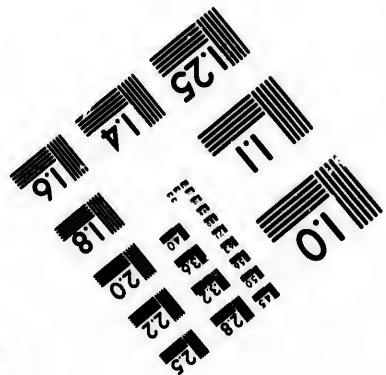
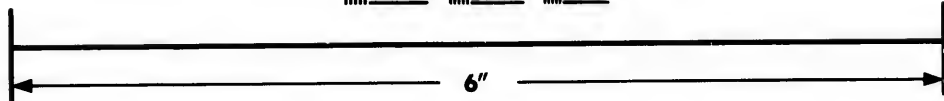
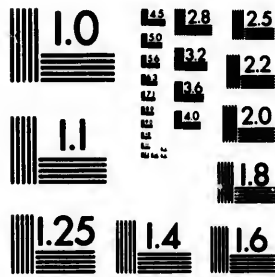


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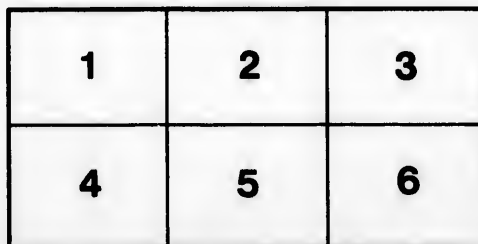
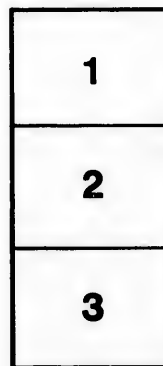
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THE LATE
OCCURRENCES
IN
NORTH AMERICA,
AND
P O L I C Y
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
CONSIDERED.

Tantane vos generis tenuit Fiducia Vestri?
Jam Coelum Terramq: meo sine numine, Venti,
Miscere, et tantas auditis tollere Moles?
Quos Ego, *Sed Motos præstat componere Fluetus.*

VIRG.

L O N D O N :

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T H E

O C C U R R E N C E S, &c.

THE British colonies in North America were originally established by Englishmen, who fled thither from the enthusiasm, tyranny, usurpation and bigotry, which at different times distracted this kingdom; as Englishmen, they had a right to the liberties of this nation, and were under the bond of allegiance to it, wheresoever they went. The charters granted to them by several of our kings, reserve the one, and confirm the other.

These charters appear to some people illegal, and beyond the power of the crown to grant; but, to judge rightly of them, we must carry our thoughts back to former times, when the crown had, or pretended to have, all power of government, even of

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this

this kingdom, vested in itself; and had an undoubted sovereignty over, and right of disposition, of all conquests or acquisitions whatsoever; and besides, the nature of America was such, that no encouragement could be too great to allure people to those countries and climates, which were then so inhospitable; but, whether these charters are legal or not, ought by no means be questioned *now*; for upon the faith of them many people embarked their lives and fortunes, and, taking up their residence in the wilds of America, established colonies, and extended thereby the trade of Great Britain to its present greatness.

The colonies are secured by these charters from the despotism of the crown, of whom they are perhaps as independant, as the inhabitants of Great Britain can be. But from this claim of independance of the crown, which the colonists insist on, results the necessity of a dependance on some other power;—sound policy, the nature of government and modern colonization require it.—This power must be the parliament of Great Britain, which hath, and ought to have, the full and absolute sovereignty over all the British dominions.

If this sovereignty seems lately to have been called in question, it ought by no means to be imputed to the spirit of disloyalty

alty or independance, but to those errors which the best-intentioned men sometimes fall into; for evidently seeing the futility of those reasons, which are generally thrown out to prove the right of the sovereignty of parliament, they have been unhappily led to doubt the right itself.

They protest against the principles of the writers on the laws of nature and nations, as destructive of all liberty; the writers on the civil law they consider as the tools of power; and the writers and expositors of the common law of this land had not, they say, the colonies of Great Britain in contemplation, when they delivered those *dicta*, which are disingenuously made use of against them.

They acknowledge, that the people of Great Britain may be either actually or virtually represented in parliament, but deny that the colonies can in any manner be considered in that light: the putting them on the same footing with Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, rich and flourishing towns, when an argument is to be raised against their liberties, and denying them in the same breath, the right of Old Sarum, Aldborough, and fifty other impoverished boroughs, is most ridiculous and unfair. The comparing them to copyholders, formerly in the vilest bondage, and therefore particularly excluded the least share in government,

vernment, they consider as an insult; the treating them as women, as infants, and the dregs of the city of London, is a plain declaration of your opinion, that they are without property and integrity, will or capacity, to reconcile them to the want of representation. You tell them, not one third of the kingdom is represented; but they deny it, and insist with Mr. Blackstone, in his late masterly performance, “ that such “ *only* are entirely excluded from the right “ of voting, as can have no will of their “ own, and that there is hardly a “ free agent to be found, but what is “ entitled to a vote in some place or other “ in this kingdom.” Have we, say the Americans, no wills of our own? Are we not free agents? but could it be proved, that not one third part of the kingdom have a right of voting, yet it would not avail, unless you shewed at the same time, that the interests of all the kingdom was not the same; that the representatives of the third part of the kingdom had no knowledge of, and therefore neglected or injured the interests of the other two; you must shew likewise, that the interests of minors and women, copyholders and the lowest handicraft man in the kingdom, are not interwoven with the interests of every family and man in the kingdom; you must shew too, that minors and women have

have no relations, and that their estates give them no influence; that the same man who was a copyholder, might not have freehold lands; and that a tax upon trade is not felt by any but the merchant and manufacturer.

