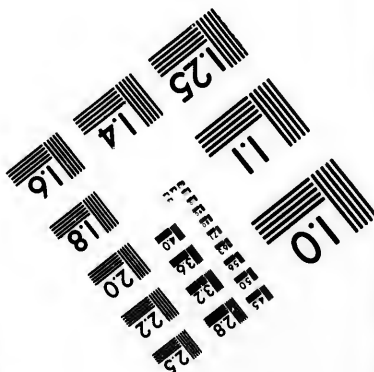
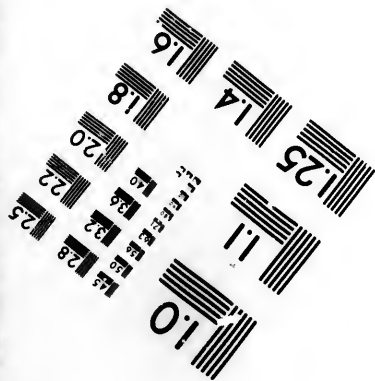
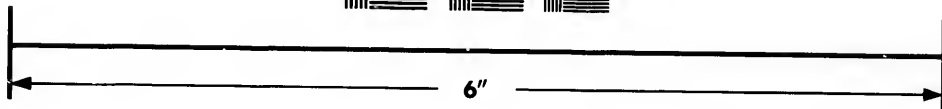
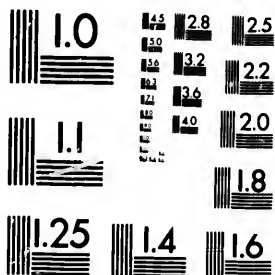


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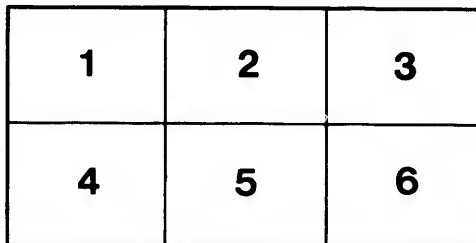
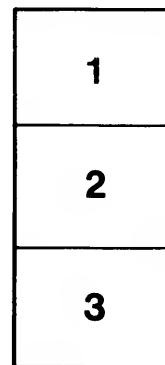
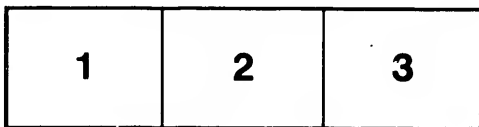
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MDCCLXXVII.

AN
UNCONNECTED WHIG'S
ADDRESS
TO THE
PUBLIC.

THE present situation of the affairs of this once great and glorious nation is so peculiar, so critical, and so truly alarming, that if it be not a task of duty, it cannot be a censurable attempt in any man among us, who hath made it in any degree the object of his attention, to deliver his thoughts upon it. So material a change as a little space of time, yet short of the fifth part of a century, hath wrought in our empire, cannot be ascribed to mere accident

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or fortuitous events. Probably the history of mankind and of human society doth not furnish such another. If this change be from a worse to a better state of things, it must be for the advantage of those who direct the national concerns, that the means whereby it hath been effected be made manifest to us. If it be of the contrary kind, it is of the utmost importance that we should cast off that disgraceful indifference and inattention to our dearest interests, by which we have been lately characterized, and look a little into our own affairs. The conduct of a correct and faithful steward can at no time be unseasonably inspected: that of a negligent or fraudulent one, cannot be too soon or too rigidly brought to the test.

Never did the times afford fewer incitements to any man to give faithful attention to your affairs, independent of party principles and party views. The treachery of
many

many of those who have for a time devoted themselves to your interests, and the weakness and misconduct of others, have driven you into an universal distrust of all men: and it is peculiarly unfortunate that you should be in this temper now, when every thing conspires to make it necessary that some person should undertake the task of laying the truth before you; a task unpleasant in itself, and not without hazard in its consequences.

Every difficulty is thrown in the way of those who are willing to give you information. If a man blame the conduct of administration, their emissaries persuade you that he is an enemy of the government. If he condemn the steps which led to the present unhappy civil war, and hesitate about the success of government, you are told, that he is the friend of America, and the enemy of Britain; that he

would strip the latter of her best-established rights, and support the claims of the former in their widest extent. Trust me, I am no such man. However, as I have no interest in deceiving you, and consequently no design to impose upon you, I declare to you, that after all the legislative declarations which have been made upon the subject, I do not yet believe this to be a national war waged with your hearty concurrence; and though I did think so, I tell you frankly, that I am too steadfast a friend to the liberties of mankind, to wish one unjust point carried against America, even by your arms.

Unqualified as I am to address you, I cannot longer, in silence, see you made the bubble of the grossest fraud and imposture, nor conceal the melancholy reflections by which I am oppressed: and as I offer these to you in the humble language of truth, I
 † intreat

intreat your patient attention to them. Be assured that I am not enlisted under any of the banners of party. I am not to be found in any of the divisions of opposition under Lord Chatham, Lord Rockingham, or Lord Shelburne. I do not possess the eloquence of Mr. Burke, the force of Colonel Barre, the subtilty of Mr. Dunning, or the brilliancy of Mr. Fox; but in the sincerity of my heart I make common cause with you, my fellow citizens, and I appeal to you with plainness and simplicity.

We have hitherto borne and foreborne with patience unparalleled among us. At what other time could our affairs have been deranged as they now are, without a forfeit somewhere, without satisfaction of any kind, without even the demand of an enquiry into the causes? Where is our zeal for liberty? We, that were accustomed to
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be jealous in the extreme of all administrations, sit down patiently under the accumulated ills of the present day. Nay more; we have dealt out our confidence and support to ministry in a degree that the joint merit of the purest intentions and most successful exertions on their part would have alone intitled them to. If we think the most precious gift under heaven be yet worth our care, let us at last give a little moment to so weighty a concern. The end of society is the security of liberty and property. Government is the mean to this end, and must be made subservient to it. When it ceases to be so, we are upholding the instrument of our own destruction. Let us recollect what we were, and what we are. Let us look backward to our ancestors, and forward to our posterity. Let us see how we have used the fair inheritance bequeathed to us by the former; and in what condition

condition we are likely to transmit it to the latter.

