

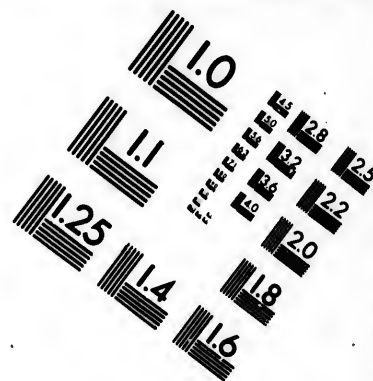
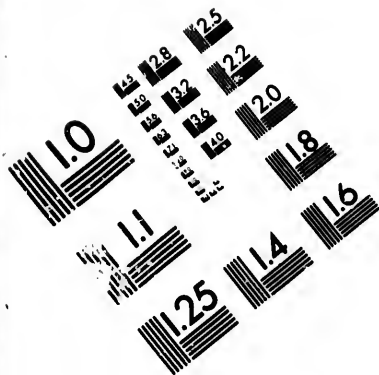
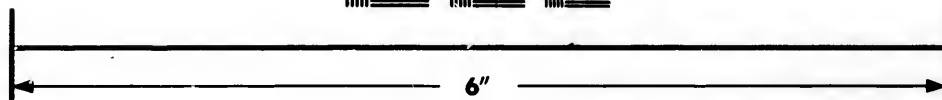
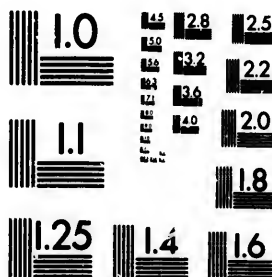


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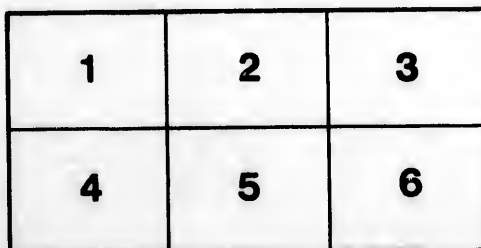
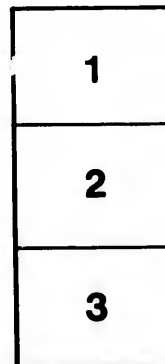
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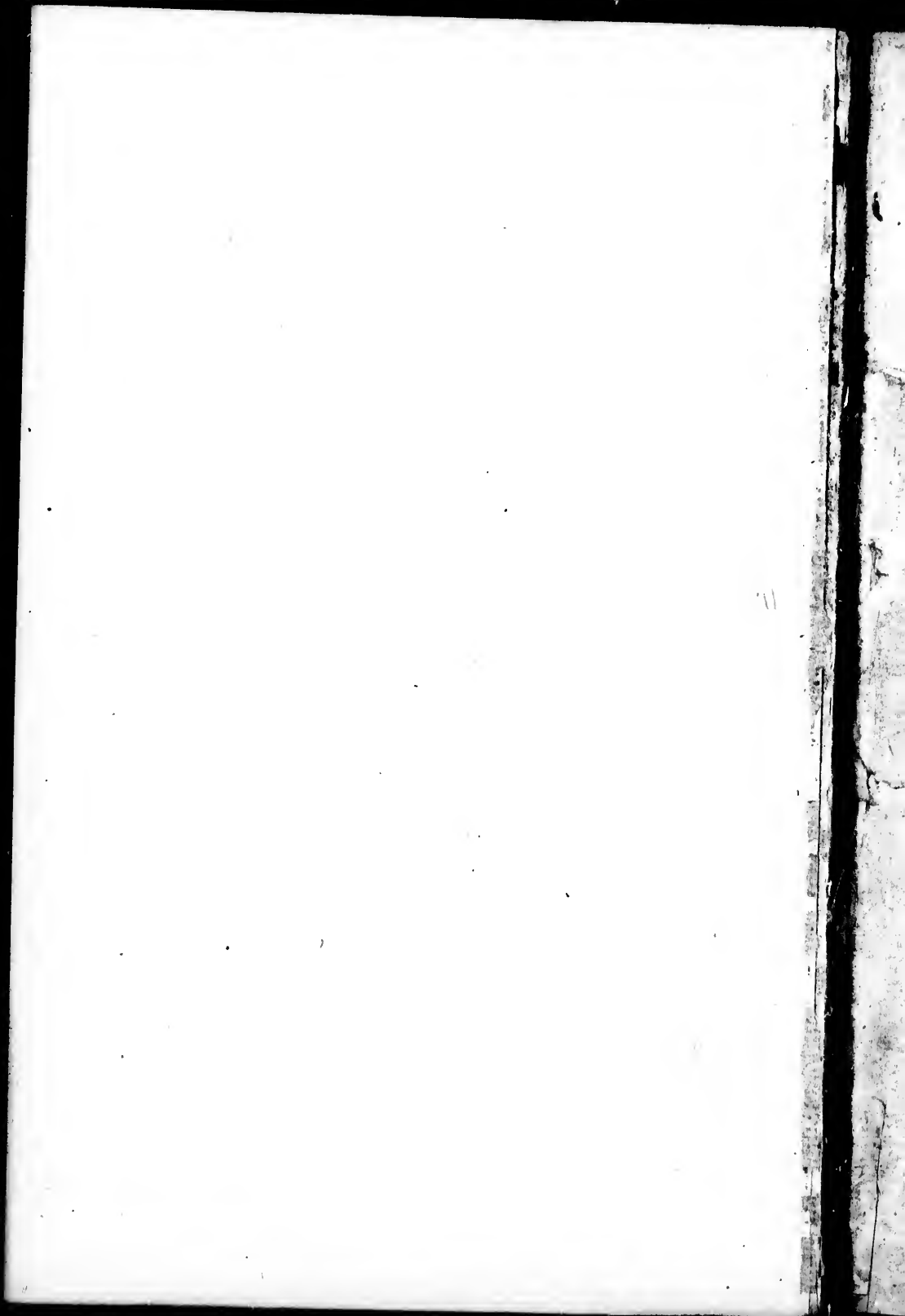
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ON THE