The comparing them to Jersey and Guernsey, the miserable remains of your Norman dominion, and mere appendages of the crown, cannot subject them to the same laws; and that even Ireland itself, which is looked upon as a conquered country, ought not to be mentioned as a rule for your conduct towards the colonies, which were originally established by Englishmen, with assurances of the fullest enjoyment of liberty. But that, with regard to Ireland itself, tho' the sovereignty of the parliament of Great Britain over it is plainly asserted, yet you are very cautious in the exercise of it, particularly with respect to internal taxation.

These reasons, which are generally urged as a sufficient ground for establishing the right of the supremacy of the parliament of Great Britain over the colonies, not being quite satisfactory to the Americans, they have been led to question the right itself, and considering the grounds thereof, and the principles of the British constitution, they have taught themselves to think,

That whatever affects all, should be debated by all, so that knowledge and mutual interest

interest will prevent mistakes and partiality ; that it is not to be imagined every representative of the people of Great-Britain has a knowledge of America, for tho' they may have taken much pains in crossing the Alps, and had much pleasure in conversing with the Ciceroni of Rome, yet it is possible they may be entirely unacquainted with the condition of New England, and the nature of lumber. That if a tax is laid on any branch of business, or upon a particular part of Great Britain, a knowledge can be soon had of the propriety and expediency of it : that the interests and condition of America is but little known : that no imposition can be laid on one part of the kingdom, without affecting the rest : that the taxing America falls solely upon that country, without affecting Great Britain, which assumes that power for its own peculiar ease and emolument, which is not a very delicate light to consider this country in. That countries and places, which have particular interests to support, ought to be represented in parliament : that it was on this principle the two Universities had the power given them of electing members ; and that if a body of people are to be taxed by laws, which they have actually no share in making, the same mischiefs will ensue which are marked in the preamble to 34 and 35 H. viii. c. 13. which gave a right to the city of Chester of chusing representatives,

presentatives, “ That the inhabitants there-
 “ of have been oftentimes touched and
 “ grieved with acts and statutes made with-
 “ in the said court of parliament, as well
 “ derogatory unto the most antient jurif-
 “ diction, liberties, and privileges thereof,
 “ as prejudicial unto the *common weal, qui-*
 “ *etness, and peace*, of his Majesty’s sub-
 “ jects.”

If then the sovereignty of the parliament of Great Britain over the colonies is founded on policy of government, and not on the principles which demand the submission of the inhabitants of Great Britain to the laws, namely, their consent to them, as either actually or virtually represented in the making of them, it behoves those who have this right to be particularly attentive in the exercise of it. And for that purpose, it is their essential duty not to despise the colonies, but to attain the best knowledge of them in their power : not to consider them as a set of vagabonds and transports, but an industrious, honest, and free people.

And in a word, not to adopt any system of partiality or prejudice, of suspicion or contempt, the marks of a wicked and weak ministry, but in all instances to treat them with tenderness and liberality as fellow subjects, and be convinced and act accordingly, that the interests of Great Britain, and its American colonies, are inseperable, and that
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the advantages of the one will not be eventually promoted, if the interests of the other are sacrificed to low and temporary expedients, and on the spur of particular occasions.

Should this ever be the case, we ought not to be surpris'd they should loudly complain and boldly protest against being made the property of an unpopular minister, who, unable to raise the necessary supplies in Great Britain, should seize on the friendless and unsupported Americans, and proposing plans of œconomy to this country, and pretending an extraordinary sagacity into future events, should form a system destructive of public confidence, and the commercial interests of both countries.

But it is urged, that however this right of parliament is founded, the Americans openly declare against it; and insolently claiming an independency, they are guilty of treason, and ought to be treated as rebels.

But nothing can be more unadvisable than the making use of opprobrious expressions, and the utmost exertion of power against supposed action, the nature and complexion of which we have no authoritative judgment of: the late occurrences in North America are of that kind, we neither can, nor ought to give a particular name to them, until we have information of their motives: for

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for should we rashly and falsely brand the conduct of any part of his Majesty's subjects with odious appellations, it will appear to every one as proceeding from the malice and indignation of party : but should we act so very injudiciously, as not only to call, but treat our American brethren as seditious, revolting; and rebellious; at a time when nothing can be farther from their thoughts, we must expect our want of charity in speech and violence of conduct will be resented by that spirit, which virtue and loyalty; once questioned; cannot help shewing. And how much would they have to answer for, whose blindness and obstinacy brought on an actual defect on of as beneficial and as loyal a part of the dominions of this kingdom as his Majesty can glory in ? But should the colonies be really averse to this government, and should we have full proof of their inclination to fall off from that duty and affection they have hitherto shewed, severity and rigour would be exerted even then too soon; if we heard not their grievances, and cordially endeavoured to give a reasonable satisfaction to their just complaints; for tho' we live in society, we must attend to the feelings of nature; and as we live in a land of liberty, we must make some allowances even for the groundless resentments of freemen.—Our news papers and coffee-house politicians have been lately full of invectives

