indian manners and ſentiments, ſeem to indicate, that it is not in their nature, nor perhaps in their wiſh, to ſupport an independency; nor ought we to forget, that their ſoil itſelf points out to them dependency, ſupplying only the means of effeminacy, luxury, and intoxication, while for *bread*, and the *neceſſaries of life*, its inhabitants muſt depend upon other countries. It matters not how much, in the nature of trading ſettlements, our firſt colonies might have been, (though were not in fact) nor at what period they might be ſaid to become independent nations: it matters not that they were originally planted and protected by the government of this country, (I admit this planting; I make no reſervation of thoſe who fled from *perſecution* and *want*) nor what were the intentions of government in ſo doing; for, having in them (the people of thoſe colonies) the inherent and unalienable rights of freemen, they had therein the rights of independency, whenever they ſhould think proper to aſſert them. Doth a man, who furniſhes a young indigent relation with every neceſſary, who ſettles him in a trading accompting-houſe, who ſupplies him with money, and ſupports him with every ſpecies of protection whereby he proſpers in the world, and raiſes a fortune; doth the man, I ſay, to whom he owes all this, obtain thereby a right, a legal title, to take from him, without his conſent, a ſingle ſhilling of this fortune? men of ſlaviſh principles would have us believe, that the

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rights of private perſons, of ſubjects, being mean and insignificant conſiderations, are level with the capacities of, and may be comprehended by the people; but that the ſublime and myſterious rights of empire are only to be judged of, and determined upon, by thoſe who govern, and by thoſe to whom theſe myſteries are confidentially revealed, in order to be treated of with due profundity and unintelligibility, not to enlighten the people, but to impreſs them with a proper reſpect for things ſo aweful and ſacred. True enough it is, that what hath too frequently been written concerning them, hath not been level with the capacities of the people, nor with any other capacities; for no man can underſtand what hath no ſenſe or meaning, what is palpable nonſenſe.

NOTE, &c. to LETTER IV.

* I ſay Britiſh Iſles, ſince I conſider Ireland as naturally a dependant upon Great Britain, until an union ſhall take place, and make her an equal. In barbarous times, ſhe might have remained ſeparate and independent; but ſuch a ſtate would now be inconſiſtent with the ſelf-preſervation of the larger kingdom, and therefore the law of nature dictates an union or a curb.

LET-

LETTER V.

March 26, 1774.

IT is demanded, with an air of confidence and imaginary triumph, 'Were not the first settlers in America British subjects? Did they not settle under the 'sanction of grants and charters? Hath not the kingdom, at all times, put itself to great expences in their 'support, and favoured them with many peculiar advantages in trade? Was not the last most expensive war 'undertaken solely on their account? Can any one be 'so absurd, as to imagine the kingdom intended to nurse 'and erect so many independent nations, instead of enlarging her own dominion? Ought not the Americans to repay us part of the expences of the war 'in particular, in order to enable us to discharge some 'part of that enormous debt it occasioned? and contribute their proportion towards the general expences 'of the whole empire?' To most of these questions, my arguments have already answered. Now, let me ask, in my turn,——Have any of the nations of the earth, especially the free ones, become what they are, in consequence of the *intentions*, and by a regular plan for that purpose, of the governments of those countries from which they are respectively descended? When we speak of the Greeks as an Egyptian colony, or of the Carthaginians as a colony of Phœnicians, do we the less consider them as free nations? or imagine that the mother-countries had a right to govern or to tax them, because the first settlers had once stood in the relation of subjects to those states? Let the *intention* of government, in planting a colony, be what it may, 'tis impossible it should take away an *inherent unalienable* right; such, for instance, as freedom. But what Britain principally intended, she hath certainly obtained—an extension of commerce. Again, let me ask, hath not Providence usually carried on its gracious designs of making great nations, and peopling new regions, contrary to the councils of the wise ones of this world? While we are plotting and contriving, toiling and sweating, treating and waging war, in

order to gratify our own ſelf-intereſt and pride, by extending our commerce, and enlarging our empire beyond all bounds, Providence takes care to fruſtrate our fooliſh and wicked projects, and often brings about the reverſe of what we think to inſure by the depth of our policy, and the ſtrength of our arm. Let us take care that we do not provoke it to make us a ſcorn and a reproach to America, inſtead of its arrogant ruler. By adhering ſtrictly to the principles of juſtice, and the rights of mankind, we may firmly unite and cement together our own intereſts with thoſe of our ſiſter nations in America, and remain ourſelves to the end of time, a powerful and independent ſtate: but let us dread, by a violation of theſe ſacred duties, to pull down upon our devoted heads the mighty ruins of an over-grown empire. Let it be the peculiar glory of this free, this enlightened, this chriſtian kingdom, to extend the influence of her religion and laws, not the limits of her empire! Nor let her entertain one anxious thought concerning the hackneyed notion of the progreſs of empire weſtward. Who are theſe preſumptuous unfolders of the decrees of fate, theſe revealers of the hidden councils of God, that doom Great Britain to a ſpeedy fall, when empire ſhall have fixed it's ſeat in America? Are the diſpenſations of Divine Providence ſo uniform and regular, as to become the object of ſcience and proud philoſophy?—to be foretold by man, or calculated like the movement and appearance of a comet? Our *philoſophical prophets* pretend to judge from ſimilar cauſes producing ſimilar effects: but they ought to know, that in *all eſſentials*, there is *yet* very little or no ſimilitude between the ſtate of Great Britain and any antient empire whatever: and I am not without faith, that there will always be wiſdom and virtue enough in this happy iſland, to prevent its ever coming within that predicament. It behoves her, however, for inſtruction, to have a conſtant retroſpect to them and their fate. Let her maturely reflect on the inſatiable avarice and ambition, the enormous, the gigantic wickedneſs of bloody Rome. Let her conſider alſo the Grecian, the Perſian, and Aſſyrian empires, and carefully mark the grand cauſes of their overthrow. They were all erected on the rotten foundations of *Idolatry* and *tyranny*, (the very ſeed-plots of hell) they all fell the victims of their own mad ambition, and a luſt of rule, that nothing

nothing could ſatiate leſs than the dominion of the whole earth. Where is the ſimilitude! Our religion, being a divine revelation, is confeſſedly perfect; and the law of nature, no leſs divine, being the immoveable baſis of our political fabric, the very ſoul of our conſtitution, this alſo is *perfect*. I ſay perfect, abſolutely perfect; for, whenever it hath the appearance of being otherwiſe, it is only from the want of a right interpretation, or a cloſe adherence to its true principles. It is this immutable, this divine ſtandard, we have to refer to in all our deviations, that hath preſerved our conſtitution through all ages, and improved it till it is become the admiration and envy of all nations *. This is a principle of renovation and recovery from all corruption and decays; this is a principle of immortality! No other conſtitution ever had the ſame, or at leaſt never preſerved it until it was ſufficiently underſtood, and properly valued by the people. This has, under a moſt ſingular Providence, been our peculiar bleſſing. I truſt it will be the bleſſing of our poſterity to the lateſt generations; and that, when we ſhall have given birth, and the birthrights of freemen, to as many independent ſtates as can find habitations on the vaſt American continent, that Britain ſtill will be great and free; the reſpected mother, the model, the glory of them all! and I will, I muſt indulge the fond hope, that the pure religion, and the perfect conſtitution of Britain, will gradually ſpread themſelves over all America; and in every other part of the globe † ſo enlighten and operate upon the minds of men, as to become the chief inſtruments in the Hands of Almighty God of bringing about, in his due time, that univerſality of chriſtianity, that harmony and happineſs among the nations of the earth, which are intimated in the prophetic writings. Thoſe prophetic intimations themſelves, the peculiar fitneſs of the cauſes to the effects, together with a great variety of circumſtances, that ſeem evidently tending towards this point, convince me, that it may be rationally hoped for; while all the arguments brought to ſhew the probability of America becoming the ſeat of a mighty conquering empire, to which Britain ſhall, in length of time, be a province, appear to my apprehenſion, to be deſtitute of any foundation of the ſmalleſt degree of probability.

We are told, that empire hath been obſerved to make its progreſs weſtward; that every empire hath had its infancy, its youth, its vigour, its declenſion, its death; and that they neceſſarily follow each other with the ſame certainty as in frail life of man; and laſtly, we are reminded, that Great Britain hath paſt her meridian, and empire is now riſing faſt in America. To the firſt, I anſwer, that empire muſt needs have travelled weſtward from its ſource, except Europe had remained a deſart; that it alſo travelled Eaſt, South, and North, as well as Weſt, witneſs China, Indoſtan, Abyſſinia, Ruſſia; and that it hath already been in America, witneſs Peru and Mexico; and that it hath alſo taken retrograde courſes, witneſs Turky and the Perſian empire under Nadir Shah; and with regard to modern Europe, I can ſee no probability why it may not remain to the end of time, divided in proportions, not much differing from the preſent. To the ſecond argument, I have only to ſay, that analogical reaſoning is always very fallacious, and that there is no analogy between things *mortal* and *immortal*. To the third, I muſt repeat, that Great Britain, having in her conſtitution the principles of renovation and recovery from corruption and decay, and the ſeeds of immortality (which no other ſtate ever had) is in no great danger of a declenſion, ſo long as this world is likely to laſt; and that the Britiſh North American ſtates having, all of them, chriſtianity void of perſecution, as a light from heaven; Britiſh freedom as a ſoul, and a ſpirit of commerce as the breath of life; it muſt be thought next to an impoſſibility that any one of them ſhould ever ſwallow up all the reſt, and then extend its conqueſts beyond the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The times for "heroes and demi-gods" are paſt; and the phrenzy for univerſal empire is ſomewhat out of date and out of countenance. They prevailed, and only could prevail, when the minds of men were in a proper tone for ſuch extravagances; when *the advantages of commerce, the true principles and ends of government, and the religion of peace and pure virtue*, were either wholly or very imperfectly known: beſides, no ſearcher into prophecy hath yet diſcovered in the womb of time, an empire that is to be ſo formidable to the liberties of the world; and, if it be true, that the ſpecies, as well as the individual of mankind, obtains knowledge,

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wisdom, and virtue progressively, its latter days will, according to the nature of things, and by means of the Divine assistance that hath been vouchsafed it, to all appearance, be more wise, peaceable, and pious, than the earlier periods of its existence. To this end let every one labour; and his own happiness at least, if not the general happiness of mankind, will most assuredly be his reward.

NOTES, &c. to LETTER V.

* "I wish," says Lord Camden, "the maxim of Machiavel was followed, that of examining a constitution, at certain periods, according to its first principles, this would correct abuses, and supply defects." In this wish, every man, who hath a just sense of our inestimable constitution, will most devoutly join his Lordship. It is true, however, as intimated above, that our wise ancestors did, from time to time, avail themselves of such an examination, as occasion offered, and circumstances would admit. If the effects have been so great and so happy, ought we not to improve upon their example, and instead of suffering abuses to run on uncorrected, until they threaten a general ruin, would it be more than common sense, and common prudence, to adopt a *regular and periodical inquest*, for this most salutary purpose? Who so learned in the law and the constitution; who more the friend of both; who therefore so fit as his Lordship, for the generous task of framing a proper bill on this occasion? As it is his Lordship's proposal, where else shall we look for a volunteer; knowing his eloquence and senatorial abilities, on whom else could we rely, with so much confidence and hope, for obtaining so great a blessing?

† We are now sending a code of British laws to our settlements in India, and establishing courts to administer them.

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LETTER VI.

March 27, 1774.

WHEN we talk of afferting our fovereignty over the Americans, do we forefee to what fatal lengths it will carry us? Are not thofe nations increafing with aftonifhing rapidity? Muft they not, in the nature of things, cover in a few ages that immenfe continent like a fwarm of bees? Do we vainly imagine, that we can then hold the reins of government, and hurl our thunders on the heads of the difobedient? Where are we to ftop? or, fhall we pretend to circumfcribe American populations? To fay, "Thus far ye fhall go, and no farther?"—No!—Swollen indeed muft we be with the pride of dominion, and drunk with the fumes, if we can foolifhly imagine thefe things *. It is high time that we opened our eyes to the unintentional encroachments we have been making upon the liberties of mankind, and to the neceffity of fetting bounds to our dominion. Without the American continent, the Britifh empire will be large enough in all reafon. But if government perfift in maintaining our fovereignty there, it may poffibly occafion our own deftruction, but can be productive of no good to us, either prefent or future. After all that has been done to alarm the Americans for their rights as free men, and calling up their attention to a thorough inveftigation of them; after the flame of oppofition hath been kindled in every breaft, and now animates them as one man, it will be in vain to fteer any middle courfe; to adopt meafures for *light oppreffions*, and compelling obedience to laws *moderately tyrannical*. We muft either relinquifh at once our claim to fovereignty, or fix on their neck with ftrong hand the galling yoke of flavery. We muft either conquer ourfelves or them. Juftice, wifdom, humanity, and religion, leave us without a doubt which to prefer; and, fhould the latter be determined on, woe be to Great Britain! We may, indeed, by means of fleets and armies, maintain a precarious tyranny over the Americans for

for a while; but the moſt ſhallow politicians muſt foreſee what this would end in †. It would expoſe us to the certain attacks of all our European rivals; and, when we found the neceſſity of courting the aſſiſtance of the Americans, we ſhould deſervedly find them the bitterest of our enemies. With the nations of Europe we contend for commerce, for glory, and ſome imaginary objects; with thoſe of America, the conteſt would be for the dearest rights, the very dignity of humanity. After the ſtruggles of intereſt and proweſs, a tolerable reconciliation may take place, but eternal enmity and hate always ſucceed thoſe between a free people and their tyrants. From the ſpirit of freedom, which hath in all ages glowed in the boſoms of true Engliſhmen, and which hath brought to its preſent perfection our glorious conſtitution in defiance of every attempt to cruſh it; we ought to know, that until we can extinguiſh this ſpirit in the breaſts of the Americans, and eradicate from their very nature its firſt and nobleſt principles, ſelf-preſervation and free-will, that all our efforts to bow them down in ſubjection to our authority, muſt finally be ineffectual, and will recoil ſooner or later, perhaps with ten-fold retribution upon ourſelves. There are ſome politicians who think, that preſent expediency is a ſufficient juſtification of any meaſures; and who, from the ideas of re-imburſing ourſelves for the charges of the laſt war, of ſupplying the preſent exigencies of the ſtate, and ſecuring our power over the American commerce, make no ſcruple to bid us draw the accurſed ſword, and enſlave our children and our brethren. But, be it known to them, that though our very exiſtence as a nation, depended on violating the expreſs laws of God, it muſt not be done. And if their ignorance, which may be implied from the folly of their propoſal, hath not yet made the diſcovery, let them be told that policy, national as well as individual, muſt have juſtice and the laws of God for its baſis, or, 'tis the policy of villains, the policy of ſots and fools. Can the legiſlature of Great Britain, I once more aſk, govern the Americans on the true principles of freedom? For the reaſons I have already given, I believe it to be impoſſible ‡. As to their reimburſing us the ſums of money ſpent on their account in the laſt war, they will do it, if we act wiſely and juſtly, in the only way it is poſſible they ſhould, and

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in the only way we expected of them when we undertook the war; that is, by a commerce beneficial to this kingdom. And by leaving them to their own independency, the charges of government may be greatly retrenched.

Thus far had I written, when the political tracts of a reverend Dean fell into my hands. They amply ſupply all the examples and explanations neceſſary to illuſtrate my principles, and ſhew to a demonſtration the abſolute neceſſity, in a political light, of relinquiſhing our claims to the ſovereignty of America; to which the whole tenour of my letters point, and with which they are to conclude. But I am far from ſubſcribing to this gentleman's doctrine as to the rights of ſovereignty. If I could acknowledge the truth of that, I ſhould very much doubt of the propriety of his propoſed ſeparation of America from Great Britain; for giving up one's right, cannot be thought a good rule for promoting one's intereſt. But in this caſe, as is very frequent, his common-ſenſe hath been obliged to ſubdue his learning before he arrived at truth. While metaphyſical refinements teach him to think, that Britain hath a right to govern America, the invincible force of truth extorts from him an acknowledgment that ſhe muſt, if governed by true policy, relinquiſh it. 'Tis pity ſo able a writer had not diſcovered, that the Americans have a right to chooſe their own governors, and thence inforced the neceſſity of his propoſed ſeparation as a religious duty, no leſs than a meaſure of national policy. In ſo doing, he would have been conſiſtent; there would then have been no obſcurity; nor would his ſentiments of right and expediency have been at variance; but his concluſion would naturally and evidently have flowed from his premiſes, ſupported by that trite, but true and moſt excellent maxim, that honeſty is the beſt policy. But, perhaps, ſome may be of opinion, that the propriety of a ſeparation is more ſtrongly enforced, by its appearing to be the only reſult he could poſſibly arrive at through the medium of opinions that pointed the direct contrary way. The ſame opinions have, in all other writers, led them only to conſider, by what means the unity of the whole Britiſh empire (taking in America) might be beſt preſerved; how the ſupreme legiſlative power might be beſt ſupported, and enforce obedience to the utmoſt bounds of this vaſt dominion. Every project for this purpoſe

purpoſe (without a ſingle exception) being embarraſſed with a fundamental incompatibility, a radical error in ſuppoſing a right, where, in truth, there is none, hath been viſionary, oppreſſive, ſanguinary, and totally impracticable; ſo difficult it is to ſtrive againſt the ſtream of nature and truth.

The Dean, with more good ſenſe, with an extenſive inſight into the human heart, and the ſprings of commerce, and with the temper of a philoſophic, unintereſted looker-on, hath nobly abandoned the full perſuaſion of his own mind on the point of right; and, while he thinks we are entitled to govern, foreſees and demonſtrates the fatal conſequences of attempting it. He accordingly adviſes us to ſeparate in good humour, and truſts to our mutual intereſts for its producing, in fact, a real and ſincere union; and this, he ſays, is "the only means of "living in peace and harmony with them."

In the whole courſe of his work, wherever the diſpute of right is not immediately in view, his reaſonings flow ſpontaneouſly, and in ſpite of himſelf, from the feelings of right in his own heart. In page 153, he ſays, "For I am not for charging our colonies in parti-"cular with being ſinners above others, becauſe, I be-"lieve, (and if I am wrong, let the hiſtories of all co-"lonies, whether antient or modern, from the days of "Thucydides down to the preſent time, confute me if "it can; I ſay, till that is done, I believe) that it is the "nature of them all to aſpire after independence, and to "ſet up for themſelves as ſoon as ever they find that they "are able to ſubſiſt without being beholden to the mo-"ther country. And if our Americans have expreſſed "themſelves ſooner on this head than others have "done, or in a more direct and daring manner, this "ought not to be imputed to any greater malignity, "or ingratitude in them than in others, but to that bold, "free conſtitution, which is the prerogative and boaſt "of us all. We ourſelves derive our origin from "thoſe very Saxons who inhabited the lower parts of "Germany, &c." What can more fully prove the right of independence in colonies, too far removed to be governed on the principles of freedom by the mother country, than this univerſal, this uniform, invariable feeling of all mankind, in all ages, than that "it is the nature

"of them all to aſpire after it." Shall we reject the unvarying teſtimony of nature ſpeaking home to our hearts, and pin our faith upon the fine-ſpun, cobweb ſubtleties of our learned caſuiſts and court-lawyers? or ſhall we, with more ſafety, rely upon the letter of an old muſty charter, penned before this queſtion was ſo much as thought of? Hath nature left herſelf ſo much without a witneſs to the truth in the human breaſt, that we muſt give ourſelves wholly up to the direction of ſuch blind guides as theſe? Fie! fie! If much learning hath not made us mad, it hath at leaſt in this, and many ſimilar caſes, made us ignorant. It is to be lamented, that ſuch a blaze of truth, as there is in the above obſervation, did not diſcover to the writer the fallaciouſneſs of his original poſition of parliamentary right to govern the colonies; when all the while, it is the expreſs, the ſole purport of this work to prove, that parliament, in continuing to aſſert this right, cannot promote either the welfare of Great Britain or America.

NOTES, &c. to LETTER VI.

* I find it is one of the avowed principles of the Quebec Act, by the accounts of its ableſt advocates, to check as much as poſſible, all population in the *upper* and *interior country*, at the back of the colonies. (See a pamphlet, entitled, The Juſtice and Policy of the late Act of Parliament, for making more effectual Proviſion for the Government of the Province of Quebec, aſſerted and proved, page 43; and an Appeal to the Public, ſtating and conſidering the Objections to the Quebec Bill, page 46.) At the ſame time that I honour all the *real* humanity, ſhewn in this act to the Canadians; I moſt heartily condemn the general *policy* of it, with regard to the other colonies. The evils complained of in the above-mentioned unſettled country, and made the lame pretence for enlarging ſo extravagantly the province of Quebec, by the annexation of the whole of it, are evils wholly occaſioned by the inactivity and omiſſions of government for twelve years paſt; if it be true, that it is *the want of laws*, which introduces diſorder into any ſociety; and they are, with great injuſtice, charged upon the bordering colonies, as *legiſlative ſtates*; (in which light, I find, they are to be conſidered by their enemies, whenever it may ſerve a turn to their diſadvantage. See the appeal above-mentioned, page 50.) and, as an artful pretence for denying

them leave of ſettlement, and that ſhare in the peltry trade which they are moſt advantageouſly ſituated for enjoying. Provided Great Britain had no people to ſpare, for ſending out colonies to occupy that deſolate country, I can ſee no right ſhe had to hinder the American ſtates from ſo doing, except *by voluntary agreement between her and them*, unleſs ſhe claim a power of counteracting God's firſt benediction to mankind.——" Be " fruitful and multiply, and repleniſh the earth and ſubdue " it." But notwithſtanding it is the language of this act, that ' immenſe tracts of the earth ſhall remain deſert and unpeopled, ' in order that the Britiſh parliament may maintain an uſurped ' ſovereignty over a multitude of populous nations, beyond one ' of the grand watery diviſions of the globe;' yet, in the end, it will prove to have no more virtue in it, towards ſtemming the overflowings of the colonies, than had the royal mandate of the wiſe Canutus, when, in order to confound his evil counſellors, he magiſterially forbid the ſwelling tide of the ocean to approach his feet. A chain of feeble forts in a wilderneſs, or the pronouncing this wilderneſs to be part of the province of Quebec, will form a mighty barrier truly, againſt the ſwarms that will one day pour weſtward, from the too populous ſtates upon the ſea coaſt! I do not, however, deny, that even *this* mode of preventing anarchy, bloodſhed, and cruelty for the preſent, is not better than none; but I think this is not the *right* way. To have conſented, under our own guaranty, to a partition of this country amongſt the bordering colonies, according to their reſpective ſituations, and as far as the juſt claims of the Indians would admit, would have been at once an act of juſtice and wiſe policy; or, if the enlargement of theſe reſpective colonies would be impolitic, on account of the future balance of power on that continent, and the general arbitration of Great Britain hereafter ſpoken of, then it might have been ſtipulated with them, that their ſeveral emigrants into this deſert country, ſhould be independent of them, and left to form a new ſtate or new ſtates, under laws to be given them for a free government on their firſt ſettlement, and ſuitable limitations of country, for the ſake of preſerving the future equilibrium and general peace. There cannot be a worſe, or more narrow policy, than to give any check to American population; for, by thoſe means, Britain will loſe ſo many cuſtomers for her manufactures, and the colonies, by having their emigrations reſtrained, will be under a neceſſity of employing her hands in manufactures, inſtead of agriculture. We know the conſequences.

† The infatuated people of this country, are not ſparing of their ridicule and illiberal jeſts on the Boſtonians, now the iron hand of power hath got them in it's graſp. No man of ſenſe

ever doubted the *present* power of Great Britain, to crush any one opposing colony, or, possibly, to trample on the united necks of them all; but this arrogance and injustice she will assuredly repent. I wish it may not be in sackcloth and ashes;—I wish it may not be very soon.

‡ In framing the Quebec Act, it were much to have been desired, that none of the other colonies had been so much as thought of, it might then, perhaps, have breathed pure wisdom and benevolence; but, having interwoven in it that fatal policy, which is daily sowing the seeds of discord between Great Britain and America, I am inclined to think, it is justly censurable in a high degree; and that it is far less beneficial to the Canadians than it ought to be, although it may be very true, that they are at present incapable of receiving all the rights and privileges, and the full liberty of British subjects, yet that will be no justification of us, for intailing on their posterity so much servitude to an arbitrary power, as by this act is vested in the governor and council; all at the appointment of the crown *during pleasure*. To have had an assembly, wherein the people should have been represented, they had an undoubted right; to deny it them is tyrannical, and a mere evasion, to insinuate the impracticability of such a plan. Surely that power, which now totally deprives them of this essential to freedom, had been exerted more agreeable to the principles of justice and humanity; had it granted them but the rudest model of an assembly, containing within it the seeds of freedom, to have germinated and expanded with their prosperity, and their advancement in arts and knowledge! Those who assert the contrary, must be little acquainted with the origin and rise of almost all the free states that have flourished in the world, and must conceive the Canadians to be more stupid and barbarous than the Hottentots or Samoiedes. As to any intention of our ministers to promote in this act the interests of Popery, I think they may stand freely acquitted of them; and though I am of opinion, the religious part of it might be amended, yet I cannot but smile at the terrors that have been expressed on this occasin, as if his Holiness was at the very door of St. Paul's. No; the error of the legislature hath been in not seeing, that the most perfect freedom in America, is not only compatible with, but is now become necessary to, the prosperity of Great Britain; and it's crime, if a crime hath been committed, in seeking to support a tottering tyranny over the antient colonies, by erecting an arbitrary government in Quebec. For the sake of Britons on both sides of the Atlantic equally; for the sake of the Canadians, and for the sake of freedom's holy cause universally, I sincerely hope a little reflection on an end so abominable, and the still more abominable means,

means, will dispose our legislators to retrieve, ere it be too late, such an unconstitutional and alarming step. The act of parliament of which we have been speaking, as well as two other memorable ones, passed since the writer first began to publish these letters separately in a news-paper, are thought by sober and reflecting men, to be melancholy records of human passions and infirmity; affording us most striking admonitions, that in national conduct, as well as in that of individuals, a mistaken principle of action, if not forsaken, or one false step, if unretrieved in time, may easily hurry us on to lengths of folly and wickedness, at which we should once have shuddered with horror, but can afterwards persist in to our utter destruction, regardless of all the miseries we at the same time bring upon others. Will rational and moral beings never learn, that without justice, 'tis impossible there should ever be wisdom in the councils of a nation? or can statesmen believe it will obtain their acquittal at the last tribunal, to plead, that in their private capacity, "they did justice and remembered mercy," though in their public stations, they violated these sacred regards; and through a false notion of serving and aggrandizing their country, they endeavoured to establish tyranny, and to intail on millions and millions, the deadliest curse that can imbitter life? In what light must a truly good and wise man behold a law, which is at once a yoke of bondage to one colony, and a scourge to the rest! Although greater miseries, previously endured, together with an ignorance in the value of, and the requisites to, freedom, may cause the poor Canadians, in their present circumstances, to receive it with joy and thankfulness; will that justify towards them, so ungenerous, so mean a policy?

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LETTER VII.

March 28, 1774.

SINCE my laſt letter was ſent to the printer, I have a ſecond time looked into the publication therein referred to; and finding it likely to make a ſtrong impreſſion on its readers, as well as that there is the moſt ſtriking inconſiſtency between its foundation and ſuperſtructure, I perceive that I cannot well paſs it over without a regular, tho' conciſe examination of its third and fourth tract. Theſe alone being immediately to the point, I ſhall confine my obſervations to them, without taking notice of the reſt of the book.

In the beginning of the third tract, entitled, "A Letter from a Merchant in London to his Nephew in America," I am ſorry to obſerve an appeal to *the ſpirit of our conſtitution* treated with ridicule, and an attempt made to ſubſtitute in place of this only genuine authority, *the letter of the ſtatutes*, or even of Magna Charta itſelf; for theſe may all be imperfect, tho', as I have proved in a former letter, the ſpirit of the conſtitution cannot. A proceeding of this kind in an anonymous writer, or one of no credit, would, I confeſs, have given me an alarm of danger, and a ſuſpicion of ſome deep deſign againſt the cauſe of truth: it certainly is very far from being a recommendation of the preſent work. May we not aſk what is meant by removing the appeal from *the ſpirit of the conſtitution* to ſomething which is called "the conſtitution itſelf," (p. 93, 94) and what that ſomething is? It is not defined, nor can I underſtand what it is, unleſs it be a ſomething which hath its ſole exiſtence in the varying and unſteady letter of the ſtatute law, and therefore may be one thing to-day, and another to-morrow, as it was once tyranny and popery, and is at preſent freedom and true religion. If the author will be candid, he muſt acknowledge, that his diſtinction of "the conſtitution itſelf," from the ſpirit of the conſtitution, is unlogical, and a palpable contradiction. How can

can any thing be ſet in contradiſtinction to its eſſence? That "Magna Charta is the great foundation of Engliſh "liberties, and the baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution," I muſt poſitively deny. It is indeed a glorious member of the ſuperſtructure, but of itſelf would never have exiſted, had not the conſtitution already had a baſis, and a firm one too. And as to this charter being the "foundation "of Engliſh liberty," that was evidently otherwiſe; ſince it was an exertion of this very liberty that produced the charter; extorting it from an encroaching King, as a mere formal declaration of rights, already known to be the conſtitutional inheritance of every Engliſhman. Beſides, I have elſewhere obſerved, that the original and only real foundations of liberty were, by the Almighty architect, laid together with the foundations of the world, when this right was ingrafted into the nature of man at his creation; and therefore it cannot be held, after the manner of an external property or poſſeſſion, by charters and titles of human fabrick. We ought to be careful to preſerve a goſpel purity in our civil as in our religious conſtitution; for they are both founded on the word of God. If the religious be more expreſs and clear, the civil is more antient, and no leſs divine, though only revealed to us by a general and fainter impreſs on the mind and heart of man. If the Dean will not admit the decrees of popes and councils as of equal authority with the word of God, he will not ſurely maintain, that a Magna Charta ought to come in competition with the ſpirit of a conſtitution, whoſe baſis is *internal juſtice and inherent liberty*; a Magna Charta, notoriouſly known to have been extorted by the ſword, and formed and ratified in the heat of a hoſtile contention. Nor will he, it is to be hoped, plead "the public ſtatutes of the realm," (p. 145) when they militate againſt the ſpirit, or goſpel purity of the conſtitution. And here I muſt remark, that his quotations of them, in order to prove the ſovereignty of parliament, have not the weight of fair evidence in the trial now before the tribunal of the public; ſince they ſtand in the place, and in the nature of parties concerned. It is theſe very "public ſtatutes of the realm," arrogating a right to govern and to tax the Americans which are called in queſtion; therefore their teſtimony goes for nothing. If the cauſe be given in their favour, then it will be

be time enough for them to operate; but if it goes against them, they must all be condemned as usurpations. We are now arguing what is just and right, and *ought to be* practised, not what *has been* practised by those who had the power in their hands; not what they have been pleased, in their declarations, to *call* just and right. Although parliament should enact, that reason and truth should no longer be reason and truth, yet plain and honest people would be apt to call them reason and truth still, and to rely upon them with the same assurance they do at present. Hence it is, and ever will be, a truth as evident and as uncontrovertible as any law of nature can be, that "an American," notwithstanding the ingenuity of this author, and all that has been, or can be said to the contrary, has a right to insist, "that according to the "spirit of the constitution, he ought not to be taxed "without his own consent, given either by himself or "by a representative in parliament;" I will not add, "chosen by himself;" because that, with regard to each individual, were we disposed to cavil, would lead us into useless and puerile disputations, (p. 93.) Every man of sense admits of the propriety of virtual representation, so far as it answers the ends and purposes of a real one, *but no farther*. I am sincerely sorry to observe a writer, so much entitled to respect as the Dean of Gloucester, employ his talents in an endeavour to mislead us into an opinion, that the Americans are virtually represented in the British parliament. It were a suitable and an innocent exercise of parts in a young disputant at college; but will it bear to be gravely debated upon by a political writer! Well might a noble Lord exclaim, "for as to the "distinction of a virtual representation, it is so absurd, "as not to deserve an answer; I therefore pass it over "with contempt." And if authorities are to have their weight, that I presume of this noble Lord, who presided with so much dignity and lustre, in the noblest court of equity in the world, will be allowed to preponderate against the Dean's, at least in the judgment of every one who reads the tracts before us. If our author had duly weighed the arguments he has quoted from Judge Foster, in his 4th tract, (p. 170) he would have found, that they made nothing for such a virtual representation *as he contends for*. The Judge, it is plain, was not so irrational

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as to think of the welfare of *two separate nations* (for so we may surely esteem Britain and America, think as we will of *empire)* inhabiting, with respect one to the other, "the ends of the earth," as being a fit object of consultation to a single national assembly; and that the deputies of one of these nations could be esteemed the representatives of the other. As to the imagination of Great Britain and America being *one empire*, these are only words that serve to blind, to amuse, and to confound inconsiderate reasoners. How often must it be repeated, that pride, ambition, and lust of dominion, are not, *on any pretence whatsoever*, to be gratified at the expence of nations; and that the *sole end* of civil government is to promote the good of the people? If an empire become too wide and unwieldy for this purpose, I do assert, that by the laws of nature, which are the laws of God, *it is no empire*, that is to say, not a *just* empire. It therefore must be divided, unless we admit that tyranny can be rightfully established, which God forbid! In our own case, I only want it to be done in form, as it is already done in fact, in which the Dean agrees with me; "for, "says he, (p. 153) an undoubted fact it is, that from the "moment in which Canada came into the possession of the "English, an end was put to the sovereignty of the mo-"ther country over her colonies *." I must now take notice of one argument, in favour of virtual representation, that our author seems to value himself upon, as of sufficient force to decide the general dispute with the Americans, and, at the same time, the much litigated question of the Middlesex election.—We find it in a note, (p. 172) "Surely the nation might have expelled Mr. "Wilkes, or have struck his name out of the list of com-"mittee, had it been assembled, and had it thought pro-"per so to do. What then should hinder the deputies "of the nation from doing the same thing? and which "ought to prevail in this case, the nation in general, or "the county of Middlesex?" Now, this argument is evidently fallacious; for the House of Commons doth *not* answer to the *imagined committee* of Judge Foster, to which it is here compared; for that was a simple *democratical* council. Our national committee consists of *King* and *Lords*, as well as Commons; and therefore, according to the Dean's premises, that "the nation might have

" expelled Mr. Wilkes," it is the neceſſary concluſion, that nothing leſs than the national committee, namely, our compleat legiſlature of King, Lords, and Commons, had a right to ſtrike his name out of the liſt. I entirely agree with this writer, that the member choſen and returned by certain individuals, is the repreſentative of the whole nation; ſo that what is generally called a virtual, is, in fact, a real repreſentation; but, at the ſame time, I muſt ſay it doth not appear to be very conſiſtent with *the ſpirit of our conſtitution*, (if that expreſſion will not give offence) that a Dunwich or an Old Sarum, containing half a dozen cottagers, ſhould have the chuſing of as many of theſe national repreſentatives as a Norwich or a Briſtol; nor that a Weymouth ſhould return as great a number as the metropolis, whoſe citizens, according to our author, (p. 99) form " a body as reſpectable as the " greateſt of our colonies with regard to *property*, and " ſuperior to many of them with reſpect to *numbers*." Is not this an abuſe that calls aloud for reformation? Can any thing be more notorious, than that a great majority of the national repreſentatives are elected by a ſmall number of indigent and corrupt men, who profeſſedly make a trade of voting, and who gratify, in the very act, a ſordid ſelf-intereſt, in direct violation of the rights and intereſts of the nation collectively. Theſe electors being *primarily* the repreſentatives of the nation, may be called the *elective repreſentatives*; and are anſwerable to the nation for the exerciſe of that great truſt. If they pervert it from the end for which it was given them, and transfer it to bad men for their own ſelfiſh purpoſes, it is fit *they ſhould be deprived of it*, in order to the eſtabliſhing a more juſt and ſafe mode of electing the *legiſlative repreſentatives* of the nation. But to return; I am of opinion, the Dean might as well have ſpared his reproaches of " folly and abſurdity" upon the poſitions of the Americans, concerning their want of an adequate repreſentation, (p. 98) and have omitted his compariſon of the ſtate of the city of London, although it " hath long enjoyed, " before the colonies were ever thought of, the three- " fold power of juriſdiction, legiſlation, and taxation *in* " *certain caſes*; for, if no man in his ſenſes ever yet " ſuppoſed, that the city of London either was, or could " be exempted, by her charters, from parliamentary ju-

" riſdiction,

" rifdiction, or parliamentary taxes;" it is full as evident, that no man in his fenfes can fee any juft fimilitude, with refpect to parliamentary jurifdiction and taxation between *a metropolis*, the very central point of a nation, and *an entire kindred nation*, which hath arifen in the new world, at the diftance of three thoufand miles from the parent ftate, and beyond the vaft Atlantic Ocean. *It is confiftent with the fecurity of the liberty and property of the citizens of London*, to be fubject to parliamentary jurifdiction and taxation; but this fubjection *would not be confiftent* with the fecurity of the American nations. May not a man in his fenfes believe, that a kindred nation, or a colony, if you pleafe, may be capable of managing its own concerns; and that it is full as likely to do it faithfully as the legiflators of its mother country? May not a man in his fenfes believe, that fuch a ftate hath *a right* to appoint the guardians of its own liberties and properties, and to defend them againft all invaders, even the legiflators of its mother country, without involving himfelf in either " folly or abfurdity?" Would the independency of any colony or kindred nation in America, neceffarily create any fuch confufion, any fuch inconfiftency in the government of Great Britain, as would follow from the independency of, and a feparate fupreme legiflation in, the capital city?

