BOOK 1.

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All Europe, it may be said, and especially the commercial countries, were attentive to the progress, and to the decision, of this important question.

The members of parliament who opposed the bill, discovered great energy. They cited the authority of the most celebrated political writers, such as Locke, Selden, Harrington, and Puffendorff, who establish it as an axiom, that the very foundation, and ultimate point in view, of all governments, is the good of society. Then, retracing

their national history, they alleged;

'That it resulted from Magna Charta, and from all the writs of those times relative to the imposition of taxes for the benefit of the crown, and to the sending of representatives to parliament, as well as from the Declaration of Rights, and the whole history of the English constitution, that no English subject can be taxed, except, in their own phrase, 'per communem consensum parliamenti,' that is, by his own consent, or that of his representatives; that such was the original and general right which the inhabitants of the colonies, as English subjects, carried with them, when they left their native land. to establish themselves in these distant countries; that therefore it must not be imagined their rights were derived from charters, which were granted them merely to regulate the external form of the constitution of the colonies; but that the great interior foundation of their constitution was this general right of the British subject, which is the first principle of British liberty,—that is, that no man shall be taxed, but by himself, or by his representative.

'The counties palatine of Chester, Durham and Lancaster,' added tuese orators, 'and the marches of Wales, were not taxed, except in their own assemblies or parliaments, until, at different times, they

were called to participate in the national representation.

'The clergy, until the late period, when they were admitted to a share in the general representation, always taxed themselves, and granted the king what they called *benevolences*, or free gifts.

'There are some, who, extending the power of parliament beyond all limits, affect to believe that this body can do every thing, and is invested with all rights; but this is not supported, and though true, could only be so in violation of the constitution; for then there would exist in parliament, as might occur in the instance of a single individual, an arbitrary power. But the fact is, that many things are not within the power of parliament. It cannot, for example, make itself executive; it cannot dispose of the offices that belong to the crown; it cannot take the property of any man, not even in cases of enclosures, without his being heard. The Lords cannot reject a money bill passed by the commons; nor the commons erect themselves