C O N D U C T

O F

O P P O S I T I O N

WITH REGARD TO AMERICA.

[Price One Shilling.]

REMARKS

ON THE

CONDUCT

OF

OPPOSITION

WITH REGARD TO AMERICA;

SHEWING THEIR

INCONSISTENCY,

BY A

SHORT REVIEW OF THEIR OWN MEASURES.

“ Quid a majoribus defensum est aliud quam *Libertas* : neu
“ cui nisi *Legibus* pareremus !”

“ Præclara proles, geniti ad ea, quæ majores virtute pepe-
“ rere, subvertunda.”

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. CADELL, in the Strand.

MDCCLXXVII.

A

1863

1863

117

7

1863

A S H O R T
E N Q U I R Y, &c.

THE variety of measures adopted by the Opposition with regard to America, accompanied by professions of the most rigid Consistency, induces me to lay before the Public a short Chronological History of their conduct. My education gave my mind an early bent to Truth; and I have ever been taught to believe, that in Politics, as well as in every other Science, Truth is uniform.

B

I can-

I cannot patiently hear one sett of men arraigned for Inconsistency and Irresolution, who have persevered in maintaining the dignity of the Empire, by a motley Party, who have told us formerly we had the right to tax America ; who have even assisted in the exercise of that right ; yet now assert, in vehement Declamation, that Taxation is Tyranny, or at best derived from a power which never should be used ; that it is one of the *Arcana Imperii* which should not be pryed into. In vain you contradict their doctrine as Patriots, by their former practice as Ministers ; they have adopted the plan of Procrustes ; they catch you every way. The greater part oppose the Declaratory Act to every accusation of weak Indulgence to one Country, and the repeal of the Stamp Act, to every idea of affording benefit to the other.

