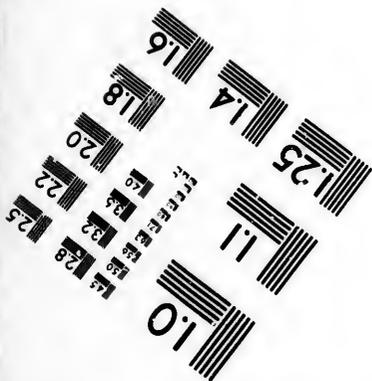
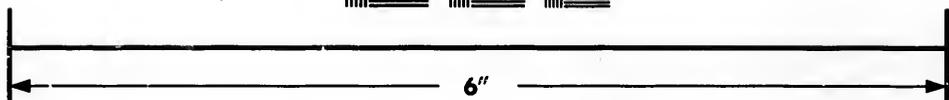
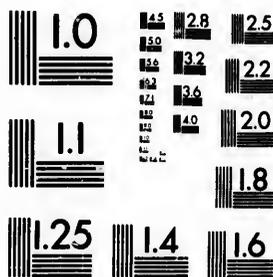


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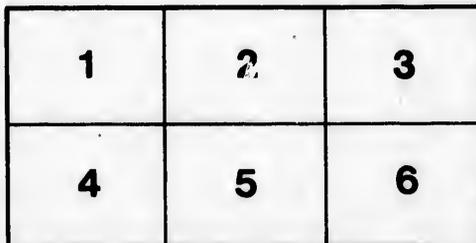
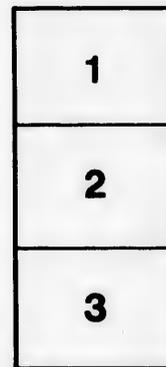
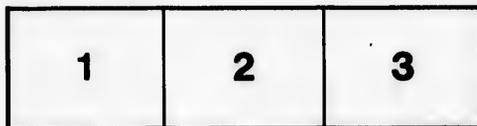
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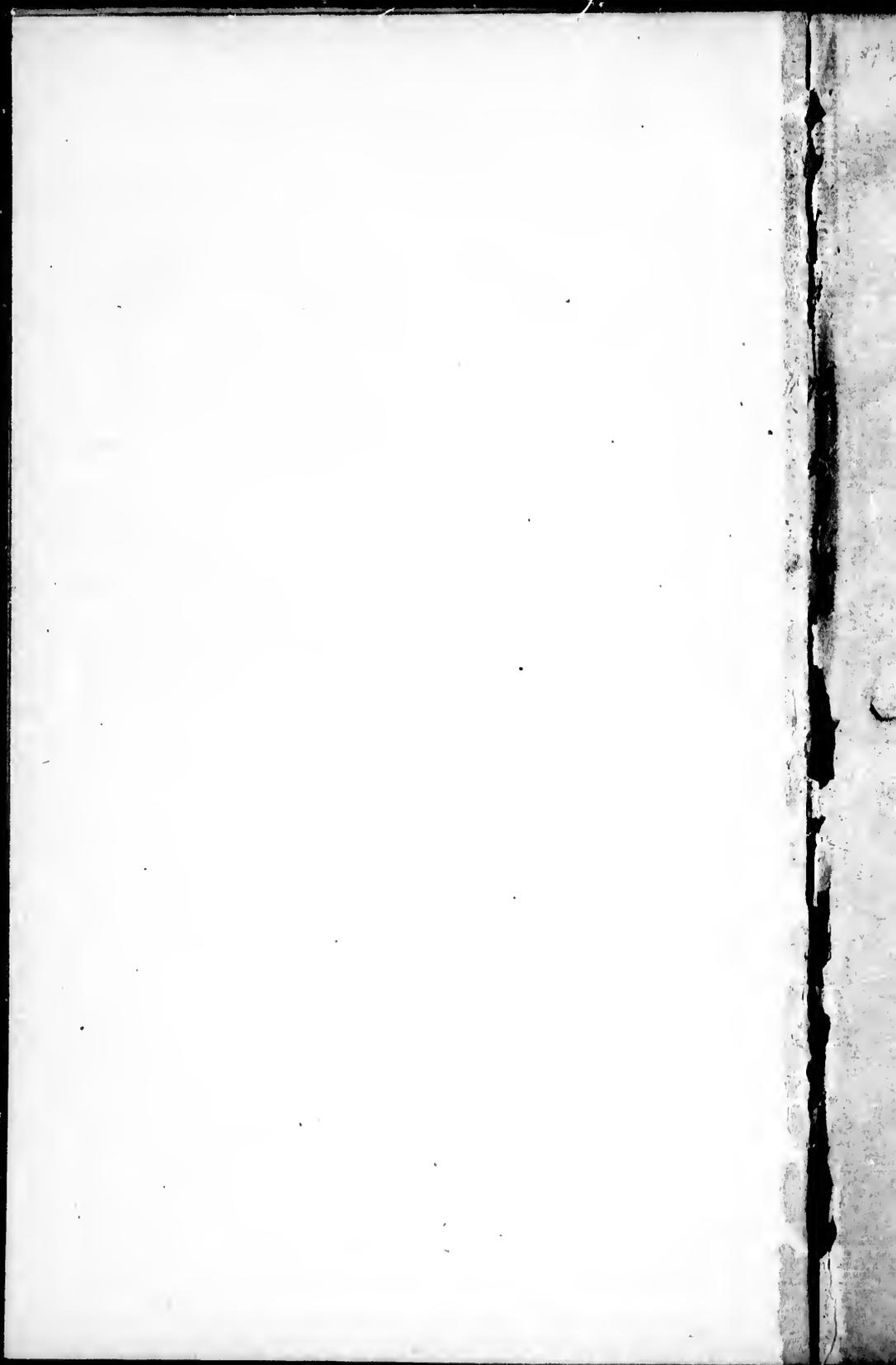
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SOME  
**OBSERVATIONS**

ON A  
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AGAINST THE CLAIMS OF AMERICA.**

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SOME  
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ENTITLED  
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AGAINST THE CLAIMS OF AMERICA,  
BEING  
AN ANSWER TO THE DECLARATION  
OF THE  
GENERAL CONGRESS,

*By the Author of the Answer to the Pamphlet, published by Dr. SHEBBEARE and Dr. JOHNSON.*

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1776.