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against

against the disposition and conduct of the Americans, and using foul mouthed reproach, and instigating the most violent methods, seem to be endeavouring to drive matters to the worst and last extremity, a civil war : and yet the same news papers and coffee-house politicians, not long since, made use of every plausible turn, and every palliative, to excuse, nay, to justify the chicanery of the French, in not paying the Canada bills ; and the want of honour and humanity of the Spaniards, in refusing to discharge the ransom of Manilla. These two nations were lately declared enemies to Great Britain, and will ever be the opposers of her interests ; and yet we treated both with tenderness, politeness, and condescension, because we were by all means to avoid a war, though nothing can be worse policy than to preserve the public repose by yielding any point of interest or honour. What can we think of such men and such politics ? they pass over unnoticed the open violations of solemn treaties, and blacken with scurrility and ignominy actions and men, whose motives and temper they are grossly ignorant of. A war is to be carefully avoided, in their opinion, with aliens, and the eternal enemies and rivals of this kingdom, but to be immediately entered into, and pursued with rigour and vengeance against its descendants and subjects. A civil war is per-

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haps in their notions less injurious to the happiness and interests of a people than a national one ; but I hope Great Britain will never be governed by such men, and such politics ; the present times, I am sure, do not require such councils.

The critical situation we are in demands deliberation and tenderness, and not rashness and violence ; we ought to act dispassionately for the mutual interests of both countries, and not in a spirit of party to the public confusion. We ought to consider the object for which our colonies were established, and how far it has been pursued and encouraged, or neglected and ruined ; we ought to be fully acquainted with the temper and condition of those who compose them, and of what benefit they have been, and what disposition they have had hitherto to this kingdom ; but we ought above all things to weigh in our minds, over and over again, the probable and possible consequences of treating those as enemies who have it in their power to be our most beneficial friends : we must consider, whether the terror of arms ever convinced the judgment, and conciliated the affections, and whether the Americans can, or will, ever be cordially united to you, if moderation, the best means of governing, is called pusillanimity, and looked upon as below the dignity of authority.

rity. Should compulsory means be determined on as absolutely necessary to quiet the Americans, the die is cast, *aut Cæsar aut nullus*. Every man of the least experience in Great Britain knows the consequence; every man in America trembles at it; it will be the ruin of both countries. It is probable indeed, considering the weakness of the Americans, that Great Britain will come off triumphant in the contest, but the victory will be truly deplorable. Should it be doubtful for any time, that alone will make you repent your recourse to violence; but should you succeed at last, all confidence and cordiality being interrupted, you neither can, nor will, treat the Americans for the future as subjects, but will reduce them to the most implicit obedience. But remember, that though the Americans are naturally good subjects, they will ever be bad slaves, the difficulty will be great to keep them in the irksome state of servility, and the expence and watchfulness necessary for it will entirely exhaust you: for though the English, as it is said, will, when they cease to be freemen, be the most abject slaves the Americans, on the contrary, should they now be reduced to that miserable state, will ever retain a spirit for, and longing after liberty; and the difference between the temper of the two people in this deplorable event, will be owing to the different causes
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which produce it. Whenever the people of this island cease to be free, it will be when they are so thoroughly corrupted, as basely to betray their own rights, and become willing slaves; but the Americans now have the independance which a bountiful nature gives, and the strongest sense of liberty; and therefore force alone can deprive them of their enjoyment of it. I said it was probable that Great Britain would at last be triumphant, but it is possible that her most vigorous efforts may be baffled; notwithstanding the greatness of her power, and the weakness of America.

Every war is doubtful, power has frequently ruined itself by confidence, and weakness grown strong by despair. History affords many examples to prove the truth of this observation: the establishment of the United Provinces, about two hundred years ago, is an incontestable one; and is well worthy of our particular attention at this time; for it will enable us to observe the consequences of weak or violent councils, of corrupt or ill conduct, of faction or obstinacy, which weakens and dissolves the firmest government; and if our condition is so critical, as to confound even the best heads and best hearts in the kingdom, in determining what ought to be done, to extricate us from our difficulties; the rise and progress of the disturbances in the Low
Coun-

Countries will instruct us at least in the negative kind of knowledge, of what ought not to be done. Some people may, perhaps, imagine, that the wisdom, thus attained, is at best very uncertain; for tho' all things are possible, and what has been, may be; yet hardly any one thinks he is liable to the same misery another has fallen into, because a change in time, fortune, condition, and a variety of other circumstances, make him an exception to the former rule. But the truth is, that so long as human nature continues what it is, the same causes will generally produce the same effects; at least it will be consistent with human prudence, to conduct ourselves as if they would, when the circumstances of the times are such, as to leave us no other rule to go by.

The Spanish monarchy was, about the year 1559, when the peace of Cambray was made, the most respected power in Europe. Spain, the Milanese, the Two Sicilies, the Low Countries, and the new discovered World, were the formidable members of it: the ambition of France was checked, it held Italy in awe, and England was subservient to its purposes; considerable acquisitions were made by the peace, besides the particular objects of the war.

Thus circumstanced, Spain had nothing to do but, by cultivating the arts of peace, establish its extensive empire on the firmest

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foundation. But, unfortunately, the peace of Cambray, which restored quiet to all the declared enemies of Spain, produced animosities, civil dissentions, and open ruptures amongst her own subjects, to the misery of individuals, and dismemberment of the empire.