The

The Americans were sorely disappointed in the Administration of those from whom they had received the warmest protestations of friendship. This Ministry established upon a permanent and sure foundation the right of Taxation, which might otherwise have been problematical ; a measure which served only to irritate America, without acquiring any contribution to this Country. We are obliged to revert to a distant Century, before we can find an example in History to warrant such a capricious proceeding : not before the reign of H. VII. can we find any Administration governed by the same Inconsistency. He alternately orders his subjects at one time to reject, at another to acknowledge, the precepts and doctrines of the Romish Church. Enforcing obedience to the doctrine, and

not to the supremacy, was not more inconsistent with the mandates of the Catholic Religion, than inculcating Supremacy without exacting obedience, was weak and ridiculous in American Politics. It is no longer a time to agitate the question, whether we have the right of Taxation, or whether that right should be exercised? This subject is worn out; the venom of political Writers and Orators is exhausted upon it; I shall not enter upon so trite a topic: it is enough for my purpose, if I can shew, that the declarations and conduct of the Opposition, whilst in power, were but little different from those they now condemn, and they that trod the path of the present Administration.—But activity and ability will throw a lustre upon public measures, the effects of which are lost
in

in indolence and supineness. The fatal period in which the Stamp Act was unhappily, repealed must be universally remembered *. This Act was 6 Geo. III. c. 11. It sets forth, that the continuance of the Act for granting Stamp-Duties towards defraying the expences of the Colonies, would be attended with many inconveniencies, and might be productive of consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interests of these kingdoms. When this passed the House of Commons, there were 167 Members in the Minority, a far greater number than it ever amounts to in these times upon the most popular question, and even above double the number of the present Opposition upon an A-

* Lord Rockingham was First Lord of the Treasury, the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Conway Secretaries of State.

merican question. In the House of Lords, the Not Contents were 71. Even the Protest set forth, " That the law which this Bill was to repeal passed in the other House with very little opposition; and in that without one dissentient voice, which could not have happened, if it had been wholly and fundamentally wrong: that repealing such law would ever after make the authority of Great Britain contemptible: that the ability of the North American Colonies to contribute their proportion of taxes was unquestionable, by the speedy discharge of their debts contracted during the war: that by a Letter to Mr. Conway, dated October 12, 1765, it is affirmed, That the People in general are averse to taxes of any kind; and that the Merchants think they have a right to every freedom

freedom of trade which the subjects of Great Britain now enjoy ; and that the repeal of this law will certainly produce one of these two consequences: either that it will in effect annul and abrogate all other laws and statutes relating to our Colonies, and particularly the Acts that restrain or limit their Commerce, of which they are most impatient ; *or if we should hereafter attempt to enforce the execution of those laws against their will,* and by virtue of an authority which they have dared to insult with impunity and success, that endeavour will bring upon us all those evils and inconveniencies, to the fear of which we now sacrifice the sovereignty of the realm ; and this at a time when the strength of our Colonies, as well as the desire of a total independence on the Legislature and Government

vernment of their Mother Country may be greatly augmented ; and when the circumstances and dispositions of the other Powers of Europe may render the contest far more dangerous and formidable to this Kingdom."

After this wise and provident Protest, after the second, and before the third reading of this Bill, the Declaratory Bill in the same week passed the House of Lords. Whether the Ministers foresaw the Opposition to the repeal would be too strong without the latter Bill ; whether it passed by compulsion or inclination, in my mind makes little difference. If they really thought America should not be taxed, they did not act like Ministers : that proceeding was weak and ridiculous, which
laid

laid the sure foundation of future Taxation, of future Rebellion ; it was treacherous to America. If they passed this Bill, which established the right, in order to please the Majority of the Legislature, they did not behave like men ; they submitted to act in direct contradiction to their own views and their own principles : they gave up every pretension of honesty to Hypocrisy and Fallacy ; whilst they enforced a melancholy example in this Country, that temporising matters is ultimately productive of more difficulties, and that deceiving all parties is the sure method to please none.

By the Stamp Act the seeds of discontent were sown ; but the Declaratory Law which accompanied the Repeal of that Act, gave
C them

them root and vigour, and has at length produced a full harvest of political confusion.—This is the grand spring which has given force and motion to the whole Machine.—This Declaration is not like those Acts which may be made to-day and repealed to-morrow.—It is like Magna Charta, or the Bill of Rights, a Fundamental Law. It is a legislative establishment of a constitutional principle; and is therefore a Law which no future Legislature, that professes a regard for the Constitution, can annul. I know it will be said, That this declarative law has no active force, and therefore in itself can have no ill effect; that it was only framed to preserve the national Honour, by shewing that the repeal of the Stamp Act was the result of Indulgence, and not of