NOTE, &c. to LETTER VII.

* As juftice fays it *ought* to be fo; good fenfe will inform us that it *muft* be fo; notwithftanding the profound policy of the Quebec act.

LETTER VIII.

April 8, 1774.

WHEN our reverend author is not in a jeering humour, he will acknowledge that it is, in reality, "unreasonable, unjust, and cruel," to tax an unrepresented people (for I deny that America is represented at Westminster) against their own consent. (P. 100.) But "strange, exclaims the Dean, that you did not discover "these bad things before! Strange, that tho' the British "parliament has been, from the beginning, thus *unreasonable*, thus *unjust* and *cruel* towards you, by levying "taxes on many commodities, outwards and inwards; "nay, by laying an internal tax, the post-tax, for example, on the whole British empire in America; and, "what is still worse, by making laws to affect your property, your paper currency, and even to take away life "itself, if you offended against them: strange and unaccountable, I say, that after you had suffered this so "long, you should not have been able to have discovered "that you were without representatives in the British "parliament, *of your own electing*, till this enlightening "tax upon paper opened your eyes! And what a pity is "it, that you have been slaves for so many generations, "and yet did not know that you were slaves until now." Now, strange and unaccountable as this may appear to the Dean, it has been by means of the very same kind precisely that our eyes have been successively opened to see the just rights of the people, the due limits of authority in their rulers, in every particular in which they are now legally ascertained. A rude and infant nation of husbandmen, having no pressing occasion, is not very logical or critically learned in the law, and all its remote consequences. It must move progressively towards the acquisition of knowledge as well as strength. This knowledge will always be first confined to reflecting individuals, before it will spread at large amongst the people; and many

many ſuch individuals amongſt the Americans, by the Dean's own account, (p. 145, 146) have had "their eyes "open" theſe hundred years and upwards. The bulk of a nation muſt be made to *feel*, before they reaſon with tolerable accuracy, or lay much ſtreſs upon their governors keeping ſtrictly within the pale of juſt and legal authority. Even ſelf-evident truths are not diſcerned, until the attention of mankind is called upon by neceſſity, or ſome other powerful cauſe, to examine the ſubject in which they exiſt. The divine right of Kings, and their abſolute power too, might have remained in the creeds of all nations to this day, had not a too liberal exerciſe of theſe powers taught them to reaſon by making them *feel*. No man in any country, ever thought of ſcrupulouſly defining the proper powers of taxation, while he poſſeſſed nothing worth taxing; nor of limiting the exerciſe of ſuch powers, ſo long as the contributions required were trifling to him, the occaſions of raiſing them apparent to all men, and the application of them known to, and approved by, every individual. It is, when a ſtate begins to riſe into ſome degree of political conſequence, and the operations of its government are become too ſecret and complex to be penetrated by the vulgar eye, and at the ſame time grow expenſive to the people, that they, not knowing what is going forward, and ſuſpicious of ſome ill towards themſelves, begin to inveſtigate the legal powers of taxing, and how far they ought to be exerciſed; nor ſhall we exceed the truth, if we add, that all their jealouſy and vigilance have been little enough, in the happieſt age and nation, for guarding againſt the king-craft and tyranny of their rulers. While too inſignificant to become the objects, or the tools of ambition, they remain in ignorance; it is the alarm of chains, and the diſlike of burthens, that "enlighten them and open "their eyes." After what has been ſaid, I ſhould hope it was quite unneceſſary to refute the feeble arguments we find in p. 101, 102, 103, drawn from the freedom which an American now is permitted to enjoy, of voting for a member of the Britiſh parliament. We muſt remember, however, that he cannot do this without being a *Britiſh* freeholder, or holding ſome property which makes him at leaſt a *Britiſh* ſubject; and it is therefore *as a Briton*, not

as an American, he is repreſented. But to trace this rope of ſand any farther, would really be to mock my readers; and I have already ſufficiently replied to all ſuch ſorry ſubtleties. If the true and proper relation, in which this country ſtands with regard to the colonies, hath not, in all particulars, been accurately defined by mutual agreement and declaratory laws; but there are to be found ſome little inconſiſtencies, as there needs muſt be in ſuch a connection ſo long as Great Britain, through a love of rule, finds means to evade a fair diſcuſſion of *the queſtion of right*; which, I pray, is the courſe that a wiſe and good man ought to purſue, in order to reconcile all contradictions, and to obtain a juſt idea of what is fit to be done for the remedying theſe inconveniences? Ought not the welfare of the whole people, without any partiality for countries, to out-weigh, in his mind, every other conſideration? Muſt it not be his polar ſtar, whenever he ventures upon the dark and deceitful ſea of caſuiſtry? Will he, for a moment, believe in the truth of any poſition or maxim, how antient, how ſpecious ſoever, that is evidently incompatible with this object? Surely he will not loſe ſight of the true, the only ends of government, and labour to harden the heart and ſtrengthen the hands of tyranny! Nor will he, ſurely, diſregard the plain and obvious dictates of reaſon and nature, and, in defence of a bad cauſe, ſtoop and ſtrain to catch at every little flaw and defect in forms and precedents! But one falſe ſtep in reaſoning, frequently miſleads a good man into opinions and diſputations prejudicial to truth. However, when the good of the public ſhall ultimately appear to be the end he aims at, we muſt make charitable allowances for his miſtakes. Such allowances I am diſpoſed to make to the author of the tract; but yet as a well-wiſher, and in perfect good humour, I muſt needs ſay he has indulged too freely a ſpirit, I will not ſay a talent, of ridicule; he is too ſupercilious even to his nephew, and is apt to ſneer ſomewhat out of ſeaſon, and when a ſatirical opponent might very eaſily retort it upon him with double force. Neither doth he appear to me quite ſo cool, diſpaſſionate and impartial, as becomes a man who takes upon him to elucidate a diſputed queſtion on which depends the welfare, perhaps the exiſtence of

nations.

nations. He muſt have been a poor caſuiſt, indeed, not to have obtained a victory over an antagoniſt of his own making: but we need not quarrel with him for beating him, ſince he ſhewed him ſo much mercy and good manners. But doth it not rather ſavour of diſingenuouſneſs, to put the maimed and mutilated arguments of the Americans into the mouth of a wrongheaded ignorant boy? Had it not been more to the advantage of his knowledge and eloquence, to have impreſſed conviction upon the mind of an experienced and able man, one who was well acquainted with the hiſtory, the laws, and the conſtitution of both Great Britain and the colonies? but in that caſe, decency would have confined him to argument, inſtead of ſneer and ridicule, and to a carriage ſuited to an equal, inſtead of that ſupercilious ſuperiority aſſumed over the booby nephew; and this would have deprived his letter of its principal force and ſpirit. "But let that paſs," and let us proceed to what is more to the purpoſe.

Our author proves, very ſatisfactorily, that the cauſe of contention between us and the colonies, is no recent affair—not the factious contrivance of a Lord C——m, or a Lord C——n, as the hiſtorians of the day would have it, but exiſted in no ſmall force ſo early in the laſt century as 1670, (p. 145) and in 1696, (p. 146) gave occaſion to a very remarkable act, for the very purpoſe chiefly of aſſerting the ſovereignty of parliament. Acts of parliament do not take place on ſuch occaſions until the miſchief to be remedied is already at ſome degree of ripeneſs; and accordingly it appears, that the colonies had, for a conſiderable time, previous to 1696, ſhewn a diſpoſition to doubt, to diſpute, and in ſome ſort to oppoſe the authority of the Engliſh parliament. Their eyes began to be open, and nature made them feel the inherent rights as men, long before they could define them. On the other hand, falſe definitions of law and right, have as long ſuppreſſed the feelings of equity in the minds of thoſe poſſeſſed of the power. Let us make true definitions, and conſult our true feelings, and we ſhall then no longer doubt of the right of independence in the Americans; I ſay true feelings, becauſe, without we are circumſpect, we are continually acquiring falſe ones, as well as falſe opinions; and the latter have a wonderful

power

power in generating the former. Witness the daily and perpetual severities we see practised towards children, to the injury both of body and mind, by injudicious parents, who yet want neither humanity nor tenderness, and who act upon principle. A false system begetting false feelings, while they are injuring and punishing their children, they think they are serving them and consulting their true happiness; and they consequently feel self-approbation for a conduct that ought to inspire horror and self-reproof. Now, with regard to our American children and kindred, let us divest ourselves of every interest, of every passion, of every prejudice; let us pluck from our hearts that deep-rooted love of rule, and for a moment put ourselves in their places; and then, deliberately and solemnly laying our hand upon our heart, remembering that we are christians, and answerable at the aweful tribunal of the Deity for our very thoughts; let us ask ourselves these plain questions: is not the end of government to the Americans the same as to all other people, that is to say, the welfare and happiness of the society? Can there be welfare and happiness without freedom? Can freedom exist under a taxation, at the discretion of the legislature of another, and that a distant, a luxurious, a necessitous country? Is it agreeable to common-sense to imagine, that an American representation in the British parliament could answer the true ends of representation to the people of that country? or, is it possible, according to any plan which human wisdom hath yet conceived, that the parliament of Great Britain should govern the many and multiplying nations of America on the true principles of freedom, or without a certainty of sinking herself under the weight of empire? And is it fit that, on the authority of a few logical distinctions, (admitting they were just, which, by the way, they are not) and for the sake of proudly maintaining an absolute, a deceased claim to an empty sovereignty, (for so it is confessed to be, by its advocate the Dean) that we should forget all these considerations, all the ties of consanguinity and affection, all the feelings of humanity, and the divine lessons of our holy religion, and enforce the obedience of the Americans to an odious tyranny by fire and sword?

It

It is matter of the greateſt aſtoniſhment to me, that a writer ſo learned, and ſo clear-ſighted as the Dean, ſhould have ſo far over-looked all arguments of this nature, as to have left himſelf without a juſt, a moral reaſon, as well as a political one, for his propoſed ſeparation. As to the matter of fact, concerning the poſſibility of keeping the ſovereignty in our hands, he and I are well agreed, as I have already ſhewn in my quotation from p. 153; nay, we both agree, that we have it not to keep, that it is already gone, never to be recovered but by conqueſt, never more to be held but with greater armies, and at a greater expence, than ever this country ſupported in any war. I have alſo, in a former letter, quoted, what he ſays in the ſame page, (153) in order to ſhew, that it hath ever been the nature of all colonies, in all ages, to aſpire after independence, and made my reflections thereupon, ſo that we may now haſten to the conſideration of his five propoſals, and to the concluſion of the taſk we have aſſigned ourſelves. If I have treſpaſſed upon the reader, by a repetition of the ſame arguments in different places, I would obſerve, that the few plain and clear arguments, on which this queſtion depends, need to be repeated again and again, and never to be loſt ſight of; for the enemies of liberty, like the diſingenuous foes of religion, are a ſort of people, who, conſcious that they cannot convince, and determined to wrangle, do not ſcruple to advance the ſame ſtale arguments that have been a thouſand and a thouſand times refuted before; and if not refuted again, as often as they have the ſhameleſsneſs to revive them, they inſult their adverſaries with affected ſhouts of victory and triumph.

But my manner of treating the ſubject may, nevertheleſs, need many apologies. I ſhall, however, only plead, that theſe letters have been written as leiſure would permit, and ſent away to the printer, without reſerved copies to refer to: beſides which, it may be proper to add, that at the time I am writing this eighth, no more than the two firſt have made their appearance in the paper. As for the preſumption of entering on a ſubject, without abilities equal to the attempt, I ſhall only offer, in my defence, that I have been prompted to it through a warm, a paſſionate love of liberty, and a ſincere deſire of

promoting its cauſe. Whatever may be my ſucceſs, I ſhall never want the pleaſing reflection of having done my duty conſcientiouſly, as a member of ſociety, although in a ſubordinate degree to greater workmen: and, I hope, it is not uncharitable to think, that if every writer would reſign his pen to the ſame guidance, we ſhould all be agreed very ſoon, as nearly as would be requiſite, and that mankind would then reap ſuch benefits from political diſquiſitions, as I fear are not likely to take place, while controverſy is carried upon other principles.

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LETTER IX.

April 9, 1774.

WE come now to the consideration of our author's final sentiments, and in p. 156, we find him thus expressing himself:—'Enough surely has been said 'on this subject, and the upshot of the whole matter is 'plainly this:—that even the arbitrary and despotic go-'vernments of France and Spain (arbitrary, I say, both 'in temporals and spirituals) maintain their authority 'over their American colonies but very imperfectly, in-'as-much as they cannot restrain them from breaking 'through those rules and regulations of exclusive trade, 'for the sake of which all colonies seemed to have been 'originally founded. What then shall we say in regard 'to such colonies as are the offspring of a free constitu-'tion? And after what manner, and according to what 'rule, are our own in particular to be governed, without 'using any force or compulsion, or pursuing any mea-'sure repugnant to their own ideas of civil or religious 'liberty? In short, and to sum up all in one word, how 'shall we be able to render these colonies more subser-'vient to the interests, and more obedient to the laws 'and government of the mother country, than they vo-'luntarily chuse to be? After having pondered and re-'volved the affair over and over, I confess there seems to 'me to be but the five following proposals which can 'possibly be made, viz.

'First, To suffer things to go on for a while as they 'have lately done, in hopes that some favourable oppor-'tunity may offer for recovering the jurisdiction of the 'British legislature over her colonies, and for maintaining 'the authority of the mother country; or, if these tem-'porizing measures should be found to strengthen and 'confirm the evil instead of removing it, then,

'Secondly, To attempt to persuade the colonies to 'send over a certain number of deputies, or representa-'tives, to sit and vote in the British parliament, in order

'to incorporate America and Great Britain into one 'common empire; or, if this propoſal ſhould be found 'impracticable, whether on account of the difficulties 'attending it on this ſide the Atlantic, or becauſe that 'the Americans themſelves would not concur in ſuch a 'meaſure; then,

'Thirdly, To declare open war againſt them as re-'bels and revolters; and after having made a perfect 'conqueſt of the country, then to govern it by military 'force and deſpotic ſway; or, if this ſcheme ſhould be 'judged (as it ought to be) the moſt deſtructive, and the 'leaſt eligible of any; then,

'Fourthly, To propoſe to conſent that America ſhall 'become the general ſeat of empire, and that Great Bri-'tain and Ireland ſhould be governed by viceroys ſent 'over from the court reſidencies either at Philadelphia or 'New-York, or at ſome other American imperial city; 'or, if this plan of accommodation ſhould be ill-di-'geſted by home-born Engliſhmen, who, I will ven-'ture to affirm, would never ſubmit to ſuch an indig-'nity; then,

'Fifthly, To propoſe to ſeparate entirely from the co-'lonies, by declaring them to be a free and independent 'people, over whom we lay no claim, and then by offer-'ing to guarantee this freedom and independence againſt 'all foreign invaders whomſoever.

'Now, theſe being all the plans which, in the nature 'of things, ſeem capable of being propoſed, let us exa-'mine each of them in their order.'

I ſhall not need myſelf to accompany the Dean throughout this examination, in order to point out the fatal policy of attempting, and total impracticability of executing, any one of the four firſt of theſe ſchemes, ſince he has done it ſo effectually himſelf as to need no aſſiſtance. But though I agree with him in the reſult, that they are all both impolitic and impracticab e, yet I differ widely from him in ſeveral arguments introduced in the diſcuſſion, and no leſs in the fundamental principles he frequently argues from. When he talks of the mother country governing 'in the manner ſhe ought to do;' (p. 160) and according to the original terms of the conſtitution, I preſume we are to underſtand the conſtitution to be ſome one individual contract between the mother country

country and her race of colonies, ſome certain deed ſigned and ſealed between them and her in due form. Is this the ſame conſtitution he told us of in p. 94, of which Magna Charta was the baſis? But if terms or conditions be the marks of our conſtitution, it may indeed be a colony charter, a marriage act, a ſtamp act, or, in ſhort, any act of Parliament, or of the crown either, ſo that it will be a matter of very little conſequence, whether it have Magna Charta for its baſis, or any baſis at all, beſides that of the ſtatute in being. Since he lays ſo much ſtreſs on thoſe original terms, by which the colonies are bound to ſuffer their reſpectable mother to govern as he thinks 'ſhe ought 'to do', let us warn him not to rely too much upon analogical reaſoning, ſince it is apt to prove too much. If he means that Great Britain ought to be obeyed by her colonies, becauſe ſhe is their mother, becauſe ſhe produced them, and gave them their law, and that her contracts with them, when in their infancy, ought to bind them for ever, he would do well to remember, that no civil contract, between a parent and an infant child, affecting the future property of that child, can poſſibly have any validity, becauſe of the child's being, at the time, in the power of the parent; becauſe it dares not object to it, it cannot reject any terms ſhe may pleaſe to dictate. I need not tell our author, that in the eye of the law, and agreeable to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, ſuch a contract is eſteemed no better than a fraud, or an act of the groſſeſt tyranny.

Before I take my final leave of the four firſt of our author's propoſals, I muſt make two obſervations upon what appears on the face of them. In the firſt place, let me requeſt the reader to mark attentively the obvious ſentiment, the unambiguous language of the ſecond propoſal. When the Dean is off his guard, and when the miſtaken principles he adopted, reſpecting the ſovereignty of parliament over America, are for a moment out of ſight, ſee how naturally, how unavoidably he allows all I contend for!—Here he admits, by direct and unavoidable implication, that parliament hath not the rights of ſovereignty over America; he admits, that America is not a part of the Britiſh empire, or he could not poſſibly propoſe 'to 'attempt to perſuade the colonies to ſend repreſentatives 'to ſit in the Britiſh parliament, in order to incorporate 'America and Great Britain into one common empire.'

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In the next place, I want to know, when, under the idea of an union, he has propoſed to conſent, that the ſeat of empire be transferred from Great Britain to America, why 'every home-born Engliſhman' ſhould conſider it as 'ſuch an indignity.'—The anſwer is plain, becauſe he would become a ſlave; and while America ſhall be governed at Weſtminſter, the Americans will be ſlaves. If our dignity conſiſt in governing other nations againſt their wills, it is a dignity we ought to be aſhamed of; but if it be the genuine offspring, and the aſſociate of our liberty and independence, in God's name let our American kindred enjoy it as well as ourſelves.

We now come to the conſideration of the Dean's fifth and laſt propoſal of an amicable and friendly ſeparation, concerning which he very juſtly demands, p. 195, 'and, 'in fact, what is all this but the natural, and even the 'neceſſary corollary to be deduced from each of the for-'mer reaſons and obſervations? For, if we neither can 'govern the Americans, nor be governed by them; if 'we can neither unite with them, nor ought to ſubdue 'them, what remains, but to part with them on as 'friendly terms as we can?' This propoſal, and the invincible arguments in its ſupport, make ample amends for all the errors in the foregoing parts of his work. He ſhews himſelf to be maſter of this part of his ſubject; and it cannot be too much recommended to thoſe whom I addreſs in theſe letters, and to the people in general, to make themſelves well acquainted with what he advances. His much ſuperior knowledge of our American commerce, places the good policy of a ſeparation from America in a much ſtronger point of light than it was in my power to have done: but I flatter myſelf, I have ſufficiently proved, that we could not have kept that country in ſubjection without being tyrants. When juſtice and policy both point the ſame way, nothing but determined wickedneſs, or a wilful blindneſs can occaſion us to take a wrong courſe. With the favour of the reader, I muſt here repeat one of the firſt obſervations I made on the Dean's work, as it ſtrikes me afreſh with redoubled force every time I conſider it, and that is, that the propoſed declaration of the independence of America, is a concluſion in direct oppoſition to his original premiſes. In his abſtract reaſon-

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ings on government, and the relation of colonies to the parent ſtate, he falls—the common fate of genius on ſlippery abſtract ground, into an error in fundamentals, laying it down as a principle, that ' parliament hath the ' rights of ſovereignty over America ;' and conſequently, that ' America is actually a part of the Britiſh empire.' Theſe are the principles he ſets out upon ; but behold the reſult of all his ſubtle, all his laboured reaſonings ! —At the end of a ſecond work upon the ſubject, and after exhauſting the chaotic treaſuries of ſophiſtry for arguments in ſupport of theſe principles, he concludes with a propoſal to the legiſlature, to declare that parliament doth not claim theſe rights. Nay, but a minute before, and, as I have obſerved, when off his guard, he acknowledges that parliament hath not theſe rights, and even propoſes ' to attempt to perſuade the colonies to agree to ' an union.' There is ſomething too irreconcileable in the idea, as before remarked, of giving up one's rights, in order to promote one's intereſt ; but falſe principles will ever produce fallacious reaſonings. How can we poſſibly ſay more for an amicable ſeparation from America, than that the abſolute neceſſity of it took, as it were by ſtorm, a mind naturally ſtrong and vigorous, and fortified with all the powers of art againſt the attack ! The Dean, in journeying to the great, the imperial city of truth, whoſe eternal foundations occupy a rock that overlooks the country around, unfortunately ſets off in a miſt of prejudice. Sometimes he takes a direct contrary courſe ; ſometimes intervals of a clearer light keep him ſteady in the right road ; but then again, as the denſity of the miſt either totally obſtructs his view, or diſcovers truth in faint glimmerings, he frequently deviates into bye paths and hollow ways, to the danger of being loſt, even when near his journey's end. At laſt, however, the ſun of conviction burſts forth in meridian blaze, the miſt is gone, and he arrives at the eternal city. But after having thus propoſed a ſeparation, ' as ' the only means of living in peace and harmony with the ' colonies :' and, after having given reaſons for it, in oppoſition to which, I muſt needs think no man can remain an infidel, who is not at the ſame time an ideot ; our author is, in my opinion, far more faithleſs, far more hopeleſs, than at this time there ſeems cauſe to be with

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regard to the execution of his plan. His plan I call it, ſince he is, for aught I know to the contrary, the firſt who hath taken the pains to propoſe it publicly, and to explain its advantages, although it has been for ſome time paſt a common ſentiment amongſt diſcerning and liberal-minded men, and to propoſe it was the firſt motive to the writing, and the main drift of theſe letters. It has been more particularly a common ſentiment (for indeed invention itſelf cannot hit on any other plauſible expedient) ever ſince the late noble and indignant conduct * of the Americans in defence of their almoſt-undermined liberty, as this affords a ſufficient demonſtration to all intelligent minds, in which the love of liberty and juſtice retained their influence, that the time is come, that they are determined to be independent of Great Britain, whether it be with her conſent or not. 'I frankly acknow-'ledge,' ſays our author, p. 212, 'I propoſe no *preſent* 'convenience or advantage to either adminiſtration or 'anti-adminiſtration; nay, I firmly believe, that no 'miniſter, as things are now circumſtanced, will dare 'to do ſo much good to his country:' whereas I, on my part, firmly believe, that Lord North is the miniſter who dares to do this great good to his country. He took the helm in a ſtorm, when no other miniſter was to be found who could guide it; and he has given us, throughout his adminiſtration, very ample proofs of his intrepidity. Are we not, at this moment, under a general conſternation at what may be the conſequences of his intrepidity? Shall he dare, in a ſingle act that has no precedent, to ſhock this whole nation? Shall he dare to hurl a raſh and miſguided vengeance on the town of Boſton, and bid a bold defiance to all America, and yet want courage to adopt a meaſure of the greateſt wiſdom and goodneſs; a meaſure which, to execute, he may eſteem the glory of his life? The idea is too contradictory for a character ſo conſiſtent as his. There are conjunctures in the affairs of kingdoms, when none but an intrepid ſtateſman can ſtem a head-long torrent of popular zeal, or avert a gathering ſtorm which threatens his authority. If the urgent neceſſity of the caſe ſhall not admit of temperate meaſures, but ſhall demand a daring act of temporary violence, ſuch a ſtateſman, if he be wiſe and virtuous alſo, will avail himſelf of the ſhort-lived calm that ſuc-

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ceeds the conflict, and before the discontents of the people can break forth afresh with redoubled and irresistible impetuosity, he will effectually remove them, by removing their causes, and by giving them a security against future alarms. I hope that the late bill † will prove only a temporary violence, and that these moments, which are generally thought to be a sullen calm, foreboding some dreadful political convulsion, may be pregnant with more salutary measures and plans of peace ‡. The remembrance of it will, in a moment, be done away, when Great Britain shall once have done justice to the Americans, by an open declaration of their independence, and by offering them her friendship. Our mutual jealousies will be buried in oblivion, and, as the Dean foretels, the Americans will then consider us as 'their protectors, mediators, benefactors.'

NOTES, &c. to LETTER IX.

* The Boston Port Bill.

† Notwithstanding the act for the better regulating the government of the Massachuset's Bay, and notwithstanding the Quebec act, I will not yet part with my hope, that the eyes of the legislature will soon be opened; and that these acts, as well as the other, will only prove temporary acts of violence. They have all been passed before the minds of the ministers have had time to cool.

‡ I would not have the reader imagine, I mean to justify every tarring and feathering rioter at Boston, and all disorderly proceedings in America indiscriminately. Some of the people, I doubt not, may have been to blame; for the commonalty of that country must have had a portion of wisdom and patience, which hath not at any time before been found in the world, had all their expressions of resentment for ill usage, been confined within the bounds of moderation. When governors become tyrants, shall we wonder, that an injured and insulted people become riotous and unruly! Have ambitious and encroaching rulers ever yet thought of rendering *satisfaction*, of making *reparation*, for the cruellest injuries they have so constantly committed; and have they not always thought themselves wonderfully gracious and condescending, when they have merely *ceased to oppress?* but if a free people, finding their humble petitions, and most dutiful remonstrances scattered to the winds with contempt, being stung with a sense of accumulated wrongs, and feeling an

 indignation

indignation at being treated like ſlaves and villains, do but aſſault the meaneſt miſcreant in the train of power; 'tis rebellions! felony! treaſon!—Gaols and gibbets, ball and bayonet, muſt here be the correctives. Is this human polity! Are theſe the proceedings of men, of fellow-creatures, of fellow-chriſtians? When merely *ceaſing to oppreſs*, is all the reparation required for a long train of injuries and inſults; ſhall authority, with whom wiſdom ought ever to reſide, become deaf to that voice which called her into being, and think it meritorious to perſiſt in doing wrong?