1848

# OF BRITAIN

1848

BY JOHN RUSSELL

ESQ.

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

1848

IN TWO VOLUMES

1848

BY JOHN RUSSELL

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

1848

BY JOHN RUSSELL

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

S O M E

O B S E R V A T I O N S .

**T**HE aforefaid pamphlet, begins with obferving, *that there muft be an unbounded power fomewhere, wherever there is government,* which is contradicted by the declaration of the General Congress; and the pamphlet obferves, that this power is juftly dreaded in *one man*, but is the firft fpring in every political fociety. It is very evident that the author here means by an unbounded power, arbitrary power; and becaufe arbitrary power in the king is juftly abhor'd by the *Britifh* nation, the author wants to place it fomewhere elfe; whereas nothing is more evident than this, that placing unbounded, or arbitrary power above the law, in any number of men, is equally bad and destructive of property and liberty, as placing that power in one man; for the effence of liberty lies in this, that it fhall not be in the power of any man, or any number of men, to whom the government of the ftate

is trusted, to deprive any subject of what he has a legal right to, except he transgress the laws of his country. This is not only founded on reason, but is supported by all writers of reputation on this subject, as may be seen by Mr. *Locke*, and *Algernon Sydney's* Treatise on Government; and was the true foundation upon which the Revolution by king *William* was founded, and king *James* declared to have forfeited the crown, and is the foundation of the act of parliament in favour of the succession in the house of *Hanover*. And no real friend to the royal family will deny this; and if any minister shall advise his majesty to attempt to establish arbitrary power in any shape, he will I hope look upon him as an enemy to his family, and as intending to sap the foundation of the right of his family to the crown. The above is the principle supported by the Continental Congress, and by all the lovers of liberty, the Revolution, and the present royal family. The author next observes, that the *Americans* own themselves subjects, and yet are rebels, and so play upon words.—They are rebels in the same way, and for the same reasons that the people of Britain were rebels, for supporting the Revolution, and establishing the

the succession in the present royal family, and declaring that king *James* had forfeited his right to the crown: they are just now in arms in defence of the privileges granted them by their charters, and which have been homologated both by the king and parliament, and which they, and their predecessors, have possessed for about two hundred years.

That great man lord *Somers*, in his speech in defence of the seven bishops committed to the *Tower*, by that arbitrary prince king *James*, observes that very often ministers force subjects to resist their arbitrary will, exercised against their rights and privileges; by which these ministers deserve the name of rebels, and enemies to the rest of mankind, and the subjects they call rebels, deserve the name of patriots. The author next observes, there is but a small part of the people of *Britain* represented in parliament, and yet that parliament taxes the whole; from whence he would infer, that the people of *America*, have no more reason to complain of being taxed by a *British* parliament, than the majority of the people of *Britain*.

There is no force in this argument, for by a general consent of the people of *Britain*, the election

election of members of Parliament, was trusted to those who had the greatest property in the common-wealth, and therefore justly look'd upon to be the proper persons to be entrusted with that great privilege of electing members of parliament to represent *Great-Britain*; but by the constitution of *America*, they have a right to choose their own representatives, and lay on their taxes, as well as the people of *Britain*, and are declared to have all the rights of *British* subjects.

The house of commons of *Britain* are properly the layers on of taxes, and they would not allow the house of peers to amend the least iota of a bill sent from them, laying on taxes; and can any man say, that the commons of *Britain* have any right to deprive the people of *America* of any part of their property, without their consent; and it's nugatory to say, that altho' the people of *America* have a right to tax themselves, yet that does not exclude the parliament here from taxing them likewise. Pray of what use is that power of taxing themselves, if there is another power which can tax them at pleasure? this is the same thing as if I had a power of disposing of the money I had in my pocket at pleasure, but at the same time another should  
tell

tell me, he had a prior, and a better right to demand what was in my pocket ; and if he shou'd take it into his head to demand all that was there, is my right good for any thing to me, when it is in the power of another person to make it uselefs ?

What makes the right of electing members of parliament to be lodged in the minority of numbers, by which their representatives have a power of taxing the whole people, appears just and reasonable, is this, that altho' these electors are the minority in number, yet by far the greatest part of the property of *Britain* is in their hands, and besides they themselves are included in the taxations laid on by them ; so that they can't oppress the people, without oppressing themselves; whereas had the commons of *Britain* a power of taxing *America*, they might pick their pockets of every shilling, without losing by it a farthing. Nay they might be great profitters by laying on these taxes on *America*, by the members being made placemen or pensioners of the crown. And I believe every body is sensible of this, that the ministry's intentions are not to apply their taxations in *America* to publick services, but only to encrease thereby the fund of corruption, by  
having

having some more money to dispose of to bribe and corrupt the people of *Britain*, and to make the same use of the riches of *America* they have done with that of the *India company*, viz. to provide posts and pensions for their dependants: and as we see by the present confusions in *India*, that these projects of the minister are like to ruin that company, so they must have the same effect in *America*, if they were put in practice there.

The author next observes, that the *Romans* were a free people, and yet the senate had the only power of taxing.—This observation does not I think apply to the question between *Great-Britain* and *America*, except it could be said, that the senate of *Rome* had granted the privilege of taxation to any colony of theirs, and yet afterwards had tax'd them themselves: but besides, this is not true in fact, for the *Tribunes* of the people had a power by pronouncing the word *Veto*, to stop any act of the *Senate*; and before *Tribunes* existed, the commons often rejected the acts of *Senate*, when their interest was hurt by them, and obliged them to alter them.