Fear :

Fear. It was very ill suited to such a purpose. Public as well as private favours should ever be conferred with Dignity and Liberality. True Dignity threatens not those it pardons. Liberality makes no boast of its favours. Almost useless and inactive, indeed, this Act remained in the hands of a feeble Administration: they were well contented the sword should sleep in the scabbard, which they wanted spirit to unsheath and wisdom to direct. Discerning men foresaw, public-spirited men wished it might be wielded by more daring hands. Nor have their expectations been disappointed; for in truth every subsequent measure of every subsequent Administration may, from this law, challenge privilege, and claim protection.

This Bill is 6 Geo. III. c. 12. entitled,
 “ An Act for the better securing the Dependency of his Majesty’s Dominions in America upon the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain ;” the preamble and substance are as follow: “ Whereas several of the Houses of Representatives in his Majesty’s Colonies and Plantations in America have of late, against law, claimed to themselves, or to the General Assemblies of the same, the sole and exclusive right of imposing duties and taxes upon his Majesty’s subjects in the said Colonies and Plantations ; and have, in pursuance of such claim, passed certain Votes, Resolutions and Orders, derogatory to the Legislative Authority of Parliament, and inconsistent with the Dependency of the said Colonies and Plantations upon the
 Crown

Crown of Great Britain : May it therefore please your most excellent Majesty, that it may be declared; and be it declared by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, and by and with the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said Colonies and Plantations in America have been, are, and of right ought to be subordinate unto, and dependant upon the Imperial Crown and Parliament of Great Britain ; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the Colonies

Colonies and People of America, subjects to the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever."

The next Act passed under this Administration, was 6 Geo. III. c. 52. intitled, " An Act for repealing certain duties in the British Colonies and Plantations, granted by several Acts of Parliament; and also the duties imposed by an Act made in the last Session of Parliament upon certain East India goods exported from Great Britain; for granting other duties instead thereof; and for further encouraging, regulating, and securing several branches of the trade of this Kingdom, and the British Dominions in America."

The inconsistency of the Rockingham Administration plainly appears in this Act

of

of Parliament. It is declared in a Resolution of the Congress, to be an infringement and violation of the rights of the Colonists, and that the repeal of it is essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the American Colonies. Let us trace the grounds of the resentment evident in this Resolution in the treacherous conduct of this Ministry. They surrendered the tax ; next they go back to declare the right ; then they come forward again to establish the fact. They pretended to stand forth to save the virtue of America from the Ravisher, that, under a false promise of honourable accommodation, they might themselves deflower her Virgin Charms.

The other Acts complained of by the Congress passed under another Administration ;

tion*; and it is very remarkable, that the first Resolution, with regard to the Acts of Parliament, extends down only to the very Acts which passed under the different Administrations who now declaim so violently against the expediency, or against the Right of Taxation. It would seem as if the Americans hung them out purposely against their insidious Friends.

The Resolution of the Congress is, “*Nemine Contradicente*, That these Acts of Parliament are infringements and violations of the Rights of Colonists; and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary, in order

* Duke of Grafton, First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Chatham, Privy Seal; Lord Camden, Chancellor; Lord Shelburn and Mr. Conway, Secretaries of State.

to

to restore harmony between Great Britain and the American Colonies ; that they impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the powers of the Admiralty Courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American Subject of Trial by Jury, authorise the Judges certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American Rights.

The remainder of the Acts complained of by this Resolution, are, 7 G. 3. c. 41. an Act to enable his Majesty to put the customs and other duties in the British Dominions in America, and the execution

D

of

of the Laws relating to Trade there, under the management of Commissioners to be appointed for that purpose, and to be resident in the said dominions;—7 G. 3. c. 46. an Act for granting certain duties in the British Colonies and Plantations in America; for allowing a drawback of the duties of customs upon the exportation from this Kingdom of coffee and cocoa nuts, of the produce of the said Colonies or Plantations; for discontinuing the drawbacks payable on china, earthen ware, exported to America; and for the more effectually preventing the clandestine running of goods in the said Colonies and Plantations; and 8 Geo. III. c. 22. an Act for the more easy and effectual recovery of the penalties and forfeitures inflicted by the Acts of Parliament relating to the trade
and

and revenues of the British Colonies and Plantations in North America.