So univerſally have I heard the Boſtonians condemned for deſtroying the *tea*, and the action pronounced illegal and rebellious, that I have taken ſome pains to examine all the particulars of that affair. Now, to my agreeable diſappointment, and to the beſt of my judgment, inſtead of an act of rebellion, I find it one reflecting honour, and ſtamping the character of good ſubjects, on thoſe who performed it; inſtead of being illegal, it appears to me to be warranted by the law of nature, the great original of all human laws, when juſt. Thoſe who would wiſh to think juſtly, and to ſpeak honeſtly of this matter, will do well to examine for themſelves. When they ſhall have ſo done, with care and candour, and admitting on my part, for the ſake of taking no advantage in the argument, the Boſtonian character to be as black as malignantly repreſented, I ſhould be glad to propoſe to them this plain queſtion: 'What 'was poſſible for the moſt wiſe and virtuous perſons on earth, 'in the place of the Boſtonians, to have done, in order to 'have performed their duty to the utmoſt, towards God and 'their country?'—To have ſhewn a paſſive obedience to an unjuſt act of parliament, in a caſe of ſuch moment, and of ſo critical a nature, would have been treaſon to their country, and therefore not acceptable, I imagine, to God. I have introduced in various converſations, with ſenſible men, the ſame queſtion I here propoſe, but never yet, I can aver with the ſtricteſt veracity, have I met with a ſolution of it, which did not confirm me in an opinion, that as wiſe and virtuous men, as good citizens, and true patriots, *they could not poſſibly have acted otherwiſe than as they did.* They had only this one alternative; they were driven to this dilemma by their magiſtrates, *either to ſuffer an inſidious attempt againſt their ſacred rights and liberties to take effect, or to deſtroy the hated inſtrument.* Having had *no other choice*, they muſt neceſſarily have either *done* this, or *ſuffered* that. Which ought to have been choſen by every brave and honeſt man, I leave the reader to determine. 'Tis viſionary, even to childiſhneſs, to ſay, they might have permitted the tea to have been landed, and yet have defeated the tax, by unanimouſly refuſing to have purchaſed it. The conductors

ductors of that noble action must have been patriots indeed, and most wonderfully wise, to have left their country, by going this way to work, at the discretion and mercy of the most ignorant and vicious of its inhabitants, to have relied upon the prudence and self-denial of every tea-drinker in America! Besides that the wisdom of each well-meaning individual was not to be depended on for foreseeing all the ill consequences of purchasing a pound of tea, nor their resolution in preventing them; I fear there might have been some traitors to the public cause, some tools of government or the India Company, or some suspected persons at least, in whom to have confided, for not setting the example, and using all their cunning to seduce others, would not have argued any extraordinary degree of prudence. What teacher of morals or politics, ever was lunatic enough to build all his hopes of serving his country, on an expectation of bringing *every individual* of it to be of one mind, and as unanimously to act up to the same rigid principle of virtue? and which of us would care to risk the safety of the city of London from some dreadful calamity, on a confidence that every female, from the fine lady to the washerwoman, every man, from the minister of state down to the blackguard, might be prevailed upon totally to abstain from the use of tea, porter, or gin, *except the temptation was removed out of their way.*

To all my readers, except those unhappy ones, who have learned the fatal art of occasionally closing the mental eye, so as to admit just so much, and no more of the light of truth as their passions and prejudices will bear; I must needs think, it would be reflecting upon their understandings and their ingenuousness, to attempt any farther proof of my proposition, that the Bostonians did what was strictly consonant to right and justice in destroying the tea; but, in order to open the self-closed, winking eyes of the prejudiced, I will propose one more comparison, which, I apprehend, will be admitted as a fair one, since it is agreed on all hands, except by the calm advancers of direct falsehoods and lies, and the bold denyers of demonstration, that with regard to taxation, the colonists, as legitimate shoots from a parent stock of freedom, have at least an equal right to be their own tax-masters as the people of Ireland, which was a conquered, and every one knows, a very rebellious kingdom for many ages. Let then the reader only substitute Ireland and Dublin, for Massachuset's Bay and Boston, and try the cause over again in his own mind. If he pleases, we will suppose, that instead of a duty on tea, we should attempt to touch the pockets of the Irish, by a duty on certain stamped papers, being publications of gross immoralities and blasphemies, tending to debauch the minds of the people, and fit them for slavery; and that an association of honest citizens of

Dublin, more mindful of their duty to God and their country, than of obedience to an ordinance they held to be ſubverſive of their liberties, ſhould find this precious cargo, preciſely in a ſimilar ſituation with the tea at Boſton; that the Lord Mayor, the magiſtrates, and revenue myrmidons, like the Boſton governor and officers of cuſtoms, ſhould all abſolutely refuſe their permiſſion and clearances for its departure from the port, and the ſhip ſhould be well impriſoned by ſurrounding batteries; then, what is to be done? what courſe is to be purſued? Shall thoſe, who ought to be the guides and guardians of the city, admit theſe pernicious compoſitions within their walls; patiently behold them diſplayed in the ſhops, hawked about the ſtreets, and diſperſed throughout the country, with every art of invitation to thoſe inclined to purchaſe? Is the city to be deluged with theſe impieties, and its manners, morals, and liberties undermined, rather than *an united company of merchants trading in miſchief* ſhould loſe their property? a property not only detrimental in itſelf, but in this caſe made a venture, with the direct intention of betraying a brave and generous nation into obedience to a deſpotic ordinance, containing in it the ſeeds of a more complete tyranny, and uſed as the moſt tempting bait to lure the ſilly multitude into the political mouſe-trap; and therefore, on the principles of ſelf-preſervation, and agreeable to the ſpirit of the law of nature and nations, ſubject to be deſtroyed, *if not removed upon fair warning*. Are the city guardians, I ſay, to obſerve all this, and content themſelves all the while with a patriotic reſolve, not to buy or to read a ſingle paper, and with preaching to the unliſtening people to follow their example? If this, in the enlightened and virtuous city of Dublin, would be an experiment, that even a driveller would hardly dream of making; how much leſs ſafe would it have been for the American patriots to have hazarded their all, on the univerſal good ſenſe, on the piety and public ſpirit of the people, in the *ſtupid*, the *hypocritical*, the *impious*, the *ungrateful*, and *rebellious* town of Boſton! What then, I once more aſk, ought the patriots of Dublin or of Boſton to have done? What! but with indignation to have caſt the hated inſtrument of tyranny into the ſea! whither its proprietors deſerved alſo to have followed it headlong. Is it for this wiſe, brave, and generous action, that not only the actors of it, but the whole people of Boſton, are now ſmarting under the heavieſt vengeance of Great Britain! of a people who have hitherto juſtly prided themſelves in being the undaunted reſiſters of tyrants! Fie, boaſters, fie! Britannia bluſhes for your degeneracy; ſhe diſowns ye for her ſons. When a pawnbroker knowingly puts arms into the hands of a highwayman or ruffian, does any law inſure to him payment

for

for the ſame, at the hands of any one who, being aſſaulted, ſeized and deſtroyed them? Are not all deadly weapons, all ſnares, traps, and poiſons, made uſe of in violation to the laws of civil ſociety, for injuring any man in life, limb, or property, a *lawful ſpoil* to the injured party? When the miſcreant, pick-pocket Jew, in the ſervice of iniquity, was once driving a trade amongſt the Weſtminſter ſchool-boys, with a parcel of TEA, out of the *green canniſter* of the celebrated Mrs. *Phillips*, who, that had a ſpark of virtuous indignation, but applauded the *illegal proceedings* of the ſpirited maſter, when, diſregarding the *laws of property*, he threw into the fire all of this *tea* he could lay his hands on; and, as little conſidering the penalties for an aſſault, horſed the vile factor, and ſcourged him to the quick?

I muſt therefore repeat, that the deſtroyers of the tea at Boſton were, in my opinion, a band of virtuous patriots, whoſe names, when once made public, will doubtleſs be held in eternal veneration by their countrymen; and that the glorious *illegality* (if every ſtatute, *whether juſt or unjuſt*, be properly comprehended in the word law) they atchieved, was an act of abſolute moral and political *neceſſity*, and therefore exempt from even good laws; of ſingular wiſdom, of ſtrict juſtice, and remarkable temper and forbearance, conſidering their provocations, ſince it was done in *ſelf-defence*, with the greateſt good order and decency, and unaccompanied with incivility to any one, or the ſmalleſt damage to any thing in the ſhips beſides the treacherous tea. I muſt likewiſe repeat, that this tea, for the reaſons I have given, and agreeable to the ſpirit of the law of nature and nations, was juſtly forfeited to the injured Americans; and that the Eaſt India Company are not entitled to any ſatisfaction or payment for the ſame.

LETTER X. and Laſt.

April 14, 1774.

NOTHING now remains to be ſpoken of but the act of parliament neceſſary to that ſeparation, propoſed by the reverend author of the tracts, and ſeconded in theſe letters; and that general treaty between Great Britain and the ſtates of America, which will be the neceſſary, and doubtleſs the immediate conſequence of it. When parliament ſhall have duly weighed this great, this important matter,—the greateſt by far that ever came before any national council whatever!—with the attention it merits, and in the temper recommended in my firſt letter, we may hope to ſee a *nemine contradicente* act, whoſe preamble ſhall run in ſome ſuch form as the following, viz. ‘ Whereas, at the time of the original planting and ‘ ſettling of colonies on the continent of North America ‘ by the people and the crown of theſe kingdoms; and ‘ afterwards, during the infancy of the ſaid colonies, the ‘ future ill conſequences of their ſubmiſſion to, and ac- ‘ quieſcence under the authority of parliament were not, ‘ by reaſon of their then infant and dependent ſtate, and ‘ the general inexperience in matters of that kind, either ‘ foreſeen or duly attended to; and whereas, through ‘ the growing of theſe once ſmall and helpleſs colonies to ‘ maturity, and their becoming populous, opulent, and ‘ reſpectable ſtates, having each within itſelf the natural ‘ rights and proper powers of legiſlation, the exerciſe of ‘ parliamentary authority hath been found to claſh in the ‘ moſt eſſential points with their reſpective internal legiſ- ‘ latures, and hath tended, for a conſiderable time paſt, ‘ but more particularly of late years, to create diſſatis- ‘ factions between the ſaid internal legiſlatures and par- ‘ liament, and between the people of the ſaid colonies ‘ and the people of theſe kingdoms; and whereas theſe ‘ matters having been taken into conſideration, and it ap- ‘ pearing upon the principles of natural juſtice, and ‘ agreeable to the eſtabliſhed maxims of civil govern-

ment,

'ment, that it is inconſiſtent with the welfare of the 'people of the ſaid colonies or ſtates, and prejudicial to 'their natural inherent rights as men, to be governed by 'the parliament of Great Britain, or any other power fo-'reign to themſelves reſpectively: be it therefore enacted, '&c.' In the enumeration of their names, none of them (fifteen, I think, lying between the Gulph of St. Law-rence and the mouth of the Miſſiſſipi) will, I hope, be omitted, but thoſe obtained partly by war and treaty in-ſerted as well as the reſt; and that in the clauſe, it ſhall be fully expreſſed, that 'they are all held and declared 'to be free and independent ſtates, each to be ſubject to 'ſuch law and government only as now ſubſiſts, or ſhall 'hereafter be enacted and conſtituted within itſelf by its 'own proper legiſlature; and that of each and every of 'the ſaid independent ſtates, his Majeſty is, and ſhall be 'held to be the ſovereign head, in like manner as he is of 'the legiſlature of Great Britain.'—In another clauſe, I could wiſh it might likewiſe be expreſſed, that 'the par-'liament of Great Britain doth farther declare itſelf to be 'the guardian and protector of the whole, and of every 'of the ſaid ſtates or colonies, collectively and individu-'ally, againſt every foreign power whatſoever, as well as 'the guarantee of the independence of the ſaid ſeveral co-'lonies or ſtates, one of another reſpectively and reci-'procally, as well alſo of the rights and independencies 'of the ſeveral tribes or nations of Indians in amity with, 'or under the protection of the crown of theſe kingdoms, 'until theſe points ſhall be more particularly adjuſted by 'treaty.' Another clauſe would probably provide, that 'commiſſioners, on the part of the parliament of Great 'Britain, ſhall be empowered to enter into treaty with 'deputies of the legiſlatures of each of the ſaid colonies 'or ſtates, in order that a firm, brotherly, and perpetual 'league may be concluded between Great Britain and 'them for their mutual commercial benefit, and their 'joint ſecurity againſt all other kingdoms and ſtates, as 'well as for the preſervation of that warm affection and 'harmony which ought ever to ſubſiſt between a mother-'country and her offſpring, or kindred ſtates, equally 'acknowledging one perfect conſtitution, and one per-'fect religion, as their rule of life in temporals and in 'ſpirituals.'—The commiſſioners will be nominated of course.

courſe. Other declarations and proviſions may be contained in this act, as parliament ſhall ſee good; but we ſhould hope, as an indiſpenſable requiſite towards the ſecurity of the general liberties, that it be enacted, that 'no 'part of the revenue of any one of the ſaid American 'ſtates ſhall, by his Majeſty, his viceroy, or miniſters, 'be removed out of, or received into, any other of the 'ſaid ſtates, or into Great Britain for his Majeſty's uſe; 'and that in like manner, no part of the revenue of theſe 'kingdoms ſhall be remitted to America on that account; 'but that the revenue of Great Britain, and of each re-'ſpective ſtate in America, ſhall be wholly and ſolely ap-'plied to defray the expences of government, and main-'tain the regal dignity in that country in which it ſhall 'be raiſed, and no other.'

Although, by thoſe unhappy perſons, who have no juſt ideas of right and wrong, and who have not intellects for perceiving, that the original power of Great Britain over her colonies, is on the point of expiring beyond all help and remedy, parliament may be ſuppoſed to be a loſer by the propoſed ſeparation; yet all muſt confeſs, that his Majeſty will be a gainer, inaſmuch as he will thereby receive fifteen independent kingdoms in exchange for as many dependent, and *hardly dependent* provinces, and become the father of three millions of free and happy ſubjects, inſtead of reigning joint tyrant over ſo many diſcontented ſlaves, or loſing by revolt ſo many of his people. What a divine glow of ſatisfaction muſt expand the royal boſom on an event ſo full of bliſs, ſo conſonant to humanity and to virtue!—an event more full of real luſtre —more aggrandizing by many degrees than ever before was experienced by any earthly monarch.—How poor, how contemptible, how hateful the triumphs of butchering conquerors compared to this ſolid glory! May ſuch a tranſcendant glory be the glory of George the Third!

We muſt not be ſurprized if ſhallow and deſigning men, ſome with real, ſome with affected ignorance, ſhould cry out, 'What! enter into treaty with fifteen indepen-'dent ſtates, and expect them unanimouſly to join with 'you in one general league for mutual advantage and ſe-'curity! How chimerical and viſionary the project!'* And I do not doubt, but that the ſwarm of hireling and proſtitute ſcribblers, whoſe food is confuſion, and whoſe very

very exiſtence, like the vermin in an ulcer, is ſupported by the diſeaſes of the ſtate, will pour forth all their malignity, in order to diſcredit, and to damn, if poſſible, a plan ſo wiſe and ſalutary. But their baneful influence will not, I truſt, extend itſelf farther than to diſturb, for a ſhort time, the confuſed minds of our coffee-houſe politicians. It will ſtill be obvious to all ſenſible men, eſpecially to thoſe who compoſe the national council, that when Great Britain ſhall have done the nobleſt act of juſtice towards the Americans, that the annals of mankind can produce, they will, as one man, fly to her for protection, court her friendſhip, ſubmit themſelves to her advice, and be ready to put into her hands a chart blanche; and ſo long as ſhe continues to act upon the ſame principles, ſhe may undoubtedly influence each ſeparate ſtate, and dictate the terms of general accommodation without any fear of even *future* diſſatisfactions. To deny theſe concluſions, would be to deny that effects follow their cauſes. The author of the tracts has already proved, that it is not our power, but the ſuperior advantage of our trade, which ſecures to us the commerce of the Americans, or that can ſecure it to us. We ſhall ſtill have the ſame power to awe America into a faithful obſervance of her treaties that we now have, to enforce a diſputed and odious ſovereignty, and with this manifeſt advantage, that treating with each ſtate ſeparately, we ſhall only have one at a time to contend with; whereas we have experienced, by our ſtamp and tea projects, that while we pretend to govern the whole, the whole will unite to reſiſt us. That bond of union once diſſolved, and the natural and neceſſary jealouſy of each other taking place, Great Britain, as the common umpire, will become in effect the general ſovereign, ſo long as ſhe interpoſes her good offices for maintaining the common independence; and this her own intereſt will always dictate. Great Britain will of courſe take care, in the firſt place, to recover all her debts in America, which, inſtead of bad debts, as they are now too juſtly eſteemed to be, will, in the tranſports of their gratitude for a declared and guaranteed independence, be punctually paid, tho' with their laſt ſhilling. Not to mention that fear of offending, (for Great Britain will then become truly formidable to each ſeparate ſtate) would effectually produce this effect, we ſhall, by the

 league

league ſecure on the moſt laſting foundation, every advantage of trade with America we now enjoy, and by the ſeparation relieve ourſelves from many heavy expences it now coſts us; for a proof of which, I again refer to the Dean's work: we may then diſband ſo much of our expenſive and unconſtitutional ſtanding army, as we now keep up on account of America; and inſtead of being execrated, as we now are, for that fleet which blocks up their ports, and is commiſſioned to humble Boſton to the duſt, and through her ſides, to gall every province on the continent, they will readily conſent to its preſence for ſeeing to the exact fulfilling of their treaties, and they will then look upon it with a friendly, an affectionate and reſpectful eye, while they conſider it as their ſure protector againſt invaſion, their refuge in diſtreſs, and the avenger of their wrongs.—Not being able to pay Great Britain in ſubſidies of ready money for her protection and friendſhip, they will grant her an equivalent in *excluſive trade*; and they will enter into ſome general ſtipulation for the mode and the meaſure of payment for any ſuch extraordinary aſſiſtance of ſhips as they may at any time ſolicit, or we, penetrating the deſigns of our common enemies, may ſend to their aſſiſtance. As for troops, a country containing millions of inhabitants never can want any: let them rely upon the natural, the beſt reſource—a national militia; but, for heaven's ſake! never more let the face of a Britiſh ſoldier be ſeen in North America. A Flanders or a Germany, on the other ſide of the globe, would be a grave wide enough to ſwallow the whole ſtrength and treaſure of this kingdom. The Americans are in no condition to ſet themſelves up as a maritime power, or to ſupport a navy fit to guard their own coaſts, but muſt rely upon Great Britain for their ſafety by ſea, as indeed it will ever be their intereſt ſo to do, knowing by experience, that with regard to them, *ſhe is not a conquering*, but a commercial ſtate; and having reaſon to conclude, that a confederacy of their maritime ſtates would probably terminate, like that of Greece, in wars upon one another, and be perverted to anſwer the ends of ambition to ſome one, inſtead of protection to all. After what has been ſaid, I need not point out (but for the ſake of my timid and uninformed reader) that it will be totally unneceſſary, and unbecoming the dignity of parliament,

parliament, to hesitate a moment in passing the act of declaration, for fear the Americans should not afterwards consent to the league. 'Tis absurd to imagine they will act in contradiction to the principles of *self-interest and self-preservation*, merely because they shall be free from controul; nor is it more possible to conceive, how they should object to a treaty with Great Britain, merely because she had just done them an act of magnanimity and generosity unparallelled in history, and given them an undeniable proof, that she was intitled to their unbounded confidence, particularly in its not being possible she should have *any design upon their liberties*. Besides Great Britain, until she have resigned her assumed sovereignty as the mother country, cannot, on the principles of equity, as before illustrated, give any validity to a contract with her children, while held in subjection to her authority. No! the generous spirit that shall set them free, will disdain the meanness of a proceeding so little and so distrustful; and that wisdom which could form so comprehensive a plan, will despise the crookedness and folly of such a narrow policy.

Thus have I given a faint sketch of the many and great benefits of an American league—the reader's imagination and judgment will finish the picture. If then he can think, that they do not infinitely preponderate against the advantages to be hoped for from persisting to assert our odious sovereignty, and plundering the colonies by arbitrary tax-gatherers, I have only to say, that he and I can scarcely be made of the same common materials of humanity; but I shall begin to listen to those profound sages, whose acute penetration, assisted by a certain microscopic species of philosophy, hath discovered, that the Mosaic revelation is a fable, and that, instead of one, there are indeed many different races of men. On the one hand, the most we can expect is a forced and reluctant submission, with some advantages in trade; but these even for a very, *very short period*. Mean while, discontent and detestation, brooding in the bosoms of the colonists, will naturally generate a rancorous hate and abhorrence; which, aided by our restless enemies the French, will shortly terminate in defiance and revenge. On the other hand—but repetition is needless. In short, the multiplying millions of America, must either be our

deadly foes, or our ſteadfaſt friends.—Great Britain, take thy choice!

What remains, but that we renew our appeal to the manly ſenſe and magnanimity of the great council of this kingdom; a kingdom, great and happy above all the kingdoms of the earth; a council the moſt auguſt in the whole world, as nurſed in the boſom of freedom, and trained in the true principles of juſt government and pure religion, of which they are the guardians! If men, thus favoured of heaven, thus enlightened, thus elevated, ſhall not ſet examples of ſterling virtue, where, alas! ſhall we find it? Conſult then your own hearts, ye legiſlators of Great Britain! Be true to your own feelings, and let the moral ſenſe prevail. If ye are conſcious of a love of power, know that 'tis the genuine offspring of the love of liberty. This the root, that the branch. If your hearts be held in the curling branch's cloſe embrace, think how, in the hearts of all men, the tenacious root ſtrikes to the bottom, and twines it's claſping fibres around the very ſprings of life, never to loſe their hold! Remember that ye are now to decide on the fate of nations—perhaps your own. Remember the great legiſlator beholds your doings. Be your doings like unto his doings. Be tender to humanity; be firm to freedom; be inflexible to juſtice. Emancipate in one god-like act, a long roll of nations, whoſe names it is tedious to recount. In one act, lift up the well-pleaſing name of Great Britain to heaven, and ſpread her matchleſs fame to the ends of the wondering earth. The depth of her wiſdom, the tranſcendency of her virtue, ſhall be unexampled, and this act remain a monument of her great felicity, an everlaſting model of juſtice, and a theme of praiſe to all nations, and to all ages. Potentates have, unto dethroned princes, reſtored their raviſhed dominions; renowned monarchs, ſated with ambition, and the abuſe of authority, have, in the plenitude of their power, abdicated thrones; heroes and patriots have given freedom to their native countries; but for the preſent legiſlators of Great Britain was reſerved the ſuperior, the ſupreme glory of beſtowing in a foreign ſoil, liberty on millions!

NOTE

NOTE, &c. to LETTER X.

* In order to obviate ſome objections, which, I foreſee, both well-meaning and ill-deſigning perſons may be ready to offer to this part of my propoſal, let me obſerve to them, that this negociation will not be attended with thoſe difficulties and embarraſsments, which their imaginations or their artifice may poſſibly ſuggeſt. We may preſume, that our commiſſioners would have the outlines of the propoſed league ready ſketched out, from the moſt approved general regulations of the acts of trade and navigation, which now relate to the colonies collectively, and taking in ſuch other conditions as ſhould be evidently calculated for the mutual benefit of Great Britain and North America; one as the planting, the other as the manufacturing country; one as the client, the other as the patron. This general league might be very conciſe, compared with national treaties in common; it might be extremely perſpicuous, and ſo clearly eſtabliſhed on principles of equity and common advantage, as to leave the American deputies without a pretence, or a deſire to propoſe any but ſlight alterations, and without a poſſibility of not acceding to it with the utmoſt readineſs and ſatisfaction; and it is ſtill leſs likely, there ſhould be any inſuperable difficulties ſtarted by them, when they ſhould come to enter into their reſpective ſeparate treaties.

How the trade of a colony can be limited, and its manufactures reſtricted by the mother-country, on the principles of juſtice, *except with its own free conſent*, I confeſs I have not eyes to diſcover. If it can be made appear, that the Britiſh parliament hath a right to ſay to an American, '*you ſhall not* make 'a hat to cover your head, nor a ſhoe to defend your foot; *you* '*ſhall not* manufacture a piece of cloth to keep out the cold, 'nor a knife wherewithal to cut your victuals;' why, I pray, may it not likewiſe ſay, 'give us the money out of your 'pocket?' To obtain a little money, may be thought, and by Mr. Grenville and his diſciples was thought, as *convenient* to the ſtate, as the employment of our manufacturers.

Obſerving, that not only the unreaſoning multitude, but the members in both houſes of parliament, minority as well as majority, not even excepting the honeſt oppoſers of American taxation, all ſeemed to agree, that Great Britain hath a right to bind the colonies by her regulations and reſtrictions in and upon their trade, navigation and manufactures; I, for a long time, ſuffered my own reaſon to be borne down, and my feelings ſuppreſſed by the weight of ſuch reſpectable, though not infallible authority; but, the ſelf-evident fallaciouſneſs of this propoſition

proposition for ever recurring upon me, and striking my mind with redoubled force every time I considered it, I was at last obliged to yield to the force of an irresistible internal conviction, and to reject that doctrine as erroneous, and as a national prejudice, arising from *precedents*, established by the mother-country, when her children were helpless new-born babes, and carefully instilled into their minds while growing up, as among the sacred precepts of filial piety; from the self-flattering and self-interested suggestions of British minds; and from the general acknowledgment of the Americans themselves. One of their judicious and truly patriotic writers (before referred to p. 5. in a note to the first letter) on this head, expresses himself thus:—" Great Britain has prohibited the manufacturing iron and steel in these colonies, without any objection to her *right* of doing it. The like right she must have to prohibit any other manufacture among us. Thus she is possessed of an undisputed *precedent* on that point. This authority, she will say, is founded on the *original intention* of settling these colonies; that is, that she should manufacture for them, and that they should supply her with materials. The *equity* of this policy, she will also say, has been universally acknowledged by the colonies, who never have made the least objection to statutes for that purpose; and will further appear, by the *mutual benefits* flowing from this usage, ever since the settlement of these colonies.

" Our great advocate, Mr. Pitt, in his speeches on the debate, concerning the repeal of the *stamp-act*, acknowledged, that Great Britain could restrain our manufactures. His words are these:—This kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power,' [even this great man hath not got over the little idea of nations remaining in perpetual subjection to nations from which they sprang] has ALWAYS bound the colonies by her regulations and RESTRICTIONS in trade, in navigation, in MANUFACTURES, in every thing, *except that of taking the money out of their pockets*, WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT. Again, he says, we may bind their trade, CONFINE THEIR MANUFACTURES, and exercise every power whatever, *except that of taking their money out of their pockets*, WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT. [These are pretty large concessions to the pride and ambition of Great Britain, and yet she is not satisfied with them.] " Here then, my dear countrymen, ROUSE yourselves, and behold the ruin hanging over your heads. If you ONCE admit, that Great Britain may lay duties upon her exportations to us, *for the purpose of levying money on us only*, she will then have nothing to do, but to lay those duties on the articles which she prohibits us to manufacture,—and the tra-

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" gedy of American liberty is finiſhed. We have been prohi-
" bited from procuring manufactures, in all caſes, any where,
" but from *Great Britain*, (except linens, which we are per-
" mitted to import directly from Ireland.) We have been pro-
" hibited, in ſome caſes, from manufacturing for ourſelves,
" and may be prohibited in others. We are, therefore, ex-
" actly in the ſituation of a city beſieged, which is ſurrounded
" by the works of the beſiegers in every part *but one*. If *that*
" is cloſed up, no ſtep can be taken, *but to ſurrender at diſ-*
" *cretion*. If Great Britain can order us to come to her for
" neceſſaries we want, and can order us to pay what taxes
" ſhe pleaſes before we take them away, or when we land
" them here, we are as abject ſlaves as France or Poland can
" ſhew in wooden ſhoes and with uncombed hair.

" Perhaps the nature of the neceſſities of dependant ſtates,
" cauſed by the policy of a governing one, for her own bene-
" fit, may be elucidated by a fact mentioned in hiſtory. When
" the Carthaginians were poſſeſſed of the iſland of Sardinia,
" they made a decree, that the Sardinians ſhould not raiſe
" *corn*, nor get it any other way *than from the Carthaginians*.
" Then, by impoſing any taxes they would upon it, they
" drained from the miſerable Sardinians any ſums they pleaſed;
" and whenever that oppreſſed people made the leaſt move-
" ment to aſſert their liberty, their tyrants ſtarved them to
" death, or ſubmiſſion."

But why, I want to know, are the colonies to be held for ever in the ſituation of *cities beſieged?* Why is the mother-country to be the *ſole judge* of ſuch reſtrictions as may be conſiſtent with the *original intention* of ſettling colonies; ſeeing that this original intention was not, in ſome caſes, the intention of the *legiſlature*, but the intention of *the emigrants themſelves*, when they fled from perſecution, miſery, and want, to take ſhelter in the more friendly wilds of America? Why are the ſelfiſh and arbitrary terms preſcribed by *one party*, to be implicitly received by the *other*, in a commercial affair of *mutual concern*, and profeſſed by the dictating party, to be for their *mutual advantage? Voluntary conſent* and *agreement*, *independent bargain* and *contract*, are in the very eſſence of all *equitable* dealings in trade. I preſume the Americans may be as good judges, as the people who ridiculouſly *aſſume the right* of judging for them, what it is *their* advantage to reſtrict themſelves to in manufactures and trade; and will be ready to take care to confine themſelves to ſuch branches, as will be moſt conſiſtent with that firſt political maxim, of ſecuring, at all events, *the protection of Great Britain*, and her *valuable trade*, from which they have benefits to expect, that no other European market can yield them. To acknowledge their independency, and to form

form with them a friendly league, is therefore the only method, *on the principles of equity*, of laying them under restrictions in trade and manufactures, for the exclusive advantage of their protectors; but continuing to impose these restrictions by *our own authority*, and by *force*, as it deeply effects them in their property, by *preventing money coming into their pockets*, (which is very nearly allied, when done unjustly, to *taking it out of their pockets without their consent)* is undoubtedly tyrannical.

When our legislators, and others, divesting themselves of every selfish and arbitrary bias, (the characteristics of little and uncultivated minds) and guarding against all suggestions, but those of truth, justice, and benevolence, shall have duly reflected on this very important question, I flatter myself they will perceive the wisdom of our *anticipating* the Americans in a candid discussion of it, and will agree with me, in sentiment, that America cannot, according to any ideas of justice or freedom, be laid under restrictions of any kind, for the purpose of strengthening and aggrandizing the state or legislature of Great Britain, *except with her free will and consent*, independently and voluntarily given by express stipulation and contract; and consequently, that they will see the moral as well as the political necessity, for the proposed DECLARATION and LEAGUE; and that, in fact, it remains for Great Britain to choose, whether by acting the deaf and haughty tyrant, she shall sink herself into poverty and contempt, or, by a conduct worthy herself and her boasted knowledge, and love of freedom, she shall render herself, not only the all-powerful guarantee of the independence, and monopolizer of the trade of America, but at the same time the dreaded, the dictatorial arbiter of Europe.

F I N I S.

APPENDIX.

TO THE

LEGISLATURE.

LETTER XI.

January 17, 1775.

THROUGH the means of the perſevering virtue of our American brethren, the heavy ſhades of parliamentary oppreſſion being juſt in motion to retire, and the dawn of a conſtitutional revolution now beginning to gild the political horizon *, the heart of every anxious lover of his country, and of every friend to the rights of mankind, muſt be greatly cheered thereat, as they will naturally flatter themſelves with hopes, that the approaching day of deliberation ſhall bring forth healing councils and meaſures, ſound and ſolid wiſdom, genuine and complete juſtice, which could not fail to ſecure the laſting proſperity of Great-Britain and her affectionate offspring. It is with the moſt lively ſympathy in theſe hopes, and with the deepeſt gratitude to Providence for theſe auſpicious appearances, that I advance, once more, to exhort ye to pay due attention to the magnitude and importance of the buſineſs ye are about to enter upon; and that ye will ſuffer no motives whatever to influence your ſentiments or your actions, except thoſe alone which ſhall ariſe from mature deliberation upon, and a rigid obſervance of, your duty to your country. Unleſs theſe conſiderations ſhall have

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* The writer is obliged to acknowledge that in this particular his intelligence failed him, and certain appearances in which he was too prone to truſt deceived him.

an entire aſcendency in your minds, in vain will ye attempt to act the part of wiſe politicians; in vain will ye pretend to inſure to theſe kingdoms any ſubſtantial and permanent advantages; as recent experience in American politics may amply ſerve to verify. And it is alſo becauſe there ſtill appears to remain on the minds of Britons a ſtrong tincture of prejudice againſt a full and compleat enjoyment of liberty by their American brethren, that I take upon me once again to call up your attention to the fatal ſyſtem of oppreſſion that hath ſo long been the reproach of the Britiſh parliament, the falſe eſtimates that have been made of American knowledge and public ſpirit, together with the erroneous maxims of government that have, through a ſtrange infatuation, been thereupon adopted, and I fear are even now relied on by ſome; and that I alſo once again preſume to recommend a parliamentary *declaration of the independency of the American colonies*, and then, that there be formed, by means of a general *league*, ſuch an *alliance* between us as alone, in my opinion, can be effectually and durably beneficial to both countries: the nature, the practicability, the expediency and happy fruits of which league were pointed out in my letter of the 14th of April, 1774. Although my ſentiments were delivered ſomewhat unſyſtematically, and only occaſionally, as ill health and other avocations afforded me leiſure; and notwithſtanding my arguments were accommodated to the limitations of a news-paper communication, I nevertheleſs produced, as I apprehend, ſufficient reaſons in ſupport of the propoſal I offered to your conſideration. Many more, of great weight and intrinſic excellence, will ſuggeſt themſelves to every ſenſible man, who is poſſeſſed of knowledge enough to conſtitute him a judge of this queſtion, provided his mind be prone to candour, and his heart to rectitude. It is true that at preſent I ſtand almoſt alone on this ground, and that men of the firſt abilities, and of the higheſt ſenatorial reputation, at the ſame time that they have uniformly condemned and vigorouſly oppoſed the meaſures of adminiſtration, have ſtill invariably declared themſelves the advocates, nay even the champions, of parliamentary ſovereignty. But, ſo far as I have been able to learn, and I have not been negligent to gain information, they have contented themſelves with *declaring*

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without *ſupporting* their opinion. No one of them has, that I can recollect, juſtified it by argument; or by bringing it to the only touchſtone of all pretenſions to ſovereignty, by ſhewing that it is rightly calculated to obtain, for *the people governed*, the effectual ſecurity and continuance of their liberty and property: nor hath any one, that I know of, refuted my arguments for the propoſed independency, or thoſe of dean Tucker, which I have referred to. I hope no one will be raſh enough to ſay, that national morality and juſtice are not regarded by the Sovereign Judge of all nations, or that that ſtate which ſeeks to aggrandize itſelf, at the expence of another, by craft and ſubtlety, by impoſition and chicanery, or by any other wicked means, either deſerves, or is likely to experience, any long continuance of God's favour and protection. Hath not the warning-voice of all hiſtory, from the firſt memorials of nations, uniformly inculcated this leſſon by dreadful examples in every inſtance without exception, and ſhewn us that it is in the very laws of nature, in the neceſſary conſtitution of things, that national integrity muſt in the end produce national happineſs, and national turpitude, as certainly be followed by national miſery?—Had we indeed no hiſtorical teſtimony in proof of this doctrine, yet its truth is clearly deducible by reaſoning; ſince there is this evident diſtinction to be made between the ſituation of nations and of individuals, men will continue to exiſt after death, but nations have *no hereafter*, and therefore God's juſt and wiſe providence ſeems to have appointed them their rewards and puniſhments in *this* world. But to return, ſome there are who have indeed affected to treat the Idea of making the colonies independent, as too viſionary and chimerical to be adopted by men practiſed in ſtate affairs.—It ſhould ſeem, however, from recent experience, that men *practiſed* in ſtate affairs are not exempt, any more than thoſe who *reaſon* on them from adopting viſionary projects. But novelty doth by no means neceſſarily imply either fallacy or impracticability, as hath been well exemplified in theſe latter ages, which have beheld various political phenomena altogether unknown before in the courſe of human affairs, and which were the natural effects of doctrines, whoſe chimerical appearance, while

novel, were quite as alarming to the timid as this can be. Our *union* with Scotland, when firſt propoſed, ſtruck the majority in each diviſion of the iſland with as great a panic fear of danger and ruin, as our *diſunion* from America (if that can be called a diſunion of countries on different ſides of the globe that is only meant to aſcertain their true relation to each other) can poſſibly produce in the minds of any. The crude and dreaded idea took a full century to ripen, before it could be reliſhed by the people. Our general experience, ſince the revival of learning, ought to reconcile us to the making of innovations upon all ſuſpicious ſyſtems, wherever the ſuggeſting principles appear, upon cloſe examination, to be ſound, juſt, and uncontrovertible; and it need ſcarcely be remarked, that it hath been by ſuch means alone that we have hitherto ſo ſucceſsfully combated ignorance, ſuperſtition, tyranny and perſecution, together with innumerable errors, in the whole circle of ſcience, and that we muſt keep in the ſame path if we propoſe to make any farther progreſs. But how, indeed, can any improvements be made, except by adopting and acting upon new ideas, as they ariſe on a contemplation of new circumſtances and contingencies? Provided the Britiſh legiſlature had not firſt inconſiderately, and afterwards perverſely, treſpaſſed on the rights of the colonies, ſlighted their juſt complaints, deſpiſed their remonſtrances, and, by a long and wanton ſeries of injuries, inſults, and oppreſſions, rouzed their friends, and obliged them to take the trouble of thinking, it is probable that the idea of their having a right to independency might have lain dormant, in the unexplored repoſitories of truth, for ages to come. If therefore they have prematurely brought on new contingencies, they muſt not be offended with, nor inattentive to, new ideas. Having myſelf the higheſt reſpect for the ſhining talents, the knowledge and principles of ſome great men from whom I differ, both with regard to the right, and to the expediency alſo, of aſſerting our parliamentary ſovereignty over the North-American ſtates, I wiſh moſt earneſtly they may enter on a full diſcuſſion of thoſe queſtions, either before the public, or in parliament; ſince I promiſe myſelf, they will ingenuouſly follow whitherſoever truth

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and juſtice ſhall lead them; either to their own conviction, or to mine; who am prepared to abandon my own opinion, the moment I can diſcover it to be no longer tenable without diſingenuouſneſs or prevarication: but I am principally moved to this wiſh, through a ſtrong perſuaſion that the future proſperity of this, and the numerous nations of North America, (conſequently the happineſs of millions of our fellow-creatures) may in a great meaſure depend *on the opinions*, upon the two points in queſtion, of a very few leading men, who, at this criſis, have voices in the Britiſh parliament. My voice, had I the honour of a ſeat, ſhould moſt aſſuredly be heard to move for the independency of America.