In the first part of this melancholy, though necessary comparison, we need not go far back. Our fathers lived in happy days indeed ! Every Englishman's heart must beat high, when, forgetful of the calamities in which his country is at present involved, he recollects what she was in the reign of his Majesty's illustrious grandfather George the Second. This prince, though * not born in this country, was educated in those principles by which the nation rose to power, and happiness, and gloried in being the king of a free people. He carried the power and the commerce of the nation to a degree, to which they had never till then

* In his present Majesty's first speech to Parliament, upon his accession to the crown, he made use of these expressions, " Born and educated in this country, I " glory in the name of Briton."

attained.

attained. Abroad he established the importance, the honour, and dignity of his crown, upon a footing not known before his time to a King of this country, and made the name of Englishman respectable in every corner of the world. No foreign power trifled with his resentment, or despoiled his people with impunity. It hath been said that he had prejudices; and the assertion from the mouths of Tories and Jacobites should not surprize you. The nation was benefited by the prejudices of this Prince. Abroad they operated against the natural enemies of the kingdom; at home, against the enemies of the national freedom, and of the Protestant establishment made at the Revolution; against those, who preferred the odious, tyrannical government of the accursed race of Stuart, to the mild and legal government of the House of Hanover; against those, who held to the divine, indefeasible, hereditary right
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of Princes, and to the slavish doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; those men, who, when in possession of power, in every instance, hath driven hard to the destruction of England, and from whose pernicious projects this country hath been more than once saved, as, I trust in God, it will be again, by almost miraculous interposition. If he headed a party it was the most glorious of all parties,—the national freedom. If he encouraged and supported a particular set of men, it was the set who distinguished themselves highest in their attachment to that cause. If he were averse to another set, he was only averse to them as public men; averse to their being in the first departments of the state, because their maxims of government were incompatible with the happiness of his people; and when he did employ them, which he did more frequently than they deserved to have been, he took care to put it out of their

power to practise their mischievous principles, by distributing them chiefly among the subaltern officers of the state, and by keeping a sufficient number of Whigs in the higher departments to watch and overrule their pernicious projects. Would to God, my countrymen, all our Kings were thus prejudiced ! If he loved war, he made not his own subjects the devoted objects of his vengeance. Foreign, national, natural, manly war, upon British principles, in defence of British rights, he indeed entered into, prosecuted with ardour, and reaped the most glorious consequences from, for this country. He was honest, wise, brave and liberal. Capable of opening his heart to new connections : he did not contract and give it up to one man ; but when the voice of his people demanded it, he yielded up the object of his choice, and received the object of theirs to his bosom. The greatest of his favorites, if he ever had any in the
criminal

criminal sense of that term, were made to yield. Sir Robert Walpole and the Duke of Newcastle, who, by long lives of useful service, had well earned the favour of this monarch, had each their favourite measures, and at different periods were compelled to sacrifice an Excise Scheme, and a Jew Bill, and finally their places, to the demands of his people. He received Mr. Pitt from the people, as the gift of the people; and when the public good required a sacrifice of that resentment which had been excited in his mind by the parliamentary conduct of that person, who had opposed his best and most favoured servants with unusual violence, he made it with manliness and dignity. I have dwelt with particular satisfaction upon the character of this good, this great Prince, because I observe that it is the fashion among a particular set of men of the present times, to decry his memory, in order to make way for, and to reconcile you to, the total sub-

version of every thing that was considered as wise and honest policy in his reign; and I flatter myself, that you will sympathize with me in that lively gratitude which I feel at a recollection of the advantages derived by this nation from the happy and glorious reign of George the Second.

I confess myself one of those men, whose plain understandings value one experiment in the art of Government, as in every other matter of human concern, infinitely more than all the speculations and refinements of the most exalted genius. The reign of George the Second afforded to the ministers of his successors *a large body of experience*, which a real statesman would have been fortunate in the possession of. The maxims pursued in this reign were wise, not because they were to be accounted for upon this or that theory, but because their consequences were salutary. They ought, therefore,

therefore, to have been followed as the basis and sure foundation of all good government in this country, of which they afforded so recent and so distinguished an example; and you should have considered as your worst enemy the first man who removed the smallest stone in the structure of this solid fabric. Strange as it will tell to posterity, this *body of experience* was not sapped by degrees, but at once, totally and in all its parts overthrown, by those who were called to the administration speedily after his present Majesty's accession; and every public measure of any importance pursued in the present reign, with the exception which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter, hath been founded upon principles directly opposed to it. As if the public happiness were a subject of envy to the courtiers then for the first time brought forward, the conduct which had produced it was to be reversed, and a fresh trial was to be made of those

those principles, to which the public had been sacrificed upon every occasion wherein they had prevailed. How successful this scheme hath been, is unfortunately, but too apparent.

His present Majesty was enabled to dictate to the French the terms of the peace of Paris concluded in the beginning of 1763, by the wise conduct of the war in his Grandfather's reign, and the successes (unparalleled in the British annals) which were thereby obtained. As the merit of every treaty must be relative to the state and condition of the contending parties, when it is entered into, this cannot be pronounced adequate to those expectations which you had a right to form. Independent of the language of opposition, some well founded exceptions may be taken to it; and yet it must be confessed, that in almost any other situation which England hath occupied in
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the scale of Europe, it had been a glorious treaty. I ascribe little merit to Lord Bute, by whose advice and influence this treaty was made; because so great had been the success of the British arms, so reduced was the power of France, that without the most palpable sacrifice of your interests, he could not have gone farther than he did go, in the accommodation of difficulties with the French court.

Forgetting intirely those two great principles of policy which have hitherto prevailed among us,—the increase and extension of our commerce, and the destruction or diminution of the maritime and commercial power of France, he yielded that important conquest the Havannah*, with a considerable part of Cuba, without any indemnity; for I do not call by that name the ac-

* Article XIX of the Definitive Treaty.

quisition of those sandy and inhospitable deserts, calculated only for sepulchres for our countrymen, which * Spain ceded to us by the name of Florida: and in return for those truly valuable islands † Martinique and Guadaloupe (not to name the lesser ones,) the possession of which had secured to us all the Windward Sugar Colonies, he received a dereliction of the dubious and obscure title of the Court of France to three desert Islands, namely ‡ Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago, the expence of whose cultivation that Court was too well apprized of, to put any real value upon them. To the retention of the conquests thus ceded, we should have adhered strictly. The Havannah, Martinique and Guadaloupe were capable of affording us some immediate compensation

* Art. XX. of the Defin. Treaty.

† Art. VIII. of the Defin. Treaty.

‡ Art. IX. of the Defin. Treaty.

for

for the expence of a long and bloody war. Our acquisitions in North America were made, and wisely made, with a view to future security and future advantages. Their actual trade was inconsiderable; its increase could only be expected in process of time, as the consequence of some expence and much wisdom in the management of them. No indemnity for the immense sums expended in the prosecution of the war could be obtained from them. Nor can it be urged, with any just reason, that the demand of the Sugar Colonies would have been exorbitant or unreasonable on our part. Enough beside them was ceded to France, to display abundantly the moderation and generosity of our councils. We left her in possession of the Fishery*, confirmed that article of the Treaty of Utrecht, by which a considerable extent of coast on

* Art. V. of the Definitive Treaty.

