

into a court of justice ; neither can the parliament of England tax Ireland.

‘It is the birthright of the colonists, as descendants of Englishmen, not to be taxed by any but their own representatives ; and so far from being represented in the parliament of Great Britain, they are not even virtually represented here, as the meanest inhabitants of Great Britain are, in consequence of their intimate connection with those who are actually represented.

‘And if laws made by the British parliament to tax all except its own members, or even all except such members and those actually represented by them, would be deemed tyrannical, how much more tyrannical and unconstitutional must not such laws appear to those who cannot be said to be either actually or virtually represented !

‘The people of Ireland are much more virtually represented in the parliament of Great Britain than the colonists, in consequence of the great number of Englishmen possessed of estates and places of trust and profit in Ireland, and their immediate descendants settled in that country, and of the great number of Irish noblemen and gentlemen in both houses of the British parliament, and the greater number still constantly residing in Great Britain. But, notwithstanding this, the British parliament has never claimed any right to tax the people of Ireland.

‘The first founders of the colonies were not only driven out of the mother country by persecution, but they left it at their own risk and expense. Being thus forsaken, if not worse treated, all ties, except those common to mankind, were dissolved between them. They absolved from all duty of obedience to her, as she dispensed herself from all duty of protection to them.

‘If they accepted of any royal charters on the occasion, it was done through mere necessity ; and, as this necessity was not of their own making, their charters cannot be binding upon them ; and even allowing these charters to be binding, they are only bound thereby to that allegiance which the supreme head of the realm may claim indiscriminately from all its subjects.

‘It is extremely absurd to affirm that the Americans owe any submission to the legislative power of Great Britain, which had not authority enough to shield them against the violences of the executive ; and more absurd still, to say that the people of Great Britain can exercise over them rights which that very people affirm they might justly oppose, if claimed over themselves by others.

‘The English people combated long, and shed much blood, with a view of recovering those rights which the crown, it was believed, had usurped over themselves ; and how can they now, without be-