He next observes, that all the *British* empire is subject to the acts of the *British* parliament,—this the *Americans*, as well as the subjects of *Britain*,

tain, own to be true, but yet if that parliament shou'd betray their trust from the people, and deprive them of their rights by charters, or otherways, does this author think that the people of *Britain* wou'd not think they had a right to defend their properties, against delegates chosen by them to defend their rights, who had been prevail'd upon either by bribery, or any other corruption, to betray the rights of their constituents. Let us put the case, that the parliament of *Britain* shou'd do as the *Senate* of *Sweden* did, about two hundred years ago, give up the liberties of the people to the king; wou'd not the people of *Britain* have a right to say, they have betray'd their trust, and were no more their representatives? The case of the *Senate* of *Sweden* was, the court had got so many of the officers of the army, and people possessed of places under the crown, and pensioned by the crown into the *Senate*, that by a majority of votes, they surrender'd their liberties to the king; and in concert with the ministers of the crown; they had a body of troops ready to support what they had done. There is an instance in the history of *Scotland*, of the difference between submission to legal authority, and resistance of oppression  
by

oy that authority. King *Robert Bruce*, the greatest king that ever was in *Scotland*, and who was adored by people of all ranks, was advised by some bad ministers about him, to encroach on the charters of the nobility, and for that purpose came to the parliament, but immediately the members drew their swords, and told him, they would defend their rights by the same means they had defended his right to the crown. That great and wise prince, did not think his honour concern'd to persist in the execution of a bad advice, given by his ministers, but prefer'd obliging his subjects, and dropt the thing; and their wicked advisers were dismissed his service. But now our present ministers tell their sovereign, that these measures with regard to *America*, must be pursued, since they were begun; altho' they must be sensible that they risk thereby not only the *British* empire, but his majesty's crown, by exposing us to become a province to *France*.

In king *James III*d's time of *Scotland*, a favourite, one *Cochran*, got into the king's favour, so as to prevent his taking the advice of his nobles—they rose, and took him from the king's presence, and hang'd him and his three sons, over the bridge at *Lawder*. The examples from  
the

the History of *England*, are so numerous of the punishments of bad councillors, and the resistance of the subjects, when encroachments were made on their privileges, or properties, that it would be needless to insert them here, as they are universally known.

It is amazing to think, that any sensible man should advance so ridiculous a doctrine as this, viz. that altho' the present schemes against *America* were ill founded at the beginning, and against the publick interest, yet the honour of the nation requires their being executed. Is there any man of sense who can be in earnest in supporting such a doctrine as this; that because a minister was mistaken, and prevailed upon to form schemes which he found by experience were to end in the destruction of his country, yet that he should be mad enough to persist in these schemes, till his country was actually ruined? and if he should be mad enough to persist in the execution of such schemes, would it not be the duty of the parliament to interpose with their sovereign, to remove such minister or ministers from his presence and councils?

The author next says, that the dutchy of *Lancaster* was subject to the taxation of parliament.

ment although they had no members in parliament. This is a mistake in fact, as appears from the original charter granted by king *Edward III.* to his son, by which it is declared they are to have members in parliament, and *Chester* and *Durham* had members of parliament allowed them after they were incorporated with the rest of *England*.

The author next observes, that the supreme power, can recall any rights granted by them, when the good of the state requires it.— This may be true in many cases, as for example in enlarging or altering the streets of *London*, we saw the proprietors of houses obliged to part with their rights, when the houses stood in the way of these improvements, but then there was an amends made to these proprietors, by paying them the full value of their properties; but what amends, pray, can be made to a great people, possessed of a continent bigger than twenty times all *Britain*, (and whose inhabitants are at present equal in number to about the half of the inhabitants of *England*, and who by supposing them to double every twenty years, will in eighty years be as numerous as *France*, *Germany* and *Britain*) for their liberties and privileges taken  
from

from them by some late acts of parliament. Mr. *Locke* in his excellent Treatise upon Government, justly observes, that no government can be in danger from the people's vindicating their rights, except when they think the community is in danger from the government, and if that is in danger, that government deserves to be changed; and as all governments flow from the people originally, they only can judge when the community is in danger; and all governments have been changed by the people, and their governors punished when they have betrayed their trust, and encroached on the people's rights. The government of *Rome* was first regal, and when *Romulus* their first king, turned tyrant, they put him to death, and they served *Tarquin* the proud, in the same way we did king *James*, for encroaching on their privileges; and afterwards when the *Decemviri*, to whom they had given great powers, abused their trust, and turned tyrants, they deposed them, and punished them: and during the time when virtue flourished in the republick of *Rome*, no man was spared who affected tyranny, but when luxury and dissipation came into the common-wealth, then that once brave people were enslaved; and this will

will always be the case, when these vices prevail in any state.

The author next observes, that had the *Americans* applied for a representation in parliament, he believes that would have been granted them. I shall not take upon me to give my opinion whether it would or not, but this seems evident to me, that *Great-Britain* would have been the greatest nation in *Europe*, by supporting them in their privileges they were in possession of. There are now about three million of inhabitants on the continent of *America*, who took from us, yearly, about four millions of our manufactures: in eighty years the number of inhabitants (as is observed before) would have been forty eight millions, by which we see what a prospect we had of encreasing in riches, every year, as their inhabitants encreased; in proportion to which numbers, their demand for our manufactures must encrease: and it was an idle notion to imagine that they inclined to be independant, for besides their fondness for their Mother Country, the fleet of Britain was equally serviceable to them, to protect them against other *European* powers, as they were to us in taking of our manufactures. Sir *Robert Walpole* always said,  
that

that the best way to tax *America*, was to encourage their trade, which would produce luxury, and consequently encrease their demands for our manufactures. The notions some people had, that by their encrease in power and riches, they would forget their mother country, is not well founded, an example of this we have in *Carthage* and *Tyre* : *Tyre* was the mother country to *Carthage*, and after *Carthage* came to be a state ten times more powerful then *Tyre*, they still retained their love to their mother country, and for some hundred years, gave the strongest proofs of it, contrary to their own interest ; for when *Alexander* the Great, with whom they were in alliance against the king of *Persia*, offered them great rewards to serve him against *Tyre*, they refused them.