Newfoundland was allowed her for that purpose, * ceded to her St. Pierre and Miquelon, two islands to the southward of Newfoundland, commodiously situated and advantageously circumstanced for pursuing the Fishery, and † granted her permission to exercise that occupation within the Gulf of St. Lawrence. We restored to her, her trade on the River Senegal, by ‡ surrendering Goree; and we gave her up, without exception or reserve, § all our conquests in every part of the East Indies. Thus did we leave her in full possession of these four most valuable sources of her commerce, the Sugar trade, the Fishery, the African and East India trades; and after all our glorious and successful efforts, have as much to fear from

* Art. VI. of the Defin. Treaty.

† Art. V. of the Defin. Treaty.

‡ Art. X. of the Defin. Treaty.

§ Art. XI. of the Defin. Treaty.

the maritime and commercial power of our natural rival, as when we began the last war, which was undertaken and prosecuted entirely upon maritime and commercial principles.

In North America, indeed, our empire became complete. No pretence was left for future claim or liminary disputes. We kept Canada,* and added to it a vast tract of territory lying behind it and our ancient settlements, and extending to the river Mississippi, the boundaries of which territory were clearly marked out and ascertained. And thus we became possessed of a mighty empire in the new world, comprehending an immense extent of country, including every various soil and climate, inexhaustible in its resources, and which, in the extensive lakes and navigable rivers with which

* Art. IV. of the Defn. Treaty,

the country abounds, possesses every advantage of intercourse and communication that can be expected from the luxuriant bounty of nature.

Here, my countrymen, let us pause a moment—and look up to that pinnacle of national glory from whence we have fallen! Let us survey the amazing prospect then before us. What could be more flattering to an Englishman, in the utmost pride of his heart and extravagance of his wishes, than to see his country the seat of such an empire, the mistress of such a world. Compared with this power, the extent to which it might have been pushed, the advantages which might have been derived from it, every thing that hath gone before it, is trifling and insignificant. And if we had made the millions of free-men in America subservient to rational purposes, if we had

had given that spirit, which we are now attempting to break, its proper direction, and opened up to it a different scene of action, what would not their noble courage and enterprizing genius have earned for us! Had the Spanish provinces, the wealth of Mexico and Peru, been at any time desirable to us, what would they have cost our free-born sons in America, at whose threshold they lie? I speak with the pride, the partiality, the enthusiasm of an Englishman. Alas! alas! how are all our well-founded expectations destroyed! Where are we now to seek our glorious dependencies?

You will readily perceive, that if ever your affairs required a great statesman, it was immediately after the last peace. The ablest ministers which this nation ever possessed, I may say more, which the world ever boasted, never add before them so great a task as was then to be performed.

A mind

A mind capable of embracing so magnificent a subject, of perceiving and combining the complex relations of so extended an empire, must have discovered that the use made of what we had then become quietly possessed of, would determine whether the new world was to remain in dependance upon us or not. A philosopher in action was then necessary to our affairs. The establishments proper in our new acquisitions, the measures to be pursued in our old possessions so as to unite and secure both to us, (and, eventually, the whole new world, if the interests of the nation hereafter required that part of it which yet remained with France and Spain) were undertakings, that called for a genius in politics equal to Sir Francis Bacon's in philosophy. But at no period was the art of governing made so light of. Your business was to be done by scrap and piecemeal, as if one part had no connection with another. Nothing great, nothing liberal,
nothing

nothing comprehensive, appeared. Plan, design, permanence, were all out of the question. Every thing was little, narrow, and temporary. Men without any experience, who had never given any proof of capacity, and were intirely unknown to the public, were placed in the first offices; and the doctrine of the court was, that the King's choice was not to be questioned, and that the royal favour was to stand in the place of all qualification for public employment. In one respect, indeed, there was a plan formed in the interior of the court, and these proceedings were in prosecution of it— I mean a plan for securing the direction of the cabinet to the Earl of Bute for life, and the reversion of it to Mr. Jenkinson or such other person or persons as that nobleman should appoint:—a plan the most destructive to every good national purpose, and the best for the aggrandizement of a subject

ject and those attached to him, that the intrigues of a court had ever given birth to.

The Earl of Bute first took the lead. He was short and decisive in his operations. He insulted and displaced the good old Duke of Newcastle, the virtuous Cavendish, and the pride of Englishmen—Mr. Pitt; and he swept the Whigs and their connections, from every department high and low of the state. This he did without the least management, with the most indecent expedition, without the least attention to the memory of King George the Second (thus wounded through his ancient and faithful servants), or to the character of his royal Master. And after making this trial of your temper he relinquished the public ostensible direction of affairs to Mr. George Grenville, who was appointed to the treasury, and was understood to lead the King's councils under the secret controul of Lord
Bute,

Bute. Of Mr. Grenville much hath been said. Many have represented him as a minister of uncommon ability, and even some of those * who approved not his measures, have allowed him much merit. For my part, speaking my mind honestly to you, I see not the least cause for either opinion. Never, as I think, did man shew less capacity for, or fall more miserably short of,

* An ingenious writer, Mr. E. B. who had sufficient opportunities of knowing his character, hath represented it in a very favourable light, at least hath shaded its material defects, in one of his speeches which hath been given to the public, and which, like all the works of that great master, hath been much admired. They acted for some time in opposite parties, each of which treated the other with much asperity. The injudicious measures of administration subsequent to Lord Rockingham's time at the treasury, drove these parties to seek their mutual defence in an union. Connections in party beget strong attachments; and no doubt Mr. G's parliamentary weight and ability, as a member of opposition, contributed a little to erase from Mr. B's mind the impression which his conduct in administration had made upon it. For the rest, his memory must stand indebted to Mr. B's indulgence and forgiveness.

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the situation in which he stood, and the duty which lay before him. Without perceiving the happy opportunity that the nation then had ; without taking into view the various affairs of the Empire, and from thence forming and pursuing a system of conduct which would have led to power and glory not equalled in the records of the world, he sat down to your business as if he had been about to adjust and regulate the affairs of a trifling corporation. In no one measure of his administration did he shew any thing like comprehension of understanding, or enlargement of mind. When he should have been raising a mighty empire upon the foundation which he had before him, increasing its people, and extending its commerce upon great and liberal plans, he was fretting and fatiguing himself in, and giving ~~him~~ up all his time and attention, and directing all the operations of government to, the suppression of a little
finug-

smuggling, the bringing a few thousand pounds a year into the exchequer from America, and the gratifying the Court's resentment against an individual who had abused Lord Bute, and first proclaimed his designs to the public. Such were the mighty objects of this mighty minister. Bounded in his views, and intirely attached to forms, his little technical mind was just calculated to see that America did not contribute to the public burdens of the nation *in one particular mode of revenue*, and utterly incapable of perceiving that the colonies, *in the way in which they had been managed*, had been the great source of our wealth, and had brought this country from what it was at the discovery of the new world, to the point of glory at which we have seen it. He was the first man in public authority in this kingdom, who, by his conversation and conduct, insinuated into your minds a jea-

lousy of your brethren in America, and who, when there was the greatest need of concord and union for all great national purposes, when every knot by which the two countries were held together should have been pulled as close as possible, began to break the bonds asunder. We all, my countrymen, remember too well the language of that unfortunate day, when the Stamp Act was passed. Fatally did he lose sight of the absolute submission in which we held the labour and industry of the inhabitants of that extensive country by the Navigation Act and whole system of our trade laws then quietly and universally acquiesced in, and he was willing to put the whole to hazard, and stake the intire authority of your legislature, for a paltry parliamentary duty. I will not say that the authority *actually exercised* before the date of the Stamp Act, by your Parliament over America, was not reconcileable to reason.—