The means by which this signal ruin was brought about, may be worth investigating. The first blow given to it, came from a quarter the least expected, from its weakness and former loyalty of conduct towards Spain. But there is nothing so unlikely, which particular accidents may not produce; and the greatest empires have fallen, by means apparently the most contemptible.

The Low Countries, which were divided with many states, with distinct governments, were over-run by the northern nations, who ravaged the greatest part of Europe, particularly the Saxons, who, fierce in arms, established and maintained freedom wheresoever they went; for, fighting without pay, and not for the ambition of another, they conquered for themselves, and were therefore attentive to secure the public liberty against the artifice or violence of those who might claim a superiority over them. As they were bred to arms, they never forgot the use of them, and kept themselves free thereby from open insults; and, lest cunning and time should injure their

their rights, they claimed and exercis'd the greatest liberties; and, amongst the rest, the right of determining disputes about the succession of their princes, when doubtful or controverted; and deciding those between the several towns, of raising a militia for defence of their countries, in a war amongst their neighbours; of advising, in time of danger abroad, or discontents at home; and upon any new imposition that was necessary upon the people: the use of the free assemblies was another of those liberties, whereof the inhabitants of those provinces were fond and tenacious. These rights seem to be essential to contribute them freemen, but there were other concessions and graces from their princes who ruled over them, which, being once granted, they had a full and complete title to.

Their wars, which were generally short, were with princes and competitors of their own size and strength, unless indeed they fell into the quarrels of England and France, and then they were engaged on the skirts only, the gross of it being waged between the two kings, and their smaller states were made use of for the commodiousness of a diversion, rather than any great weight they might have in the main of the affair.

The mighty growth of the commerce of this extensive country (attributed by Commines to the goodness of the princes, and the

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the ease and safety of the people) enabled Spain, into whose hands it came, to be a match for France. Philip of Burgundy especially was a wise and good prince, loved by his subjects, and esteemed by his enemies; and taking his measures so well upon the decline of the English greatness abroad, by their dissentions at home, ended his quarrels in France, by a safe and honourable peace; "so that he took," Sir William Temple says, "no pretence from his greatness, or his wars, to change any thing in the form of his government;" but Charles, the Hardy, asked frequent and heavy contributions, which, gained at first by the credit of his father's government, and his own great designs, but at length rendered his people discontented, and himself disesteemed and unfortunate. In the time of Maximilian, several bodies of German troops were brought down into Flanders for their defence against France; and in the time of Charles V. a much greater number of Spaniards and Italians were introduced on the same account; but these demands of money, and these grievances by the introduction of soldiers, gave occasion to no disturbances at first, for Charles was of a generous and gentle nature, and dying, left to Philip the Second the Seventeen Provinces, in a condition as peaceable and loyal as either prince or subject could desire; but

being soon treated with various marks of contempt and distrust, and the foreign soldiers and those exactions which the war had made necessary, and therefore readily submitted to, being continued, the inhabitants of the Provinces withdrew that affection and attachment they had hitherto shewed upon all occasions.

The government of the Low Countries being beneath the immediate consideration of the Austrian greatness, the whole was devolved on the Dutchess of Parma, assisted by the *Cardinal de Granville*, who being the adviser of the continuation of the foreign troops and exactions of money for their support, was looked upon as the chief promoter or instrument of their oppressions, and not of their defence, when a general peace had left them no enemies to fear.

The people complained with a general consent and passion, and the States enforced their complaints by concurring with them; but all uneasiness and remonstrances being disregarded, the provinces first contriving various delays, absolutely refused at last to raise any more money for the pay of the Spanish troops; and such was the universal despair, that, neglecting their dikes, they declared they had rather be drowned by the sea, than held in subjection by the foreign forces.

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This spirit of the people, alarming the court, the troops were recalled, and thereby the public tranquility restored.

But it was interrupted in the year 1565, by the resolution that was taken to annul all the laws, impose arbitrary taxes, create new bishops, with their spiritual courts, and judges, at the will of the king, or pope, and above all to establish the Inquisition, that extraordinary court of judicature, contrary to the ancient laws and customs of the country, and which they could not introduce into Milan or Naples; and, to sum up the whole, all these violations of public and private liberty, of temporal and spiritual rights, were to be asserted and maintained by the hangman and foreign troops; means which, Sir William Temple says, "are commonly made use of to suppress civil commotions, but were, in this instance, the occasion of their breaking out in Flanders."

For the principal lords meeting together at Bruffels, represented their rights and infringements thereof to the Governess.— "This congress," says Voltaire, "was called a conspiracy at Madrid, but was considered in the Low Countries as a most lawful act; and it is certain the confederates were not rebels."—Their petitions being listened to, and the rigour of the edicts about religion and the Inquisition

quisition being remitted, all noise of discontent and tumult was appeased, and the governess was both obeyed and honoured.

But it being soon after discovered, that the blackest designs were formed by the court of Madrid, who disavowed the former moderation and justice, the provinces were struck with astonishment; but that soon gave way to rage, which began to appear in their looks, their speech, their bold meetings and libels, and was increased by the miserable spectacle of innumerable executions. And what added insult to oppression was, Philips insisted that he was absolved from those oaths, whereby he confirmed their liberties, by the supreme power of the Pope. “ This reason (says Voltaire) might possibly have great weight with Roman Catholics, but naturally enraged the Protestants, and confirmed them in their disaffection.”