It is well known, and ſeverely felt by us at this day, that the revolution, to which we owe our ſalvation from crown prerogative, from popery and deſpotiſm, glorious and providential as it was, had ſtill its imperfections; and that theſe remain to be reformed, or they will one day inevitably overwhelm the liberties, extinguiſh the laſt ſpark of virtue, and put a fatal period to the felicities of Britain. If ill conſequences of ſuch extent, could flow from beginnings ſo minute, as to be overlooked on that day of reformation, when national reflection and wiſdom were diſplayed in ſo uncommon a degree; ought we not to be on our guard, while in the act of ſettling the conſtitution of the American ſtates upon a durable baſis; and fixing a ſtandard, a Magna Charta, to which the people of thoſe ſtates may at all times appeal, in defence of their rights and liberties; that we look not only to the ſecuring of the corner-ſtones and main buttreſſes, but take care alſo to cement the other, though inferior yet neceſſary, parts ſo cloſely together, as to prevent their being again ſhaken by the abuſe of power; or ſapped by the inſinuations of corruption, that grand ſpecific for the diſſolution of thoſe fortreſſes of freedom, which mock all other attacks. And allow me to remind ye, that at the period of the revolution, the dreadful ſtate of the kingdom, when the government was diſſolved, and all men impatient of a ſettlement for fear of an anarchy; when contending princes were ſtriving for the throne, and all the powerful ſtates of Europe ready to take their advantages, ſuch a conjuncture afforded

afforded excuſes for much greater overſights than *at this time*, when we have leiſure to keep our uſual holidays, and are ſo much at our eaſe as to require diverſions and all ſorts of pleaſurable amuſements to fill up the vacuities of life, allowances can be made for. That man therefore who, on this ſolemn occaſion, ſhall not pay the moſt ſacred regard to the rights and liberties of his American brethren and their poſterity, be his profeſſions, and even his actions, in other reſpects what they may, muſt be a very ſorry pretender to patriotiſm. The true patriot will be as ſtrenuous an oppoſer of national and parliamentary, as of regal tyranny: he will not attempt to remove the mote from the miniſterial eye, before he have firſt plucked out the beam from his own. Conſider, then, what in fact we are doing, and whither the unavoidable conſequences will lead us, when we aſſert our parliamentary ſovereignty. If it cannot open to us the *purſes* of the *Americans*, at the diſcretion of the *Britiſh commons*,—which heaven of its mercy to ourſelves forbid!—what end is it to anſwer?

LETTER

LETTER XII.

January 18, 1775.

"IT is," we are told, "to enable *us* to *regulate* the "trade of the Americans, to *restrict* their navigation "and manufactures, to *bind* them, and to exercise over "them *every power whatever*, except that of taking their "money out of their pockets without their consent." But whence, I trow, do we derive any just authority for all these enormous pretensions? Not, I am persuaded, from any part of that implied compact between governors and the governed, which, in reasoning upon just government, we must ever suppose and argue from, because the law of nature hath laid us under an eternal obligation so to do. This compact, which none but tyrants will disclaim as a true criterion, evidently proves that, *not only* in taxation, but in *making the laws* by which *every other part* of the government is regulated, it is necessary the people do partake, either personally or by their representatives; otherwise, more or less, they will be slaves: and surely it is not in England, *the very treading on whose happy soil changes a galley slave into a free man*, that we shall inculcate doctrines, and enact laws to fix a real slavery in *any* degree on our kindred! In the whole compass of argumentation, which hath of late been taken with regard to the respective rights of Britain and of British America, I am bold to affirm, that no demonstration of the aforesaid rights, claimed by parliament, hath been given; and I must needs think that no demonstration of them can be given; but reasons sufficient have appeared to convince honest and thinking men, who are at all acquainted with the law of nature, and the spirit of our inestimable constitution, that such claims on our part are manifestly contrary to the rules of justice and the principles of freedom; while those who have made history and human nature their study, will see as clearly that their direct tendency is *to defeat the very ends*, for the proposed attainment of which it is pretended

tended they are urged. Who can conceive, that a power so very loosely defined, so extremely extensive, and without a counterpoise; one which (notwithstanding the laboured distinctions vainly attempted) cannot but make very free with the *pockets* of the Americans, though not perhaps in the open and undisguised form of *taxation*, and in which *not one* of the people, *not one* of the representatives of the people is to participate; a power which is to be lodged in the hands of a body of men residing *beyond the ocean*, having already more business at home than they can or will execute to the satisfaction of their own countrymen? Who, I say, can conceive that *such* power in *such* hands can possibly, in the nature of things, be well administered, even in the most ordinary Instances? They who can believe any thing so incredible, ought not hastily to pronounce plans they do not comprehend, or rather *will not take the trouble* to consider, to be *visionary* and *chimerical*. To me it appears self-evident, that the exercise of such a power, how temperately, how cautiously soever, instead of extinguishing the resentments, and gaining the confidence of the Americans, must necessarily preserve alive their utmost jealousy and distrust; to produce with a moral certainty in their due time and regular order, complaint, dispute, opposition, and resistance; terminating finally, and probably at *no great distance of time*, in defiance and contempt; all which fatal chain of consequences may be wholly prevented, as I have elsewhere shewn more at large, provided we will act justly, by anticipating their natural wishes, and aspirings after independency *, with a desire of which they were inspired by their Creator when he constituted them rational creatures and free agents; not to observe their feeling themselves to be, in their collective capacities, powerful nations, having within themselves the rights and actual powers of a compleat legislation. He who perceives no signs of conviction in the countenances of those to whom he addresses himself, is apt to suppose he hath left untouched those particular arguments, on which the success of his discourse is principally to turn; when sometimes the fault is on the side of the auditors, whose passions and prejudices

* Dean Tucker's Tracts, p 153.

judices block up all the avenues to the judgment-ſeat of reaſon in the head, and the throne of truth in the heart, ſo that even demonſtrations and ſelf-evident moral truths ſhall only enter at one ear, and go out at the other. So might I perhaps hope to *convince*, by continuing to *write*, did I not reflect that, provided I have truth on my ſide, I have already written enough; it now only remaining with my readers *to convince themſelves*, by ſetting aſide their paſſions and prejudices (particularly their luſt of dominion, and their unjuſt, not to ſay *unwiſe*, ſelfiſhneſs) and by conſcientiouſly appealing to *their own* underſtandings and hearts. There, if they will thus apply, I am perſuaded they will find, to their great benefit and ſatisfaction, all the truths and motives to action, which are neceſſary to give ſucceſs to the cauſe I have humbly endeavoured to plead. I pretend not to force, but ſhould be happy to win their aſſent. They muſt be *willing* converts; they muſt *wiſh* to be of my opinion; and bring their own love of truth, juſtice and freedom to my aid, or I ſhall certainly fail to be inſtrumental in removing their objections. I will therefore take leave of my ſubject, with a recapitulation only of the principal doctrines, which, in the courſe of theſe letters, are advanced or argued from. Theſe then are amongſt my poſitions:

1ſt, That the people of Britiſh America cannot lawfully be taxed, in any ſhape whatſoever, except in *their own aſſemblies*.

2dly, That *a duty* laid upon any article of our exports to them, and made payable before exportation, except *they be at liberty* to purchaſe the ſame article *elſewhere*, is a tax *; and being *not given and granted* in their own aſſemblies, but *impoſed* by parliament, it is *illegal*.

3dly, That it is either a *weak* or *wicked* conduct in thoſe, who lay any ſtreſs on the ridiculous diſtinction, where there is no difference between *internal* and *external* taxes; ſince taxes are taxes, and all that is neceſſary to know is, whether they be *legal* or *illegal*.

4thly, That a *parliamentary* prohibition to manufacture their own iron and other commodities, together with *an*

* Farmer's Letters, 1ſt edit. p. 16.

obligation to take them wrought from Great-Britain, and her *only*, at a *greater charge* than that at which they could ſupply themſelves by their own manufacture, is a *tax*, and *therefore* illegal.

5thly, That every *parliamentary* limitation of their trade and navigation, which operates to their diſadvantage *in a pecuniary ſenſe* is ſo much *in the nature*, although it may not come within the preciſe *definition* of a tax, that, (being an *impoſition*) it is evidently illegal.

6thly, That neither grants nor charters, precedents nor ſtatutes; no, nor even the voluntary contract, the expreſs act and engagement of the firſt planters of a diſtant colony, can in the ſmalleſt degree impeach the rights of freedom in their deſcendants, whenever independency ſhall be their choice.

7thly, That it is a miſtaken notion, that planting of colonies and extending of empire are neceſſarily one and the ſame thing.

8thly, That it is in the very eſſence of liberty, that every ſtate hath a right to chooſe its own governors.

9thly, That all pretenſions to govern a community, ſo far diſtant from thoſe who make theſe pretenſions, that they cannot poſſibly ſecure to it thoſe ends for which alone all juſt government is acknowledged to be inſtituted, are nugatory in their own nature.

10thly, That *the people of America* are too far diſtant from Great-Britain to obtain *thoſe ends* by *her* exerciſing a legiſlative authority over them, and therefore *cannot be ſubject* to ſuch an authority *.

11thly,

* I flatter myſelf the author of the following letter will pardon the liberty I take in uſing it as a note.

To the PRINTER of the GAZETTEER.

The ſupreme legiſlative power of parliament over the internal government and taxation of the colonies, having become matter of diſpute, it is proper to examine whether this claim of ſupremacy is novel, or has any ancient foundation, and to that end, whether the inhabitants of the colonies have at any time heretofore been legally conſidered as *ſubjects of this*

11thly, That an *union* with America, by means of admitting an American representation in the British parliament, is the wildest of all chimeras; as it was the basest of all insidious designs in a certain governor, to propose to administration a surprizal of them into this snare, *he knowing*, and thinking *they did not know*, (vide his own Select Letters, p. 34, 40) that it would be subversive of their liberties.

12thly,

this kingdom, during their residence in the colonies. That the power of internal taxation has not been exercised, will not be disputed; and whoever examines, will find, that from the restoration to the present time, appeals or writs of error from the ordinary courts of justice in the colonies, do not go to parliament, as in England and Scotland, but have been always made to his Majesty in council, and proceeded upon by *petition* or *libel*; and the lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods and chattels of his Majesty's subjects in the colonies, have not been considered as belonging to *subjects of this kingdom*, all of whom are entitled to trial by the *ordinary* course of the law; but have been considered as *subjects of his Majesty*, governed internally by the laws which their assemblies from time to time establish, and tried by the *privy-council* according to those laws, and the common law, and not in the ordinary course of the law.

If parliament had the legal supremacy, appeals and writs of error, between the subjects of their jurisdiction, must have been decided in the *ordinary* course by parliament, and not in the *extraordinary* course by his Majesty's privy-council.

If parliament had been the supreme legislature of the colonies, would not the laws of the colonies have been communicated to them? On the contrary, the colonies have never consulted with, or communicated to parliament any of their laws; it is law to them because they make it, and it is a rule to the crown because the royal assent is given. They have no peers to judge between the crown and the council, and therefore his Majesty alone is the supreme legal judge, and his council only can ultimately decide, and not the ordinary courts of justice, or ordinary course of law.

When parliament was intended to be supreme legislators of Scotland, representation in parliament was stipulated for the people, and provision was made by the act of union for the

 final

12thly, That the *superstitious* notion of the uniform progress of empire *westward only*; and the *absurd* one, that Great-Britain must therefore one day become a province to America, are founded on superficial, empty, mistaken,

final determination of appeals by parliament, according to the laws of Scotland; in the colonies different laws necessarily must be made for each, with which nobody but his Majesty and themselves have any concern, nor have any other power hitherto interfered; if they were to be considered as *subjects of this kingdom*, what would be the situation of every lord chancellor, lord keeper, lord privy seal, lord president of the council, and chief justice, who have sat upon appeals from the colonies from the restoration to this period? When, by the act of the 16th of Charles the Second, intitled, An act for regulating the privy-council, and taking away the court commonly called the star-chamber, it is enacted, "That neither his Majesty nor his privy-council have, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, or authority, by English bill, *petition*, articles, *libel*, or any other arbitrary way whatsoever, to examine, or draw into question, determine or dispose of the lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods or chattels, of *any of the subjects of this kingdom*, but that the same ought to be tried and determined by the ordinary courts of justice, and by the ordinary course of the law:" and this law inflicts a penalty upon every person offending, for the first offence 500*l.* second offence 1000*l.* third offence disabled, and *ipso facto* rendered incapable to bear his office, and disabled to make any gift, grant, conveyance, or other disposition of any of his lands, tenements, or hereditaments, good or chattels, or take any benefit of any gift, conveyance, or legacy to his own use; and furthermore, to forfeit treble damages to the party aggrieved.

The gentlemen who contend for the supreme legislature of parliament over persons residing in the colonies are called upon to shew, how any lawyer, from the 16th of king Charles to this time, could have sat in privy-council, and have examined and drawn into question, determined, and disposed of the lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods and chattels of the inhabitants of the several colonies, if they had not (even to this moment) denied them *to be subjects of this kingdom*, and consequently not subject to the internal legislation, or taxation of parliament.

April 12, 1755. CURTIUS.

mistaken, and contradictory observations, utterly *void of truth*, with regard to the past, and equally *destitute of probability*, with respect to the future.

13thly, That if we would reap any lasting commercial advantages from, and preserve any durable power over, the American states, it must be by *withdrawing*, not *asserting* our claims to parliamentary sovereignty; thereby finally removing every cause of jealousy towards us, and proving that, with regard to them, Great-Britain is not a *conquering*, but a *commercial* state; not an *oppressive ruler*, but an *equal trader*; not a *designer upon*, but an undoubted *protector of* their rights and liberties against all invaders: bound to her by the ties of blood and mutual interests, by sincere love and friendship, *which abhors dependance*; by the influences of one common language, law, and religion; by the same manners, fashions and habits, and by every other cementing principle which hath power to take hold of the human heart.

14thly, That by making them independent of our *will and pleasure*, we shall render them effectually dependent upon our *influence*, and subservient to our *interest* and *glory*; this free country thus resembling its own kings, who always may, whenever they please, be more powerful, glorious, and happy, than the proudest of the monarchs who tyrannize over the rest of Europe.

15thly, That it is in our power to bring into this kingdom, with *their voluntary consent and agreement*, every shilling * the British Americans have in the world, beyond what is barely necessary for their own circulation; but that if, instead of equitable means, we will madly use no other than those of *brutal force*, they will speedily defy, impoverish and despise us.

16thly, That it is now, through our own rash councils and violent proceedings, too late to think of steering any middle course, of adopting measures for *light oppressions*,

* Considerations on the Measures carrying on with respect to the British Colonies in North-America, pag. 108, 120; and Tucker's Tracts, pag. 206 to 216.

oppreſſions, and being only *moderately tyrannical* * ; for that the Americans, from this day forward, muſt either be our independent, affectionate, and faſt friends, or elſe the moſt deadly of our foes.

17thly and finally, That by means of a parliamentary declaration of their independency and a national league with them, we may, but by no other means can, effectually promote and ſecure, on a right baſis, the mutual proſperity of both countries.

To this recapitulation let me only add a fervent prayer, that it may pleaſe God to endue the king and the lords of the council, the miniſters of ſtate, and all the nobility, the repreſentatives of the people, and all in authority, with true wiſdom and underſtanding, giving them grace to execute juſtice and to maintain truth; and that it may pleaſe him likewiſe to give unto all nations unity, peace, and concord to the end of time; but more eſpecially to Great-Britain and Britiſh America, which have reaſon to eſteem themſelves, with pious gratitude, his peculiar people, ſince, through his eſpecial favour, they are ſo eminently exalted above all other nations, inaſmuch as it hath pleaſed him, in his good Providence, to bleſs them with a free, a perfect † conſtitution of government; a conſtitution which will improve with age, and never can know decay, ſo long as the people ſhall retain their virtue.

P. S. The author, who wiſhes to attain as much ſelf-knowledge as poſſible, would (without any irony) be much obliged to the *Critical Reviewer* of his pamphlet if

* It is now only the month of April, 1775, and, ſo true was this remark, that we have already enacted laws which muſt either enforce their obedience to our tyranny, oblige them to abandon their habitations and country to ſeek for freedom amongſt the ſavages in the wilderneſs, or abſolutely and without a figure of ſpeech ſtarve them to death; except, maddening with a ſenſe of ſuch monſtrous oppreſſion, they ſullenly and contemptuouſly, as Mr. Burke expreſſes it, "caſt your ſove-"reignty in your face."

† Letter V.

if he would take the trouble to *prove* to him what he really cannot believe on his mere *ipſe dixit*, viz. that he is a *declaimer*, not a *reaſoner*, provided the aſſertion be true; becauſe he hopes he ſhall ever be open to conviction, and ready to accept of any one's aſſiſtance who will kindly lead him into the way of truth; an adherence to which he thinks is every man's *intereſt*. He feels a ſtrong aſſurance within his own mind of being *no declaimer*, and though perhaps *no acute reaſoner*, yet he thinks he is *a juſt reaſoner*, or rather *an appealer to reaſon*; and he is inclined to eſteem the practice of appealing as the beſt and moſt uſeful, becauſe generally the moſt ſucceſsful mode of reaſoning.

A LETTER TO *EDMUND BURKE*, Esq;

Controverting the Principles of

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT,

Laid down in his lately published

SPEECH

ON

AMERICAN TAXATION,

Delivered in the

HOUSE of COMMONS,

On the 19th of APRIL, 1774.

LONDON:
Printed for the AUTHOR, by *H. S. Woodfall.*
Sold by J. WILKIE, No. 71, St. Paul's Church-yard.
M.DCC.LXXV.

ADVERTISEMENT.

" IT may not be improper to inform the pub-
" lic that this letter was ready for the preſs
" when Lord Chatham's conciliatory propoſal
" made its appearance. In hopes that ſome fea-
" ſible plan of accommodation with the colonies
" would thereupon have taken place, and ſuch
" meaſures have enſued as might have made it
" unneceſſary for the advocates of American free-
" dom any longer to have kept up in its full
" force their contention againſt an overſtrained
" and unjuſtifiable authority, the author thought
" proper to with-hold it awhile from the public
" eye: but being totally diſappointed in his wiſhes,
" and now deſpairing that any good conſequences
" whatever can reſult from the meaſures deter-
" mined to be purſued by government (notwith-
" ſtanding the late attempt of adminiſtration to
" amuſe us by making a ſhew of taking new
" ground) he now humbly ſubmits it to the pe-
" ruſal of his fellow-citizens; in hopes that, ſmall
" as may be its comparative weight, it yet may
" prove a mite not unacceptable in the ſcale which
" the good genius of Britain and of Britiſh Ame-
" rica is anxious ſhould preponderate. In ſaying
" that he deſpairs of any good conſequences from
" adminiſtration's pertinacious oppreſſion of the
" colonies, he begs to be underſtood as meaning
" only *thoſe good conſequences which the authors of*
" *the preſent meaſures eſteem to be ſuch, and which*
" *they propoſe to bring about.*

" Indeed he hopes, *and will venture to prophecy,*
" that, odious and ſhocking as are the means by
" them to be made uſe of, yet the end will be
" the ſame as himſelf hath propoſed to obtain by
" a very different way of proceeding; and that,
" take which courſe we will, the preſent diſpute
" cannot poſſibly terminate in any thing ſhort of
" American Independence. Whether it will prove
" better to have ſevered the colonies from this
" country by the helliſh ſword of war, or by the
" generous hand of equity; whether it will prove
" better to have inſpired them with revenge and
" deadly hatred, or with gratitude and warm
" affection; and whether one or the other will
" prove moſt beneficial to us, time alone muſt
" finally determine."

To *E. B.* Esq;

SIR, *February*, 1775.

WHEN my twelfth letter to the Legislature, proposing the independency of America, went to the press (see Public Advertiser, *Jan.* 23, 24,) I thought I had taken a final leave of the subject; but several passages in your late published speech tending, as I fear, to mislead the public judgment, teach me that it lies too near my heart for me to suffer them to pass altogether unnoticed. It is the convincing argumentation with which you demonstrate the folly, as well as injustice, of taxing America; together with the persuasive powers of eloquence there displayed, powers which can sometimes charm us into a belief of what we do not comprehend, that make your error, with regard to the sovereignty of Great-Britain, the more dangerous at this crisis, when all good men are anxious for the rights of America, though few of them are free from your own mistake, and when even the dissipated triflers of the age have a wish at least, if not a thought, to bestow in their favour. The multitude in this kingdom, when they become serious, and take a thing up in earnest, are too formidable for a minister to contend with; but alas! they believe only as they are taught by some great authority: and even men of knowledge and reflection pay it sometimes too much respect. For my own part, Sir, I look up to you as to one of those "guide-posts and land-marks of state whose credit in the "nation" gives general currency to your opinions; I consider you as one of our great national "lights." I wish therefore, as a matter of the last importance to the public, that you may ever hold on your course with regularity and truth: and not, like the changeful "luminary *" you so happily describe, misguide your observers.

Believe

* Charles Townshend.

Believe me, Sir, I am not one of thoſe who can, without a painful reluctance, withdraw my admiration from the glories of the ſun, in order to contemplate his ſpots. But it is by an accurate obſervation of them, that we correct erroneous ſcience; cauſing, as I may ſay, by theſe means, even the darkneſſes of that brilliant orb to throw light upon objects of importance to mankind. Had I a bad opinion of your heart, I would not make the vain attempt to argue you into the right; nor would I provoke you to exert your ſuperior talents ſtill more, in order to deſtroy the truth. 'Tis not as you are ingenious, but ingenuous, that I mean to diſpute with you. Nor is it for me to take the large field of diſcuſſion; to lay open all hiſtory, or to unfold the legitimate laws of our conſtitution. I leave theſe deep and capacious reſervoirs of knowledge and policy to be ranſacked by thoſe who are my ſuperiors in learning and eloquence; and are better able to take a laborious part in the great cauſe we are now engaged in; contenting myſelf to draw from the fountain head, a ſmall portion of the waters of truth; which, like a dew from heaven, have, I believe, the moſt kindly influence upon the production and growth of true wiſdom. It is to the pure, the genuine principles of our perfect conſtitution, and the unalterable law of nature, that I will refer; it is to your reaſon and your conſcience I will appeal. This will bring the queſtion within a very ſmall compaſs, and to a ſhort iſſue. But be apprized, Sir, that it is not to any creature of your own imagination, an *ideal* "*conſti-*
"*tution of the Britiſh Empire* [94.]," (for I totally deny its exiſtence, and believe that a faith and hope in it lead to perdition,) which I now mean to refer to; but to the *conſtitution of Great-Britain*; whoſe exiſtence, divinity, and powers of ſalvation, are known to us all. This is the *only* compaſs that ever proved a ſure guide upon the tempeſtuous ſea of politics. It is a *ſure* guide, becauſe it is a compaſs *without variation*. It points not to any earthly loadſtone, joſtled by ſome convulſion of nature out of the true axis of our crazy planet, but the cauſe of its magnetiſm is the rock of truth, fixed in the pole of heaven from all eternity; immoveable as the throne, immutable as the nature of God. He who ſhall imagine that the Britiſh conſtitution is a compaſs adapted only to

one

one latitude and longitude; and when he arrives with it at a diſtant ſhore, depending on deluſive obſervations, ſhall *ſuppoſe* a very conſiderable variation; and then, like the ignorant ſkipper of ſome little coaſting bark, ſhall go about to adjuſt it, to the imaginary occaſion, by giving the needle a correſponding deviation from its repreſentative on the card, or rather chart; ſhall ſoon find himſelf in a moſt dangerous, if not a fatal error. Happy if he make not ſhipwreck of the political veſſel. Great knowledge and practical experience may be neceſſary to thoſe who hold the command, who guide the helm, and direct all the manœuvres in the ſhip; but *the very cabin-boy knows his compaſs*; and when the port is in ſight, and all the dangers of the navigation are above water and in view, *he* can tell, as well as the pilot, how to ſteer *for* the one or *from* the other. When out of ſight of land, he knows equally well, that in order to arrive ſafe in America, he muſt ſteer to the Weſtward; nor could all the ſophiſtry of the pilot, though he ſpoke with the tongue of an angel, nor the authority of the captain, though aided by the logic of the cat-o'-nine-tails, ever convince him, that it would be poſſible to ſecure a proſperous voyage by ſteering either Eaſt, South, or North. So when the Britiſh conſtitution, whoſe form is ſo manifeſt to the eye of common ſenſe, and whoſe principles by their ſelf-evidency are ſo ſimple and ſo obvious, lies before us, 'tis in vain for miniſters, for ſtateſmen, or even for orators, to endeavour to impoſe upon our underſtandings, by repreſenting that we muſt hold one courſe in Britain, and another in America, for attaining civil ſecurity and happineſs; when it is impoſſible to arrive at them, but by keeping the prow in a true direction for liberty, whoſe ſtar, like as the rock of truth, is in the pole and faſt by the throne of heaven. It is true indeed, and for the reaſons you have [91] aſſigned, that the neareſt courſe we can keep is but "an approximation towards the right "one;" yet we ſhall run into a moſt ruinous error, if, to the *unavoidable* deviations cauſed by the inteſtine motion and tempeſtuous agitations of the political element, we make any *intentional one*, by playing tricks with our needle, and departing from that courſe which our compaſs, *if faithfully conſulted*, ſhews to be the true one. You deſire

Great-

Great-Britain to "be content to bind America by laws "of trade; becauſe ſhe hath *always* done it: and not to "burthen her with taxes, becauſe ſhe was not uſed to do "ſo *from the beginning*. Theſe," you add, "are the "arguments of ſtates and kingdoms." [89, 90.] But, with your leave, Sir, theſe are the arguments of Egyptian taſk-maſters, of Carthaginian blood-ſuckers, of Roman monſters and Spaniſh tyrants; for ſilencing the murmurs of their fleeced, pardon me, I mean flead provinces and miſerable bond-men. What! Sir; are preſcripts and precedents, be they natural or unnatural, be they good or bad, be they juſt or unjuſt; the proper arguments of ſtates and kingdoms? So then, nothing is wanting to reconcile us to the moſt infernal way of governing, but that our tyrant hath always done ſo; that he was uſed to act the tyrant from the beginning!—Fie, fie! What a leſſon for a young Telemachus to learn from the lips of his Mentor! "You may be as great a tyrant as you pleaſe, "provided you only eſtabliſh your precedents in the begin-"ning." Should murmurs afterwards ariſe, or the accumulating weight of your power in length of time become ſo intolerable as to cauſe your *right* to be called in queſtion; —"reaſon not at all—oppoſe the ancient policy and prac-"tice of the empire, as a rampart againſt the ſpeculations "of innovators,—and you will ſtand on great, manly, and "ſure ground."—Excellent doctrine! O Locke, thou reputed ſage, "hide thy diminiſhed head!" What are all thy *refinements*, [94] thy "*metaphyſical diſtinctions* [89,"] to maxims ſuch as theſe!—You expreſsly acknowledge, Sir, [41] that "you think the *commercial reſtraint is full as* "*hard a law for America to live under*, as the ſchemes of "American revenue: and, if *uncompenſated*, to be a condi-"tion of as rigorous ſervitude as man can be ſubject to. "But America bore it from the fundamental act of navi-"gation until 1764—Why? Becauſe," you add, "*men* "*do bear the inevitable conſtitution of their original nature* "*with all its infirmities*." Now, that I cannot attain knowledge without ſtudy, or happineſs without wiſdom; that I cannot preſerve my health without exerciſe, or my freedom without courage; nor penetrate with my eye the opaqueneſs of a ſtone, or the complicated folds of my neigh-

* (94) "Refining ſpeculatiſts."

neighbours heart; may poſſibly be all reckoned among the defects and infirmities of my "original nature:"—but that it is "the *inevitable* conſtitution" of any one man, or of any one nation, to ſubmit to the tyranny of another, I muſt poſitively deny; as the contrary hath been long ſince proved by the United Provinces, and lately by the law of England, in the caſe of a negroe ſlave when brought into this free country. Nor do I in the leaſt doubt, but that America will very ſhortly give a convincing refutation to this curious propoſition: which, Sir, if you will review it with candour, you may poſſibly perceive to be *much worſe than a* "metaphyſical diſtinction," or the "refinement of a ſpeculatiſt;" ſince it tends to *debaſe*, not to refine; to *confound*, and not to diſtinguiſh. Is it for man, arrogantly to lord it over his brother, to impoſe upon him reſtraints and bonds, and then to aggravate his ſufferings by the inſult of a proffered *compenſation!*—a compenſation, ſuch alone, and ſuch in degree, as he, the *impious impoſer*, ſhall judge *expedient* for inſuring his power and advancing his own intereſt? If reſtraint and bonds, *even thus compenſated*, be not rigorous ſervitude, I know not what is. 'Tis not the preſent *ſuffering under*, but the being *ſubject to*, the power of another, which *conſtitutes* ſlavery. Give us but the ſlavery, and the ſuffering will not fail to follow in due time. Now Sir, from *the whole* of what you advance, with regard to *the ſupremacy of parliament over the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates of America*; as well as from your expreſs and repeated declarations of ſtedfaſtly abiding by *the miniſter and the ſyſtem of* 1766 *, when parliament, in its folly, aſſumed a right of repealing the irrevocable laws of God, by enacting, that his majeſty in parliament, of right, had power to make white men black men; to oblige the Antipodes to hear, ſee, and feel, by the ſenſes of Engliſhmen; and to transform millions of the human ſpecies, into calves and camels;—or what is no leſs abſurd (meaning the *right* not the fact) '*to bind the people of the American colonies by ſtatutes in* all caſes whatſoever;'—I ſay, from the whole of theſe opinions and aſſertions, it is but too evident, Sir, that your political com-

 paſs,

* "I honeſtly and ſolemnly declare, I have in all ſeaſons "adhered to the ſyſtem of 1766," pag. 96.

paſs, how true and ſafe ſoever to ſteer by in Britain, hath loſt its rectitude when removed to America. Correct it, Sir, I beſeech you, ere it be too late; becauſe I fear that thouſands will confide in it; and probably the firſt peace-making miniſter, availing himſelf of this confidence, and the general error of the people, will ſteer by one adjuſted to the ſame imaginary variation; to the inevitable diſtreſs, if not, in the end, to the ſhipwreck of the ſtate. Do not, Sir, imitate the modern miniſterial *dignity*, of perſiſting in wrong; nor the bed-ridden parental dotage, which talks of pap, of leading-ſtrings, and the rod, for that child, which, did it but retain its ſenſes, it might perceive to be in a ſtate of manly vigour and independence; parent himſelf of a numerous offſpring, lord of a mighty houſhold, and maſter of immenſe poſſeſſions; and yet the filial, though not the ſlaviſh; the voluntary, not the ſervile, prop of its declining age and decrepitude. Lay, then, Sir, your hand upon your heart, and anſwer me, or rather anſwer to God and to America, the three following plain queſtions: 1. Doth not the Britiſh conſtitution, and the law of nature, *which may in no wiſe be overturned by any human conſtitution whatſoever* *, (malgre all the qualifications, reſervation, and ſubtle evaſions that ſophiſtry can deviſe) abſolutely require that the people, thoſe at leaſt who are proprietors of, and are thereby permanently attached to, the ſoil, ſhall *actually ſhare* in the powers of legiſlation; by giving their conſent either perſonally or by repreſentatives of their own chooſing, *to all laws* which are to be *the rules of their actions*:— Not only thoſe of taxation, but thoſe equally which *limit the exerciſe* of executive power, which *erect national tribunals*, and which eſtabliſh any other regulation (be it even of their

* This law of nature, being co-eval with mankind and dictated by God himſelf, is of courſe ſuperior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times: no human laws are of any validity, if contrary to this; and ſuch of them as are valid derive all their force, and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original.