I will

I will not say that to tie the hands of the inhabitants of a great continent abounding with raw materials, to restrain them from using the gifts of nature, and to force them to take the products of your own labour, was sacrificing that continent to this little island; but this I will say, whether such a power grew up accidentally, or was the fruit of design, the wit of man could not have devised one more extensive, or one that so effectually answered the ends of this powerful and commercial state.

For the government of Canada, that extensive country acquired by the peace, no solid plan of improvement or establishment appeared. Every thing there was left to operate as it might. The only act of government that administration put forth relative to that country was, the proclamation, since so shamefully falsified by that authority which ought to have been its defender
and

and vindicator. Nor did the limited spirit of the minister appear more conspicuously in any part of his conduct than in the use made of the desert islands acquired in the West Indies, and known by the name of the Ceded Islands. Instead of copying the laudable example shewn by the French in their sugar settlements, where the governor is authorized to appropriate a moderate portion of land to every individual who comes in, adapted to his circumstances and means of cultivation, without reserving even a quit rent, or putting the planter to the expence of a grant, these desert lands too were to bring their pepper corn into the exchequer; that pepper corn to which every proper and rational purpose of government was sacrificed by this sordid financier.

These are some of the great delinquencies of Mr. Grenville, whom I am yet far from charging

charging with a criminal intention to injure his country. My objections go intirely to his want of penetration, capacity and genius for the situation in which he was placed; and surely if ever a minister was deficient in these capital points of qualification, Mr. Grenville was the man. Whatever he was, he pointed out the high road, which others, with worse intentions, were looking for, to the destruction of our country. If the project of imposing a trifling tax upon America had not taken possession of the obstinate mind of this weak man, we had still called America our own.

The disturbances in America consequent to the Stamp Act first opened the eyes of Government. Court intrigues, and no better reason had displaced Mr. Grenville; and that stedfast friend of England, the late Duke of Cumberland, seized the opportunity

portunity of forming the only Whig Administration which we have had in the present reign. You will perceive that I allude to those men distinguished in the political world by the name of [the Rockingham Connection, among whom you will recognize the names of * Saville, Wentworth, Cavendish, Bentinck, Richmond, and others of great worth and consideration, all illustrious Whigs. No men had ever greater difficulties to struggle with, or were ever surrounded by greater temptations than the set of which I am now speaking: those they overcame; these they resisted. Their struggle was a glorious one, and was crowned with the most compleat success. While others closed their eyes and ears to every thing but the improbabilities and ab-

* That firm friend to his country, Sir Geo. Saville, it is true held no office in this administration, but was as deeply engaged in it, as any man in office.

furdities

furdities of a few incendiaries, they procured information in every channel in which it could be obtained; and, by combining the various accounts received, were enabled to form just conclusions of the conduct and temper of the people in America. They repealed the Stamp Act, restored the ancient fortunate management of our colonies, and gave peace to the empire. That at the same time they might not be said to give sanction to the provincial claims of total exemption from taxation, they repealed the Stamp Act upon grounds of inexpediency; and, availing themselves of an * example set by parliament

* By the act of 6 Geo. 1, ch. v, it is declared, That the kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependant upon, the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and 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 sta-*

liament in the reign of George the First, when its right to bind Ireland was asserted by a declaratory law, they declared the same right over the colonies, in strong though general terms; thus not taking upon themselves to make any explicit sacrifice or surrender of that particular trust of government, nor fettering the conduct of future ministers, who were left free to avail themselves, at any future period, of the

tutes of sufficient force and validity; to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland.

The act of the 6th of Geo. 3, chap. 12, passed in Lord Rockingham's administration, declares that the colonies and plantations in America have been, are, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon, the imperial crown and parliament of Great-Britain; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and 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 and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever.*

circum-

circumstances of the times, and temper of the people of America.*

The material part of this conduct was dictated by the soundest judgment, was the result of the wisest policy, and was followed by the happiest consequences. As when a storm or tempest subsides, we saw every thing fall immediately into its natural and accustomed order. Yet the faction formed to ruin this country have affected to think it ill policy that parliament should yield upon that occasion,

* “ I had, indeed, very earnest wishes to keep the whole body of this authority perfect and intire as I found it; and to keep it so, not for our advantage solely, but principally for the sake of those, on whose account all just authority exists,—I mean the people to be governed. For I thought I saw, that many cases might well happen, in which the exercise of every power, comprehended in the broadest idea of legislature, *might become, in its time and circumstances,* not a little expedient for the peace and union of the colonies amongst themselves, as well as for their perfect harmony with Great Britain.” *Mr. B's Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol*, 2d edition, p. 47, 48.

though many of them admit the inexpediency of the measures repealed. These men themselves know where else to seek for the causes which have involved you in a fatal civil war. I only wonder that any man among you should be made the dupe of so shallow an artifice. I have no comprehension of that sort of dignity which perseveres in error to destruction. This is not a day wherein to impose, and the Americans are not a people to swallow, the belief of the infallibility of the British parliament, or of any other body of men invested with the trust of government. The pride of the most august assemblies must sometimes submit to the acknowledgement of misconduct. Would to God, parliament had shewn of late more frequent instances of repentance. For want of this salutary humility, the boasted pride and dignity of government now lies prostrate, when we have lost that country, and our utmost exertion of force

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is baffled by the perseverance and virtue of those, who were to tremble when but our little finger was held up in wrath against them. The same wilful blindness which hath betrayed us into our present melancholy situation, asserts that America would have submitted to the Stamp Act, if parliament had shewn an inclination to enforce it. They, who believe this, are in a disposition to believe any thing. Every transaction of that memorable day, and of subsequent times, is a palpable contradiction of such a supposition.

After having thus merited your confidence and affection, this set of ministers was dismissed. Justice requires me to say, that they left your empire, not as they found it, in riot and confusion, but in peace and security. From that time your affairs have gradually declined.