The author next observes, that the question between us and *North America*, is dependence or independency, connection or not, except on the footing of a sovereign state. It is amazing to see this advanced, as the *Americans* have all along declared, they wish to be in subjection to their mother country, on the same terms they have always been : and particularly the General Convention of the provinces, by their petition

tion to the king and parliament, about two months ago, have declared this in the strongest terms. This the ministry know very well to be their inclination, but desire to impose on the people, as if they believed they wanted independency, as it furnishes them with a pretence for this unnatural war. It is true, they have raised troops, named generals, &c. but not for independency, but to defend their country and *Great Britain* against slavery and arbitrary power.

He next observes, that *England* was involved in the *American* war, to defend the provincials against their enemies, and enumerates great sums of money advanced for that purpose. Surely nobody can think that this proceeded from any other cause but a love of ourselves. Every minister for these two hundred years past, has looked upon the prosperity of *America* as the prosperity of *Great Britain*: and that allowing *France* to conquer *North America*, was allowing them to ruin us, by giving them the same advantages that we expected from it, and which we have received, by being furnished by it with naval stores, such as iron, timber, hemp, tar, &c. which cost us fifteen hundred thousand pounds a year to the *Baltic*, besides support for our manufacturers,

nufacturers, and importing goods from thence, by which we profited some hundred thousands pounds a year. There is a clergyman, one *Tucker*, who I hear maintains, that we had better lose *America* than keep it. This clergyman must be a Roman Catholic, for I am sure no body can believe this, except one who does believe transubstantiation, the infallibility of fallible men, &c. If this clergyman is not a Roman Catholick, and so not taught to believe contradictions and impossibilities, he must be influenced by the desire of being a bishop; and when he becomes one, he will be perfectly fitted to chime in with his brethren who voted for establishing popery and arbitrary power in *Canada*.

He next observes, that the parliament granted considerable sums to particular provinces in *America*, on account of their expences in the last war. This is true, and it was because they were sensible, that from their zeal to serve their mother country, both by taking *Cape Breton* on their own expence; and in the expedition against *Carthagena* and the *Havannab*, they had expended great sums beyond their abilities. And can this author be of opinion, that this was what they did not deserve from the British government.

The

The next paragraph is a very extraordinary one : he observes, that our brethren going to *America* were like the Prodigal Son, who left his father's house to live upon husks, &c. These people, forced by the persecutions in king *James* and king *Charles* the I's time, were the best and most industrious people in the island, and were obliged either to be slaves at home, or venture their lives and fortunes by attempting a settlement in the wilds of *America*, in order to enjoy freedom and the worship of God according to their consciences ; and therefore deserve to be mentioned with esteem and applause ; whereas their persecutors, such as archbishop *Laud*, &c. will be held in abomination in all ages, as long as virtue and honesty are regarded, and persecution and cruelty are abominated.

The author next mentions considerable sums given by the British nation for the encouragement of the importation of naval stores from *America*, as a favour granted them, which ought to have engaged their gratitude to their mother country. Surely this author (who seems to be a person of very great understanding) must be sensible that the bounties granted by Great Britain, were granted to serve themselves, and to prevent the

the very great sums of money sent to the *Baltic* yearly for these commodities ; whereas by getting them from *North America*, we had them in exchange for our manufactures : so that by this wise measure we both saved great sums of money to the nation, for commodities we could not want, and likewise supported many thousands of our manufacturers, who without this must have either starved or left their native country : so that this was the same thing as if a man should expend a sixpence to gain a guinea.

The author next observes, that Great Britain passed from the advantages they gained by the last war, in order to get the *Americans* a security against *France*, by keeping possession of *Canada*, and yet the *Americans* were so ungrateful as to reflect on the authors of the late peace.—We were in possession of *Canada*, we had conquered all the *French* sugar islands, we were in possession of the *Havannah*, the key of *Spanish America*, we had so effectually ruined the fleets of *France* and *Spain*, that it was universally known, that the ships we had taken from them, were more than sufficient alone to beat all the ships of war that remained belonging to these two nations ; we were in the sole possession of the fishery of

D

*Newfoundland* ;

*Newfoundland*, and by that and the great increase of our sugar trade, we possessed advantages of between four and five millions a year, and added at least twenty thousand sailors to our fleet, and effectually put it out of the power of *France* and *Spain* ever having it in their power to hurt us. And after having obtained all these advantages, which made us for ever masters of the seas, and which cost us between eighty and ninety millions of money, and the lives of two hundred thousand of our best men, we gave all back again, without receiving a shilling in exchange; for as to *Canada*, it was in our possession, and for *East Floridore*, it was not worth our acceptance. Every body knows that we made the peace to prevail upon *France* to withdraw their troops from *Hanover*; a country, the defence of which stood this nation in the last war, more than thirty million sterling, which is sixty years purchase of the whole revenue of that territory, and of which a single shilling never comes to Britain. And if his majesty is not prevailed upon to give these foreign dominions to some branch of his family, and separate them from Great-Britain, I am afraid they will be the occasion of bringing a ruin upon both them  
and

and us ; for whenever *France* has any demands upon us, they have no more to do, but threaten to invade *Hanover*, and we are such knight errants, as to undertake its defence to our own destruction. By the treaty of *Hanover*, in Sir *Robert Walpole's* time, we lost the alliance of the emperor of *Germany* ; by which alliance alone, we could have any prospect of being able to defend *Hanover* against the power of *France* ; and since that treaty of *Hanover*, we have no allies upon the continent that can enable us to carry on war on the continent, against the power of *France*, and to carry on war against that crown alone upon the continent, is equally ridiculous as to carry it on against the emperor of *China*. Considering these circumstances, and that by the last peace, we have restored our enemies to that very power we had taken from them, of hurting us and our colonies, can any man be surprized that the *Americans* were sensible of the bad consequences of that peace, which put it in the power of our enemies to attack us and them again, whenever they had a mind.