In the beginning of the year 1566, there appeared in the citizens an open contempt of authority; executions were hindered, officers abused, and prisons forced. This was followed by a confederacy of the Lords never to suffer the inquisition in the Low Countries, as contrary to all laws, sacred and prophane, and exceeding the cruelty of former tyranny. Upon which, all resolution of force or rigour growing unsafe for government, the Duchess of Parma was obliged

obliged to use gentle methods, and promise, with the concurrence of the court of Spain, a full redress of grievances; but whether a redress was never intended, or from the dilatoriness of Spanish councils was deferred too long, it certainly came too late; the flame broke out, and the revolt appeared universal.

But the richer and more prudent men of the provinces, particularly the Prince of Orange, and the Counts Egmont and Horne, feeling the ill effects, and abhorring the rage of popular tumults, as the worst mischief that can befall any state, exerted their utmost vigour, loyalty, and that influence which the public affection gave them, to appease the general discontent; by which means, and the prudent and moderate management of the governers, all the provinces were restored to their former peace, obedience, and appearance at least of loyalty.

But scarce was this happy event brought about, when the arrival of the Duke of Alva, with ten thousand of the best Spanish and Italian soldiers, under the command of the choicest officers which the late war had bred up, struck all the Low Countries with astonishment, submission, and despair.

The trading part of the town and country retired out of the provinces in such vast numbers, that in a few days one hundred thousand people, taking their money and effects

effects, abandoned their country. " So
 " great antipathy ever appears (says Sir
 " William Temple) between merchants
 " and soldiers, the first pretending to be
 " safe under laws, which the other makes
 " subject to his sword and his will."

The Dutchess of Parma, who was al-
 ways for the mildest measures, thought the
 public tranquility ought not to be disturbed
 by new oppressions, nor the royal authority
 lessened by being made a party to a war
 against its subjects, constantly dissuaded
 against the present conduct; but her advice
 being disregarded, she retired from the go-
 vernment of the Low Countries, not chusing
 to be answerable for measures so pernicious
 to the public interest.

The provinces had demanded, some time
 before, the recall of the Cardinal de Gran-
 ville, who returning to Madrid, hated by,
 and hating the country he came from, in-
 fluenced the court in all its measures, and
 the Duke of Alva, invested with unusual
 powers, exercised them accordingly with
 the utmost rigour in violation of the laws of
 the country and humanity, and to the dis-
 honour of the King, and the ruin of the
 Austrian greatness.

The misery which these councils intro-
 duced are so shocking, that we cannot read
 of them, even at this day, without horror
 and detestation.

" The

“ The towns (says Sir William Temple)
 “ stomached the breach of their charters ;
 “ the people of their liberties ; the Knights
 “ of the Golden Fleece the charter of their
 “ order ; all complain of the new and odi-
 “ ous courts of judicature ; of the difuse of
 “ the states, and introduction of the forces ;
 “ but all in vain, the King was constant to
 “ what he had determined, the Duke of
 “ Alva was in his nature cruel and exora-
 “ ble ; the new army was fierce, brave, and
 “ desirous of nothing more than a rebellion
 “ in that country ; the people were in a
 “ rage, but awed and unheaded ; all was
 “ seizure and process, confiscation and pu-
 “ nishment, blood and horror, insolence
 “ and dejection, punishments executed, and
 “ meditated revenge.”

The council of Blood, which Alva had
 established, soon lopt off the lesser branches,
 but the greater took longer time in hewing
 down ; but at length the Counts Egmont
 and Horne, notwithstanding their merits to
 the crown of Spain, and earnest solicitations
 from all quarters in their favour, were sa-
 crificed to the spirit of pride, cruelty, and
 distrust.—Their blood was the first cement
 of the republic of the united provinces.

William Prince of Orange, an ancestor of
 our great deliverer, finding his life sought
 after, fled into Germany, being unable,
 without one foot of land, and without men

or

or money, to oppose his country's enemy—
 but persecution supplied him with every
 thing, it collected friends, it raised contri-
 butions, it gave resentment, and that inve-
 terate courage called despair, but being weak
 he was hardly ever successful against his po-
 tent enemies, who insulted over the liberties
 of his country in the grossest manner, and
 moved with no remorse, and terrified by no
 threats from a broken, divided, and unarmed
 people, and thinking forms and measures
 were not now necessary to be observed, de-
 manded a general tax of the hundredth part
 of each man's property to be raised imme-
 diately, and for the time to come the twen-
 tieth of all immoveables, and the tenth of
 what was sold.—“ It was wonderful (says
 “ Voltaire) that the master of Mexico and
 “ Peru should be thus impoverished, as to
 “ stand in need of such taxes.”—This ra-
 pacity and injustice compleats the general
 dissatisfaction, the popular fury is almost
 incredible, the sluices are opened regardless
 of themselves, so that the enemy is over-
 whelmed, the women list in companies, re-
 pair breeches, give alarms, and beat up
 quarters ; the Duke of Alva in return
 slaughters innocent persons of both sexes
 without remorse, and both sides give into
 the most horrid practices and returns of ig-
 nomy, cruelty, and scorn—the unavoidable
 consequences of civil dissention—but this is
 a scene

a scene too dreadful to be long dwelt on. In short, therefore, the Austrian greatness, after having tried every method which force, policy, and wickedness could suggest to reduce its revolted subjects, was obliged at last to treat with, and acknowledge them, in the most humiliating manner, as a free and independent people.