The

The ministry, who succeeded Lord Rockingham's, renewed the project of raising a revenue in America, and laid on the new duties. The act for this purpose was passed in 1767, by the same parliament which in 1765 had enacted the Stamp Act to raise a like revenue in America, and which in 1766 had repealed the Stamp Act, because the scheme of raising such a revenue was inexpedient*; with so much facility doth
parlia-

* It may be curious to see in one view, the preambles of these different acts of the same parliament, succeeding each other so hastily.

5 Geo. 3, chap. 12. "Whereas, by an Act made in the last session of parliament, several duties were granted, continued, and appropriated towards defraying the expences of defending, protecting and securing the British Colonies and Plantations in America: *And whereas it is just and necessary that provision be made for raising a further revenue within your Majesty's dominions in America, towards defraying the said expences.*

6 Geo. 3, chap. 11. Whereas an act was passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, 'An Act for granting
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parliament change its opinions and measures when administration leads the way. Some curious particulars relative to the laying on of the new duties have come to the knowledge of the public. Three of the principal members of the then ministry have disclaimed that measure, and have openly and positively

'ing and applying certain stamp duties, &c.' And whereas the continuance of the said act would be attended with many inconveniences, and may be productive of consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interest.

7 Geo. 3, ch. 46. *Whereas it is expedient that a revenue should be raised in America for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government in such provinces where it shall be found necessary; and towards further defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and securing the said dominions."*

To these it may be a proper supplement to add, that the preamble of the act of the succeeding parliament in the 10th of George the Third, by which all the duties laid on by the last-mentioned act, except that on tea, are repealed, declares that *such duties were laid on, contrary to the true principles of commerce.*

affirmed,

affirmed, in the House of Lords, that it was carried through without their concurrence, and against their judgment. The persons I speak of are, the Duke of Grafton, then first Lord of the Treasury, Lord Shelburne, Secretary of State, and Lord Camden, Chancellor. From hence you will draw your own inferences. The consequences of a system, which enables one man, in no ostensible office, and consequently without any responsibility, to direct every operation of government, and over-rule those who by their situations are accountable to you, are but too obvious. It is a debt of justice to these noble persons to discriminate them from those whose mischievous designs have brought on this unhappy American business.

When Lord Shelburne quitted the seals, the Earl of Hillsborough was announced to you, with the utmost pomp and triumph,

as the man who alone possessed the talents requisite in the management of the colonies at a conjuncture so critical. This nobleman hath indeed had the cunning to withdraw from office ; but I trust he will not, in the shade of retirement, find security and protection from your just indignation. In what consisted, or wherein had been shewn, that ability imputed to him by the court runners of the day, I have not, with great attention to public proceedings, been able to discover. *But he is a King's friend.* His conduct was a satire upon all government. Let those who are so clamorous for steadiness on the part of government, and who are so jealous of its honour and dignity, see among their own friends and their own proceedings, one more instance of the punctual observance of them all. When this fresh experiment of the new duties was likely to be as ineffectual and dangerous as the former, and had renewed all the discontent and

disorder in the provinces, we began once more to conceive hopes that all would yet be right. When ministry found they could not impose these duties upon America, they discovered that they were impolitic. When they could do no better they confessed this. They were ready enough to avail themselves of Lord Rockingham's plan, and to pledge themselves for a repeal of the duties upon grounds of inexpediency; or rather they abused this plan to the purposes of the grossest fraud and hypocrisy. In May 1769, Lord Hillsborough wrote his famous circular letter to the Governors of the Provinces. It is as follows :

“ I can take upon me to assure you, notwithstanding insinuations to the contrary from men *with factious and seditious views*, that his Majesty's *present* administration have at no time entertained a design to propose to parliament to lay
 “ any

“ any further taxes upon America, *for the*
“ *purpose of raising a revenue* ; and that it is
“ at present their intention to take off the
“ duties upon glafs, paper, and colours,
“ upon confideration of fuch duties having
“ been laid contrary to the true principles
“ of commerce.

“ These *have always been* and *ftill are*
“ the sentiments of his Majesty’s present
“ fervants, and by which their conduct in
“ refpect to America has been governed.
“ And his Majesty relies upon your pru-
“ dence and fidelity for *fuch an explanation*
“ *of his meafures*, as may tend to remove
“ the prejudices which have been excited
“ by *the mifrepresentations of thofe* who are
“ enemies to the peace and profperity of
“ Great Britain and her colonies, and to
“ re-eftablifh that *mutual confidence and af-*
“ *fection* upon which the *glory and fafety*
“ of the British empire *depend*.”

When the road to peace was once more thus clearly marked out, you will wonder how it could be deviated from. Never surely were any expressions less capable of variety of interpretation by those for whom they were intended. Every man in America thought himself presently to be at ease when this letter was published there. The secretary of state for the colonies solemnly and deliberately, in the names of all the King's servants, *renounces the principle of laying taxes by Parliament, for the purpose of raising a revenue.* The candour and simplicity of the Americans received this letter as a pledge of the Royal word for the total repeal of all the duties. And who could have collected any other sense from it? Was it to be gathered from any thing in this letter that ministry meant to bring the question in dispute to issue upon one of the objects of taxation in this new revenue law; or was
it

it not to be concluded that they meant to get rid of it, and to give quiet to the empire in the same manner that the Rockingham Administration had done? Is there any thing in the letter that says, or insinuates, or points most distantly to the former intention? Is there any exception of any particular objects of the law to be repealed, as proper objects to be taxed, *for the purpose of raising a revenue in America?* Is there any hint to the governors to recommend to the people of America to acknowledge the right of parliament to tax them? Is there any assertion of that right, or any reprehension of those who denied it? In these respects, if ministry had been acting with good faith, the letter was most judiciously written, and wisely silent. But all was rotten at bottom. If there were a healing pacific intention somewhere, in another place, where all influence and controul were lodged, a very contrary resolution was adopted

adopted. Finally, would not any man, of an unsuspecting mind, have thought that nothing more or less was intended than a simple repeal of the new act, as inexpedient and contrary to the principles of commerce. Yet when parliament met, and the business came to be done, the act was repealed as to five of the objects of taxation in it, and left in full force as to the sixth, or duty upon tea. And it is not in the nature of things that this could have been done, that this duty upon tea could have been left in the way for any other purpose, than to preserve the cause of a quarrel with America, and to furnish the occasion, which some were earnestly looking for, of chastising men whose principles were odious to them, and of altering the free governments of America. These facts are of such a nature as to require no observation. Judge for yourselves, whether the faith of government, given as we have seen to America *against the political principle*

principle of taxing by act of parliament for raising a revenue in the colonies, was ever, in any instance, more fatally broken.