X

KING'S SPEECH, *March 10, 1768.*

“ The welfare of all my Subjects is my
“ first object ; nothing, therefore, has ever
“ given me more real concern, than to
“ see any of them, in any part of my
“ Dominions, attempting to loosen those
“ bonds of constitutional subordination
“ so essential to the welfare of the whole.
“ But it is with much satisfaction that I
“ now see them returning to a more just
“ sense of what their own interest, no
“ less than their duty, indispensibly re-
“ quires of them ; and thereby giving me
“ the prospect of continuing to reign over
“ an happy, because an united People.”

ADDRESS of *both* HOUSES of PARLIA-
MENT, *May 13, 1768.*

“ Permit us to assure your Majesty of our
“ ready concurrence in every measure that
“ may contribute to enable your Majesty
“ most effectually to maintain the public
“ authority, and carry the Laws into due
“ execution; and of our determined re-
“ solution, most chearfully and vigorous-
“ ly to support your Majesty against
“ every attempt to create difficulty or
“ disturbance of your Majesty’s Go-
“ vernment.”

Some of these former Ministers defend themselves, by saying, “ We voted against
“ these measures in the Cabinet.” I answer,
Why did they lend their mercenary names
to measures they affirm they detest?

Why

Why did they, for the sake of retaining lucrative Places, adopt doctrines they now assert with vehemence to be derogatory from the Liberty of the Subject, and to be subversive of our Constitution? Alas! is this Patriotism?

These men had long sighed for the favours of the Public, as much as for those of a mistress; their wishes were at length gratified. Sated with enjoyment, like the hateful husband who connives at his own disgrace, and even caresses the adulterer, they gave false credit to the spurious offspring, and were the contented venders of their own infamy.

X It is always supposed, that the King's Speech is the Speech of the Ministers;
and

“ and that it contains the sentiments of the
“ Leading Men in the Cabinet.^X Novem-
“ ber 8, 1768, we find the following
“ Speech, which breathes the same deter-
“ mination to preserve the Dignity of this
“ Country, the spirit to punish Faction and
“ Rebellion, which inspires the present
“ measures; tempered with that universal
“ benevolence, that affection and compassion
“ for deluded Subjects, which evidently ap-
“ pears in the Commission of Lord Howe.
“ I mention this, in honour of the two
“ Leading Men * in Council, when this
“ Speech was framed,

“ At the close of the last Parliament, I
“ expressed my satisfaction at the appear-

* The Duke of Grafton, First Lord of the Treas-
ury, Lord Camden, Chancellor.

“ and

“ance which then induced me to believe,
 “that such of my Subjects as had been mis-
 “led in some parts of my Dominions, were
 “returning to a just sense of their duty :
 “but it is with equal concern, that I have
 “since seen that spirit of Faction, which I
 “had hoped was well nigh extinguished,
 “breaking out afresh in some of my Colo-
 “nies in North America ; and in one of
 “them proceeding even to acts of vio-
 “lence, and of resistance to the execution
 “of the law ; the capital town of which
 “Colony appears by late advices to be in a
 “state of disobedience to all law and Go-
 “vernment, and has proceeded to measures
 “subversive of the Constitution, and attend-
 “ed with circumstances that manifest a dis-
 “position to throw off their dependance on
 “Great Britain. On my part, I have pur-
 “sued

“ sued every measure that appeared to be
 “ necessary for supporting the Constitution;
 “ and inducing a due obedience to the au-
 “ thority of the Legislature. You may rely
 “ upon my steady perseverance in these pur-
 “ poses : and I doubt not, but that with your
 “ concurrence and support, I shall be able
 “ to defeat the mischievous designs of those
 “ turbulent and seditious persons, who, un-
 “ der false pretences, have but too success-
 “ fully deluded numbers of my Subjects in
 “ America, and whose practices, if suffered
 “ to prevail, cannot fail to produce the most
 “ fatal consequences to my Colonies imme-
 “ diately, and, in the end, to all the Do-
 “ minions of my Crown, &c.”