It is not to be imagined however, that natural courage, or even despair, could have brought the affairs of the united provinces to this fortunate conclusion, if they had not been sometimes underhand and at other times openly assisted and supported by the other powers of Europe, who envied or dreaded the greatness, which Spain had attained to by the peace of Cambray.

Many observations might be made on this detail of the rise and progress of the disturbances in the Low Countries; one is most obvious, which is: That the imposing taxes and introducing troops into the country, when a general peace made both unnecessary, were the first grounds of discontent, which was fermented by establishing bishopricks and judicatures, unknown to the antient laws and customs, and questioning at the same time those rights and charters which the people claimed from their former princes; but that the general uneasiness, occasioned by this conduct, might have been easily appeased, if the mistakes in government had

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been

been corrected in time: The dutchess of Parma, wise and moderate in her disposition, advised it; but the cardinal de Granville, thinking his reputation for integrity, sagacity and knowledge, depended on the prosecution of those measures he had formerly advised, strenuously opposed every mitigation, and insisted on the vigorous execution of the edicts.—This violence the times would not bear—and therefore the loss of the United Provinces, with their extensive and beneficial trade, must be imputed to this *one m n.*

A serious consideration of this remarkable event in history ought to alarm those, who now seem eagerly bent to drive things to extremities. But perhaps, however passionate they may appear in speech, they are in their own natures timorous, and would be fearful of answering for the effects and consequences of those violent councils which they give to others. Should this be the case, their conduct must be imputed to the rage and indignation of party and disappointed ambition. It is in vain then we trouble ourselves with such men, but let us rather apply to those whose principles are founded on liberty, and are guided by moderation; and those who have inclination as well as abilities to extricate this kingdom and its dominions from their present confusion and miserable condition.

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The discontent and uneasiness, so universal amongst his Majesty's subjects in North-America, cannot but have the worst effects on the interests of both countries; it would therefore be the honest part of all the subjects, on both sides of the Atlantic, to endeavour to appease the present ferment: For should it be increased, or even be kept up to the pitch it now is at, the consequences will be most ruinous. If it arises from the spirit of absolute independance, that spirit ought to be checked; but if from an injudicious conduct and hard and undeserved treatment from this country, that conduct and treatment ought to be changed.

The loyalty of the American colonies, has, till very lately, been unimpeached; they have diligently laboured for you in peace, and zealously co-operated with you in war; descended from this country, they have the strongest attachment to it; and closely connected with it, all their produce centers here; they glory in the same king, have the same religion, and claim a right to the same liberties. These are strong motives of affection to you, but should these ties be loosened, the difficulty of succeeding in the attempt of independency is so great, that nothing but the most unhappy times can force them to venture on it; but, I must confess, the best security this country can have of the obedience of the Americans, is their con-

viction of your good intentions towards them ; for despair will give supernatural strength.

Weak as they really are, should ever their fidelity be shaken, they will soon become strong by the malicious assistance of your rival neighbours, who will offer their service with eagerness to your revolting subjects, and then contending with the powers of Europe, and with enemies still more hostile, because, actuated by despair, the event will be doubtful.

However, the imagination of those people, who think that America will one day or other be independant of Great-Britain, is certainly not groundless.

But this is no sufficient reason for fear, for this independance can hardly be brought about until some general calamity falls on Europe, or the protection which the colonies now claim from their several mother countries, is denied, or unable to be given from the particular distresses at home, power is subject to change ; it is the natural course of things. The grandeur of the Roman empire is annihilated, and this island, formerly a province to it, and looked upon as almost out of the world, has a greater dominion than Rome ever prided itself in, and is now the centre of riches and authority. May it ever continue so ! Nothing but its own bad policy can prevent it, the fear
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of evils may produce them, as the dread of death frequently puts a period to life.

There are indeed a set of men, who from dullness being totally ignorant of the colonies, or from pride, ashamed to have a knowledge of them, talk of what *we*, for such is their language, have done for them; what money *we* have spent; what blood *we* have lavished; and what trouble *we* have had in establishing and protecting them to this day; and after a thousand such self applauses, declaiming against the baseness ingratitude and rebellion of an obstinate, senseless and abandoned set of convicts, declare, if they had the government, they would—they know not what they would—These therefore so presuming and uninformed, it must be confessed, the Americans acknowledging only the authority of the parliament of Great-Britain, disclaim even now all subordination.

The duties of a mother country and its colonies are reciprocal; the one expects encouragement and protection, and the other claims and secures to itself every advantage that an extensive commerce can produce. I will not make any comparison between Great-Britain and her American settlements, or say which of them has been most attentive to the discharge of their several duties. It would irritate perhaps one side or other; and this is not my inclination or design, but
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the Americans ought not to be accused of ingratitude; the exports and imports of Great-Britain will free them from that charge. If it is expected they should for the future protect themselves; it will, I am afraid, give them at least that independance of mind, which a man, who hopes for no favours, generally has. It is possible indeed they may feel your coolness towards them in a worse light: for recollecting the immense sums of money you have spent in the defence of the Germans, Dutch, and Portugese, and indeed of almost all the other nations of Europe they think they have an equal right to your protection.

You have entered, say they, into the wars of these aliens to support a fanciful balance of power, and that too with a profusion of blood and money which has astonished Europe; but repine at, and grudge the expence of defending your brethren, and your essential commercial interests in America. It is perhaps difficult for an Englishman to account for this conduct upon the common principles which actuate the world; but the Americans imagine they see the grounds of it.