As was too plainly foreseen, the Americans destroyed the tea. The violent measures then begun, and to this day obstinately persisted in, are too recent to be recapitulated. Every thing from that time hath been hostility and war. No men are so lavish of the blood of others, as those who are particularly careful of their own. Some, at least, of the present ministry know this truth experimentally. In every step of administration are traces of the most shallow policy discernable. General Gage's appointment to the command in that country had no wiser motive than his relation by marriage to an American lady. Ministry supposed that the high blood of faction, sedition and treason, was to be suddenly tamed to due submission by the means of this lady. With
peculiar

peculiar sagacity they excepted from his Majesty's grace and pardon, offered to all America besides, Samuel Adams and John Hancock, the two men most capable of contributing to the restoration of the authority of the British government, and thereby made it more than ever the interest of those proscribed leaders that America should resist. The detention of the inhabitants of Boston, after General Gage's capitulation with them, by which it was stipulated, that, upon the surrender of their arms, they should be at liberty to depart with all their effects, was a shameful example given to the Americans of a violation of engagements deemed sacred among civilized nations. The burning of Falmouth and Norfolk, and the attempt to arm the slaves in Virginia, have answered no other end than to furnish to the Americans a comparison for the mild and merciful proceedings of Louis XIV. in the Palatinate.

What judgment dictated, or what advantages were derived from the attack upon Bunker's Hill, have not yet been discovered. Speedily after this great victory, the cause of so much triumph, was General Howe driven from Boston,—i say driven, because ministerial effrontery no longer denies that he could not remain in that situation. The Massachusetts Bay, the hot-bed of rebellion according to ministry, was left to enjoy the fruits of her superior treachery, and the seat of war was transferred to New York; where, according to the same persons, all the friends of government were assembled. How much hath been effected in and about the province of New York we all know. In vain are we assured that the Americans are poltroons of the vilest kind; that their armies are ill-appointed, naked and starving. Taking this for granted against all the evidence before us, what have we profited

H fited

fited by it! Is America reduced? Is her treasure in our exchequer? Is her trade restored to us?

The success of General Howe not being answerable to the assurances given you by the ministry, you are beginning to be discontented with him; and since things have not gone better in America, administration are not ill-pleas'd to see you in this temper. Their agents are industrious in propagating reports that every thing might have been done, if another had been at the head of the army. Some attribute to this gallant officer want of capacity, others want of inclination to the cause of government. Some say he is avaricious, and that he finds his account in indecisive measures. All drive at one point. In your censure of General Howe, ministry expect to find their apology. I trust you will disappoint them. Remember that Spain employ'd the best generals

rals and troops in Europe, in vain, against the united Provinces armed in defence of freedom. To do justice to your absent countryman, ministry would be obliged to inform you of the two things in the world which it will cost them most to confess—their inattention and blunders in the conduct of the war, and the strength and resources of America. Be you, therefore, just to General Howe. Derive wisdom from his want of success; and let it be one strong additional proof, that the sword will gain nothing for you in that country.

This truth must be confessed at last, and had better be acknowledged now. In popular disputes a wise ministry will gain something even by yielding. If claims not maintainable must be abandoned, give way with frankness and dignity. Had this been done early in the dispute, we had maintained complete, nay we had confirmed, if con-

firmation were wanting, all other parts of our authority over America, though we had departed from the claim of taxation. This spirit carried King Charles the First to the block, and hath lost America to us. That monarch had not discernment to perceive the necessity for sacrificing something readily, and with apparent good will, to the early demands of the popular leaders, in order to preserve the rest. He suffered all his concessions to be forced from him; so that every one of them, instead of being made a grace from himself, was a victory to his enemies. We have too long imitated this unfortunate conduct!

We are assured by ministry, that no foreign power interferes in this war, and we have more trust in their assurances than in our own senses, for we see the contrary every day. The French do not come to a rupture with us. Why should they? All
their

their purposes are answered without that risk. They deny all interference in this American business. Why should they not? Their subtleties are what all experience should have taught us to expect from this people. Yet they content our ministry, and the French are thereby enabled to derive every possible advantage from the war in perfect security. Rely upon it that ministry have received authentic advices of the proceedings of the French, of a nature with which they dare not make you acquainted. That nation now possesses the whole American trade. She supplies the whole continent with arms, and ammunition and cloathing. She furnishes them with land officers and seamen. She affords them a safe receptacle for their prizes in her harbours, both in Europe and the West Indies. Will you have more? She receives their vessels as those of an independent power in alliance with her. She salutes their flag.

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She fits out her own vessels to make captures of your property, under the sanction of an American commission. It is not the doing these things that alarms our ministry; it is the *avowal* of them which they fear. So long as they are *disavowed*, they care not that they are done. Thus, whilst you are consuming in every part of you, France is availing herself of your misfortunes, and, with the most sedulous care and attention, is appropriating to herself the wreck of your fortunes:

The politicians of this day, whose errors have deprived us of America, discover that one great source of this loss is derived from the peace by which we acquired Canada. According to them we should not have insisted upon Canada; because, truly, with the French upon their backs, the Americans, needing our protection, must have been submissive to our government. In truth
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we have not had capacity to avail ourselves of any of the advantages that the peace threw into our hands, and we are now willing to exclaim that it was too good a treaty. The least attention will convince you of the weakness and absurdity of the objection touched upon. If the French had kept possession of Canada, would not that nation have been more at hand to encourage every symptom of ill humour, foment every disturbance, and cultivate every tendency to revolt, that appeared in the colonies? Would not France have furnished more certain, immediate and effectual assistance to America through Canada, than in any other channel of which she is now possessed? On the other hand, without Canada, what should we have done in the present contest? How else should we have obtained and kept any footing on the continent? And where would have been the scene of General Burgoyne's eloquence and military triumphs?

It

It hath been truly said that government is a practical art. Nothing I think more so. Nor is there any subject in which, in my opinion, theories are of less use. History, which is philosophy teaching by experiment, doubtless contributes greatly to form the statesman; but mere theories never answered any better end than to amuse men who speculate in their closets. He, who should attempt to govern the Turk and the Englishman, the Frenchman and the Indian by the same code, would speedily find his mistake. The first and most important step towards the practice of this art consists in acquiring a perfect knowledge of the materials in the hands of the statesman, that is, of the character, tempers and dispositions of the people, [whose happiness, it hath pleased providence, should depend upon him. If he object to their passions and prejudices, we tell him beware how you attempt to remove them. If he can check

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them,

them, or throw them into a less inconvenient bias, with a patient and a gentle hand, let him make the effort ; but beware of violence. If he say they are a stubborn and a stiff-necked generation, we may lament it ; but there they are, such as God made them, not such as human imperfection would have them made ; and it is they, bad as they are, whom he is to govern. He is to value highly their opinions, to respect their prejudices. If these people be not worth his care and pains, let him have nothing to do with them, and not attempt to scourge them, like school-boys, into the habits in which he wishes to see them. Let them be reasoned with as long as he likes, and be shewn the beauty and perfection of his system of government in all its parts. Let him even engage Mr. Deolme to display it to them, and to evince to them how exactly it is equipoised. Let them hear the reasonings of all the lawyers that your

forum hath produced for ages ; and if he doth not reconcile them to the *actual exercise* of his power, trust me, all the rest will have been vain : he will have made little progress ; and the material part of his business will be still to be performed. Government is not at war with America merely to decide disputed rights. It proposes to reform the manners, and alter the character of the Americans. It doth not admit that God and nature hath made man the judge of his own happiness, and authorized him to pursue it, but claims the right of knowing better what is meet and convenient for Americans than Americans do for themselves, and means to drub them for their own sakes, and to make them happier. This is ministerial language.