An Address is equally supposed to be
 fabricated by the same hands, before it is
 offered

offered to the consideration of either House, we find the following Addresses to the King after this Speech :

ADDRESS of the HOUSE of LORDS.

“ WE desire, with hearts full of gra-
 “ titude, to acknowledge that Royal
 “ goodness so evidently manifested to all
 “ your People, by your Majesty’s constant
 “ attention to the great commercial in-
 “ terests of this Country; we should be
 “ wanting on our part, if we did not ap-
 “ ply to the consideration of them, with
 “ that alacrity which objects so very im-
 “ portant, and capable of producing the
 “ most essential benefits to the Nation, de-
 “ mand of us.

“ The resolution which your Majesty
 “ is pleased to express, that you will not

E

“ suffer

“ suffer any attempt to be made deroga-
 “ tory to the honour and dignity of your
 “ Crown, or injurious to the rights of
 “ your People, does, and ever will, call
 “ from us the assurances of our most
 “ chearful support; nor do we conceive
 “ that any conduct can contribute more
 “ than this will, to render all the other
 “ Powers of Europe as careful as your
 “ Majesty has ever been, to avoid taking
 “ any step that may endanger the general
 “ tranquillity.—We feel the most sincere
 “ concern that any of our Fellow-subjects
 “ in North America should be misled by
 “ factious and designing men into acts of
 “ violence and resistance to the execution
 “ of the law, attended with circumstances,
 “ that manifest a disposition to throw
 “ off their dependence upon Great Bri-

tain. At the same time we shall be
 ready to contribute to the relief of any real
 grievance of your Majesty's American
 Subjects ; we most unfeignedly give your
 Majesty the strongest assurances, that
 we shall ever zealously concur in sup-
 port of such just and necessary measures
 as may best enable your Majesty to re-
 press that daring spirit of Disobedience,
 and to enforce a due submission to the
 laws ; always considering, that it is one
 of our most essential duties to maintain
 inviolate, the supreme authority of the
 Legislature of Great Britain over every
 part of the Dominions of your Majesty's
 Crown."

ADDRESS of the HOUSE of COMMONS.

" WE sincerely lament, that the arts
 of wicked and designing men should
 E 2 " have

“ have been able to rekindle that flame of
 “ Sedition in some of his Majesty’s Colo-
 “ nies in North America, which, at the
 “ close of the late Parliament, his Ma-
 “ jesty saw reason to hope was well nigh
 “ extinguished. We shall be ever ready
 “ to hear and redress any real grievance of
 “ your Majesty’s American Subjects; but
 “ we should betray that trust reposed in
 “ us, if we did not withstand every at-
 “ tempt to infringe or weaken our just
 “ rights; and that we shall always con-
 “ sider it as one of our most important
 “ duties, to maintain inviolable the su-
 “ preme authority of the Legislature of
 “ Great Britain over every part of the
 “ British Empire.

“ We beg leave to present our most
 “ dutiful thanks to his Majesty, for hav-
 “ ing

“ ing taken such steps as he judged ne-
 “ cessary for supporting the Constitution,
 “ and for repressing that spirit of Faction
 “ and Disobedience, which, in the chief
 “ town of one of his Majesty's Colonies,
 “ appear to have proceeded even to acts
 “ of violence, in direct defiance of all le-
 “ gal authority : and we will, by every
 “ means in our power, cheerfully and
 “ zealously support your Majesty in all
 “ such future measures as shall be found
 “ requisite to enforce a due obedience to
 “ the laws, to restore order and good go-
 “ vernment where they have been disturb-
 “ ed, and to establish the constitutional
 “ dependance of the Colonies on Great
 “ Britain, so essential to the interest and
 “ prosperity of both.”

Amidst the variety of opinions formed
 by the particular prejudices and passions of
 each

each individual, it is singular, that the Writers who are the most eminent on the popular side *, who have even strained

* In the North Briton, N^o 31, it is said, “ Of the plenteous crop of Laurels which Mr. Pitt has gathered, the fairest and the only Laurels likely to be *ever-green*, have come from America.” The revenues of the New World have been taxed to pay a little Tribute to its Conqueror.