The ministry of Great Britain, they say, being taken up with the more arduous affairs of Germany, and the struggles of parties at home, neglected America; the value of which was unknown until France gave
you

you an idea of it, by endeavouring to take it from you. This roused the British nation, who, immediately seeing its importance, thought *ea neglecta civitas stare non possit*. The war, thus undertaken for the defence of your essential interests, was prosecuted with vigor, and its consequential success gave you a right to demand much more than the original objects of it. The Americans, who had exerted themselves to the utmost, as in a public cause they were bound to, flattered themselves that the peace would have enabled them to recover their strength, by establishing and extending their trade, which had been almost ruined during the course of the war; but unhappily for them, scarce had hostilities ceased against France and Spain, the declared enemies of Great Britain, but the cry was—*INTUS EST HOSTIS*.

We at once became seized with fear and jealousy of our fellow subjects in America; for, viewing a map made on a large scale, we found them seated on an extensive continent, which, we heard, nature had done much for, and which we dreaded, lest time should establish into an empire of dangerous consequence: we said we had ruined ourselves for the sake of America, which would one day or other be the scourge of Europe; and that the blood we had shed would nourish a viper, which would sting us to death. Thus, jealous of our fellow subjects, we repented

of

of what we had done ; and, fearful of the strength which security from future encroachments would naturally increase, it was determined, say the Americans, to keep the colonies in that kind of dependance which is occasioned by weakness and poverty, and not in that subordination and obedience which arises from gratitude and the voluntary duties of children to parents.

It is this system of policy, founded on our jealousy and distrust, that is the ground of the present discontent in America ; for nothing can be more natural, than that jealousy and distrust on one side, should produce on the other the same bad and illiberal qualities, to the interruption of the most cordial friendship, and breach of the strongest duties.

It is to this policy they impute the ruin of the Spanish trade, by the royal navy of Great Britain acting in the spirit of the *Guarda Costas* of Spain. It is true indeed the impropriety of this conduct was seen when we found it must ultimately affect ourselves ; and, therefore, though the act is still in force, the execution of it is suspended ; but the condition of the Americans is bad indeed, for the blow aimed at them, took place ! and the dagger remaining rankles in the wound.

The rumour of quartering soldiers on private houses, on the stale plea of necessity,
which

which may be urged, and generally is so, to justify the worst actions; the erecting of civil law courts; the establishing of an army, when all danger of an enemy is removed; the reasons which are generally urged for laying taxes on the colonies, namely, that the war was undertaken on their account; that Great Britain is exhausted, and that America is enriched by it, and therefore ought to pay its proportionate share, have alarmed them greatly, and given them fears which make them jealous of every step you take. They insist, if ever Great Britain had a war peculiarly her own, the last was; her essential and not fanciful interests being deeply concerned in it; and that it was as little undertaken for America, as that you sent forces to Portugal for the sake of that kingdom: they deny that Great Britain was exhausted by it, notwithstanding her pretended, or even real want of money: the pretended want was raised by the clamour of party and stock-jobbers, and the real one was owing, not to a decay, but increase of trade, which your unparalleled success occasioned, demanded greater capitals than usual. They declare they exerted themselves to the utmost they were able; that their public and private debts, and the destruction of their inhabitants, shew it; and that as they are obliged to consume the manufactures of Great Britain, they actually, though not named by

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the parliament, pay every tax which is laid on Great Britain.

I mention these grounds of their present uneasiness without any endeavour to shew their reasonableness; but I must beg leave to insist, though it should be allowed, the war was undertaken merely for the sake of the Americans, and that they had not contributed one farthing to its expence, yet that laying taxes on them is contrary to sound policy, and the object Great Britain had in view in establishing colonies.

The first conquests and acquisitions made by the Romans, were made, like those of the Tartars, in a spirit of union, who adopting or blending themselves with those whom they had lately subdued, fixt their foundation on the firm basis of one inseparable interest.

But as soon as the Romans found their empire sufficiently strengthened to enable them to act offensively, to the disturbance of the whole world, they poured their armies into all quarters, and conquered it, for the purposes of avarice and ambition. The objects they had in their view were, the glory of the Roman name, and the plunder of the rest of mankind, for the sole benefit of the Roman people.

The colonies established by the modern European nations, in uncultivated and uncivilized countries, have had two apparent views;

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views ; the establishment of the Christian religion, and increase of dominion. These objects are generally set forth in all their commissions and charters, and the first of them was impiously asserted by the Spaniards, to sanctify the most dreadful inhumanity ; the rest of the European nations have had more religion, than to make use of the sword, to inculcate the doctrine of the true God. England in particular hath acted in this respect with real wisdom and piety.

The extention of dominion, the other object which the European nations had in view in establishing colonies, seems, considering the times when they were undertaken, to imply the extention of arbitrary power ; for the kings of Europe then possessed, or claimed, the most absolute authority ; all acquisitions therefore, however made, belonged peculiarly to them ; colonies in particular, being undertaken by commissions from them, seem to have been originally established for their use and benefit ; and so perhaps, considering the spirit of our laws at that time, they really would have been, even in this country, if the nature of our government had not changed, or our sovereigns had not divested themselves of those powers, which the common laws of the land gave them over new acquisitions.

But as Englishmen could not be allured to leave their native homes, to labour in uncultivated countries, without a full security for the enjoyment of those liberties, which they had a right to from birth, the fullest assurances and most ample concessions were made to the adventurers, for their encouragement in so arduous an undertaking.