Blackſtone's Com. Vol. I. p. 40.

their *foreign trade*,) that may affect their properties, their liberties, or their happineſs in any particular:—And doth not the conſtitution, in requiring all this, as abſolutely pronounce that, *where there is no ſuch participation, no ſubjection is due?* 2. What ſhare or participation in the powers of the Britiſh parliament is poſſeſſed by any American, *as an American?* 3. If no individual then, in America, by ſharing in, be ſubject to, the powers of the Britiſh parliament; how can *all of them*, in their collective capacities as ſtates and civil communities, be ſubject to this power? Surely that circumſtance which ſinketh an individual below the level of freedom, muſt equally debaſe a nation into a condition of ſlavery.—The "ſuperintending "power" of Great-Britain which [92] you propoſe her "to "diſpenſe, as from *the throne of heaven*," perhaps I might not ſo ſtrongly object to; could I be tolerably well aſſured, it would not in time degenerate (as human magiſterial power uncontrouled *hath ever done* ſince the beginning of the world,) into a power that the Americans would rather ſuppoſe to be diſpenſed from the dark council of Pandemonium; or could I be certain that it was not equally to be dreaded, as *neceſſarily tending* to the deſtruction of *our own liberties*. But, preſuming, Sir, you will not become her ſurety in that reſpect, ſince you very prudently tell the miniſter [10] "you can give no ſecurity," that *the coloniſts* ſhall not riſe in their demands, upon *a conceſſion of juſtice* being made them, which you eſteem it infamous to with-hold; I can by no means agree with you to put into her hands this weighty ſceptre, for "co-"ercing the negligent, reſtraining the violent, and aid-"ing the weak and deficient, by the over-ruling pleni-"tude of her power;" eſpecially ſince you tell me in plain terms, (not, I am ſure, adverting to the blaſphemous nature of the expreſſion) "this power muſt be *boundleſs*;" [93] becauſe I verily believe, that without the other *boundleſs* attributes and infinite perfections of *the Deity*, to whom *alone* boundleſs power belongs, to direct its operations, it would infallibly bruiſe the head of America, and cruſh her into a *Sardinian* ſervitude*. I hope, Sir, it

 was

* Farmer's Letters.

was not at the time when you were yourſelf connected with a very noble perſon at the head of the Treaſury department [56] that you firſt affixed to the words *Britiſh Empire*, thoſe magnificent ideas you give us of it, page 92, 93; nor that any hope or perſuaſion of mind that the ſyſtem of 1766, together with its framers, ſhall one day be reſtored, which attaches you ſo firmly to it. I hope this, Sir, from the opinion I have of the goodneſs of your heart, and from my natural unwillingneſs to believe that the man, who, beſides being an aſſiduous and diſtinguiſhed labourer in the public cauſe, is no leſs the amiable example of virtuous privacy and the charm of domeſtic ſociety, can ever become ſo egregiouſly ſottiſh, as to caſt away ſuch happineſs and true glory, for aught that Mammon or Lucifer hath to offer him. Unjuſt as the declaratory act of 1766 was in its principle, I know not, but at that period, it might have been quietly acquieſced in by the Americans, provided our taxing ſchemes had not been revived; but I cannot believe, even in that caſe, it could have operated ſo contrary to the nature of things, as to have preſerved concord and mutual advantages to the two countries for any conſiderable length of time to come; except the aſſumption of this unlimited power had, like the ſplendid titular aſſumptions of a Chineſe Emperor, been univerſally conſidered as *mere empty words without any meaning*, and Great-Britain had *totally abſtained from the ſmalleſt attempt towards an exerciſe of it.* Theſe being my ſentiments, I cannot but look on the paſſing of ſuch an act as a moſt unpardonable folly. Conſcious as you ſeem to be [87, 90,] that *the diſcuſſion* of ſuch a queſtion had a direct tendency to deſtroy, even that degree of authority (and no ſmall one) which the blind affection and ſuperſtitious reverence of the colonies for their mother country had eſtabliſhed, by habit and undiſputed precedents, from the beginning; had it not been wiſer to have totally abſtained from ſtarting it at all; and to have invariably acted towards the colonies, as we ſhould have done towards ſtates that knew full well, and jealouſly maintained, their independency of us; but yet of whoſe fidelity towards us we were well aſſured, by an unexampled national attachment and union of intereſts, together

gether with all the influences of one common language, religion, and conſtitution; the ſame manners, cuſtoms, and ſentiments? Had we thus, *in the year* 1766, ſagaciouſly avoided "going into the diſtinction of rights, "and attempting to mark their boundaries [89];" (that is, on the part of the poor Americans; for the rights of Great-Britain *we modeſtly declared to be boundleſs*;) we had done well; we had done wiſely. It was your own miniſter, Mr. Burke, it was Lord Rockingham, and poſſibly, Sir, adviſed by yourſelf, who, in a more eſpecial manner, brought into diſcuſſion theſe "metaphyſical di-"ſtinctions;" who thus "intemperately, unwiſely, fa-"tally ſophiſticated and poiſoned the very ſource of go-"vernment," and attempted "to argue the colonies into "ſlavery:" and that too, by what court reaſoners ſeem to plume themſelves upon as a very "ſubtle deduction, "from the unlimited and illimitable nature of ſupreme ſo-"vereignty;" though in truth it is a dogma fit only to paſs in the ſublime Divan, or from the infallible lips of his holineſs, towards Turkiſh and Italian toe-kiſſers and lickers of the duſt; whereas his lordſhip's doctrine of 'binding in all caſes whatſoever,' was preached to an intelligent and free people, having legiſlatures of their own, and who owed *not the ſmalleſt obedience whatever* to ſuch ſovereignty. To ſuppoſe that king, lords, and the houſe of commons for the time being, conjointly have authority to do any wrong or injury to the reſt of the ſtate, is as ridiculous as to admit, that the *head* and *hand* may contrive and execute any miſchief or mutilations upon the reſt of the body. Nor, until ſome great chriſtian caſuiſt hath demonſtrated ſuicide to be juſtifiable, ſhall we ever be brought to acquieſce in the abſurd, though very ſolemn deciſion of the learned Judge Hale, and recited, with no ſmall parade, as an indubitable authority by his more learned brother Blackſtone, in his Com. p. 161. in order to prove that one's *hand* may plunge a dagger into one's *heart*, or one's *head* by the denying of nouriſhment, may ſtarve one's *body* to death; and for this wiſe and wonderful reaſon that the heart and the body cannot help themſelves.—— Here indeed my alluſion fails me; as their reaſoning, had they recollected how many *ſupreme ſovereigns* have been

puniſhed

punifhed for their " mif-government *," did them: and I truft that *the body* of the people of thefe free kingdoms, *the heart* and the reft of *the faithful members*, will either reftrain or punifh *that hand* or *that head* which fhall ever confpire or attempt any thing againft its life or well-being. This *illimitability* may be an ingenious *law fiction*, and well calculated, as fuch, to anfwer certain ufeful purpofes in difpatching the bufinefs of the law courts: but when offered to our underftandings for *a fact*, it muft be rejected with difdain as *a moft abominable dogma*; either the legitimate child of ignorance or a cunning baftard of tyranny, but certainly the natural parent of flavery. I would therefore beg leave to propofe, that in the next edition of your fpeech, there be made to every propofition ftating " the illimitable nature of fupreme fovereignty," the fmall addition of thefe three words, ' to do good,' by way of amendment; which, from a fallacy and a treafonable affertion, will convert it into a truth, and a conftitutional maxim. Had thefe " fubtle deductions," in favour of the " boundlefs power" of parliament, been the " metaphyfical diftinctions" you meant, p. 89, I fhould moft heartily have accorded with you in " hating the very found of them:" but when the enormous, the odious pretenfions of the Declaratory Act, preceded and fucceeded by a train of grievous oppreffions under other adminiftrations, had rouzed the unmindful colonifts and their Englifh friends to an exertion of their thinking faculties, in order to fhew the juft diftinctions of the facred rights of human nature, and to mark their boundaries, I fhould not have expected from any, but the fophiftical advocates of tyranny, a condemnation of fuch a proceeding; as I efteem it a moft generous tafk, and one of the moft indubitable marks of genuine patriotifm. Milton and Locke were refpectively ftigmatized, by the tools of defpotifm, as " refining fpeculatifts;" and Sydney paid the forfeit of his blood for oppofing, to the abfurd and impious dogmas of Filmer, (the champion of *illimitable fovereignty and powers for binding in all cafes whatfoever*,) his " metaphyfical diftinctions:" but pofterity hath done them all juftice. Whatever might have been the profpects of advantage

* Comment. p. 161.

advantage in the year 1766, from eſtabliſhing an unjuſt ſovereignty over America, it is evident, that even then, the actual exerciſe of it would have been ſcarcely practicable with the moſt extreme caution and tenderneſs: but now, in the year 1775, after all that hath paſſed during nine irritating years to awaken the ſleeping coloniſts, and to exaſperate them to the laſt degree their patience is capable of bearing; but *now*, I ſay, the attempt is a flight of madneſs not to be accounted for, but from an apprehenſion that God ſees it is high time to humble our pride, by leaving it to baffle its own vicious deſigns by its folly; or, for the ſins of the nation, is pleaſed to ſuffer it, by infatuation, to caſt itſelf headlong into deſtruction. America may now be conſidered, as an induſtrious and intelligent youth juſt arriving at man's eſtate; who, having chearfully ſerved a long *apprenticeſhip* under us, muſt now, *if not admitted into partnerſhip*, become our *rival* in trade. Like other juniors, *he will be content* to ſhare the profits in a ſubordinate degree, proportioned to the inferiority of his capital and connections; but he will acknowledge no other dependence; he will no longer be our bond-ſervant. Too well doth he remember the hardſhips he hath ſuffered in our ſervice, to enter into new indentures of ſervitude, now that his legal term is drawing towards its expiration. Indeed, had we been poſſeſſed of any portion of that wiſdom which belongeth to "the children of this world," we might, for a long time to come, have kept him in ignorance of this ſecret; his indentures being in our own keeping, and he being eaſily ſatisfied with whatever interpretation of them we thought fit to make: until, ſwelling with the flatulent ideas of our own dignity and importance; debauched and impoveriſhed by luxury and extravagance; we impoſed upon him too ſevere a drudgery, and began to ſtarve and to ſcourge him rather too unmercifully. By this folly we have literally ſcourged him into a neceſſity of aſſerting his independency, for we have driven him, not only from his relaxations and play, but from his work; and forced him to deny himſelf even common repoſe, in order to ſeek in the ſchools for forms of language, in which to expreſs his ſenſe of our ill uſage, and the natural feelings of his ſoul, which taught him to know

know that there was ſomething incompatible, between our treatment of him and what he was intitled to. Nor hath he ſought in vain: but, ſupported in his own mind by a conſciouſneſs of his juſt rights, and juſtified by "the "refinements" of thoſe "ſpeculatiſts," Locke, Milton, and Sydney: and by the "metaphyſical diſtinctions" which the volume of nature hath unfolded to his own reſearches, he is now ready, Sir, in your own expreſſive words, to "caſt your ſovereignty in your face." Nay, the American is become both by precept and example your moſt faithful monitor, your beſt inſtructor, in the only poſſible means of preſerving your own liberties; and of recovering from that ſtate of corruption, of which the conſtitution is ſick at heart; by maintaining his own rights on the undeniable principles of truth and juſtice; oppoſing tyranny with a manly temper, firmneſs and dignity; and, above all, by intruſting the guardianſhip of them to *unplaced, unpenſioned, and uncorrupted delegates.* Doth it not behove us then, either as "children of this world," or as "children of light," no longer to injure or inſult him with the exerciſe, or the claim, of any power incompatible with his abſolute liberty, his perfect freedom? Your "ſubordinate liberty," take my word for it, (and I hope I am not a "refining ſpeculatiſt," as I am certain I am no "factious demagogue,") will not now be thought by him, "enough for the eaſe and happineſs of man;" [94] becauſe the *reſerved part* is to be with-held from him by injuſtice and force; and lodged in the very hands which do him this wrong; and therefore not very fit to be intruſted with ſo ſacred a depoſit. No, Sir, he will demand perfect freedom,—Britiſh freedom—that very freedom you yourſelf enjoy, and which alone is the legitimate iſſue of the *Britiſh conſtitution:* he will be content with nothing ſhort of *a participation in that power* which frames *all the laws* he is to be ſubject to as the rule of his actions.—I beg pardon, Sir;—my zeal in the cauſe of America, and the irreſiſtible impreſſions of juſtice on my mind, have carried me one ſtep too far: for, ſuch is the moderation of America, ſuch her deſire to "ſeek peace and enſue it," that ſhe tells you, in her 4th Reſolve in Congreſs, that "from "the neceſſity of the caſe, and a regard to the mutual "intereſts

" interests of both countries, she *chearfully consents* to the " operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are " bona fide, restrained to the regulation of her external " commerce, *for the* purpose of securing the commercial " advantages of the whole empire *to the mother country.*" Here, Sir, she shews that no contemptuous slights nor injuries; not a ten-years series of oppression and insult; nor even the sight of the uplifted British axe aimed directly at the root of her liberties, can provoke her to forego her rivetted attachment to this country. This single instance of her unabated affection, her voluntary humiliation and subserviency to the welfare of the parent state, effectually gives the lie to the charge of ingratitude, and the design of breaking through all the commercial restraints which secure us the monopoly of her trade; that have been so loudly and so indefatigably trumpeted forth by the diabolical agents of tyranny, and have exercised so many prostitute pens. This proves that, anxious and irritated as she is, it is pure justice and wisdom, not resentment, by which she is actuated: and in this it is that she confirms, under her own hand and seal, what I undertook to engage for on her part, when last spring I proposed a *parliamentary declaration of her independency*, and the forming with her *an effectual union of interests*, by means of *a league*, in which she should be *a free, voluntary contracting party.* These are my words: " Not being able to pay Great-" Britain in subsidies of ready money for her protection " and friendship, they (the American states) will grant " her an equivalent in exclusive trade *."—What more, in the name of common sense would we have?—Will nothing satisfy us, but her liberties at our feet?—Shall we " wade up to the eyes in blood" for only *the chance* of the shadow, when she offers us the substance, the reality?—Will the high-sounding word *sovereignty*, or millions of sterling gold, best fill the treasury and support the dignity of Great-Britain? Possibly I may be somewhat singular in opinion; but I cannot help being much inclined to consider the tyranny and perverseness of administration towards America for ten years past, as one of those

 gracious

* American Independence the interest and glory of Great-Britain, p. 66.

gracious and benevolent dispensations of Providence towards a chosen people, which, though a present calamity, is nevertheless, according to the established order of things, a necessary one; and productive of great, solid and lasting blessings in future. Such is the imperfection of our nature, that for the most part, and nationally considered, we are incapable of understanding, of valuing or enjoying, any state of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, that hath not been preceded by one of adversity; by a comparison with which we can estimate its felicities. In order *to enjoy*, we must not merely *possess*: but it is requisite that our minds, by activity and exercise, perceive all the *causes*, *connections*, *relations* and *dependencies* of that which we possess; the noble faculties of our souls must be called forth by *trials*, *hardships*, and *struggles*; *losses*, *disappointments* and *dangers*, together with every species of discipline which, in this state of probation, is necessary to the perfecting of virtue. Had not God, in his paternal anger, permitted this chosen nation to have been visited by the detested race of Stewarts and a long afflicting civil war; 'tis certain the succeeding chain of events had not taken place: and 'tis more than probable, that the seeds of dissolution which lay lurking in the bowels of the state before their advancement to the throne, had they been nourished by an uninterrupted calm and the treacherous sunshine of apparent prosperity, would long since have spread their poison to the immediate sources of life, and destroyed the constitution. But it was *that dreadful night of tempest and darkness*, *that season of severe adversity*, which rouzed the genius and spirit of the nation; and to which we were indebted for the succeeding beauty and vigour of the constitution, by purging off the greater part of those foul impurities and seeds of death. Heaven grant that its now fading bloom and failing strength, those sure symptoms of inward disease, may be again restored ere it be too late! ——It was, I say, during *the very term* of that visitation of God's anger, that he was providing for the future unparalleled felicities of this nation; and literally causing good to grow out of evil, by raising up within that period those great and excellent men, who, feeling the feverish and alarming state of the times, contemplating the scene

 around

around them, and ſteering by the compaſs of the *Britiſh* conſtitution, have by their writings done more ſervice to the cauſe of liberty and the rights of mankind, than ever had been done before by all the boaſted patriots of Greece and Rome, together with thoſe of every other nation in the world collectively.—As thoſe unhappy times produced *Sydneys*, *Lockes* and *Miltons*; ſo we find the preſent, daily bringing forth *Shipleys*, *Dickenſons*, and many other "truly "noble, honourable, and patriotic advocates of civil and "religious liberty, who generouſly and powerfully eſpouſe "and defend the cauſe of America, both in and out of "parliament *." I do not therefore repine at the diſtreſsful conteſt which hath ſo long exiſted between theſe kingdoms and the colonies, ſince by God's mercy it hath as yet been bloodleſs; and ſince, ſtill relying on the goodneſs of his Providence, I truſt it will terminate in adjuſting their true, their natural and moſt beneficial relation to each other, which is that of *an independent friendſhip and alliance*; in perpetuating their harmony; and in radically curing thoſe latent diſtempers, which might otherwiſe have proved fatal to the liberties of both. Such I think no man of foreſight can doubt would have been the ſad event, had either the ſupineneſs of America, or the cunning moderation of the miniſters of Great-Britain, kept her in what you call [87] "her old, her ſtrong, her tenable "poſition," long enough to have fixt her immoveably on that "ſure ground," on whoſe ſolid baſis her machines once fixed, ſhe might, as you inform her, "have drawn "worlds towards her." But worlds, Sir, are not to be drawn towards each other, or fettered with chains and unnatural bonds, but to their mutual deſtruction. Their general well-being; and the benefits reciprocally to be derived, from light and genial warmth reflected on each other reſpectively, are only to be preſerved by their keeping their appointed diſtances, by moving each in its own orbit, and by being kept from flying off from their centers into chaos, by the ſweet influences of *attraction*, that beſt, that univerſal, that ſtupendous law of nature, by which the material, the moral and the divine worlds are all upheld and preſerved in harmony. Truſting, as I ſay, that

 our

* Concluding reſolve of the congreſs.

our present contest will finally terminate in the independency of America, and stop us short in the mad career of dominion; that it will teach us to know that any *imperial* possession * beyond the British seas, except a few scattered islands, factories and forts for the ends of trade, would ever be a mill-stone at the neck of the constitution; in as much as it would encumber it with extrinsical powers *it could not manage*, or exert but in a way *inimicable to internal health*; and as it would most obviously add enormous weight to court influence; against which, the other balancing powers are already little more than a feather; as the unavailing wisdom and eloquence of yourself and others, in both houses of parliament, must long since have convinced you; I cannot but congratulate with my country on *the very error of Mr. Grenville*, which hath been thought so prolifick of mischief, and kiss with reverence the rod of our chastisement. A Hercules with many bodies under one head, would have been an impotent, unwieldy monster; not an invincible hero and demi-god: ——it would have been a more preposterous fiction, than that of the hydra with many heads to one body. But a monster with a multitude of bodies, *all of which* except one *are feigned to be three thousand miles from its head*, was a monster reserved for an abortive conception in the wild imagination of modern policy in its delirious reveries. Believe me, Sir, there is no sterling sense in the words, "*British Empire*," when signifying *unbounded* dominion with *unbounded* power over the immeasurable space of the North American Continent; and that, so applied, they are no better than 'sounding brass or a tinkling 'symbal,' to charm a proud, deluded nation to its ruin. In the warmth of a senatorial debate, and the rapid flow of your imagination, which resembles the Amazonian torrent, the collected force of ten thousand streams, breaking irresistibly a glorious inroad through the frontier of the vast Atlantic, and scornfully beating back his embattled waves, it might indeed have been allowed you to have crayoned out for Great-Britain a fanciful "*imperial character*; in which, as from the throne of heaven, she "should superintend all the several inferior legislatures "of

* American Independence, p. 23.

" of America; guiding and controlling, without annihi-
" lating any;—coercing the negligent, restraining the
" violent, and aiding the weak and deficient, by the
" over-ruling plenitude of her *boundless* power; and when
" her requisitions were not implicitly obeyed, saying to
" the delinquents,—tax yourselves for the common sup-
" ply, or *parliament will do it for you*;" [92]—all this, I say, as well as to pass by " nice distinctions," and to trespass a little on the " boundaries of right," might have been very allowable, while flying before the wind on the flood-tide of eloquence, and by way of declamation; but when you coolly, and deliberately, sat down to *write* for the instruction of the public; when it was of the last importance not to give currency to any opinions; not to excite any vain, proud, ambitious and misguiding passions in the people; nor to afford any countenance for the ministerial tyranny you profess to oppose; and which is all supported on *the very principle you admit*, and, *if it be admitted*, is clearly *justifiable*, since *legal authority* with *boundless power*, if indeed it may be supplicated, may in no wise be withstood:—when, I say you acted with this deliberation, surely, Sir, you ought to have omitted, in your transcript all such erroneous, fallacious and fatal doctrines!

That the " imperial *rights* of Great-Britain as stated
" in the declaratory act of 1766, and the privileges which
" the colonists ought to enjoy are just the most recon-
" cileable things in the world," you tell us indeed in so many words [92]; and indeed, Sir, to do you justice, you also, by the aid of your *heavenly* allusion, reconcile them very glibly to your own imagination, and, I have no doubt, to the entire satisfaction of administration. While Lewis the XIVth was intoxicated with the drunken fancy of universal monarchy, his courtiers did not fail to satisfy him that " the *imperial rights*" of France and
" the privileges which the dependent states of Europe
" *ought to enjoy* (wondrous condescension!) were just the
" most reconcilable things in the world:" and that he had an undoubted right, clear as that two and two make four, " to superintend, to guide, and control them, as
" from the throne of heaven;" though they humbly hoped

hoped his *divine* Majesty would not in his displeasure "annihilate any of them." Yet, Sir, there unluckily remains one omission, one small defect in your argument, which the "refining speculatist" and the "metaphysi-"cian," nay I fear even *the dull American*, will never be able to get over:—you have forgot the *proof* of your proposition; you have totally omitted the *legality*, the *moral rectitude* of your well-founding proposal. These are considerations, trifling enough, God knows, in the opinions of some statesmen; but they are nevertheless by a free people, thought *absolutely necessary* to be attended to, before obedience and authority can be reconciled. Thanks, Sir, to the native honesty of your heart, which, though it incautiously suffered you *to pronounce* the aforesaid words, "imperial *rights* of Great-Britain," hath kept you uniformly from attempting to *explain* them; or in any than this and other equivalent and synonimous expressions throughout your whole speech, from so much as *hinting* at their existence: nay you have given hints, and broad ones too, that she *hath not* these rights, if her title-deeds come to be well perused and examined into; or why should she have any reason to "apprehend" that any "metaphysical process" whatever, could "argue her out of *her whole authority?*" [87] Why admonish her to "*reason not at all?*"—to oppose "*policy* and *practice* to "*truth* and *justice?*"—Besides, you remark [87, 88.] that "the distinction of *internal* and *external* duties," or taxes, "is as nothing with regard to *right*;" in which, Sir, you say most justly; and perfectly agree with me when I assert that, "to acknowledge their independency, "and to form with them a friendly league, is therefore "the only method, *on the principles of equity*, of laying "them under restrictions in trade and manufactures, for "the exclusive advantage of their protectors; but conti-"nuing to impose these restrictions by *our own authority*, "and by *force*, as it deeply affects them in their property, "by *preventing money coming into their pockets*, (which is "very nearly allied, when done unjustly, to *taking it out* "*of their pockets without their consent*) is undoubtedly ty-"rannical *." And, again; [89] interrogating the minister,

* American Independence, p. 77.

nister, you ſay—" Do you mean to tax America, and " to draw a productive revenue from thence? If you do; " ſpeak out:—If you *murder*—rob! If you *kill*; take " poſſeſſion: and do not appear in the character of, " madmen as well as *aſſaſſins*." Here again, Sir, I intirely agree with you, that taxing where no revenue is to be got, is *madneſs*; that taxing thoſe who are unrepreſented, is *robbing*; and that they who aſſume legiſlative authority where there is no right, are *murderers* and *aſſaſſins*; if it be true that whoſoever looketh on a woman to luſt after her, is indeed an *adulterer*; as upon divine authority we are informed he is; (*Matt.* iv. 28.) and moreover, that to claim a " *boundleſs power*," is a preſumptuous invaſion, an impious uſurpation on the prerogative of *the Omnipotent*. Thanks, once more, to " the " abundance of your heart out of which your mouth " ſpeaketh," for theſe honeſt acknowledgments, that Great-Britain, *on your own principles*, and *according to your own ſyſtem of* 1766, is at preſent no better than a *murderous aſſaſſin*. You may ſee then, Sir, clearly enough, " what is to become of the declaratory act aſſerting the " entireneſs of Britiſh legiſlative authority." [92] It ought to be ſacrificed to juſtice, wiſdom, and concord. As for thoſe men who are at once baſe enough to aſſert in direct terms, and ſilly enough to attempt to demonſtrate, that ſubjection and tyranny are not only reconcileable but right; to offer them conviction would be caſting pearls before ſwine; or I would beg leave, in order to ſave them the trouble of turning over the folios of the Sydney of the laſt century, to refer them to three letters of his more conciſe name-ſake, which I read, with infinite pleaſure and the higheſt eſteem for the honeſt author, in the Gazetteer of *Jan.* the 5th and 26th, and *Feb* 23d: but, Sir, to your attentive peruſal I will recommend them; and requeſt you alſo to review once more what myſelf, the feebleſt advocate in the cauſe of liberty, and others have advanced in favour of American Independence;—or rather, Sir, with candour and uprightneſs conſult your own very ſuperior underſtanding and feeling heart. Your ſerious reflection, Sir, muſt convince you of your error: and that all your arguments, without exception, in favour of

Great-

Great-Britain's ſovereignty, are nothing better than a flimſy ſtring of ſophiſms—a mere rhetorical rope of ſand which, not to fear that it might diſſolve like a morning vapour as you ſtretched it acroſs the wide Atlantic, would aſſuredly prove no more powerful, nor fit to "*bind* "*America in all caſes whatſoever*," than the well-twiſted wreath aſcending from the profound politician's ſolemn pipe. And would you, Sir, if it were poſſible, by contributing towards the foundations of ſuch a power, "ſtand "anſwerable to God for embracing a ſyſtem that tends "to the deſtruction of ſome of the very beſt and faireſt "of his works?" [96.]

Reflect then, Sir, for heaven's ſake!—and be conſiſtent in your pleadings for the coloniſts. When there ſhall no longer appear in your politicks any leaven of *ſubordination* to ſour their "liberty;" any reſervations whatever of imperial rights, in diminution of the privileges of nature; any ſophiſtical arguments concerning requiſitions, which, in ſpite of every plauſible pretext, involve in them the claims of an inadmiſſible arbitrary power; or any unjuſt, becauſe *impoſed*, reſtrictions on their freedom;—but you ſhall become, Sir, their generous advocate, and demand for them a truly Britiſh liberty, that liberty which you yourſelf enjoy; then, Sir, you will be their friend indeed; then, Sir, every good man will give you praiſe; and I will venture to foretel that your eloquence, thus breathing pure truth, wiſdom and patriotiſm, will then be attended with the powers of perſuaſion, and obtain a ſure aſcendency over many minds that are now unmoved by it. It will no longer be ſtopped by the cloſing valves of ſuſpicion, and held back as a tuneful ſong to pleaſe the ear; but will be allowed a free paſſage to the heart, and received there as a cordial, invigorating balm; congenial with all its generous feelings, its nobleſt emotions, its dearest hopes. How ſhall you ſee to remove the beam from the miniſterial eye, without firſt at leaſt plucking out the *mote* from your own!—I conjure you then, Sir; you, who are not wont to deal in ſophiſtry, or to elude the force of truth by ſubtlety, ſubterfuge, or wilful deafneſs; you, whoſe penetrating genius hath enlarged the bounds of true

true ſcience; whoſe luminous eloquence is dreaded as the detector of falſehood and the certain foe of all diſhoneſt darkneſs; you, who have greatly diſtinguiſhed yourſelf as a friend to the Britiſh conſtitution; you, who are not amongſt the wiſe ones who wear morality as a cloak, nor the wits who ſcoff at religion and all its ſacred obligations; you, Sir, I conjure by all theſe conſiderations, to reflect ſeriouſly on what, with the honeſt freedom which becomes every man who hath the public good at heart, I have pointed out to you; and then obey the truth-ſpeaking dictates of that monitor which God hath given you for your moral guide. I want you not, Sir, to break through your attachment to Lord Rockingham; or to diſſolve any honourable connection that may enable you to ſerve your country the more effectually. But let it be apparent that it is your country, and not a party, you mean to ſerve; that you are truly and wholly actuated by public ſpirit, and not by private intereſt. Flatter no man's weakneſs; defend no man's errors; miniſter to no man's ambition, at your country's expence. Lay aſide every party prejudice, and every ill-founded ſyſtem; eſpecially that which gave birth to the tyrannical and abſurd declaratory act of 1766. Prove yourſelf, by purity of principle and conſiſtency of conduct, to be unbiaſſed, uninfluenced and independent: and leave us not to lament that faction and corruption are at the bottom of every pretence of ſerving the deſerted and deluded public; and to repeat, with a melancholy, a mournful emphaſis; "Cæſar hath friends; and Pompey hath "friends: but none are friends to Rome."