Junius, in the First Letter, says, “ A series of inconsistent Measures has alienated the Colonies from their Duty as Subjects, and from their natural affection to their Common Country.” When Mr. Grenville was placed at the Head of the Treasury, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain’s supporting such an establishment, as her former successes had made indispensable ; and at the same time, of giving any sensible relief to Foreign Trade, and to the weight of the Public Debt. He thought it equitable that those parts of the Empire which had benefited most by the expences of the war, should contribute something to the expences of the Peace, and he had no doubt of the Constitutional Right vested in Parliament to raise the Contribution. But unfortunately for this country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed ; and
because

strained the liberty of the Subject to the highest tone, should all agree in this doctrine,

because he was Minister, and Mr. Pitt and Lord Camden were to be the Patrons of America, because they were in opposition, their declaration gave spirit and argument to the Colonies; and while, perhaps, they meant no more than the ruin of a Minister, they in effect divided one-half of the Empire from the other.

“ It was in the Colonies that our best and surest
 “ hopes were founded. Their extensive commerce
 “ would have supported our home manufactures
 “ when other markets failed, and rewarded us in some
 “ measure for that security and extent of dominion
 “ which the blood and treasure of this Country had
 “ purchased for them. Here, too, our most reasonable
 “ expectations are disappointed: not only the
 “ Merchant who gives credit on the security of personal
 “ good faith is ruined by it; but, in a public
 “ view, the sum of the debts of individuals is held out
 “ *in terrorem*, to awe us into a compliance with pretensions,
 “ which shake the foundation of our political existence.
 “ I see the spirit which has gone abroad through the Colonies;
 “ and I know what consequences that spirit must and will produce.
 “ If it be determined to enforce the authority of the Legislature,
 “ the event will be uncertain; but if we
 “ yield

trine, That a tax upon America is not only legal, but equitable. They do not set precise limits to this right ; I presume, for this reason: the laws of human nature are inviolable. It must be equally evident to every man possessed of the reasoning faculty, that if a heavy tax is laid, if Government is oppressive, the subject will wish to find a remedy. Like a sick man, he is ever restless in every situation ; but when a Contribution which is due for protection from one Country to another is refused, when every assistance to discharge the indispensable expences of Government are denied, we are to contrive a punishment for rebellious ingratitude, and fix a stigma on the

“ yield to the pretensions of America, there is no further doubt about the matter. From that moment
 “ they become an independent People ; they open
 “ their trade with the rest of the world, and England
 “ is undone.” *Atticus's Letters, published 1769.*

abettors

abettors of treachery and disobedience. Famine, and all the horrors of war should prey upon one, ignominy and disgrace should be the portion of the other.

No honest man can seriously maintain, that it would be impossible the Americans should know, before a tax is laid, whether they contribute a just share towards the supporting the Dignity and Authority of the Empire. Whilst Government subsists, a confidence must be placed in the Legislature; from the moment People become their own Law-givers, they renounce all protection from Civil Society and from Government, which establishes rules for the intercourse of Mankind. It is as absurd to suppose this War is carried on for the sake of extending the Regal

Prerogative: It is the desire of the Americans only, to throw the whole Government into the Hands of the Crown, which would undermine the Principles of the Constitution. The Regal Power would then infallibly rise on the weakness of the other Parts of the Legislature. It would encroach no less on the Independence of the Peers, than on the Privileges of the Commons. Happily for this Country, we are blessed with a Monarch, who has relinquished every Claim to this Power, and has placed all the Rights over the Colonies in the Hands of the People *. The Americans wished to put

* The money arising from the Sale of the conquered Islands in the West Indies, amounting ^{money} to 100,000*l.* to which the King was entitled by Law, has been ordered by his Majesty to be paid into the Treasury, and not into the Hands of his own Treasurer.

all that Power into his Hands, which even after the Conquest of America he would never possess. From a desire of increasing the Legislative Authority, he runs a risk of diminishing his own. He has at stake the Appointments and Patronage he has already peaceably enjoyed, and whilst he cannot gain, he may considerably lose.