It might have been early discovered, that the Americans' ideas of liberty were particularly associated with the right of taxing themselves ;

themselves; and, to say the truth, if it were a prejudice, it was one that should not have surprized, and much less have offended us. We taught them the delusive lesson. Our proceedings, history and constitution gave them the principle. Their ancestors carried it with them. The present generation imbibed it in their infancy, and with the first rudiments of their instruction. The great example of Hampden, and other illustrious patriots of our country, fortified them in their opinions, and hath no doubt animated them in their defence. They saw the new government (such I call your government since the Revolution), formed and supported upon this principle. The practice among themselves from their earliest settlements was conformable to it. What but insanity would have attacked their opinions and combated their prejudices in this their strongest hold! We cannot wonder that they expected Englishmen at least to coun-

tenance them in their defence of this privilege.

As I desire no other proof of good policy in the administration of a government than success, that is, the ease, security and happiness of the empire, so can I never approve of measures and plans of conduct which, upon trial, have not attained these objects. They are the ends of all government; and inasmuch as the mode of administering it falls short of those ends, so distant is it from a good mode. The experiment of enforcing the authority of parliament with the sword hath now been made. You could not have been reconciled to the trial, if you had not been assured that it would be attended with the most speedy and decisive success. A handful of men, in comparison of the force we now have in America, was to effect every thing as soon as they appeared in that country. Whilst it was a doubtful point
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how far the Americans would carry their resistance, you ballanced whether you should believe those who foretold every consequence that hath since happened in this contest, or give credit to administration, who constantly told you, that, were they trusted a little longer, all would be right, and America be presently at the feet of Great Britain. It is now no matter of speculation. The event is before us, and the meanest of us all can see it as plainly as the Chancellor of the exchequer.

I have heard it urged, as an apology for administration, that the information which they received in the early part of this business, turned out to be false. The excuse is a bad one, and is itself an acknowledgment of great misconduct and incapacity. Before ministry took their measures, especially when those measures were of so strong and violent a nature, it was of the last
3 importance

importance that they should be certain of the facts upon which they proceeded. But I believe we are all convinced of the truth of the excuse. The incendiaries from America, those who acted the basest and blackest part in this business, told ministry, amidst an incredible number of the most gross and palpable falsehoods, and ministry repeated to you, that all America, but the mob headed by John Hancock, were in their interest; and that, whenever Great Britain shewed her indignation, this mob would disappear, and all be peace and quiet. Do you remember this language or not? I am sure you all must. Hath the event justified the prediction? If otherways, have the authors of these wicked misrepresentations been brought to punishment, or received any marks of the Court's disapprobation; or have they not rather received the rewards due only to men who have served their country with ability and fidelity? If ministry

stry believe that they were misinformed, why do they persevere in conduct avowedly founded upon such misinformation? Why is pamphlet after pamphlet published, under the sanction, and by the direction of administration, to provoke and stir up your anger against your fellow-subjects, to represent the Americans as the most treacherous, infamous, worthless race of men that God ever permitted to inhabit the earth? Why, but to obtain your concurrence in a cruel and unnatural war, upon which administration was so obstinately bent! The forfeitures likely to ensue, as the consequences of treason, were no inconsiderable inducement to the war with some, I do not say all, of its promoters. The cultivated lands of the colonists were too fertile to be enjoyed by American Whigs, who shewed no symptom of apostacy, and afforded no hopes of their becoming converts to the true political faith. These lands were better
merited

merited by Tories and Jacobites of both countries, who had long lain neglected, but were now compensated for the loss of their beloved Stuarts, in the revival of their detestable principles, and who were as ready to bleed and die for those principles in the service of a prince of the House of Hanover, as in that of the exiled family.

To this calamitous war, it is with grief of heart I say it, some among you have, by your lavish offers to government, too much contributed; and we are to thank that part of you to whom I now allude for the declaration of independence made by America by which all political relation between the two countries is dissolved. How far the people of a country have a right to take such a step, or what measure of provocation is necessary to justify the exercise of that right, it is not to my present purpose to enquire. I leave all questions of this kind to the discussion of
those

those, who can content themselves for the loss of America, by proving that the great breach of civil convention proceeded from that side of the water. You will recollect, however, that they were proscribed as rebels and put out of the protection of your laws, before they adopted this measure ; and, what is more immediately within my present design, you will observe that, as long as the Americans had any sort of pretence for separating the body of the people of England from the administration, they imputed the violences against them to administration alone, and appealed to you for succour and protection. And when administration had acquired that fatal influence, which induced some of you, in the rashness of your zeal, to approach the throne with offers of your lives and fortunes in support of this unhappy war, then, and not till then, when America saw herself cut off from all hope in your virtue, and the necessity

cessity of relying intirely upon her own
then, I say, and not before, she proclaimed
her independence. In telling you this,
you will perceive that I respect you too
highly to flatter you. It is full time that
you saw the truth in its naked colours.

Perfeverance in these measures is the
surest proof that they proceeded from some
other cause than the false information trans-
mitted from America, and brought home
by the incendiaries. The origin of these
troubles lies deeper than any of you have
chosen to go in search of it. All the em-
barrassments of prince and empire proceed
from the application of false and corrupt
principles in the administration of govern-
ment. The principles I mean consist briefly
in the proscription of the Whigs and the
reprobation of their maxims of administra-
tion; the encouragement and support of
Tories, and the pursuit of their maxims.

Nothing,

Nothing, I am aware, is more offensive to administration than the revival of these distinctions. They think they are playing a sure and secret game. The umbrage which they take at the mention of Whig and Tory betrays the cloven foot. To a man who is no Tory it is of little consequence who is thought one. But knowing how odious to you all Tory administrations have been, they cautiously endeavour to keep the distinction out of your view. As the name of Tory is hateful, they have exchanged it for that of *King's Friends*, as if the rest of his Majesty's subjects were his enemies; and they triumphantly point out some apostate Whigs, who submit to the disgrace of being among them, as a proof in contradiction of the charge of Toryism. But you will determine their principles from their measures.