I have repeatedly denied the legality, as we all deny the expediency, of the late and preſent Britiſh ſyſtem of American government: and the fields of alluſion are well-nigh exhauſted in order to illuſtrate theſe truths. There are however a few alluſions more, which, if they have been made uſe of, I do not remember to have obſerved. But before I proceed to them, let me remark, that when we ſpeak of Great-Britain and America as *mother* and *daughter*, it is rather a deluſion than an alluſion as it tends to obſcure, not to illuſtrate their real relation to each other. For 'tis not the *country* of the new world,

brought as it were into existence by late discovery, the inanimate *earth*, the *trees*, the *stocks* and *stones*, which in old England are the objects of our thoughts when we dispute about the government of it; but it is the *people*, the inhabitants of that new world, which are, or ought to be, the objects concerning which we reason. Now it is evident that the present generation in this same old England, can with no propriety be esteemed the parents of the present generation in America; and therefore are not intitled, on that plea, to any authority over them. It is evident also, that their true relation by blood, is the same as that of two descendants from the same family stock; whose respective progenitors long since separated, and branched into two distinct families. We may therefore with the strictest propriety, and with a clear illustration of the principles I maintain, consider Great-Britain (the *nation*, not the country; the *people*, not the soil;) as the male descendant, representative, and heir, of the elder, while we regard America as the blooming heiress, of the younger branch. How lovely, how desirable an object of enjoyment to Great-Britain, let every one judge! But shall he, like an Eastern despot, doom her to a splendid wretchedness in his seraglio; never more to hold a social commerce with any but her hated lord; nor to taste the sweets, the pure delights of liberty; and though mocked with the soothing title of Sultana, knowing too well she is no better than the slave of his lustful appetites? Or, like a still worse Barbarian, a very banditti ruffian, unmoved at her tears and intreaties, and deaf to her cries, shall he brutishly think to strike her to the earth, and while deprived of the powers of resistance, to become her impious ravisher? But let him not forget, that she hath a noble and indignant soul; and that the poignard, with which she hath been taught to arm herself, was he to make the foul attempt, might possibly, in the moment of her despair, be plunged with a deep and deadly stab into his guilty heart, and preserve her honour unviolated.—No!—" Better counsels shall guide " him."——Recovering from the state of inebriation, in which the base sycophants who fed his pride, and the vile pandars of his unlawful pleasures, had artfully kept this

this noble youth, for their own vicked purpoſes; and with a ſtern, majeſtic countenance, commanding them from his preſence; he ſhall view with his own eyes the lovely virgin; and recollecting their mutual tenderneſs from earlieſt infancy, and the inſeparable nature of their intereſts; acknowledging her native charms, and all her intrinſic worth; his fierceneſs in a moment ſhall melt into fondneſs; when, leaving her to her juſt liberty and rightful independency, he ſhall court her to his embrace with a manly and generous frankneſs; with ſincere love, honour and reſpect: while ſhe, wiping away the laſt falling tear, and giving to the winds all the anxieties with which his lately eſtranged affections had filled her aking boſom, all her preſent ſuſpicions, all her future fears and apprehenſions, ſhall, with angelic lovelineſs and heart-felt rapture, fly into his protecting arms; when inſtantly the ſacred hymeneal rites and plighted vows ſhall ſeal between them an indiſſoluble union. An union agreeable to nature, to juſtice, and to freedom; and ſurely the fitteſt that can be imagined for promoting their mutual intereſts! The nuptial *contract*, with the *voluntary conſent* of America; and not *a Britiſh ſtatute*, doing *violence to juſtice* and *her inclinations* muſt be the Declaratory Act to limit their reciprocal duties, and the reſpective degrees of control and ſubordination neceſſary between them. But though I propoſe that America ſhall become the *wife* of Great-Britain, be it remembered, that I do not mean ſhe ſhall therefore *obey* his arbitrary will, nor that he ſhall have a direct power to *rule over her*: becauſe ſhe hath hitherto always behaved towards him as an affectionate kinſwoman, rendering him every good office in her power; and becauſe ſhe cannot yet, the nuptials not being ſolemnized, have forfeited that natural independency which God hath given her, by liſtening to the ſuggeſtions of the devil, and cauſing her huſband's ruin, as Eve did that of Adam; and for which alone it was, that ſhe was made ſubject to his will, by the *curſe* of obedience. America therefore, *not* being ſubject to this curſe, will be entitled to all the benefits of marriage at its original inſtitution; when God in his bounty beſtowed "the dominion and property in and

" over the fish of the sea, the fowl of the air, and every " thing on the face of the earth upon *husband and wife* " *jointly*," Gen. i. 28, 29. Nor, prior to the curse, did he make any distinction between them, but what he hath also made between Great-Britain and America. The former was prior in existence, and hath superior wisdom and strength; not for the purpose of tyrannic rule, but of guidance and protection: the latter is " an " help meet for him;" not in the abject condition of a slave, but in that of a loving, respectful, and prudent wife, a faithful friend, a social companion. And herein are laid, by the laws of nature, the true foundations for all the superior influence and control that is proper or desirable for the husband; and in which America, as a dutiful and faithful wife, will ever acquiesce with pleasure. Let Great-Britain then say; " This is now bone " of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be " called *British* America, because she was taken out of " *Britain:* and therefore I will leave father and mother, " and will cleave unto my wife; and we will be one " flesh," *Gen.* ii. 23, 24. As you so frequently, Sir, resort to holy writ, as to the genuine source of the *sublime and beautiful*, you will not, I flatter myself, be displeased with these references to it; nor to the following quotation, with which I shall close this letter: nor will the very singular, and most remarkable aptness with which it may be applied to *British America*, of whom, as the wife of Great-Britain, it might well pass for a prophecy, be lost upon you. " Who can find a vir- " tuous woman? for her price is far above rubies (*a*). " The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her; " so that he shall have no need of spoil (*b*). She will " do him good and not evil all the days of his life. " She seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly " with her hands. She is like the merchant-ships; she " bringeth

(*a*) As British America is in value far above Spanish and Portugueze America, abounding with precious stones and metals.

(*b*) We had better cultivate our laborious North American commerce, than debauch and corrupt ourselves with the spoils of the East.

" bringeth her food from afar. She riſeth alſo while it " is yet night, and giveth meat to her houſehold and a " portion to her maidens. She conſidereth a field and " buyeth it: with the fruit of her hands ſhe planteth " a vineyard (*c*). She girdeth her loins with ſtrength, " and ſtrengtheneth her arms (*d*). She perceiveth that " her merchandize is good (*e*): her candle goeth not " out by night. She layeth her hands to the ſpindle, " and her hands hold the diſtaff. She ſtretcheth out " her hand to the poor; yea, ſhe reacheth forth her " hands to the needy (*f*). She is not afraid of the " ſnow for her houſehold; for all her houſehold are " clothed with double garments (*g*). She maketh her- " ſelf coverings of tapeſtry; her clothing is ſilk (*h*) and " purple. Her huſband is known in the gates, when " he ſitteth among the elders of the land. She maketh " fine linen, and ſelleth it; and delivereth girdles (*i*) " unto the merchant. Strength and honour are her " clothing; and ſhe ſhall rejoice in time to come. She " openeth her mouth with wiſdom, and in her tongue " is the law of kindneſs (*k*). She looketh well to the " ways of her houſehold (*l*); and eateth not the bread " of idleneſs. Her children ariſe up and call her bleſſed; " her huſband alſo, and he praiſeth her. Many daugh- " ters have done virtuouſly (*m*), and have gotten riches; " but thou excelleſt them all," *Prov.* xxxi.

It

(*c*) The cultivation of vines hath been attended to for ſome years in North America.

(*d*) Her militia is numerous and well diſciplined.

(*e*) The non-importation agreements ſhew this.

(*f*) She feedeth and cloatheth thouſands of our poor manufacturers.

(*g*) See the margin to the text.

(*h*) The ſouthern provinces of Georgia and the Carolinas produce fine ſilk.

(*i*) Belts of wampum.

(*k*) Journal of the Proceedings of the Congreſs.

(*l*) She has not a court-kalendar quite ſo well filled with the names of placemen and penſioners as Great-Britain.

(*m*) See the margin to the text.

It is with great respect, and a sincere desire that you may both merit and attain the name of patriot, that greatest of all earthly appellations, regal and imperial titles not excepted, that I subscribe myself,

SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

CONSTITUTIO.

POSTSCRIPT.

April, 1775.

ALTHOUGH the foregoing parts of this work were all written with an earneſt deſire to ſerve the public, yet they have not been publiſhed with an expectation of their being either well received or much attended to, by thoſe to whom they were immediately addreſſed :— until matters between Great-Britain and her colonies ſhould, through the raſhneſs of our counſels, be brought to extremities; and that, no longer having choice in our power, we ſhould be reduced to act from neceſſity alone. Perhaps there hath ſeldom been a cauſe leſs popular in this country, nor one that ought to have been more ſo, than that which the writer hath endeavoured to plead. That our colonies have a right to be independent, is a concluſion which I am well perſuaded muſt inevitably reſult from the queſtion; whenever diſcuſſed with temper and patience, and with a liberal, candid and honeſt turn of mind. Of the truth of this obſervation I can aver, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that I have had perſonal experience; and that too, in inſtances where the perſons entered into the enquiry under the common prejudices of Britons in favour of the Britiſh ſovereignty over them. It was once my own prejudice. Like the reſt of my countrymen not immediately concerned in the government, I had never reflected deeply on the ſubject; nor indeed had the new matter with which it abounded, been ever treated of and committed to books. But the cries of America pierced my ears, and her complaints ſunk into my heart. I was moved, and I determined to try the cauſe of this

appellant in my own breaſt. I found it a good one, and that ſhe was really much aggrieved. The reſpondent denied not the facts; but attempted to juſtify them. To this end he produced a large collection of charters, ſtatutes and precedents, as the authorities upon which he had acted. 'Don't theſe,' ſays he, 'remove every doubt? 'Don't they prove that I have a right to impoſe accord-'ing to my ſovereign will and pleaſure, burthens and ſer-'vices, reſtraints and regulations upon this diſcontented 'ungrateful wretch? That I have a power in ſhort "to "bind her in all caſes whatſoever *?"—And bind her I 'will.—Is not this law? and is not law juſtice?—Can 'any thing be plainer?'—'Alas,' replied ſhe, 'thoſe are 'the laws of *your* country, not of *mine*. My legiſlators 'had no ſhare in making them. And thoſe bonds which 'you produce againſt me I never ſigned: how then, *in* '*any caſe*, can they bind me? Much leſs can they bind 'me in all caſes whatſoever.—Theſe very writings, put-'ting in force againſt me all my wrongs, are what I 'have moſt reaſon to complain of. They were all dic-'tated, and ſigned and ſealed by *you alone*: how then 'can they conſtitute a reciprocal engagement between us? 'How can the ſole act of one party lay another under an 'obligation? And beſides, I have from time to time, as 'my ſufferings or my apprehenſions prompted me, and 'in the moſt humble manner, pleaded, petitioned, ap-'pealed and remonſtrated againſt their unkindneſs, ſeve-'rity, injuſtice and cruelty; but all to no purpoſe. And 'they are now become ſo abominably tyrannical, ſo to-'tally devoid of humanity, that they are abſolutely into-'lerable: and rather than degrade myſelf below the dig-'nity of my nature by ſubmitting to them, I am reduced 'to the neceſſity of open reſiſtance †:—and I muſt add too, 'that

* Declaratory Act.

† Mr. Bull, in his ſpeech on the third reading of the American Reſtraining Bill, as printed in the Public Ledger of the 7th of April, 1775, ſays as follows:

"Mr. SPEAKER,

"I ſhall take up but very little of the time of the houſe; I will only mention ſome *facts* relating to one very important article,

' that I am determined to endure, even unto death, ra-
' ther than ſhamefully ſubmit to wear the chains intended
' me.

article, becauſe it has been the occaſion of the unhappy diſputes with, and the violent perſecution of, the Americans. I mean the article of *tea*.

" At the time the Eaſt-India Company had in contemplation the ſending a quantity of tea to different parts of Europe as well as to America, and to apply to parliament for an act for that purpoſe, I had the honour to be called upon for my opinion of the meaſure by a very reſpectable perſon in the direction of the Eaſt-India Company, whoſe name I am ready to mention, if called upon by the houſe.

" My opinion then was, and I ſtill think it not ill-founded, that the ſcheme was ſo extravagantly wild, that it was impoſſible it ſhould ever be carried into execution; but if it could, it would *injure*, not benefit, the company, as they could not ſend their tea to any market where it would bring ſo good a price as at home. Beſides, it would be an act of great injuſtice to the merchants here, who have always been uſed to buy for exportation at their ſales. As to ſending tea to America, from a knowledge of their diſpoſition, the gentleman was informed they would not receive it; they would look upon it as ſent there, not to *ſerve* them but to enſnare them; they would be exceedingly irritated; they would moſt certainly deſtroy it."

Then after going through a very perſpicuous and ſatisfactory detail, in order to prove his poſitions, he thus concludes:

" I will not trouble the houſe with any obſervations on theſe *facts*; but I own I cannot be brought to believe that the tea was ſent to Boſton to raiſe money for the company, to get rid of their load of tea, or to prevent ſmuggling, becauſe each of thoſe ſalutary ends might have been anſwered without injuſtice, or offence to any individual.

" The purpoſe for which the tea was ſent to America, and the conſequences, are evident now to every man's underſtanding.

" For theſe reaſons, amongſt others very forcible and important, which have been mentioned in this houſe, I hitherto *have*, and ſhall *continue*, to the utmoſt of my power, to *ſupport* the *Americans*, thus *injured* and *oppreſſed* by the cruel and vindictive meaſures of an adminiſtration, whoſe whole conduct breathes the ſpirit of—*perſecution* and *popery*."

See alſo the notes to the ninth Letter, juſtifying the deſtruction of the tea at Boſton.

'me.—But it is with reluctance and with grief of heart 'I utter this declaration. 'Tis an overflowing of anxiety 'and anguish of soul. 'Tis not the language of revenge: 'for in spite of your injustice and barbarity, I cannot but 'recollect with fondness the time when, as kinsfolks and 'friends we were united by the closest, the strictest and 'most delightful ties of love and mutual benefits. My 'heart bleeds at the recollection; and at this moment I 'would submit to any hardship or restraint short of the 'base condition of a slave, in order to be reconciled to 'my mistaken and hard hearted persecutor, and to be 'restored to his once-friendly arms.' 'This is all mighty 'well,' rejoins the respondent;' 'but I thought thou hadst 'known me better than to think of talking me out of my 'purpose. I have shewn thee the law: I have told thee my 'right.—I will have the whole of it: I will not abate an 'iota.—Silence then to thy saucy tongue! I equally de-'spise thy flatteries and thy threats. Is it not written in 'the law, that, "of right I have power to bind thee?" 'I have bound thee "from the beginning *;" and I will 'bind thee still. In contempt of thy vain struggles, I 'tell thee, ingrate! "I will have my bond †;" or thy 'blood shall pay the forfeit.'——But a little patience, and temper, good Sir, said I: ought you not first to *prove the right you had to make such a law*, before you plead its authority? It would be greatly for the advantage of your cause, would you but condescend *to demonstrate this single proposition* by fair argument. Nay indeed, such a demonstration would at once determine the cause in your favour.—'What! exclaims the lordly respondent, prove, argue 'and demonstrate! My honour, my dignity forbid!—— 'No—that nonsense is the frivolous business of "the "schools ‡," and to them I leave it.—Here are my proofs; '—here are my arguments and demonstrations.' Pardon me, Sir, replied I, all that is only paper and parchment —except there were *two* contracting parties, which there *were not*; and except they be all signed and sealed *interchangeably*, upon equitable conditions, mutually and reciprocally

* Burke's Speech, pag. 89.
† Shylock.
‡ Burke's Speech, pag. 90.

ciprocally advantageous and obligatory, and binding upon both parties; which all the world knows *they are not*. There is a certain conſtitutional maxim, which ſays, that a *quid pro quo* is indiſpenſibly requiſite for giving validity and obligatory virtue to any and to *every* contract between two parties, otherwiſe it is *nullus pactus*, a void covenant. All theſe deeds are, to be ſure, legible enough; and ſure enough alſo, have for their contents what you are pleaſed to recite;—the writing is very fair, and they bear plenty of ſeals and ſignatures, royal and official:—"Be it enacted," and other binding forms, ſtand in their accuſtomed places; and they wear withal, to ſay truth, a conſequential and reſpectable appearance. But this appearance alone will not be ſufficient for your purpoſe. If, as the appellant urged, and as indeed you boaſt, they were all of your own fabricating and impoſing, this alone, were they even unexceptionable in their conditions, renders them abſolutely nugatory. But if, beſides this, many of them are totally ſubverſive of juſtice and equity, utterly repugnant to the law of nature, and ſhocking to humanity, as upon the very face of them appears, how, Sir, can you forget what is due to your own character, and ſo far depart from all that is right and reſpectable, as to plead, any longer, acts which are not only null and void for want of the eſſential principles of validity, but ſpecifically criminal; and which it would be equally criminal not to oppoſe and reſiſt! Beſides, Sir, I fear that, ſhould you remove this cauſe once more, and put it at iſſue upon *the laſt appeal*, that even then, with all your ſuppoſed advantages, it might not terminate to your advantage. "The race is "not *always* to the ſwift, nor the battle to the ſtrong;" but ſometimes "the mighty are put down, and the proud "are ſcattered in the imagination of their hearts."—— "My deeds," ſays he, "upon my head! I ſtand here "for law; I ſtand here on my bond *"—Be not obſtinate, Sir, in a wrong cauſe; peruſe, I beſeech you, theſe nugatory deeds (nugatory ſo far as relates to the point now in diſpute) without a prejudice to your own ſide of the queſtion, and examine with equal attention and candour all that hath been urged againſt them, by your own friends as

* Shylock.

as well as your enemies: you will then think differently, depend upon it; you will chearfully caſt them all aſide, and, reſuming your wonted franknefs and good-nature, will treat with the appellant as your *equal*: for all are equals in acts of contract and convention, and in the ſcales of juſtice. Be wiſe, Sir, and be happy. Your future intercourſe will, I promiſe you, be mutually honourable, pleaſing and beneficial, provided it be regulated by juſtice, temper and right reaſon.——'No,'—exclaims the haughty reſpondent, 'I will make no conceſſions; I will not condeſcend to liſten to her pleadings, but at my feet. I am not diſpoſed to ſtoop ſo low as to treat, when I have power to command.—I reject with diſdain all obligations reciprocally binding, while I have power to bind the appellant, and to keep myſelf free to looſen or to tighten thoſe bonds as it may ſuit my caprice or my convenience. —On this point I "reaſon not at all *."—They who have neither fleets nor armies, nor——, nor a treaſury at command, may treat and reaſon if they pleaſe: but for myſelf—

"By my ſoul I ſwear
"There is not pow'r in the tongue of man
"To alter me †."

"I will have the law—I will have my bond," I ſay; or the 'rebellious blood of that traitreſs!' Since then, Sir, rejoined I for the laſt time, you reject alike all conciliatory propoſitions, and, raſhly making the laſt appeal, you truſt the iſſue of this cauſe to the ſword, why, be it ſo!—Your deeds be upon your head!—And may the God of battles be a ſhield unto the feeble and oppreſſed!

Although, as I have ſaid above, that I did not expect the foregoing ſheets would for a ſeaſon be either well received or much attended to, by thoſe to whom they were more immediately addreſſed; as indeed I had little better expectations from the public in general, until the failures of all other expedients than that which is there propoſed, ſhould open their eyes a little more; yet I truſt, that a diſcerning

* Burke's Speech, pag. 87.
† Shylock.

discerning and upright few have read them with approbation; and, if I do not deceive myself, I think there is to be discovered a daily alteration of public sentiment, which tends, though slowly, yet with certainty, to terminate in the conclusion I have long since drawn from the premises which our American contest hath furnished us with. Those who have given a careful attention to the whole of the literary altercation in pamphlets and other publications, and viewed the question also as agitated by the able speakers in the houses of parliament, and have moreover deeply meditated upon it in their own minds, pursuing every material argument to its legitimate result, must I am persuaded have discovered that it ultimately turns upon this one point of *dependency* or *independency*. While this capital point remains undetermined, it appears to me quite a frivolous waste of time to debate upon any other part of the question, which is infinitely complex, while each part refers to this point: it is therefore this, as a leading principle on which all the rest depends, that ought primarily to be considered and decided upon, before any other can be discussed with propriety or advantage. I know not whether the American advocates have paid due attention to the fundamental principles which have given such authority and success to their several pleadings in favour of their injured clients: but all of them, they may depend upon it, when faithfully traced up to their source, and allowed their full operation, will as necessarily and incontestably prove the rights of independency to belong to the British Americans, as they do support the constitutional rights of Englishmen. He who means to shew that those people are not intitled to independence, and yet would argue in support of their *freedom*, will soon contradict or confound himself; for in order thereto, he must derive that freedom from other principles than those of the British constitution; which however no one has yet been silly enough to attempt. Now I do assert and will maintain, that, by the pure and genuine principles and the indispensible maxims of that constitution, they are as much entitled to legislative independence as Englishmen are entitled to representation in parliament, to trial by jury, or any other the most indisputable constitutional benefit whatsoever,

ſoever, becauſe their *ſelf-preſervation* requires it. Would but their many able and patriotic friends amongſt us advert to this truth, poſſeſs themſelves of it clearly and fully, and ſpeak it out boldly, they would find it give a ſtrength and conſiſtency to their arguments, which at preſent they evidently want and muſt want without it, as it is the very ſoul of the cauſe, and which would not fail to impreſs an irreſiſtible conviction on the generality of their hearers and readers. For my own part, I ſolemnly proteſt, that the main arguments in favour of the colonies, if not reſting on the foundation of their right to independence as a principle taken for granted, appear to my judgment very inconcluſive and unſatisfactory. They prove indeed to demonſtration the impolitic and abſurd conduct of adminiſtration; and they expoſe in ſtrong colours their inhumanity, which the principles of tyranny itſelf will not juſtify: but ſtill they leave the foundation of their arbitrary power unmoved—untouched:—and ſo long as nature itſelf doth not revolt at the exceſſes of their cruelty, they may, on theſe gentlemens own principles, continue tyrants, and plead the ſanctions of law and juſtice againſt the conſtitutional rights of the coloniſts.—So long as they admit that the *Britiſh Empire*, as we proudly phraſe it, comprehends within it the ſtates of America; ſo long do they afford the miniſter all the means he wants for the arbitrary government of thoſe ſtates; arbitrary I ſay, *becauſe it cannot be otherwiſe in our hands*. If thoſe ſtates be truly and rightfully parts of this empire, they undoubtedly muſt ſubmit to Britiſh government; but Britiſh government, *agreeable to the conſtitution*, it is impoſſible, as hath been ſhewn, to adminiſter them from hence. What is the obvious reſult?

I am well aware, that by ſome I ſhall be thought needleſsly to ſpeculate and refine, and be warned againſt calling in doubt the authority of government with too nice a ſcrutiny. But to ſuch I anſwer, that no man would be more backward than myſelf to riſk the peace of ſociety, by bringing unneceſſarily into diſcuſſion latent and nice diſtinctions in favour of public liberty, which the governing powers were wiſe and honeſt enough to leave dormant and at reſt as they found them. But when miſtaken,

designing or violent ministers avail themselves of the passive inattention of the people to these distinctions in their favour, and thereupon ground a hope of successfully innovating upon the wholesome guards and defences of the constitution; when they make novel demands, introduce new and unsound precedents, cause them hastily and indecently to be passed into laws, and then, under the pretence, and alas! under the sanction of law, proceed to numberless and unheard-of oppressions, which the feelings of a Hottentot would inform him were contrary to reason and to justice; and when they shut their ears against complaints of these wrongs, treat humble petitions with contempt, dutiful remonstrances as acts of disobedience to lawful authority, and constitutional opposition as rebellion; reiterating all the while their tyrannical mandates with more and more severity every time they are not slavishly obeyed;—when, I say, they do all this, and throughout the whole rest their justification on *the letter of the law*, let me ask if it be not high time to *speculate*, to *refine*, and have recourse even to *metaphysical distinctions* *, provided they be *fairly deducible* from *truth*:—in short, to scrutinize their pretensions to the marrow, to fathom them to the very bottom; in order to detect those covered rocks and sand-banks which are the true causes of all that disturbance we behold on the surface of our present political navigation; and to warn the people against suffering the anchor to be cast in such foul ground at the peril of shipwreck; or trusting any longer the guidance of the vessel to helmsmen who have brought themselves into such a dilemma, that they know not which way to steer for safety; and yet, through pride, shame and vexation, still perversely refuse to have recourse to the compass of the constitution, which alone can set them right and bring them into port. We must either do this, or resign our American kindred to absolute slavery as *by law established*. And on this occasion I must take leave to say, that to the advice of those who recommend the suppressing of truth, we should ever listen with much caution or much jealousy, according to their respective characters. Some there are whom a pardonable timidity, and some whom an amiable humanity and benevolence of mind, in-

 clins,

* Burke's Speech, pag. 89, 94.

cline, and often no doubt with reason, to this circumspect and preventive conduct: but, for the far greater part, it is the artful and insidious suggestion of crafty and ambitious men, who have gotten the power of the state into their own hands; friends to all that mystery, ignorance and superstition on which the keeping of their abused authority depends, and by which their odious vices are to be gratified at the expence of the credulous people. Whereas it is in the divine constitution of things that fallacy in itself, though not perhaps immediately hurtful, hath ever a necessary tendency to introduce evil into the moral and political systems of the world; while truth, on the contrary, tends as naturally and necessarily to the final, though not perhaps to the present, introduction of good. Where indeed there is no attempt to establish fallacies for wicked purposes, it may often be more for the peace and welfare of society that we do not too curiously search after every hidden truth; but when that diabolical attempt is once made, we cannot easily go too deep in our enquiries after it, nor can we place it in too strong a light. Happy will it be for future generations, if their princes and ministers should profit themselves of the wise reflections on this delicate subject which they may find in the excellent *Considerations on the measures carrying on with respect to the British colonies in North America*, p. 22—27.

Were we not carefully to distinguish between general maxims and their exceptions, the writer might, under the authority of the foregoing one, have been totally silent on the subject of these essays: but we trust that the reasons assigned for the part acted on this occasion, will not only acquit us of the base and wicked designs of an incendiary, an unnatural child of Great-Britain, or a traiterous fomentor of rebellion; (charges very liberally bestowed by a certain class of persons on even those champions of American freedom, who have not however as yet given utterance to that horrible word—*independence*) but that we shall in time be allowed to have spoken with the warning voice of a faithful, though unwelcome monitor; of a sincere, affectionate and determined friend, though no flatterer. Conscious of no other motives than what are becoming of this character, we shall proceed to deliver somewhat more fully

fully what at firſt we rather hinted than explained. Though now indeed it is not our intention to ſay more than is abſolutely neceſſary to prevent cavils, and in order to furniſh materials for thinking upon, to thoſe who are diſpoſed to think: for, from thoſe to whom even *thinking* is too great a trouble, we muſt not expect the ſtill greater effort of *acting* in the public cauſe; wherefore it is needleſs to ſpend our time in voluminous writing for their information. And after all, thoſe, alas! who are moſt capable of judging, and whoſe duty it is to judge of, and to conduct, the public affairs, are the laſt it ſhould ſeem from whom attention is to be expected.

But notwithſtanding the people, for want of thoſe informations obtained by miniſters and ſtateſmen, are leſs able to judge accurately, yet it is their juſt praiſe that they are diſpoſed to judge as well as they can, and have a real deſire that things ſhould be conducted for the beſt, the good of the whole being alone conſulted. It is therefore that the judgment of the people, with all its defects, is to be reſpected; that every aſſiſtance is to be afforded it by thoſe who mean well; and that its ſlow progreſs in arriving at ripeneſs and maturity is to be allowed and waited for with patience. Like the nut, when moſt ripe it is the moſt ſolid. The people, though ſlow indeed to receive inſtruction, will however in the end liſten to reaſon and learn wiſdom. With them, the beſt arguments and moſt upright plans will ever be finally approved; and through them alone it is that the friends of public liberty muſt hope to influence the deciſions of the cabinet and the moſt eſſential meaſures of adminiſtration, where even two or three virtuous men, though ever ſo reſponſible to the public from the nature of their offices, cannot, it is preſumable, guide and direct as they would wiſh; but find themſelves under the neceſſity of either abandoning the helm wholly to bad men, or elſe of carrying into execution meaſures which they often in their hearts condemn and ſometimes abhor. Sad alternative! And unhappy that ſtate where wiſdom and virtue are thus of neceſſity obliged to vail to vice and inſufficiency! But ſuch the alternative muſt ever be in this country, until the people ſhall exert themſelves to purify the fountain of government: or until the indivi-

dual who hath alone the power of doing it himſelf, ſhall greatly undertake the noble, the god-like taſk; and for that purpoſe ſelect about him and reſolutely ſupport a few counſellors of an unfaſhionable virtue and ſterling patriotiſm, wiſe and intrepid enough to work ſo thorough and ſo neceſſary a reformation, in contempt and deſpite of the ſervile and adulatory, the intereſted and artful, the ambitious and treacherous counſels of thoſe ſycophants and devouring locuſts that are the general curſe of courts and of their country. Whatever may have been ſuggeſted to him by thoſe in his boſom confidence, he will find this the ſureſt road to happineſs and glory; and the only road to an extraordinary degree of power, which would then be as unbounded as Britain and Britiſh America in cloſe union, actuated by one ſoul, and moving in one direction, could confer. That ſuch a glory, eclipſing all the glories of antiquity would tranſcend whatever hath irradiated any earthly diadem, that ſuch a power would in the compariſon reduce to mere littleneſs the boaſted power of imperial Rome, and cauſe that proud miſtreſs of the *then feeble and barbarous* world to hide her diminiſhed head, is a propoſition as undeniable, in my humble opinion, as that health, vigour and length of days are the natural effects of temperance; honour and happineſs the uſual offspring of virtue.

When I firſt undertook to publiſh my ſentiments on the critical ſituation of this country with her colonies, I was far from deſpairing that others "would come after me "mightier than I *;" and it is with infinite ſatisfaction I have obſerved to ariſe, one after another, ſeveral excellent and moſt reſpectable writers on the ſubject, "the "latchet of whoſe ſhoes I am not worthy to looſe *." I, indeed, with a feeble voice, warned a heedleſs generation to flee from the evil to come, or more properly to prevent its coming; but there are thoſe who have ſucceeded me, of whom to an infatuated people I might with much verity ſay (I hope without prophaneneſs, for though I adopt the emphatical language of holy writ, I mean no compariſon between the perſons ſpoken of), "there ſtand ſome among you whom "ye know not †;" preachers of peace and prophets:—

hear

* St Luke, chap. iii.

† St. John, chap. i. ver. 26.

hear them :—Would to heaven that mistaken ministers and a misguided prince would, after the example of the conscious publicans, say unto them, "Masters, what shall "we do?" And that "the soldiers likewise would demand "of them, and what shall *we* do?" Because the former must receive for answer, "Exact no more than that which "is appointed you;" and the latter would be taught to "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely *." While these greater teachers continue to enforce their admonitions with superior eloquence and argument, and with many an instructive reference to the page of history, it being mine to pursue a different path in the same pilgrimage, I mean still to keep within the sphere I first allotted myself. I shall continue to avoid as much as possible all recitals of statutes and authorities, all references to facts and precedents, all appeals to records and histories, as things too often uncertain, vague, indeterminate and contradictory one of another; leading to disputation rather than to truth and happiness, except comprehensively understood, examined and compared with unbiassed candour, and treated of in the most masterly manner. My references are to a law and a constitution which at all times past, present and to come, have spoken, do speak, and ever will speak the same language without any alteration or ambiguity. My appeals are to the common sense, the hearts and consciences of my countrymen. If they mean honestly to themselves and to one another, it will not be necessary for their friends to be at the trouble of writing in a large and voluminous way for their instruction. But such indeed is the real way of the world, that the writings of honest men of every species will be of use, and those of the kind I do not pretend to, if well executed, the most so. However, on the subject now under consideration, they seem to have been carried nearly to their full length; all in a manner that can be said in that way, hath been said; and for the present the subject seems to be exhausted. On the contrary, the line which I have ventured on, I fear with too much presumption, appears to have been neglected: and surely there is field enough for the display of knowledge, the proof of genius, and the exercise of judgment.

* St. Luke, chap. iii.

judgment. I have but as it were paſſed through it, gathering only a ſlender ſpecimen of its productions, a few of its ſpontaneous fruits and flowers which offer themſelves to the hand of every traveller: but to him who hath ſtrength and talents for the culture, there is an aſſurance of a golden harveſt.—But until this wiſhed-for huſbandman ſhall arrive, and while we have yet a moment's breathing time ere the bill of famine ſhall have driven the inſulted coloniſts to deſperation, and the fatal conſequences ſhall come upon us like a whirlwind; and with ardent, anxious hopes for the beſt, I return once more and for the laſt time to my poſt.

It is not in order to diſpute, for to that there is no end; it is not to recapitulate the endleſs errors of adminiſtrations ſince 1763, for that too would be a tedious taſk: neither is it to repreſent what might have been the happy effects had we invariably proceeded in our ancient courſe of policy towards the colonies, before the ſcheme of taxation made the firſt breach between us; not yet is it to play the ſtate-tinker by pretending to beat out the bruiſes of a battered veſſel, to ſolder up its cracks, and once more to unite by *cramps* and *rivets* its ſeparating parts, when theſe very ſuperadditions would only, like the new cloth in the old garment*, rend to pieces its worn-out ſubſtance, and haſten the more rapidly its final deſtruction. No; it is not any one of theſe impracticable and uſeleſs labours I am about to undertake; but, ſince this ſame crazy veſſel is of the pureſt metal, yet not well adapted to our future uſe by reaſon of its very unwieldy magnitude, and having out-lived the faſhion of the times in which it was wrought, I mean that we ſhould act the part of the judicious goldſmith and caſt it anew †. Inſtead of one out-ſized veſſel, conſiſting of

* St Matt. chap. ix. ver. 16.

† In order that the dangerous language of alluſion may not miſlead, let it be obſerved that it is not the *conſtitution of ſtate* either in Great-Britain or the colonies I mean to caſt anew; but their *relationſhip*, their *mutual dependence and the terms of their intercourſe*. Inſtead of the impracticable endeavour to prove them to be, and the equally vain attempt for holding them together as, *one empire*; I would have us open our eyes to

of two parts ill joined to each other, like the bulky extremities of a wasp held together by a too-feeble waist, and ever liable to be wounded and even to break asunder at the point of contact, I would have us mould it into two separate and distinct parts or members, which yet, like the ball and socket, should intimately correspond and harmonize throughout their whole extent, wholly filling and embracing each other respectively. Thus would they be inseparably united; yet their union such as to leave each free to move and act, independent of the other, in every respect but that of a capacity to fall away from and desert its companion; and thus would they be perfectly fitted for co-operation one with the other. By these means too the strength, solidity and durableness of both would be improved and increased, in proportion to the reduction of surface and contraction of dimensions in each. Hereby also we should perfectly remedy all those defects in their original construction, which neither were nor could be foreseen by those persons, who through a great variety of different and jarring designs and motives, and at many different periods of time without any kind of concert or conjoint plan, put their several successive hands to this imperfect work: and all apprehensions of future breaches, divisions or total separation, would be for ever removed; at least to a period too far distant in the infinity of time to be foreseen.