The author next observes, that the *Americans* have prohibited the importation of British goods, which has not hurt our trade ; on the contrary

the exchange is in our favour. To say we are not hurt by our losing the exportation of four millions of goods yearly, appears to me so paradoxical, that it requires no answer: surely the nations we traded with before we were deprived of the *American* trade, took as many of our manufactures as they wanted, and does any man imagine, they will take more then they want, to make us an amends for the loss of the trade of *North-America*. But I shall suppose that this miraculous encrease of trade with other nations, since our losing the *American* trade, was true, y. t. is there any mathematical demonstration plainer then this, that if that four millions exported to *America*, had continued, it must have been an addition to our exports of four millions, and that consequently our being deprived of the exports of that four millions, must be a loss to us of four millions of our exportation.

As to the exchange being in our favour with foreign nations, the contrary is affirmed by the merchants; but supposing it is so, as this author affirms, yet it has no connection with the present question, concerning the trade of *America*: for example, the exchange may be in our favour with one nation, and against us with another,

and

and its being in our favour with one nation, is no argument for saying that we lose nothing by having a beneficial trade cut off with another nation which has no connection with it. And as to the funds being kept up, which the author alledges, it is all artificial, by a concert betwixt the bank and the ministers, as is believed, and which very probably may end in the destruction both of the bank and public credit.

The author next observes, that the stamp act passed against a very inconsiderable minority, and that by repealing the stamp act, publick ruin commenced :

It is true, that the stamp act passed against a minority of only between thirty and forty, in the house of commons, but it is as true that it was repealed by as great a majority, by that very parliament which passed it. This is easily to be accounted for, by the principles of natural philosophy, which has long subsisted in this country, viz. a change in the first lord of the treasury, which has operated often as wonderfully as the change of a wafer into the body of a man, only by a few words pronounced by the meanest priest of the *Roman* catholick faith. And as to the repealing of the stamp act being the occasion of

of publick ruin, it was the very thing which restored harmony between this country and *America*, for it was declaring that the then ministry did not incline to give the people of *America* the least reason to suspect that we had any intentions to encroach on their privileges, by an inland taxation.

The author next observes, that it was folly in Mr. *Pitt*, to say that we are only to reap advantages from *America* by trade. Mr. *Pitt* in this, was of the same opinion with Sir *Robert Walpole*, as has formerly been observed: and nothing seems to me plainer than this, that by trade with *North-America*, and keeping up a friendly correspondence with them, this nation may gain millions a year, and that gain always must encrease in proportion to the encrease of the number of inhabitants in *America*, and as they encrease in riches; for as that encreases their demand for our manufactures must encrease; whereas our present ministers seem to think, that it is our interest to prevent the prosperity of *America*, and to bring it back again to a wilderness and beggary. They seem to imitate the practice and opinion of *Philip II.* king of *Spain*, who when he was told, that by these wars in the low countries, he was ruining the

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the finest part of his dominions, answered, he would rather be King of a wilderness, where his will was absolute, than King of the richest provinces of the world, where his will was not so.

No minister can be insensible of the nation's losing millions by the loss of the *American* trade, but if any minister has absolute power in view, he may probably think it his interest to impoverish the nation, in order to prepare them to receive the yolk ; and although the sums he could put in his pocket, by the inlaid taxation of *America*, could not be very considerable, yet by an hundred thousand pounds that way, it was better for him than any advantages to the nation by trade, because by it he could hire so many more slaves to his will, to execute his intentions.

The author next observes, that its unreasonable that those who desert their country, should be freer of taxes than those who remain in it.

The *Americans* groan this moment under taxes, imposed on them by their assemblies, to pay their troops for our assistance, not only in *North America*, but in the sieges of *Carthagena* and the *Havannah* ; but the question is, whether or no they shall give up their priviledges, possessed by them from the very beginning of their  
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settlement in *America*, and put it in the power of a British minister to pick their pockets at his pleasure, without their consent.

The author next observes, that Courts of Admiralty were established in King *William's* time, to try pyracies. This was just, and the Courts of Admiralty there, try the same causes without juries, but will any man say, that because Courts of Admiralty are instituted for the tryal of certain causes without juries; that therefore these Courts of Admiralties should be empowered to try every question of property without juries through *England*, and yet this is the thing complained of in *America*, that they are deprived of the privilege of English subjects, by being deprived of having their properties tried by juries as in *England*.

The author gives instances during the reigns of several of our Princes, of King and Parliament shewing their authority over *America*, such as imposing Tonnage and Poundage, &c. The *Americans* never deny'd this authority, and have always submitted, and are willing still to submit to the Act of Navigation, though in many respects oppressive. But I shall not take up the reader's time to go through the several instances

stances mentioned by the author, the principal thing I have in view, is to shew that the present *American* war must end in the ruin of the British empire if matters are not soon made up between us and *America*. It seems plain to me that our ministry from the beginning of this contest, had a mind to pick a quarrel with *America*. The people of *Boston* desired to be heard by the House of Commons, to shew they were not guilty of destroying the tea belonging to the India Company: this was refused them, though in every free country no person is refused to be heard in their own defence; and to condemn without hearing parties, has always been thought the greatest act of tyranny. There was a mob at *Glasgow*, and another at *Edinburgh*, in the late reign of King *George II.* for which these towns were prosecuted, but it never came into the head of the ministers then, to refuse to hear them in their defence; though the House of Commons alledged, that an insult was committed against them at *Glasgow*, and the Queen thought herself insulted at *Edinburgh*.