Let this be a full answer to all those, who argue that this War is detrimental to the Constitution, that it will ultimately encrease the Prerogative of the Crown: they may argue with subtlety, I answer them by Facts. There are, however, very few who hold out these arguments upon the American Question; the national opinion is almost uniform. Even upon this subject, the maxim of the learned and ju-

dicious Hooker is contradicted, that “ he
 “ that goeth about to perswade a multi-
 “ tude, that they are not so well govern-
 “ ed as they ought to be, shall never want
 “ attentive and favourable hearers ; be-
 “ cause such as openly reprove supposed
 “ Disorders of State, are taken for princi-
 “ pal Friends to the common benefit of
 “ all ; and for men that carry singular
 “ freedom of mind.”

An eminent political Writer has said,
 “ That those who have been concerned in
 “ one revolution, are never easy, till by
 “ their intrigues they can bring about an-
 “ other.” This can only be falsified by
 our conduct, by shewing our Loyalty to
 the best of Kings, our Love to the hap-
 piest Country under Heaven, which should
 make

make it our common wish, to extirpate this fatal opposition to Government, which threatens ruin to the dearest and most valuable Interests in this Kingdom. Let those men, who lately defended their character with so much resentment, whose honour is tender to the gentlest reflection, hear what was more warmly advanced against their Doctrine, a few years since, by an Archbishop of York *, not inferior in learning and abilities to the present. Speaking of the Party attached to the Rebels, he says, View it in its principles and motives, and you will find the foundation of it laid in the darkest and most black dispositions; in Men, whose minds

* This Sermon, together with his active conduct in suppressing the Rebellion, obtained him the See of Canterbury, when the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham had the management of Public Affairs.

and

and consciences are perpetually intoxicated by Ambition, by Pride, by Covetousness, by Revengefulness, by Faction, which last is nothing else but a wicked compound of Pride and Covetousness, Ambition and Revengefulness, united and made fast together by Hypocrisy; qualities, all of them ungoverned, and which continually animate those who are enslaved by them, to break loose from all the most sacred ties of Reason and Religion, and of their sworn Allegiance to God and their Country.

For to men of these dispositions, it is no argument of Peace and Obedience, that the administration of a Government is in the wisest Hands, and that every thing is managed with the exactest Justice, and
most

most scrupulous observance of the Laws. If their Pride and Ambition is not satisfied, and if they are not distinguished by posts of Dignity and Honour, they will endeavour to spoil the order and regularity of things; and if they are not allowed to share in the conducting it, they will contrive ways to clog the Wheels of Government, and make it drive heavily, if they cannot overturn it.

To men of these dispositions, it is no argument of Loyalty and a peaceful demeanor, that every thing is secured to them which can make their lives comfortable and easy; that their property stands upon the basis of the Laws; that their goods and possessions are guarded from all violence and outrage; and that every man is allowed

lowed to dwell safely under his own vine,
and under his own fig-tree. All these are
inconsiderable advantages, not worth our
thanks or our remembrance; 'tis a suf-
ficient grievance, and will abundantly jus-
tify their disobedience, that they are cut
off from every opportunity of enriching
themselves and families; and must submit
to be contented with a moderate and easy
Fortune, when they might be laying the
foundation of distinguished grandeur and
magnificence.

To men of these dispositions, whose
hearts boil with malice and revenge, it
is no argument for a weak and dutiful be-
haviour, that they live under the protec-
tion of the mildest and best-natured Prince,
and the most just and equitable Govern-
ment;

ment; for if they are not allowed the pleasure of revenge, and to execute their malice upon the Men they hate, in spite of all obligations to the contrary from Religion and common Gratitude, they will revile the King, and fly at his Name and Honour with the greatest virulency, and with the most false and odious calumnies, and blacken the Administration by artful misrepresentations, insidious constructions, and malicious aggravations.

To men of these dispositions, who feed upon faction, and love to live in storms, it is no argument, to excite their zeal for their King, and for the Honour and Interest of their Country, that they are blessed with the happy influence of a Government which labours for the Peace and Prosperity of the Public, and

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employs their utmost Wisdom and their utmost Care to kill the lurking spirit of Tumult and Disquiet. They are uneasy if they are not active in Sedition ; and that very Tranquility, which is acknowledged to be the greatest blessing consistent with the Lot of Humanity, embitters the Pleasure and Happiness of their Lives.

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