By these charters and grants the settlers of the New World were as free, when they crossed the Atlantic, as they had been in this island; but as new-discovered countries and acquisitions were the immediate property of the crown, and consequently subject to its immediate government, the liberties which the inhabitants of them enjoyed, it is pretended, must be considered as mere concessions from the crown, and not as they are in this country, independent thereof, and coeval with prerogative itself; but should this be the case, the liberties of the colonies cannot be infringed, for the crown has parted with all means of oppression, by granting them every right for the support of civil liberty, which this country enjoys; and as these grants and supposed concessions have been made voluntarily, for the encouragement of a brave and laborious people, they must have at least as much force and validity, as those which have been extorted and demanded in the field of battle.

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The extension of dominion therefore, which is one of the expressed objects of our establishing colonies, cannot mean an uncontrouled power over slaves, but a dominion founded on freedom ; and not founded for the purposes of ambition and vain glory of a monarch, or a partial regard to this or that country, but for the establishment and extention of the commerce of the British dominions.

Here then is an essential difference, between the colonies established by the English, and the countries which were conquered by the Romans ; the first were composed of freemen, leaving their native homes to extend its commerce for the public good ; the latter went over nations for the sake of plunder and vain glory : the returns which one country claimed from those, which were subject to it, were tribute and servility ; but that which the other hath generally expected, are a liberal obedience, filial affection, and those advantages which the balance of trade gives, for the benefit of *both* countries ; I say for the benefit of *both* countries, because Great Britain being enriched and strengthened by it, is better enabled to give that protection which the colonies have a right to expect from her.

The Romans acted consistently when they treated the conquered provinces with rapacity

city and insolence for not being composed of Romans, but of aliens and enemies to the Roman name; they were subject to the will of the conquerors; Rome was itself alone; and therefore, disregarding the common rights of mankind, she endeavoured to subdue and plunder the rest of the world for her sole aggrandizement.

But the conduct of Great Britain ought to proceed on different principles; for as its colonies are composed of Englishmen and freemen, they ought to be treated as such—the interests of the mother countries, and its colonies, are inseperable—no partiality for the benefit of one to the prejudice of the other ought to be admitted; and their mutual advantage can *only* be obtained by the sources of trade, enriching the several channels through which it flows.

It is then by trade *alone* that Great Britain, acting in a spirit of *true policy*, will endeavour to draw the wealth and produce of America to herself; all other methods will destroy the object for which the colonies were established. If the Americans indeed, possessed of valuable mines of gold and silver, or a lucrative commerce, still retained more than the ballance of trade drew from them, Great Britain might, perhaps, consistently with self-interest, take the overplus. But the fact is otherwise, all their gains and produce now centers here in the way

way of trade, and therefore the system of taxing them is diametrically opposite to the real benefit of the nation in general, though it may serve the purpose of a temporary expedient.—The Treasury may swell a little, but commerce will shrink to nothing.

But it is better for the nation, that the riches of the Americans (if they have any) should pass through the accompting-houses of the merchants of London, than be paid in at his Majesty's Exchequer at Whitehall. A minister will propagate a different doctrine; he may, perhaps, wish to make the colonies a convenient property, to supply his want of popularity or knowledge in the resources of the kingdom; and reasons may be given by him for this kind of policy, sufficient to impose on the generality of the nation; but it is probable the Americans will never be satisfied with the exertion of this kind of power, and submitting to it with reluctance, will reject it whenever they are able. And, indeed, however ready we may be to ease ourselves by taxing them, and reaping apparent emolument at their expence, we shall soon repent of our partiality; for however weak and wicked a future minister may be if this system is adopted and pursued, the spirit of liberty will exert itself in vain against him; for pretending hereby to secure the dependency of America, he will himself become independent of the
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Commons of Great Britain, by the ease and facility with which he will raise the necessary supplies.

Cromwell, though an arbitrary ruler, and Charles the II^d, a necessitous Prince, pursued, in this respect, the true interests of Great Britain; for notwithstanding the extravagance of the one, and despotism of the other, they plainly saw, that real power, and substantial and permanent wealth, could only be attained through the channels of commerce, and that there would be a sufficient fund established for dissipation and corruption, and the highest power exercised, by rendering the trade of the colonies subservient to Great Britain; and therefore Cromwell had the sagacity to plan, and Charles the good sense to adopt the famous *act of navigation*, which the British colonies have to this time dutifully and implicitly obeyed: for though it has reduced them to a kind of political slavery, yet being founded on the soundest policy, they have submitted to it with cheerfulness and affection to this country; and so long as they do so, you need no other evidence of your sovereignty over them; for let any one consider the nature of it, and he will find it the strongest mark and badge of subserviency and dependence.

Let then the mutual, which is the real interest of Great Britain and her colonies, be promoted, by constantly pursuing the

the true object for which the latter were established, and let us not cut down the tree to get at the fruit. *Let us stroke and not stab the cow, for her milk, and not her blood, can give us real nourishment and strength*; and for this purpose, let the *spirit* of the *act of navigation* (for sound policy has long since varied from *the letter*) be strictly adhered to; and then, however flourishing the commerce of America may become, either by its own efforts, or by the judicious encouragements and bounties given by this country, the whole advantage thereof must ultimately center here, and that without discontent and disturbances, to the honour and satisfaction of his Majesty, and promotion of the public good.

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