The author says, the king might have fixed things at *Canada*, upon its first conquest, as they now are, and therefore is no cause of complaint.

The consequence here has no foundation, because *Canada* was made a part of the British empire, on the conditions agreed to upon the conquest of it, and was thereby entitled to the privilege of British subjects, and nothing could justly deprive them of these privileges, but their doing something that made them deserve being deprived of them. Of late there has a notion prevailed amongst the ministers, that the King may recal charters when he pleases; whereas in my opinion, nothing is more mean and insidious than for a prince to entice his subjects by rewards, to hazard dangerous attempts to serve his crown, and to tell them afterwards he would recall these grants or charters. The honour of a crown should be sacred, and the faith of princes ought to be like the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, irrevocable, otherwise there is no encouragement given to run risks on their faith or promises.

The author next observes, that at the same time the *Americans* show their inclinations for peace, by their applications here, they prepare for war, and are actually in arms.

The *Americans* were to blame in not seeing their danger so soon as they might, and therefore allowed our troops to take possession of *Boston*,  
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after they might have seen the hostile intentions of the ministry against them : at last they were obliged to take up arms, or to expose their throats to be cut by a standing army, and themselves exposed to beggary and slavery.

The author next observes, that the ministry were willing to allow the *Americans* to raise their own taxes, provided that the ministry were judges of the *quantum*; that is to say, if I knew my neighbour had twenty shillings in his pocket, and no more, I should say to him, I don't choose to put my hand in your pocket, but I insist upon your giving me twenty shillings out of it, by your own consent.

The author next observes, that the colonists can't furnish necessaries to carry on their war, that they have lost their trade to the *Mediterranean*, by which they made a million and a half, and that to the *West-Indies*, by which they made a million; but he neglects to observe that the produce of the *Mediterranean* trade, was for the most part dropt here in *England*, for by that they were enabled to purchase our goods. He likewise forgets to observe, that the *West-Indies* was supported from *America*, both in provisions and other necessaries, and that being deprived of  
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the *American* trade, they are like to be ruined. So that if *America* loses a million by us, not only the *West-Indies*, but likewise *Great-Britain* is likely to be deprived of many millions, in consequence of the *Americans* being deprived of this one million.

The author observes, they can't expect assistance from *France* and *Spain*. It is really amazing that so clear-sighted a writer as this author seems to be, should advance such a doctrine, there is nothing plainer than this, that it's the interest of *France* and *Spain* to detach *America* from *Great-Britain*; by this they would destroy at once near the half of the trade and strength of Britain, supply their own plantations with all they want, and at the same time deprive our sugar colonies of every necessary. *France* and *Spain* know very well that by the encrease of inhabitants in our *North-America*, and their continuing in friendship with us, they would soon be able to furnish us in case of a war with them, with so many men and other necessaries, as to run their affairs in *America*; whereas by our losing *America*, we lose more than the third of our trade and riches, and number of sailors, and consequently are in danger of losing ourselves, instead

instead of being made the greatest nation in *Europe*, by the support of *North-America*. And here I am come to the principal thing I intended by this pamphlet, viz. to open the eyes of my countrymen, by shewing them that the continuation of this war with *America*, must end (and that very soon) in our becoming a province of *France*. Most of our sailors and ships are gone, or going to *America*, and I am credibly informed, that our admiralty can't at present man ten ships of the line, for the defence of Britain; whereas I am equally well informed, that *France* and *Spain* can put to sea forty ships of the line immediately; and consequently are masters of the sea: and if that is the case, is there any doubt, but that they can send three times as many forces from *France* in two or three days time, as to take *London*, and to deprive his majesty of his crown. I would ask any of his majesty's ministers this question, what protection we have against being conquered by *France* and *Spain* whenever they have a mind, as it's plain they are at present masters of the sea. Are our land forces sufficient to defend us against the tenth part of the land forces of *France*, which by this new scheme of the Count St. *Germain*,  
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amount to upwards of four hundred thousand men? History furnishes us with many examples of the dangerous consequences of exporting the strength of a nation against a foreign enemy, even where the strength of that foreign nation by sea did not amount to a tenth part of the other. The *Carthagenians* were a powerful republick, both by sea and land; they sent the most part of their fleet, with a great army to *Sicily*, and besieged *Syracuse* the capital: *Agathocles* the king of *Syracuse*, had no fleet worth mentioning, in comparison with that of *Carthage*, yet he made shift to collect as many ships as transported fourteen thousand brave troops to *Africa*, and marched directly against *Carthage*, as he knew the most part of their troops were in *Sicily*: the *Carthagenians* marched against them, but were beat, and had it not been for a reinforcement, sent from their army in *Sicily*, the town of *Carthage* had been taken, and an end put to the *Carthagenian* empire. Let us apply this piece of history to our present situation, the fleets of *France* and *Spain* are four times stronger than ours shall be after the ships intended for *America* are gone; the troops of *France*, after the troops intended for *America* are failed, are ten times stronger than

than ours ; they are within three or four hours sail of landing them in Britain, and within three or four days march of London ; and can we recall our fleet and troops from *America* in time to defend ourselves. If these facts are true, I wish the ministers now entrusted by his majesty, would satisfy the nation, what security it has against being made a province to *France*, if *France* and *Spain* incline it should be so. Every body knows that *France* has always looked upon *Great-Britain* as the principal bar against their project of universal monarchy. In king *William's* war, and that under the duke of *Marlborough*, we were the soul of the confederacy against *France*, and when we withdrew ourselves from that confederacy, in the latter end of queen *Anne's* reign, *France* became victors, from being vanquished : and we may rest assured, that the conquest of *Great-Britain* is what their hearts are set upon, whenever it is in their power ; and surely one would think, that the present ministry are at pains to furnish them with that opportunity ; for by the present *American* war, his majesty's crown, and the independency of *Great-Britain*, lie at their mercy. But we shall be told that *France* and *Spain* have pledged their faith that they will not take this opportunity

opportunity to ruin us. I shall only say in answer to this, that the present ministry are the first that ever existed in Britain, who looked upon the faith of *France* as a sufficient security for the safety of *Great-Britain*. I here must observe, that by the conquest of Britain, they come in our place, both with regard to our *West-India* plantations and *North America*, by which in all probability they would make themselves masters of all *Europe*.