While almost the whole legislature, for aught that I know to the contrary, are unanimous in maintaining the grand principle on which administration acts, namely, that the colonies are subject to the supreme legislative power of Great-Britain, and acts consistently enough so long as it has that foundation to go upon; and while a great majority of the people are of the same way of thinking, and still believe themselves intitled, though they know not how, to the very flattering distinction and glory of having a share in this same supreme legislative power; that is to say, while the ministers have the popular voice in support of

to truth, and follow the dictates of wisdom, by confessing they are not, ought not to be, and cannot be one empire; and then use the best means in our power for forming a conjoint and beneficial confederacy of them, as separate, free, and independent states.

of the fundamentals of their American ſyſtem of government; ſureiy they muſt be thought to have managed ill in purſuing *meaſures* that meet with general diſlike and condemnation, as arbitrary in an extreme, and directly ſubverſive of the conſtitution. Whence this inconſiſtency and contradiction in public ſentiment? Muſt we not learn to account for it by conſidering the difference of *acting upon* falſe principle, and of merely entertaining them *as ſpeculative notions* in our own minds? Is not the unreflecting and man-affecting youth continually profeſſing a wiſh that he could debauch the ſiſter or the daughter of his friend or acquaintance, and is there not ſophiſtry enough in the flattering language of his paſſions to perſuade him 'tis a meritorious, or at leaſt a harmleſs act: although we often know that he is the fartheſt from being raſcal enough coolly to premeditate and unfeelingly to perform all the wiles and villainy neceſſary to carry his idle profeſſions into action; and that the firſt act of baſeneſs in his progreſs, touching with ſelf-contempt his feeling heart, would open his eyes, and cauſe him to look with horror and deteſtation upon what he ſo lately conſidered as fair and reputable. So it is not to be wondered at that the *ſpeculative notions*, the *youthful opinions* of an uninſtructed and unreflecting people, flattered and miſled by *national pride and vanity*, and moreover duped into a belief that the fruition of American delights is not to be had without Britiſh ſovereignty, ſhould on this occaſion be favourable to the ſupport of that very miniſterial violence and injuſtice which however ſhocks them in the exerciſe. But did a true ſenſe of the political guilt of adminiſtration ſtrike home upon their hearts, we may be very certain they would no longer contribute to it by a heedleſs declaration of ſuch ſentiments; but with one voice confeſs their error and expreſs their unanimous diſapprobation of meaſures ſo contrary to the conſtitution.—While ſo conſiderable a party thus do miſchief by ſuffering their reaſon and their virtuous principles to ſleep, there is much more harm done by thoſe, who for the ſake of popularity and their own purpoſes, profeſs in a great meaſure that which is right, while we know they have no principles at all, and are the mere ſlaves of intereſt and a traiterous ambition. Theſe are the profeſſed libertines and confirmed

debauchees in politics; who, while they laugh at the plain orthodox doctrines in government, hold yet a certain latitudinarian, pliable, free-thinking kind of a faith, which may very conveniently be interpreted either this way or that, as ſhall be neceſſary to condemn a rival or to juſtify themſelves for the ſelf-ſame actions. Theſe men, when miniſters, will commit adultery with a ſtate in wedlock, violate the virginity of a colony, or hold an inceſtuous commerce with the mother-country without one feeling of compunction; and can produce you their philoſophical creed with many a nice diſtinction, many a ſubtle ſtroke of caſuiſtry, which, though it is impoſſible to underſtand, they will moſt religiouſly aſſure you not only affords them a juſtification, but enjoins on them what they have done as a poſitive and indiſpenſable duty. But then, let the wheel of court-fortune give but a ſingle turn, and topple them out of the ſeat of power, this ſame creed ſhall inſtantly be produced to prove the clean contrary. Nay, their piety is now ſhocked to ſuch a degree at deeds ſo foul and enormities ſo groſs, and their zeal for the true faith runs ſo high, they lift up their voices and cry aloud, that the preſent perpetrators of *their own crimes* are not men but monſters, not ſound political divines but ſtate dæmons, and that nothing leſs than their blood can make atonement for their crimes. Of this ſtamp I fear are too many of thoſe who are now ready to tear the miniſter in pieces for coercing the colonies into obedience to *that very authority which they themſelves contributed to eſtabliſh, and even now* (in order to preſerve the means of acting the tyrant themſelves when it ſhall again come to their turn) *maintain they are ſubject to.* After concurring to lodge in any man's hands an unjuſt and arbitrary power, 'tis ridiculous to talk of his abuſing it. We might with as much reaſon cut a breach in our bank, and complain of the river for overflowing our lands. It is not, in my opinion, by carping and cavilling at this propoſal and that plan of the miniſter, or running counter to all his meaſures, that his opponents are to ſhew their patriotiſm at this criſis; but firſt, by making a conqueſt within their own breaſts over all the pride, ambition and inordinate love of rule which they ſhall find there; and then by contending like

men for the grand conſtitutional principles and fruit, not the empty forms and huſks of government. Before I can compliment theſe gentlemen with my ſuffrage for the miniſter's power being transferred to their better keeping, they muſt convince me that they differ with him in *eſſentials*. I muſt perceive that they allow and maintain that the colniſt's title to liberty is as good and *as extenſive* as their own; and that they ſtrive with all their ſtrength to procure them ſuch a liberty. When they do this, they will have the ſuffrages of moſt reflecting, diſpaſſionate and upright men to favour their *then honeſt* ambition. But here, alas! is the ſtumbling-block. They can reproach the miniſter with a deſign againſt the liberties of America; they can talk, and talk, and ſay abundance of fine things in favour of freedom: but, once mention to them the word *independence*, they ſhrug their ſhoulders and cry, 'that is carrying things too far;—American freedom is very conſiſtent with a parliamentary legiſlative ſupremacy' (this indeed is coming to the point, would they but give us their *proof* of this propoſition; but that I believe they will find cannot be given.) 'The coloniſts, ſay they, are 'certainly entitled to liberty; but (according to Mr. 'Burke's language) it muſt be a "ſubordinate liberty:" 'it muſt not be allowed more than the ample range of a 'parliamentary managerie, which is "enough ſurely for "the eaſe and happineſs of man *;" or its wings muſt be 'properly clipped, in order to keep it within *the bounds 'preſcribed it* by the ſuperintending and controlling power 'of the preſent ſtate.' The plain Engliſh is, that not being the miniſter, they are not diſpoſed to ſympathize with him in *his* inordinate love or extravagant exerciſe of power; but when it is *their own dearly-beloved power*, as members of the Britiſh legiſlature, which is to be parted with, they are then all ſenſibility and ſhrink at the very thought. "Here's the rub that makes *tyranny* of ſo long "life †." A change of meaſures only in American affairs, would probably be more ſatisfying to the public than any change of men which could be made in the American, or chief reſponſible department.

Perhaps

* Burke's Speech, pag. 94.
† Hamlet's Soliloquy.

Perhaps there cannot in nature be ſo ſtrong a refutation of the ſenſeleſs poſition that, 'the colonies are virtually (that is *actually*, for the terms are as nearly as poſſible ſynonimous) repreſented in the parliament of Great-Britain,' as the *general feelings* (of which are born the general opinions,) of the bulk of the people on the two ſides of the Atlantic. The people of Great-Britain, notwithſtanding how greatly they are abuſed in this particular, do *feel* that they enjoy an actual and virtual repreſentation, ſuch as it is; and they do firmly believe it, nay they know it of a certainty. But, with regard to their American friends being ſo repreſented as themſelves, and that the very men whom *they alone* have deputed are the repreſentatives of the ſaid Americans, it *not coming home to their feelings*, nor being *level with their underſtandings*, ſome think one way, ſome another, as information, attention or clearneſs of intellect enables them to judge: whereas on the contrary, *there is not an American on the whole continent who can be ſuch an ideot* as to believe he is repreſented in a parliament compoſed of men, in the electing and deputing of whom *not one American*, as an American, did or could give a ſuffrage; becauſe the certainty of the ill conſequences, the ſelf-evidency of the point, his common ſenſe, and every feeling of his mind, all give the lie direct to the impudent aſſertion. How it can be demonſtrated therefore, that they are ſubject to the authority of ſuch a parliament *, and that "of right it ſhould have a power of "binding them in all caſes whatſoever," I confeſs once more I am totally unable to conceive. This is not the doctrine of the conſtitution; for that doth in every volume, in every line, in every letter, teach and inculcate the very contrary.

* The enemies of liberty may ſave themſelves the fruitleſs trouble of endeavouring to perſuade us, that there is any myſterious virtue in the nature of the legiſlature on account of its conſiſting of a king and lords, as well as repreſentatives of the people, to rule over and bind the coloniſts; for the conſtitution knows of no legiſlative powers whatever which are not partaken of by the people, who are to ſubmit their actions to their authority.

I never before knew that any ſtate of being would admit of two different definitions repugnant to each other; and I am curious to ſee this new phenomenon in logic,—a definition to prove liberty to be one thing under the riſing, and quite a different thing under the ſetting ſun: and the more ſo, as it ſeems to have an immediate relation to another matter, which is one of the grand deſiderata in ſcience, and a point of high importance to the maritime world. Should but this new-diſcovered liberty be found to vary from the liberty of Great Britain in any certain regular proportion as we go eaſtward or weſtward, which no doubt will be as clearly demonſtrable as its own exiſtence, we ſhall then have nothing more to do than to calculate the exact difference of liberty between any two meridians, thoſe for inſtance of London and Boſton in New-England, and this will give us at once their difference of longitude, and ſave the philoſophers a world of trouble. What a happy diſcovery! How the ſciences caſt lights upon one another! Who could have thought we ſhould be at once indebted to the ſame benefactors for a new ſpecies of, I had like to have ſaid a new invented liberty and a diſcovery of the longitude? After this hint, they will be much to blame if they do not puſh on their reſearches and perfect their diſcovery; ſince ſuch ſolid rewards will now await the ſucceſs of their labours. I promiſe them I will take no advantage of the ladder they have provided, by running up before them and ſnatching away the golden prize.—

The reader will have perceived that I am of opinion, the preſent political agitation of things, where all is fermention and turbid ebullition, will either refine itſelf into a happy *ſolution*, where all ſhall again be tranſparent and ſerene; and wherein Britiſh commerce, wealth, dignity and ſtrength ſhall all be ſuſpended and ſuſtained by affinity and the ſweet influence of attraction in the rectified ſpirit of American liberty and independence, without injury to its clearneſs, beauty or reliſh; or elſe, that it will ſluggiſhly ſubſide into an undefined and undefinable *mixture* of liberty and tyranny, of partial benefits and reciprocal injuries, with the putrid dregs of corruption ever at the bottom for increaſing this muddineſs on every motion by its

its foul contaminations, in order to prevent the people from discovering the ſpecific ingredients which are the nauſeous and baneful components, or at leaſt from being able to aſcertain their quantities and proportions ſo as to know how to provide themſelves with a proper and ſufficient antidote. He will likewiſe have perceived that this is a mixture I am not very willing to have poured down the throat of America, or adminiſtered to this country as the proper remedy in her preſent vital decay. Indeed, ſo far as relates to the future health and preſervation of the colonies, I have much more faith in the healing virtues of the following excellent ſimples—legiſlative ſeparation and independence, provincial ſeparation and independence one of another, an excluſion of all military policy, except that of ſelf-defence by militia, conſtant jealouſy and watchfulneſs for the perpetuation of liberty, together with a particular and a general commercial and protective maritime alliance with Great-Britain: as on our own part, my only hope lies in parliamentary, and conſequently national reformation, which however I fear nothing but ſome ſevere calamity will bring us to; in our thirſt for dominion being moderated and reſtrained within natural bounds; in public integrity, public œconomy, public induſtry and public ſpirit. Theſe are the beſt, and I verily believe the only preſervatives of their conſtitutions and reſtoratives of our own. Did but theſe become the general opinions of thoſe who are really friends to their country, and American independence the firſt immediate object of their joint labours, I ſhould hope there is yet righteouſneſs enough left to ſave our city: and I am perſuaded, even to conviction, that this wholeſome regimen would infuſe ſuch new life, ſpirit and vigour into the conſtitution of Great-Britain, as in its political effects ſhould exceed in the intrinſic value and tranſcend in luſtre all that ever hath been experienced by any nation upon earth. Even America, whoſe portion would be the ſmalleſt, would find herſelf in true and permanent happineſs, if not in ſplendor, ſuperior to the moſt renowned empire of ancient or modern times; and perhaps not inferior to Great Britain, her auguſt huſband himſelf, if I may be indulged in that adopted term.

But

But yet I am aware, that I have the old and the grand objection to my propoſal ſtill to contend with. It will ſtill be urged, that when you ſhall have acknowledged and ſealed this independency to the colonies, and done your beſt to ſecure for yourſelves the beneficial monopoly of their trade and other advantages, by the general league of perpetual amity and alliance, of protection and compenſation, they will pay no ſort of regard to ſuch engagements on their parts; and then you will no longer, for want of your ſovereign legiſlative authority, have power to compel their compliance. I have already ſpoken, as the reader will recollect, to this queſtion. I have already obſerved, that we ſhall ſtill have the ſame force for awing America into a faithful obſervance of her treaties that we now have to enforce obedience to a diſputed and odious ſovereignty *, which is growing more and more odious every day; and this with many obvious advantages that do not attend the exertions of our preſent authority: ſo that I will only farther requeſt a ſuſpenſion of judgment until the reader ſhall have examined and ſcrutinized the propoſal itſelf; as it ſtands in its new and improved dreſs towards the cloſe of this poſtſcript, in the form of a draft for a declaratory and conciliatory act of parliament. Let it ſpeak for itſelf. It will at leaſt, I flatter myſelf, give better ſecurity for the grand colonial benefits which, I preſume, are the proper objects of our care and policy, than the preſent red-hot ſyſtem of coercion to *we know not what*, ſhould it even ſucceed to the utmoſt wiſh and deſire of adminiſtration; of which however we may very reaſonably doubt. And ſhould it fail, what have we then to look for!—It may be well with us in that day if nothing worſe than national bankruptcy and beggary ſhall befall us.

Now the utmoſt failure of the policy recommended in theſe eſſays, which, without violating all credibility, it is poſſible to conceive, cannot at the worſt make the Americans *our enemies*, and thereby invite other rival ſtates to make war upon us; neither can it produce any other important ill conſequences, or greatly diminiſh the trade and ſtrength of this kingdom. That the commercial reſtraints to which the league ſhall bind them, may be frequently

* American Independence, pag. 65.

quently evaded by the Americans, I am very ready to grant. And when this is granted, let me aſk if I have not granted all that we have to apprehend as diſadvantageous to us from that ſyſtem. Has the poſſeſſion of our ſovereignty, I pray, hitherto been found ſufficient to prevent ſmuggling and illicit commerce; or is there any newly diſcovered virtue in that kind of authority by which it will more effectually operate in thoſe caſes hereafter? Doth the ſovereign power in this iſland, where it is perfect, prevent theſe practices on any part of our own coaſts, and even daily under the very noſe of government in the capital? Let the objectors only ſay by what rule, while we continue to govern America by parliamentary authority, their clandeſtine trade is to be prevented; and I will undertake to provide regulations among the conditions of the general league and the ſeparate treaties full as effectual for anſwering the ſame ends. In ſhort, the objection that the American ſtates will not obſerve the propoſed treaties with Great-Britain, *merely becauſe of their being in a ſtate of freedom*, appears to me, when it comes from the well-meaning, to be an objection of timidity, of narrow comprehenſion and error; as I am ſenſible it is, from too many others, an objection of national pride and prejudice that hath nothing to do with national dignity: while there is another ſtill, and that I fear the moſt powerful, though not the moſt numerous party, from whoſe ready lips and reſtleſs pens it is an objection of ſervility, baſeneſs, treachery, filthy avarice, boundleſs ambition, and every other vice which in confederacy with deſpotiſm, is found to be eternally at enmity with liberty and public happineſs.

By men whoſe ſouls for ever dwell in the darkneſs and chaos of contending paſſions, whoſe minds are over-gorged with an indigeſtible load of reading, and whoſe experience hath all lain in the hollow ways and beaten tracks of official buſineſs, or in the crooked and under-ground paths of corrupt policy, the propoſal I make will in all probability be rejected without conſideration, merely becauſe "the file affords no precedent *:" and the rule I have obſerved, of arguing ſomewhat abſtractedly; and referring only to that beſt criterion of good government, the three-fold

* Burke's Speech, pag. 48.

fold mirror compoſed of the conſtitution of England, the law of nature, and the religion of Chriſt, is not I know more likely to meet with their approbation. But men of intrinſic worth, of liberal natures, of great and independent ſouls, who have ſearched into books and men more with the mental eye than the bodily organ, and who, taking an enlarged view of things, have reconnoitred well the geography of the moral and political world from the eminences of exalted genius and wiſdom; men who know how to ſtrike out new paths and to open new communications as new occaſions ſhall require; men of this ſtamp, I ſay, will be indulgent to my mode of proceeding, and give at leaſt a candid examination to what is laid before them. While deeply engaged in comprehenſive and complicated plans, while marſhalling and ordering the vaſt array of a nation's affairs, and occupied in active ſervices to their country, they will be thankful for any hint which may ſerve to correct the little overſights and irregularities of their movements, and for the occaſional communications of thoſe diſcoveries which their leſs occupied attendants, even the meaneſt of them, may accidentally have made before them.

But though we talk of new diſcoveries, and recommend to practice untried expedients in policy, it is not thence to be inferred that we are wandering ourſelves without a guide, or ſhall miſlead others who may incline to follow us. While we ſtedfaſtly keep our eye upon our *unvarying compaſs* *; while we refer others alſo to that alone, and appeal in every ſtep we take to the heart of every candid and unbiaſſed perſon, we may ſafely venture farther than any have yet dared to go before us, and we doubt not to lead the way to reconciliation, harmony and happineſs, provided our intimations be not too long diſregarded. Our ideas are rather ſuggeſted or hinted than enlarged upon, wiſhing every one to trace them to their neceſſary concluſions his own way: which is a mode of proceeding not to be relied upon by any, except thoſe whoſe principles are founded in truth, whoſe intentions are honeſt, and whoſe advice is free from the ſuſpicion of any indirect views or deſigns. Should our ſuggeſtions furniſh the ſeed of

* Foregoing Letter to Mr. Burke.

of any uſeful matter, we truſt it will not all "fall by the "way-ſide, and be devoured by the fowls of the air *;" who are ſo ready to execute the will of "the prince of "the powers of the air;" nor yet that it will not wholly "fall upon ſtony ground or amongſt thorns;" but that ſome part at leaſt ſhall fall into the kindly and generous ſoil of true Britiſh boſoms, and bring forth plenteouſly the fruits of liberty and proſperity. We do not aim at any reputation from theſe eſſays: we wiſh only to ſee the tree we have endeavoured to produce ſhoot up vigorouſly, thrive and flouriſh under the culture and protection of more maſterly hands, and become the object of deſire and admiration; while the little kernel from which it ſprang ſhall be no more thought of. Our ambition is that which lives not by the breath of princes, nor hangs upon the world's opinion; but is ſupported and gratified by the internal conſciouſneſs of a ſincere deſire to ſerve the public, and therefore can feel no mortification or diſappointment but in public failures or misfortunes. And our aim, while too many well-meaning men are ſpending themſelves in arguing where argument is thrown away, is to put forth once more a hand, feeble as it is, in the actual attempt; by endeavouring to give a real being and permanent exiſtence to ſome rational plan, which, when the miſt of our infatuation ſhall be ſwept away before the ſtorm that is gathering, and not a moment allowed us for deliberation, may be had recourſe to as the ready means, perhaps the only means, of ſaving the ſtate.

With the ſame public views which we believe were thoſe of Lord Chatham, when he offered his Conciliatory Bill to the Houſe of Lords, we have made the following draught of a bill for the ſame purpoſe, which however we hope will not, upon a cloſe examination, be found to contain in it ſuch unconſtitutional materials as his Lordſhip's. Although we have the higheſt reſpect for that Lord's political abilities, yet we cannot underſtand why, or by what divine right, the Britiſh parliament, in which the people of our colonies making many flouriſhing ſtates in America with legiſlatures of their own fully competent

* St. Mark, chap. iv. ver. 3.

for procuring them all the ends of civil government have no participation whatever, ſhould or can poſſibly, without a violation of the law of nature, enact, that "thoſe "colonies *of right* ought to be dependent upon the "imperial (imperial is a fine word) crown of Great-"Britain, and ſubordinate unto the ſaid Britiſh parlia-"ment." Nor will our underſtanding, although we have given it very ſevere diſcipline for that purpoſe, be brought by any means to acknowledge that this ſaid Britiſh parliament hath *of right* any power whatever "to make "laws and ſtatutes to bind the ſaid people in all matters "touching the general weal of the whole dominion of "the ſaid imperial (imperial is a great word) crown of "Great-Britain;" not even in that "indubitable and "indiſpenſible" point, as his Lordſhip thinks it, of "re-"gulating navigation and trade throughout the compli-"cated (complicated indeed, if this reaſoning holds good) "ſyſtem of Britiſh commerce." And we believe that "the guardian navy of the whole Britiſh Empire (whole Britiſh Empire is a grand expreſſion) will be upheld" by adhering to ſtrict juſtice, to equal liberty, and the *plain* and *obvious* principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, rather better and more ſecurely than by any "*deep policy*" whatever. The chief uſe which hath ever been made of *deep policy* in any age or country, hath been that of introducing into government an oracular myſterioufneſs, in order to give the adminiſters of it a ſacerdotal power, and to render the people a credulous manageable herd of dupes. Could we have any doubt of the inadmiſſibility of the aforeſaid *pretenſions* of the Britiſh parliament, while they ſtood by themſelves, ſurely our eyes muſt be opened, and the fallaciouſneſs of that reaſoning on which they are ſupported be expoſed to our view, when we find that they are brought to prove a right in his Majeſty to keep up a ſtanding-army in the colonies; and, if he thinks proper, *the whole* of that army, which is annually voted by parliament for the ſervice of the *whole Britiſh Empire*, the ſame by his prerogative being under his abſolute command. When reaſoning fails to convince, we may frequently with good ſucceſs appeal to people's feelings.—What would Engliſhmen feel to have an immenſe ſtand-

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ing army of Americans quartered upon them at the king's pleaſure, for no one purpoſe which they could poſſibly divine but to enforce his miniſter's will?—What muſt the people of New-England at this moment feel?—Indignation denies utterance.—Thoſe quibbles and ſophiſms which are intended to inculcate it as a doctrine, that any people or nation (and by what exception to the general providence of God and the laws of nature are the Americans to be reckoned neither nations nor people?) may be rightfully ſubjugated to ſuch a complete ſtate of ſlavery as that of having no participation in making even their own *laws of defence*, as if inferior to the very brute animals they were void of the firſt principle of nature, that of ſelf-preſervation, are ſo very contemptible, that I muſt confeſs it pains me with a mortifying ſenſe of human infirmity, that they ſhould eſcape from the venerable lips of a man renowned for wiſdom, magnanimity and nobleneſs of ſentiment. After aſſerting the right of the crown to quarter troops upon the colonies at diſcretion, of what avail the following gentle ditty of a clauſe? "Never-
" theleſs, in order to quiet and diſpel *groundleſs* jealouſies
" and fears, be it hereby declared, that no military force,
" however raiſed, and kept according to law, can ever
" be lawfully employed to violate and deſtroy the juſt
" rights of the people."—Is this a clauſe to curb the pride of arbitrary kings and miniſters?—Why are the means of preſerving themſelves,—Heaven's beſt gift and the prerogative of human nature!—to be denied to the Britiſh Americans?—If theſe, O Britons, are your principles of colonial government, ye are moſt execrable tyrants, unworthy the freedom yourſelves enjoy and ſo inglorioufly boaſt of! What are the means of your own ſelf-preſervation as a people, a civil community?—Are they not the having a participation in *all the laws* by which ye are governed; and a controlling power over the crown and its miniſters by your commons holding the purſe-ſtrings, and having the ſole giving and granting to the government its revenues?—Why then are the people of America to be deprived of the ſame means of ſelf-preſervation, the ſame controlling power, over the crown and other branches of their reſpective governments? This is the grand, the fun-

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damental principle on which I maintain the right and the neceſſity of independence being given to the Britiſh Americans ;—this is *the vital principle of the Britiſh conſtitution* —Deprive it of this one principle, and it is that moment a dead letter.—Not one word hath been advanced by the legions of miniſterial hireling ſpeakers and writers, nor by the many hollow pretenders to patriotiſm throughout the almoſt innumerable ſpeeches and productions that have for eleven years paſt being poured upon the public, that hath in the ſmalleſt degree invalidated this principle : as indeed it is utterly impoſſible that it ſhould be invalidated, for it is written in the book of eternal truths by the finger of the Almighty.—I do therefore repeat, that unleſs the Britiſh Americans be in a condition to act upon this principle, they are in a ſtate of ſlavery : and except there ſhall be ſome way found (which I believe is impracticable) for effecting an union of their ſeveral aſſemblies with our parliament, ſo as to enable the grand confederated legiſlature to act as one body, and to diſpenſe equally to the people on both ſides the Atlantic, the ends and benefits of good government; except, I ſay, theſe proviſions be made, I do continue to maintain my original poſition, that the Britiſh American ſtates, call them colonies, provinces, or what you will, do not owe any ſubjection to the ſingle legiſlature of Great-Britain ; nor are they under any legal obligation, or neceſſity, upon the principles of natural law, to acknowledge any dependency on the Britiſh parliament.—If this were ſo in fact, ſurely there is ingenuity enough amongſt us to frame a ſyllogiſm that would demonſtrate it.—But it is an undeniable fact, that no ſuch demonſtration hath been given. It is equally certain that no ſuch demonſtration can be given.

Having no occaſion to accompany Lord Chatham regularly through the whole of his bill, I will now, after making an obſervation or two more, take my leave of it. Could I from my heart make a full "recognition of the "ſupreme legiſlative authority and ſuperintending power "of parliament over the colonies," I ſhould eſteem the remaining part of this bill as a diſplay of much wiſdom and humanity : but utterly rejecting that ſupremacy and ſuperintending power, as I do from a thorough convic-

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tion of mind, I cannot discover, nor have I ever observed a satisfactory reason to have been given, why the prudent and frugal colonists should contribute one farthing towards the relief of burthens brought upon ourselves by our own folly, extravagance, and corruption. The notoriety of the fact, that we voted them, *of our own mere motion*, considerable sums for relief of *their* burthens in the war, when we were convinced they had contributed *more than their quota*, is, I should have thought, a full answer to all the arguments made use of on the part of the people of Great-Britain, for having willingly taken a burthen too heavy to be borne "upon ourselves and *posterity*, which "in no inconsiderable part was for the defence, extension, "and prosperity of the colonies *," as his Lordship, following therein the ministerial writers, expresses himself. But the most sanguine in this expectation upon the liberality of the colonists, should in reason wait until they have wholly discharged *their own national debts*, before they require their contributory aid towards the relief of ours. Indeed a little patience would be sufficient upon this occasion; for though the expences of the war did run them in debt, yet by the prudent and faithful use and application of their public money or taxes (for they really pay taxes in abundance, which many of the good people of Great-Britain, who are for ever crying 'tax them, tax 'them,' do not I presume suppose, but imagine that they live in a manner at free-cost, and put all the profits of their trade in their pockets) they have got themselves nearly out of debt again. Had we not better follow their wise example, than expect them and their posterity to pay for our and our predecessors stupidity and folly?—'Tis enough surely to entail the curse of our debt upon our own innocent posterity!—With regard to the provision which his Lordship recommends for the personal security of the American subject, and the due administration of justice in criminal prosecutions, that he shall not "be deprived of a "trial *by the peers of the vicinage*," it is to be observed, that the idea of the judgment of the vicinage, for the security

* See American Independence, pag. 20, where this argument is more fully refuted: as indeed it hath been by various writers.

rity and protection of the ſubject, *pervades the whole ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence, and is an eſſential principle of the conſtitution.* Hence it is, that in both criminal and civil caſes we have a right to put ourſelves upon our country; and even the jury which hath the diſpoſal of our life or property in its hands, is ſubject to a moſt extenſive right of challenge on our part of the perſons it is compoſed of, in order that we may exclude all ſuch as *we have reaſon to ſuppoſe prejudiced againſt us.* And this judgment of the vicinage is equally our right in reſpect of *taxation*; for the conſtitutional idea in this caſe is, that the ſubject ſhall be taxed only through his own delegate ſent from his vicinage, and who knows what he is able to pay, and in what mode the payment will be moſt convenient to him. If I be on this occaſion referred to the preſent houſe, and other late houſes of commons, and deſired to count over the numbers of thoſe who come from the vicinage of their conſtituents, I am ready to reply, that *they ought to come from thence*; that the repreſentatives of the people always *did* come from thence, till corruption found its way into our government, and threw the whole frame into diſorder; and that whenever the purity of parliament and annual elections ſhall be reſtored, they will *once more* come from the vicinage of their conſtituents; at which time, and not till then, we may look for many neceſſary reformations, and to have the taxes ſo levied and ſo applied as to leave the labourer a comfortable ſubſiſtence, and to relieve the ſtate of the burthen it groans under with ſo much anguiſh. This pervading principle in our ineſtimable conſtitution, of *the judgment of the vicinage* for ſecurity of life, liberty and property, ſhews us in a moment what are the principles of thoſe who contend for the right of the parliament of *Great-Britain* taxing the people of *America.* So late in the controverſy as appeared the writer of *Taxation no Tyranny*, and ſo univerſally acknowledged as are the great abilities of the *reputed* author, I was led to infer that he, no doubt, muſt have thrown ſome new light on the point of American repreſentation in the Britiſh parliament, and of virtual repreſentation in general; but, alas! how great my diſappointment! And how great alſo muſt be the credulity of thoſe who can believe, that ſuch an indecent ſcrap

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of trash is really the production of *a pen that hath formerly done so much honour to literature, and so much service to the cause of morality as that of Dr. Johnson!* It is impossible that such an impudent attempt as this is upon the understandings of the public should have been made by any one who had that gentleman's reputation and moral character to have preserved. If indeed an imitation of the capital defects observable in the Doctor's stile, like the mimickry of an aukward attitude or ridiculous gesture, could at first sight strike the reader with a resemblance; yet the total want of argument, and candour, which this pamphlet betrays, in so lamentable a degree, must satisfy him, after the smallest share of attention, that the real writer of this wretched piece cannot possibly rank any higher in the literary, political, or moral world, than some unprincipled parish pedagogue, in hopes by selling his vote to the pensioned squire of being made an exciseman; and from the air of self-importance, insolence, and contempt which runs through every turgid line, he might very naturally suppose this pamphlet to be the substance of an oration, delivered by the affectedly-sententious declaimer over a mug of porter, amidst a circle of pot-house admirers.

The reader must pardon some little repetition of what he found in my tenth letter, in order that the whole of my present conciliatory plan may lie together; as I will leave as much of it as I can possibly dispense with, to be filled up by his judgment and the obvious inferences from the leading propositions.

A draught for a bill, proposed to be brought into parliament, for restoring peace and harmony between Great-Britain and the British colonies in North-America; and for perpetuating the same on the solid foundations of national affection, natural justice, reciprocal benefit and mutual security.

WHEREAS, at the time of the original planting and settling of colonies on the continent and the islands of North-America by the people and the crown of these kingdoms; and afterwards, during the infancy of the said colonies, the future ill consequences of their submission to, and acquiescence under the authority of parliament were not, by reason of their then infant and dependent state, and the general inexperience in matters of that kind, either foreseen or duly attended to: *And whereas*, through the growing of these once small and helpless colonies more or less to maturity, and their having now become, for the far greater part populous, opulent and respectable states, having each within itself the natural rights and proper powers of legislation, the exercise of parliamentary authority hath been found to clash in the most essential points with their respective internal legislatures, and hath tended, for a considerable time past, but more especially of late years, to create dissatisfactions and disagreements between the said internal legislatures and parliament, and between the people of the said colonies and the people of these kingdoms, to the great grief of his Majesty, his parliament, and all his good and faithful subjects; as well as that it will be to the irreparable hurt and damage (should these misunderstandings continue) of the good people

people in general, and the ſtates of both countries, by tending to abate their mutual affection and confidence, and by interrupting their wonted harmony and long-eſtabliſhed commerce.

And whereas the colonies of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts Bay, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in Congreſs aſſembled in the months of September and October laſt, did by their delegates draw up an humble petition, which was ſince preſented to his Majeſty, for redreſs of ſundry grievances therein ſet forth; and came to many other reſolutions on the ſubject of the unhappy differences ſtill ſubſiſting between them and this the parent ſtate; all which have been laid before us for our inſpection, together with various other papers of information tranſmitted from the American governors and others: *And whereas* theſe weighty matters, pregnant with the moſt important conſequences to theſe kingdoms and the ſaid colonies, have been taken into our moſt ſerious conſideration; and after the moſt full and mature deliberation thereupon, it appears to us that, agreeable to the law and the conſtitution of England, the eſtabliſhed maxims of civil government, the principles of natural juſtice, the obvious rules of good policy, and the benign ſpirit of our moſt holy religion, their repreſentations and allegations ſet forth in the ſaid petition to his Majeſty, are in the main juſt and true, and conſequently their complaints well founded, and that their deſires and requeſts are reaſonable: *And moreover* we think it is and will be inconſiſtent with the welfare of the people of the ſaid colonies, and prejudicial to their inherent rights as men, to be any longer governed or controlled by any ſuperintending legiſlative power in the parliament of Great-Britain, or any other power foreign to themſelves reſpectively: *And therefore*, that to treat with the ſaid colonies in a free and amicable manner towards healing the preſent diviſions, adjuſting their future relationſhip to theſe kingdoms, and promoting as far as may be the common quiet and proſperity on the ſureſt and moſt ſolid foundations, will well become the wiſdom and dignity of parliament: *Now in order* to effect theſe good purpoſes, and to avert the many

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and ſad evils and calamities which muſt neceſſarily enſue, ſhould their complaints be unredreſſed, ſhould the powers of parliament as ſet forth in a Declaratory Act of the 6th of George III. continue to be inſiſted on and enforced, and the preſent unhappy differences between them and us be left unreconciled and permitted to cauſe an actual breach and hoſtile contention between us; *And in order* no leſs to manifeſt unto the ſaid colonies and to all the world that juſtice, magnanimity, a love of liberty, and a ſacred regard for the rights of mankind are ſtill, as they have ever been, the peculiar characteriſtics of the Britiſh parliament; *May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty*, that it may be declared, and be it declared by the king's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that the afore-mentioned colonies of *New Hampſhire*, *Maſſachuſetts Bay*, *Rhode Iſland*, *Connecticut*, *New York*, *New Jerſey*, *Pennſylvania*, *Delaware*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, *North Carolina and South Carolina*; and alſo the ſeveral colonies of *Eaſt Florida*, *Weſt Florida*, *Georgia*, *Nova-Scotia*, *St. Johns the Iſland*, and *Quebec as limited by his Majeſty's Royal Proclamation bearing date the 7th day of October* 1763, are all and each of them to be henceforth held to be free and independent ſtates, owing no obedience or ſubjection whatſoever to the parliament of Great-Britain, which doth hereby in the moſt explicit, determinate, and ample manner and form renounce and relinquiſh all claims and pretenſions to ſovereignty, legiſlative ſupremacy, and controlling power over the reſpective legiſlatures of all and every of the ſaid free and independent ſtates of North-America; together with all rights and titles of dominion on the ſaid continent of North-America, other than as hereafter in this act are claimed and ſpecified. *And it is hereby farther declared*, that of each and every of the ſaid free and independent ſtates, his Majeſty is and ſhall be held to be the true and lawful ſovereign head, and in the ſaid ſovereignty and the juſt exerciſe of the powers thereunto belonging, ſhall be maintained and ſupported by the whole power of the parliament and people of Great-Britain; and that his ſucceſſors in the Britiſh throne,

throne, ſhall in like manner ſucceed to and be ſupported in the regal title, rights and powers in and over each and every of the ſaid free and independent ſtates; *And it is alſo hereby farther declared and proclaimed*, that the parliament of Great-Britain will be the guardian and protector of all and every of the ſaid free and independent ſtates, collectively and individually, againſt every foreign power whatſoever; as well as the guarantee of the independence of the ſaid ſeveral ſtates, one of another reſpectively; as well alſo of the rights and independencies of the ſeveral tribes or nations of Indians in amity with or under the protection of the Britiſh crown, until theſe points ſhall be more particularly adjuſted by treaty. *And farther*, each one and every of the ſaid free and independent ſtates are hereby invited to nominate and ſend over to England, as ſoon as may be, after the month of September next, each of them one plenipotentiary delegate, duly commiſſioned and authorized to attend the parliament at Weſtminſter, in order, at the moſt convenient time after their firſt meeting or ſetting in the year of our Lord 1776, and before a joint-committee of the lords and commons of this realm to be appointed for the occaſion, to expreſs in due form their hearty and grateful acceptance of this declared and guaranteed independence and protection; and to accede to, and make a full and ſatisfactory acknowledgment and recognition of, the ſeveral rights of ſovereignty and dominion claimed by the crown of Great-Britain in and over the ſeas, lakes and great rivers of North-America, as in this act are hereafter particularly declared and ſpecified; and moreover with the ſaid committee, to enter into a ſolemn, perpetual, and joint confederation, or general and grand league and alliance, offenſive and defenſive, for maintaining entire and in its full force that cordial and warm affection which hath heretofore ſo cloſely bound together and united Great-Britain and Britiſh America; and which, in conſideration of the near and ſtrong ties of kindred; of the community of laws, language, manners and religion; of the reciprocalneſs and inſeparable nature of their commercial intereſts; as well as in conſideration alſo of their natural and neceſſary connection as protectors and protected; ought for ever moſt ſacredly and inviolably to be

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preſerved between them, in preference to every other political connection, alliance, confederacy, treaty or engagement, whatſoever and with whomſoever. *Now in order* to maintain the undoubted rights of ſovereignty and dominion belonging to the crown of Great-Britain in North-America, and the ſeas, lakes, great rivers and creeks thereof; and for preſerving undiminiſhed the rights and dignity of the Britiſh flag, and the honour and reſpect due to the ſame, *may it alſo pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty, that it may be farther declared*, and it is hereby farther declared, that the dominion of the ſea from the mouth of the river Miſſiſſippi to the northern extremity of the continent of North America, and all admiralty juriſdiction within the ſame, did and doth of right ſolely belong and appertain unto, and depend upon the crown and kingdom of Great-Britain; *And alſo*, that the iſland of Newfoundland and its dependencies, together with the Great and Leſſer fiſhing Banks of the ſame, extending from latitude 41. 00 to lititude 48. 30 N. together with that other called St. Peter's Bank, do alſo of right ſolely belong and appertain unto and depend upon the ſaid crown and kingdom; excepting the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, together with certain liberties of taking and curing fiſh on the ſaid banks and coaſts of Newfoundland, ceded and granted under certain reſtrictions unto the ſubjects of the French king by the late treaty of peace between the two crowns; *And alſo*, that the entire country of Labrador, bounded to the ſouth-weſt by Quebec, as limited by his Majeſty's royal proclamation, bearing date the 7th day of October, 1763, aforeſaid; that is to ſay, beginning at the river St. John's in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and extending to Hudſon's Straits, together with all the iſlands and fiſheries of the ſame, doth in like manner of right ſolely belong to and depend upon the ſaid crown and kingdom; *As well as* all thoſe countries, coaſts and fiſheries granted by a conditional charter to the excluſive occupation of the Hudſon's Bay Company: *And it hereby alſo farther declared*, that all the great lakes of North America, *viz.* Lake Iroquois or Champlain, Lake Ontario or Catarakui, Lake Erie or Oſwego, Lake Huron, Lake Michigan, and Lake Superior, together with the great rivers Miſſiſſippi and

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St. Lawrence, all the navigable communications between lake and lake, and every other navigable lake, river and creek in and throughout the ſaid continent of North America, are of right ſubject to the naval ſovereignty and dominion of the ſaid crown and kingdom alone; and that the ſaid crown hath a right alſo to the free uſe of all the cuſtomary carrying-places between one navigation and another: *And it is hereby farther declared and made known*, that the ſaid crown of Great-Britain will not ſuffer any other power or ſtate whatſoever, to navigate any of the ſaid ſeas, lakes, rivers, communications or creeks, with ſhips or veſſels of war of any kind; nor to carry on war or commit hoſtilities in any-wiſe againſt any other people, nation or ſtate within or upon any of the ſaid navigations, except they be legally authorized ſo to do by eſpecial commiſſion under the great ſeal of the admiralty of Great-Britain: *Nor* will the ſaid crown conſent to or ſuffer any of the aforementioned free and independent ſtates of North America, to navigate the ſeas thereof, with ſhips or veſſels of war; nor to carry on war or commit hoſtilities in any-wiſe againſt any other people or ſtate by ſea, except authorized thereto as above: *And moreover*, by the authority aforeſaid, it is alſo declared, that in order to preſerve inviolate and in full efficiency the above propoſed alliance, which ſhall be known and diſtinguiſhed by the title of *The Grand Britiſh League and Confederacy*, the ſaid crown of Great-Britain will not, at any time hereafter, ſuffer or permit the trading or fiſhing-ſhips or veſſels of any kingdom or ſtate whatſoever, ſuch kingdom or ſtate not being a party to the ſaid grand Britiſh league and confederacy, to navigate, fiſh or trade in any of the ſaid North American ſeas, lakes or rivers other than is at preſent allowed to foreign ſtates in general, and by treaty to France and Spain in particular: nor to anchor upon the ſaid coaſts, nor to approach them within two leagues of the land any where between the aforeſaid boundary of the river Miſſiſſippi and the northern extremity of the ſaid American continent, under pain of confiſcation of ſhip and cargo to his Majeſty, as king of Great-Britain and ſovereign of the North American ſeas. *Neither* ſhall it be lawful for the ſubjects of any of the ſaid free and independent ſtates of North

North America, to fish upon the great fishing-banks of Newfoundland, or of St. Peter afore-mentioned, or upon the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, or upon the coasts of Labrador, except only for whale; nor to enter the ports of the same for trade, or for any other purpose than what immediately relates to the business of whaling and the sheltering and refitment of their whaling-ships or vessels, on pain of confiscation of ship and cargo as above. *Provided nevertheless*, that no claim of sovereignty or dominion, made by this act, or hereafter to be made on the part of the crown of Great-Britain, in and over the aforementioned lakes, rivers, communications and creeks, lying between the gulph of St. Lawrence, and river Mississippi, or any of them, shall be understood or construed to extend to any right, property or interference in the fisheries, or other liberties or appropriations therein, to the prejudice of any private right, privilege or property whatsoever; but shall always be understood to be confined solely and wholly to such a free use of the same, as is necessary to all the purposes of navigation of every sort, and the maintainance of naval dominion merely. *And may it please your Majesty*, that it may be also enacted, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful, after the signing and final executing of the aforementioned Grand British League and Confederacy, for any public monies whatsoever, being part of the revenues of the crown in the dominions of Great-Britain, or in any of the said free and independent states of British America respectively, to be either paid or remitted from the said British dominions unto America, or from any of the said free and independent states unto the British dominions, for the use of his Majesty, his heirs or successors, as sovereign of that kingdom or state in which it shall be intended to be received: excepting only such monies as it may be requisite at any time hereafter to remit to America for defraying the necessary expences of his Majesty's British navy there.

And now in order that no possible cause of doubt may remain, touching the validity or sincerity of the above declaration of freedom and independence, but that it may be clear, full and satisfactory, and thereby lay a sure and

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ſolid foundation for ſuch perpetual concord, amity, alliance and mutually beneficial commerce between the ſtates and people of Great-Britain and Britiſh America, as, under the good providence of Almighty God, who ſhall behold this act of national juſtice and good-will with an eye of pleaſure, and will doubtleſs bleſs and further ſuch benevolent deſigns for the maintainance of peace and happineſs, and the prevention of diſcord and bloodſhed between kindred ſtates, and fellow-chriſtians, no length of time ſhall impair or diminiſh; nor the arts or intrigues of foreign powers be able to diſturb or interrupt, may it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty, that it may be enacted, *and it is hereby enacted* by the king's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, in this preſent parliament aſſembled, That all and every of ſuch acts of parliament as have at any time heretofore been particularly made, or intended to declare or maintain a ſupreme legiſlative power and authority over the people of the Britiſh American colonies as ſubjects of this realm, or for binding in any manner or degree the ſaid people as ſubjects of this realm; and ſo much of all and every other act of parliament as extends to exerciſe ſupreme legiſlative power over any of the people of the ſaid colonies, ſhall be and are, in virtue of this preſent act, fully and finally repealed and annulled from and after the day of before which time all his Majeſty's Britiſh forces in North America ſhall be recalled from thence, and alſo all civil officers and ſervants of the Britiſh crown, ſhall be commanded and cauſed to reſign their reſpective offices, poſts, places and employments, and to withdraw from thence, except ſuch as his Majeſty, in virtue of his prerogative as ſovereign of any of the ſaid free and independent ſtates ſhall appoint, or cauſe to be appointed anew to the like or other offices or employments in any of the ſaid ſtates reſpectively.

IN addition to what the reader would find in my tenth Letter and the notes ſubjoined, (to which I beg leave to refer him) as heads for the materials of the grand league and confederacy, by which I propoſe to ſecure our monopoly of the North American commerce, and to improve to the utmoſt of what they are capable, the various advantages of that connection; I ſhall now add, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe not deeply converſant in ſubjects of this kind, but whoſe opinions in the general maſs may nevertheleſs be of importance, a few more hints of ſuch matters as would obviouſly become the proper objects of treaty and ſubjects of ſtipulation on this great occaſion.

It might perhaps be right to eſtabliſh the uſe of Britiſh money *only* as the lawful, current coin throughout Britiſh America; with a condition that each ſtate ſhould ſend in its proportion of bullion to the Mint, or grant Great-Britain an equivalent for the uſe of *her* money.—It might perhaps be proper and neceſſary that ſome ſmall central iſland or diſtrict, lying on the Atlantic ſea, ſhould be ceded to Great-Britain for the reſidence of the Britiſh ambaſſador-general and plenipotentiary to the ſaid ſtates, and the head-quarters of the admiral; for the eſtabliſhing a Britiſh court of admiralty for the more convenient diſpatch of naval buſineſs upon the ſpot; and for other purpoſes of a like nature, appertaining to the naval dominion and umpireſhip of the crown of Great-Britain: as well as a well-ſituated port upon the lakes for the ſame purpoſe; ſuch as Lake St. Claire lying between the Lakes Erie and Huron.—Would it not be reaſonable for the Britiſh American ſtates, as in a manner the political wards of Great-Britain and relying wholly on her for external protection, totally to incapacitate themſelves for entering into any treaties or alliances with any foreign powers whatſoever?—Might it not be eligible to admit of and join in conſtituting a general continental congreſs, to which each ſtate ſhould ſend one delegate, and which ſhould never aſſemble but on the ſummons of the Britiſh ambaſſador general? The buſineſs of this congreſs to be treaty not government, and only to deliberate on peace and war, and ſuch other occaſional

matters

matters as might be of general concernment; in order to the facilitating and dispatch of general business, and easing the British ambassador general of the trouble of personally consulting with, or the inconvenience attending the entrusting such affairs to his deputy the *resident consul* in, each separate state.—For the ease and convenience of the respective states, they might permit subordinate courts of admiralty to be held by Great-Britain, under due restrictions, in such of their sea-port towns along the coast as might be convenient.—As it would be impossible to prevent an indiscriminate mixture of British and of British American seamen in the ships of either country: so it might be proper for the said states to consent that seamen for the royal navy should be raised promiscuously from amongst the mariners of both, according to the present customs of the service; but not however to suffer impressing by land.—Consistently with our rights of naval dominion as set forth in the above draught, and in order that it may answer the beneficial purposes proposed by the grand league and confederacy, we ought to insist that no sea-port, or other place along the sea-coasts, or the shores of the rivers or lakes, shall have any fortifications within the reach of cannon-shot from the shore. But in a case of necessity in time of war, it might be agreed in general congress that temporary batteries or other fortifications should be erected, provided they were put into the possession and under the command of the British flag.—Quere, Whether it might not be for the general peace and welfare of, and preserve the balance of power between, the several states, should it be agreed also in general congress, that no interior fortifications of any kind should ever be erected within any of them?—In order to prevent all suspicions to the prejudice of Great-Britain's equitable dealing with the confederated states and her faithful guardianship of them, she should not be entitled to make any extraordinary demand upon them for any *cautionary* or *preparatory* naval armament: but from the time when war was actually declared against any *maritime* power until the same should be concluded, they should contribute subsidies in such proportions to their ability as should be regulated in general congress, the whole bearing an established proportion to

the extraordinary naval expences of Great-Britain as originally ſettled in forming the Grand Britiſh League and Confederacy.—In caſe any two or more of the ſaid ſtates ſhould, in contempt of the umpireſhip of Great-Britain and the interpoſition of the Britiſh ambaſſador-general, go to war or carry on hoſtilities one againſt the other, the admiral of North America and all other Britiſh naval commanders ſhould have orders to make prize of all ſhips, veſſels and merchandize, (all fiſhing ſhallops, boats and ſkifts having *no decks*, together with their fiſh and fiſhing implements excepted) belonging to that ſtate or thoſe ſtates which ſhould be previouſly deemed and pronounced by the parliament of Great-Britain, in a Declaratory Act for that expreſs purpoſe, to be the offending ſtate or ſtates; and the ſaid naval commanders ſhould continue to diſtreſs the trade of the ſame by ſea to the utmoſt of their power, until the ſaid ſtate or ſtates ſhould be brought to reaſon; of which his Majeſty in council ſhould be the temporary judge, and have power to ſtay all farther prizals until parliament ſhould, in another declaratory act, reſtore the ſaid offending ſtate or ſtates, having made due ſatisfaction, to its or their former beneficiary ſituation as a party in the Grand Britiſh League and Confederacy.——And for the more effectually preſerving the future balance of power between all the ſtates of that immenſe continent, might it not be expedient that the limits and boundaries of each, which they ſhould never hereafter paſs, ſhould be newly defined by the Grand Britiſh League and Confederacy; and ſome of their nominal interior boundaries now lying very far within the wilderneſs, be changed for others at a nearer diſtance?—For the ſame good purpoſe and other apparent good reaſons, might not the remainder of the wilderneſs be partitioned out into certain determinate and limited tracts, according to ſoil and ſituation; each of which ſhould be conſidered as the territory of ſome future ſtate which in proceſs of time might be therein erected. And I would propoſe that no interruption ſhould be given to the growing of ſuch new ſtates (other than every government has a right to give by wholeſome laws within itſelf to prevent as much as may be a ſpirit or practice of emigration;) but that until the ſettlers within any ſuch partitioned

partitioned tract of the wilderness should be increased and multiplied to the number of fifty thousand souls, they should be considered as incapable of forming an independent political state, and be subject for the intermediate time to the government of Great-Britain. But as soon as their numbers should amount to fifty thousands souls as aforesaid, they should be entitled and free to erect themselves into an independent political state, and to constitute for their own government such a legislative power as they should judge most proper; provided only that they acknowledged the king of Great-Britain as their lawful sovereign, that they made the protestant faith the established religion of the country, and consented to become a party to the Grand British League and Confederacy.

During the short space of time indeed that remains of that winter's day to the evening of which we may hope to continue the despotic lords of North America, those immense divisions of country we have affected to make by our charters and by act of parliament on a late memorable occasion, may, like all other arbitrary compendiums, be *convenient to us*, so long as we determine to continue arbitrary rulers; or it might hereafter be favourable to the ambition of some one American state hungering to swallow up its neighbours, to have its territory like that of the ambitious Catherine reaching from the salt ocean to the fresh-water seas in midland, and thence to the salt ocean again quite across the vast continent; but in neither case would it be desirable or good for *the people of those countries*. Nations are most free and happy when their extremities are near enough to the vital seat of government to feel its pervading principle in its full warmth and activity, and by the spring of their own re-action to pour into the heart again full-flowing tides of health, life and vigour. On these principles I should wish to see the North American states aranged back to back like habitations in a well-built city, leaving those yet to rise into being to front the lakes and great rivers St. Lawrence and Mississippi, as the present ones do the Atlantic sea. We have already enumerated in the foregoing draught for an act of parliament eighteen states already formed; and by such a division of the remaining country by the grand confederacy as we

 have

have propoſed, proviſion might be made for the future gradual and quiet eſtabliſhment of nineteen more at leaſt, all of ample extent, and every one having a very conſiderable frontier acceſſible to ſhipping and upon waters which are at this time navigated by the Britiſh navy. Thus each of theſe numerous ſtates, by the ſame means that would enable it through commerce to become a reſpectable member of the grand Britiſh confederacy, would be effectually ſubject to the controul and influence of Great-Britain their common maritime protector and umpire, ſo neceſſary for preſeving the harmony of the whole. According to this ſyſtem no ſtate adjoining to the two great rivers ſhould poſſeſs the ſhores on both ſides; as navigations of ſuch magnitude and importance ſhould be always boundaries and frontier. The reaſons are obvious.

If we caſt our eyes over an American map, and view attentively the ſingular diſtribution of land and water, and the directions of the two capital rivers; and if we then conſider what hath already taken place in the eſtabliſhment of a long range of narrow-fronted ſtates along the ſea-coaſt throughout its whole extent; we ſhall poſſibly be led to conclude that the plan we recommend is the plain ſuggeſtion of Providence, who from the firſt hath hitherto wrought according to it himſelf, and ſeems to have made its future obſervance and completion an obvious dictate of nature to all parties concerned, but moſt ſo to Great-Britain. In order to illuſtrate what I have ſaid to this effect, let me juſt mention ſuch alterations of boundaries and trace out ſuch diſtricts of future dominion as ſtrike my own eye, and carry an appearance of equality and propriety well adapted to the nature of the ſuppoſed confederacy ſo far as they can be judged of by the map; this being ſufficient for all preſent purpoſes; that is for thoſe of explanation.

To begin then with Quebec, I ſhould not content myſelf with reducing it to the ſame ſize as before its late enormous extention; but I would propoſe that it ſhould be bounded to the N. E. at the river Saguenay, and to the S. W. by the river Atawas: it would then have a maritime frontier of two hundred miles. And making the lakes of St. John, St. Peter, Beauharnois, Abitibis and

Temiſ-

Temiſcaming its reſpective interior limits weſtward and northward, it would be about 360 miles in length. There would then be left a country of about equal ſurface, though with a larger frontier to the water, between Quebec and Labrador, which latter commences at the river St. John in the gulph of St. Lawrence, as one of thoſe diſtricts to be appointed as above-mentioned for the ſeat of a future nation. This country for the preſent by way of diſtinction may be called Tadouſacaia [1], after the name of one of its ancient tribes of Indians. Montreal [2] might be the capital of another ſtate which ſhould extend from that city and the aforeſaid river Atawas up the river St. Lawrence and Catarakui as far as Lake Ontario; the chain of ſtreams and ſmall lakes lying between Fort Frontenac and the eaſt-end of Lake Huron being its limit to the S. W. Lake Huron itſelf from the little Lake Huron to French River its weſtern confine; and Lake Nipiſſin together with River Atawas its boundary to the north. The ancient Huronia [3] having Montreal to the N. E. and for the reſt completely incircled by the waters of the Ontario, the Oſwego and Huron Lakes, is by nature formed into another territory. The next will extend along the whole north-ſhore of Lake Huron from French River to the falls of St. Mary, and bordering on Montreal and Quebec might retain the appellation of Canada [4]. The ſhores of Lake Superior will furniſh ample frontier to four ſtates more. The firſt, or Menſiſipia [5], beginning at the aforeſaid falls of St. Mary and terminating at the river which forms the diſcharge of Lake Alemipigon; the ſecond, or Camaneſtigonia [6], at Long Lake which receives the overflowings of the Lake of the Woods; the third, or Miſſiſagania [7], at the Bay of St. Charles; and the fourth, or Puania [8], will paſs the ſtrait and reach as far as the River Outagamis at the bottom of the Bay of Puans. The two latter will alſo have other navigable frontiers on the Miſſiſſippi; Miſſiſagania being watered by that river from the rivulet of Ouabaougetan to the falls of St. Anthony,

[1] Tadouſacaia.
[2] Montreal.
[3] Huronia.
[4] Canada.
[5] Menſiſipia.
[6] Camaneſtigonia.
[7] Miſſiſagania.
[8] Puania.

thony, and Puania from the ſaid falls to the river Ouiſconſin. Then again Maſcoutenia [9] having the Miſſiſſippi to the S. W. from the River Ouiſconſin to the Illinois river, might alſo have a maritime frontier from the bottom of the Bay of Puans above-mentioned to the River St. Joſeph at the ſouth-end of Lake Michigan; while Miamiſia [10] like Huronia would be waſhed by the waters of three lakes, Michigan, Huron and Erie as far as the river Miamis. The ſouth ſhores of Lake Erie or Oſwego, and as they incline N. E. until they reach Ochureni, might be allotted to Erieland [11]; from thence to Oſwego Fort and Bay in Lake Ontario, to Senekania [12]; and Catarakua might take in the reſt of the lake, all the river Catarakui [13] N. E. to La Prairie, then turning ſouth again all Richlieu river and the weſt ſhore of Lake Champlain as far as Crown Point. The eaſt ſhore of this lake and the ſaid river Richlieu, together with the ſouth-eaſt ſhore of the St. Lawrence as far as Wolf River oppoſite the Saguenay, would belong to Champlania [14]; and the remainder of the river St. Lawrence together with the coaſt of the gulph as far as the river Riſtigouchi in Miramichi Bay, (which I would alſo propoſe for the confine of Nova-Scotia) would give a very extenſive maritime frontier to Gaſpeſia [15]. Again, we ſhall find ſtill remaining upon the Miſſiſſippi below the river Illinois, which we made the ſouthern boundary of Maſcoutenia, ſufficient frontier for three extenſive territories: the firſt, or Wauwautania [16], reaching as far as the Ohio; and the other two, Chicaſwria [17] and Chactawria [18] divided into equal diſtricts, will bring us to the preſent boundary of Weſt Florida lying in 31° of north latitude. And it might not be amiſs perhaps to ſet apart the Province of Sagadahock from New England and make it an independent ſtate.

From the point of confluence between the waters of the Great Miomee with thoſe of the Ohio, as a center, might

[9] Maſcoutenia.
[10] Miamiſia.
[11] Erieland.
[12] Senekania.
[13] Catarakua.
[14] Champlania.
[15] Gaſpeſia.
[16] Wauwautania.
[17] Chicaſawria.
[18] Chactawria.
[19] Sagadahock.

might diverge ſeveral lines of interior ſeparation, thus;—Suppoſe one line to run due ſouth till it ſhould interſect the northern limit of Eaſt Florida; this would divide all the lower nations on the Miſſiſſippi from Virginia and the ſouthern colonies fronting the Atlantic. A ſecond line from the ſame point north-weſt-ward to the junction of the two rivers Illinois and Theakiki called the Fork, would ſeparate Wauwautania and Miamiſia. A third in the direction of the courſes of the Great Miomee and Miamis rivers, would divide Miamiſia from Erieland. And a fourth being formed by the winding courſe of the Ohio itſelf as high as the ſite of the late fort called Du Queſne would ſeparate Virginia and Pennſylvania from Erieland. Then a new diviſion line might begin at the ſaid ſite of fort Du Queſne, and leaving the Ohio to the weſtward, and paſſing along the Allegany Mountains, might take a a pretty ſtrait courſe to Lake George, and thence to the ſouth end of Lake Champlain; thence again N. E. to the northern bend of the river St. John on the preſent confines of New England and Nova Scotia; forming the interior confine of all the northern colonies on the Atlantic to that point, as well as of the above-mentioned diſtricts bordering on Lake Ontario, the Catarakui and St. Lawrence. Then a line from Ochureni to Du Queſne would part Erieland from Senekania. A line alſo from the Bay of Oſwego on Lake Ontario that ſhould interſect at the neareſt point the grand diviſion line running N. E. and S. W. would ſeparate Senekania from Catarakua. And another line to come from Wolfe River which empties itſelf into the St. Lawrence oppoſite the river Saguenay to the termination of the laſt-mentioned one at the ſaid bend of the river St. John, and thence falling into the river Riſtigouchi which hath its diſcharge into the gulph at the Bay of Miramichi, would bound Gaſpeſia towards Nova Scotia, Sagadahock and Champlain, and complete the general ſketch of our propoſed diviſions.—

Thus, as I have ſaid before, to the eighteen ſtates already enumerated, we might by a prudent foreſight cauſe all future additions to the number to be ſo made as that none ſhould be too large or too ſmall, all having an ample ſurface and an extenſive maritime frontier, and being thereby every

every way calculated for being hereafter joined with the reſt of the free and independent ſtates in the grand Britiſh confederacy. And thus, by acknowledging and guaranteeing to the colonies a *legiſlative independence*, proviſion would be made that the whole of the immenſe continent of North America, ſo far as it is yet known, ſhould be all kept *with great eaſe and little expence* in a voluntary and therefore a ſure *commercial dependence* upon Great-Britain. But if ſhe perſiſt in the folly or rather the inſanity of thinking to effect the ſame end by making her own parliament the general fountain of legiſlative authority and government to ſuch a ſwarm of far diſtant and hardy nations, I fear it is high time that ſhe were let blood, ſeverely purged, and kept for a while on low diet as the only cure of her unhappy diſtemper. I wiſh even thoſe remedies may be in time to ſave her life.

EVEN

EVEN these rude deficient draughts of an Emancipating Act and Grand British League and Confederacy, and a new division of country, would, I should hope, when duly weighed by the candid and sincere friends of this country, be enough to convince them that we may grant *even more than the colonists ask at our hands*, and yet be in no danger of losing that influence (which is only another word for *sovereignty*, so far as it can be really beneficial to Great-Britain) over them, from which we have hitherto while in their infancy only derived such immense advantages. Those brave men who now shudder at the thoughts of imbruing their hands in the blood of *fellow-citizens* and *fellow-subjects* nobly contending for liberty, would not have a scruple of drawing their swords against *the subjects of a foreign* independent state which had been guilty of breaking through the solemn engagements of a treaty it had expressly bound itself to observe. But supposing the wisdom of parliament after mature deliberation to proceed upon these hints and on the same principles to frame a finished work, how noble a production it would appear! The colonists would hereby enjoy civil freedom and legislative independence to their hearts content; and yet remain in a state of absolute commercial dependence to this kingdom. But what commercial country is independent? Not Great-Britain herself. She is absolutely dependent, in a commercial sense, upon every country that favours her with a market. She is more particularly dependent upon her own colonies, as they contribute the most largely to the means of her preservation. Commerce in its very idea signifies a *voluntary* intercourse and exchange of commodities for the mutual benefit of the parties: and nothing can be more certain than that the sword and sceptre are *the worst of all instruments* for carrying it on to advantage, though necessary indeed for its guard and protection. Let us then no longer convert them into implements of mischief, nor degrade them into instruments of punishment, but apply them to their right use! Supposing we should be able to hold the colonies

in ſubjection for half a century longer (which is not a ſuppoſition that many will grant me); they would always be diſcontented and factious, and conſider their obedience as an act of mere political neceſſity. Thinking themſelves injured, and therefore morally free from the obligation of complying any farther than they needs muſt, they would undoubtedly ſeize the firſt opportunity in ſome time of our weakneſs or embarraſſment to revolt, and then of courſe, as of neceſſity, would become our enemies. Whereas, ſuppoſing them emancipated and to have entered into the propoſed League and Confederacy, they would entertain no jealouſy of our having deſigns againſt their liberties, they would have nothing to interrupt or diſturb their domeſtic peace and induſtry, no temptation to quarrel with us, no power to hurt us: and the protective alliance and confederacy entered into with us being a voluntary, a beneficial, formal and ſolemn covenant on their part, they would feel all the conſciouſneſs of a moral obligation of the moſt binding nature to abide by and fulfil the conditions of them; and could not but view the breach of them as an act of guilt, baſeneſs and ingratitude for which, as there would be no temptation, ſo there could be no excuſe. In the latter caſe all good men, even amongſt themſelves, would be againſt them; in the former, they would be ſure of their pity, their goodwill and ſecret aid, if not their open ſupport and aſſiſtance, as we may behold at this day. How much theſe conſiderations are to be eſteemed worthy of attention; and how powerful an influence full perſuaſions in the minds of men of right or of wrong have upon the affairs of civil ſociety, I leave to every wiſe man and ſound politician to determine.

Now, was it not that it might be artfully urged againſt me and reſolved into that kind of enthuſiaſm which by hacknied courtiers and their baſe-minded train is with a ſneer inſinuated to be the ſure mark of a true viſionary and an indubitable proof that nothing ſound and practical can come from ſuch a perſon, I would here declare myſelf ſo thoroughly aſſured of the moral infallibility of the meaſures I have ſuggeſted for producing the effects propoſed, that was I in rank or ſtation ſo near the throne of the beſt of

princes

princes as to be entitled to make him a perſonal offer of my council, I would ſtand forth alone if there were none to join me, to propoſe and recommend them in the moſt earneſt manner; content, ſhould they be found to fail or even to fall ſhort of what I foretold, to be branded as a traitor, and to be publicly proſcribed as a curſe to my country with a price ſet upon my head, ſo that "every "man's hand ſhould be againſt me."

THE END.

ERRATA.

DEDICATION.

Page 3—line 25, for *induces*, read *endues*.
9 17, *guides. Under—guides*; *under*
9 21, *humility. In—humility*; *in*
10 32, *Epicurus's—Epicurus'*
13 23, *foolish—selfish*

PREFACE.

Page 1—line 9, for *whatsoever, except* rd. *whatsoever. Except*
11, after *America* a comma
12, after *party* a semicolon

FIRST PART.

Page 15—line 5, for *will have*, read *affect to call.*
16 11, at the period after the word *principles* should stand the † and not at the period in line 13.
20 30, for *conceal,—cancel.*
23 43, and last, the word *men* should be printed with a capital *M*.
28 5, *in frail,—in the frail.*
35 17, *forbid—forbad*
36 13, *to be although—to be. Although*
38 22, *no credit—no established name for veracity.*
39 29, *internal—eternal*
46 33, *tract—tracts*
47 33, *the—their*
50 10, *carried upon—carried on upon*
56 14, *retained—retain*
57 Change the notes thus;—to the first prefix the †; to the second, the ‡; and to the third, the *.