The sycophants of the ministry tell us, that *France* is in no condition to wage war with us ; whereas the truth is, they are stronger than they were in *Lewis* the XIVth's time : they have the addition of *Lorain*, which maintains them thirty thousand men, and their sugar islands now afford them ten times the number of sailors they did in his time.—In short, the more we consider these *American* schemes, and the expence we are at to ruin ourselves, by endeavouring to destroy *America*, by which alone we might have been made the greatest nation in *Europe*, one must without being an enthusiast, believe it is an infatuation from heaven, and must apply that observation amongst the *Romans* to our present measures *Quos Jupiter vult perdiri eos dementat*.

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The author next mentions great sums of money expended for the defence of *America*.

I shall not enquire whether his calculations be right or wrong, but submit this to his consideration: The present exports to *America* are about four millions yearly, and have always been encreasing in proportion as the number of inhabitants there encreases. The inhabitants at present are about three millions, twenty years hence they must have been six millions had it not been for the folly of our ministers, and consequently our exports must be eight millions; and twenty years after that, the number of inhabitants must have been twelve millions, and the exports about sixteen millions: and so as the inhabitants encreased, *America* must have become more useful to its mother country. But *France* easily saw that *America* must make us the greatest nation in *Europe*, and therefore have very wisely for themselves, set our ministers to work to ruin us, and advance their interest.

Besides the support of our manufacturers from *America*, we saved, as has been observed, fifteen hundred thousand pounds a year, sent to the *Baltick* for naval stores, before we were furnished with them from *America*: besides this, we re-

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ceive advantages to the value of some hundred thousand pounds a year by our imports from *America*; and whenever we want corn, we are sure of it from thence. If *France* should possess themselves of those things, by making a conquest of us, what an amazing strength must this add to the *French* monarchy: and is it not worth our pains to preserve these advantages to ourselves, by restoring friendship with *America*? and is it not absolutely necessary if we want to preserve ourselves from becoming a province to *France*?

The author next observes, that our exporting manufactures to any part of *Europe*, instead of *America*, would have been as advantageous to us.

This observation is of no force, because all the goods wanted by these nations, must have been supposed to have been sent them; and had the goods sent to *America* been sent to these nations, they must have lain a drug undisposed of, and hurt the sale of the rest; as nothing is surer than this, that a market overstocked with goods, is rendered immediately unprofitable to those who send them.

The author next says, let the *Americans* offer their terms, and then the mother country will  
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judge of them.—This they have done repeatedly, and ask no more than to continue subjects of Britain, upon the same terms they have done for near two hundred years past, and agreeable to their charters; but the ministers, king and parliament, paid no attention to their petition, but increased their military preparations against them, as they saw their inclinations to a reconciliation with their mother country increased; so that nothing remained for the *Americans* but to choose whether to be slaves or free.

I have no view in answering this pamphlet, but to set matters in as clear a light as I could, to open the eyes of my countrymen to see the dangerous situation we are in, of the total destruction of the British empire, and of *Great-Britain* itself: and should this spirit of infatuation continue in the British ministry against *America*, I shall not be surprized to see *France* in possession of *London* within two or three months after the last of our ships and forces sail for *America*; except we can suppose that *France* should prefer keeping its promises (alleged by the ministry it has given) to agrandizing *France*: or in other words, except *France* by a miraculous change of its nature, should prefer our interest to its own,  
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and neglect an opportunity given them, of accomplishing what they have been aiming at for more than a hundred years past, viz. universal monarchy. To accomplish which, the conquest of *Great-Britain* is absolutely necessary. I am old enough to remember the glorious figure *Great-Britain* made in queen *Anne's* reign, when it was by it that the liberties of *Europe* were preserved; and it grieves me to see the poor figure we now make in *Europe*, and the danger we run of being in the same situation with the island of *Corfica* in a few months, and that by our own folly, by which we are at present putting ourselves to as much expence both in men and money, in order to accomplish our destruction, as ever we were in king *William* and the duke of *Marlbrough's* wars to save ourselves and the rest of *Europe* from *French* slavery. I pray God his majesty's eyes may be opened, before it's too late, and that he may apply the advice to himself which that great minister the duke of *Sully*, gave to his master *Henry IV.* king of *France*. The king was going to bestow some posts of great trust in the government to the sons of those great families who had been enemies to him when his right to the crown of *France* was attacked; that wise minister said

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to him, you may give if you please pensions to these people, or employments upon which the safety of the state does not depend, but as to these employments which put it in the power of those who possess them to hurt or endanger your government, trust them only in the hands of those who have shewed their attachment to you, when you wanted their services, and fought for your crown; but do not trust these employments, with the heirs of those who fought against you; for though they may appear your friends, as long as you support them, and when it is not in their power to hurt you, yet if you are involved in any dangerous situation, they may leave you in the lurch, and adopt the principles and practices of their predecessors, in which they have been educated.

Is it not for his majesty's interest, to enquire whether the ministers, who at present enjoy his countenance, and have advised him to this *American* war, are not the sons or grandsons of these very families who opposed the Revolution by king *William*, who opposed the succession in the *Hanover* family, who joined in the designs of the ministry in the latter end of queen *Anne's* reign, for fixing the *Pretender* on the throne of Britain,  
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and who formed or supported the two rebellions in *Scotland*, in 1715 and in 1745. And if his majesty finds it is so, would it not be safest for him in this critical situation of his affairs, to change his ministers, and to put his trust in those families who have shewn themselves friends to the Revolution, and to the fixing the succession in his family. Such people as those will be trusted to by the *Americans*, as they have reason to look upon them as their friends, the *Americans* having always shewn themselves the zealous friends of the Revolution and the *Hanover* family, whereas they have reason to look on the ministry with a jealous eye as to all those things.

I am now in the end of life, and as I have always distinguished myself as a lover of liberty and the royal family, so I should with pleasure end life, if I could by that, see my country freed from the dangerous situation it is in, and his majesty surrounded by the real friends to his family. I am of no party, being too far gone in life to have views of ambition. I think if his majesty could be prevailed upon to employ none in his service in places of trust, but the lovers of liberty and the Revolution principles, and who alone are his real friends, he would thereby be enabled

enabled to put an end to this unnatural war in *America*, and secure to himself the quiet possession of his crown and dominions, if this is brought about before *France* should take advantages of the distracted situation we are in, through all his majesty's dominions belonging to the British empire. I shall add an advice to his majesty, from the sincerity of my heart, let him look upon any man, who shall advise him to establish arbitrary power in any part of his dominions, as an enemy to his family—the protection of liberty and our present happy constitution is the foundation of the rights upon which the present royal family is founded: and if he would add to this, to separate his foreign dominions from those of any king of Britain after him, and give them to a separate branch of his family, it would make him the most popular king that ever was in *England*, and would deprive at once the *Pre-tender*, and his next heirs, of all arguments in their favour, from the inconveniences that must arise by involving *Great-Britain* in wars on the continent, in defence of those dominions. I am aware of what I have heard from those who call themselves the king's friends, that this cannot be done by the laws of the empire; but as I have  
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been bred to the knowledge of the principles of the law of nations, and the feudal law, I will engage to shew by these principles, and the laws and practice of *Germany*, that this may be done: and to bring it about the easier, we need only renew our friendship and alliance with the emperor, a thing so absolutely necessary for our safety against the power of *France*: which alliance was made by that great prince king *William*, and lost by the treaty of *Hanover*, during the ministry of Sir *Robert Walpole*; though I have been told I think upon some authority, that Sir *Robert* disowned having his hand in it, and said it was the doing of lord *Townshend*, who was secretary of state and then with the late king at *Hanover*, when the said treaty was made.

Thus I have answered the arguments made use of in the foresaid pamphlet; the rest of it consists mostly in declamation against the ingratitude of the *Americans*; which is so far from being well founded, that they always were ready to venture their lives and fortunes, whenever called upon by the mother country against its enemies, when *North America* had no concern in these affairs; witness the expeditions against *Carthagena* and the *Havannah*: but our present ministers seem

seem not only ungrateful to them, but likewise to *Great Britain*, by exhausting its strength in endeavouring to destroy what alone can make us a great people, and all this to establish arbitrary power in *America*, contrary to their charters.

I shall end this paper with a few observations :

1<sup>st</sup>, A prime minister having the entire confidence of his sovereign, has often ruined not only his country, but his sovereign, and at length himself: an example of this we have in *Sejanus*, prime minister to *Tiberius* the Roman emperor : his master gave ear to no body but to him ; and after he had prevailed upon him to despise every advice but his, and to use the Roman senate tyrannically, he turned drunk with power, was abandoned by the emperor to the fury of the people, who destroyed him by the most ignominious death. *Juvenal* the satirist says, describing his death by the mob, *Sejanus ducitur unca*.

2<sup>d</sup>, I am so sensible, that the advantages arising from the trade with *America* are so obvious, and the danger we run of the loss of it by *France*, that it must occur to every body of common sense, except to pensioners and placemen. Let half a dozen old women be called off the street,

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there is not one of them but would see the danger if they were not brib'd to shut their eyes.

3d, I spent many months at *Hanover*, at two different times, with that amiable prince the late Prince of *Wales*, and heard him often say, that if he lived to be King of *Britain*, if any minister should advise him to encroach upon the privileges of any of his subjects, in any part of his dominions, he would look upon that man as an enemy to his family, as he was sensible that it was against the intention of the act of succession, and lost King *James* his crown.

4th, What shews the intention of the minister in this unnatural war against *America*, is that all their underlings in the coffee-houses and public places, say the nation shall not be happy till *America* be reduced back 100 years; that is, till the country is made a wilderness again, and the inhabitants slaves. I am told by a gentleman with whom General *Carleton* dined before he went to *Canada*, that he said, he hoped in a few years there would not be an Englishman in *Canada*. Which shews that he knew the intentions of his superiors were to employ the French papists and *Canadians* to destroy our protestant brethren in *America*, who should refuse to be their slaves.

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5th, The views of the present ministry seem to be, to exercise the same arbitrary power in *America*, as was exercised in *Scotland* and *England* by Sir *George Mackenzie* and *Jeffries* in the reigns of King *Charles II.* and *James II.* and most of the people now in power, are descendants of these very people who supported those measures, and who opposed the Revolution and the Protestant succession.

As to the present parliament, I do not pretend to judge of its proceedings, but the last parliament were such tools to the minister, that in the publick coffee houses wagers were laid, before the question was put, how every man in the majority would vote.

I hope some means may be found upon to reconcile the present difference with *America*, consistent with its liberties and the honour of *Great Britain*, which in my opinion does not oblige us to support the measure of any minister when they are inconsistent with the publick good, but on the contrary, obliges us to abandon bad ministers to be punished as their wicked measures deserve, if we love our country.

Nothing would have prevailed on me to have answered the aforesaid pamphlet, but the sincere  
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love I bear to the Royal Family. I not only am a loyal subject to the King as my Sovereign, but I have the greatest regard for his interest as the son of a Prince I adore, and to whom I was under the strongest obligations. I therefore was unhappy to see measures pursued which, in my apprehension, risques not only the loss of the British Empire, but his Majesty's Crown.

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