Suppose, my countrymen, that, upon the death of his late Majesty, it had happened

that the descendant of the Stuart Family had assumed the reins of government. He would not have been so destitute of advisers as to have made any attempt upon Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus Act, or any of those other great parliamentary assurances of your liberties in the statute book; nor is it likely, when so much more compendious a method of managing parliament, by a judicious distribution of the favours of government among its members, hath been discovered and practised with such success, that he would commit any breach of the rights and privileges of that body. But you would naturally expect, that he would trust and employ Tories and Jacobites; that he would proscribe, and, where he durst, punish Whigs; that at such a time a man could carry to court no recommendation to favour so certain as his disgrace, in the late reign; that on the other hand the road to preferment would be effectually closed against

gainst every man who had then been in any degree of favour ; that the descendants of those, and such of the individuals themselves as were alive, who had been in rebellions and conspiracies against the House of Hanover, would be particularly distinguished and rewarded ; that the Roman Catholic religion, and an absolute Government, should be established in Canada, and a proclamation for assuring liberty and a free government to all who should settle there be shamefully broken ; and that all that part of America, where the Protestant religion and Whiggish principles of liberty prevailed, should be the object of a cruel and destructive civil war. If a man of great birth had disgraced his family, sacrificed his honour, betrayed his country, in the day of battle, in a war upon Protestant principles, against the House of Bourbon, and had been doomed to ignominy by a sentence of his fellow officers, worse in the opinion of
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the late King than death to a man of honour, you would think there was little indecency in a Stuart's recalling such a man from the obscurity which became him, and placing him in one of the highest departments of the state. Events like these you would look for as the inevitable consequences of seeing one of that mischievous and accursed race upon the throne which his ancestors repeatedly forfeited. But in any other situation of things, you could not but look upon such events as prodigies in politics of the most unforeseen and extraordinary kind.

However, my dearest countrymen, if you be of opinion that any thing, in any degree similar to this imagined representation, hath really happened in the present reign, mistake not, I beseech you, the true cause of it. Do not, upon any account, impute blame where blame ought not to rest. In examining

into the causes of your present misfortunes, it is of the utmost consequence that your attention be directed to its proper objects. Adhere still to the principles of the constitution, and say, "Our Gracious Monarch can do no wrong." Let us not forget the reason and utility of that restraining maxim; nor depart from it, until fatal necessity compels us to do so, as the only and last resource left us for the preservation of freedom. Let us remember that princes are not, more than other men, infallible; that great allowance is to be made for human weakness; and that the best are most liable to be practised on, and are perhaps most in the power of wicked and designing men, who happen to possess their confidence. If our Sovereign hath in any manner sanctioned the causes of our misfortunes, be assured that specious reasons have been given him by men whom you see not, to induce his belief that they were proper and wise measures, and
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would be productive of public happiness. But I recommend no reserve whatever in your enquiries into the conduct of the advisers and promoters of so fatal a system. When the Earl of Bute, of the name and family of Stuart, recommends such a mode of conducting the affairs of this country, believe me, that he acts from motives of affection to the ancient friends of the Stuarts, and of attachment to the principles professed by them, and that to them he is sacrificing prince and people. Do not lose sight of this author of your misfortunes. Do not suffer him to evade your search, by avoiding the possession of any ostensible office, and assuring you every now and then, as he doth through the channel of the public papers, that he takes no part whatever in public affairs. Rely upon it that he directs the whole machine of government; and if you suffer the artifice which he uses of keeping out of office, and of acting with the utmost privacy to protect
him

him, and will continue to give your countenance and support to those, who, filling the first departments of the state, are content to act as subalterns to this nobleman, you will become a ruined and an undone people.

The trade of North America is already the property of France. Your sugar colonies, instead of continuing, as it is your true interest they should do, large manufactories of bulky commodities, the transportation whereof gives employment to your shipping, now cut off from those cheap and ready supplies which they were used to receive from America, are daily becoming their own feeders, and appropriating the labour of their slaves in a great measure to the raising provisions for their own consumption. Stripped as you are of America, upon what doth your boasted navy depend but on precarious treaties with foreign

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powers, whose interest it may easily be made by your enemies, to withhold from you their supplies. When you drew your naval stores from America, you had them independent of the world. In spite of every effort of government, your public funds are falling, and their reputation is low in foreign states. The conduct of your sagacious neighbours the Dutch, who are seizing every opportunity of drawing out their money, should fill you with just alarm and apprehension. These melancholy truths have been told you frequently. I trust you are now in better disposition to attend to them.

We are prosecuting a war evidently against all our interests. We are truly conquering ourselves in America. To shew this, more than was necessary hath been urged. But there is yet one thing behind, of dearest import to us all. Let it also be considered. Every friend of the constitution
hath

hath seen, with the utmost concern, the prodigious increase of the influence of the crown, and of the means of corrupting your representatives in parliament. This evil is now gone so far, and hath taken such deep root, that I doubt much whether it be remediable in the present circumstances of the nation; or whether, in making the attempt, the remains of freedom would not fall a sacrifice. It is only in the virtue of the Americans that we can hope to see it checked, or at least its further progress impeded, so that our representatives may be enabled to preserve some little attention to our interests. But let me seriously ask you, what reasonable hope can you have that the freedom of this country will survive the conquest and submission of that? If the influence of the crown be already enormous, and fatal to the independence of parliament, will it not swallow up the little remains of struggling integrity now in the kingdom, upon so vast and unlimited

an acquisition of power, as the entire disposal of that whole continent? Reflect, I beseech you, upon the accumulated influence of which the crown will then be possessed, when America shall be in subjection and slavery; when the lives and properties of all its inhabitants shall depend upon the arbitrary will of the crown; when a numerous army shall be raised and supported for securing the conquest of it; and when legions of civil and military officers shall be nominated to the numerous employments consequent to such an event. Have these things occurred to you, or have you duly reflected upon them? Would you put even the sacrifice of America in competition with the entire loss of your liberty, and the total extinction of all independence and public virtue among us?

But do you, my countrymen, believe that America can be conquered? Take into your hands, I conjure you, a map of that country

try. See the extent of it, and compare it with your own. Consider attentively its immense distance from you, and its great resources. Think of the unanimity, the progressive increase of its inhabitants. Recollect that they are bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh, and so jealous loving of their liberty, that they will not suffer the smallest infringement upon it; that if they are not soldiers, you are teaching them fast to be so; and that the dearer they purchase their experience, the greater fruits of it they will hereafter exact from your troops. Blood is the surest cement of a free government: nor have those states failed to be durable and happy, into whose foundations it hath been most copiously poured. Do not imagine that the acquisition of Ticonderoga breaks the opposition, or decides the fate of America. Our army doth not always advance, but, though we hear of no American victories, is frequently compelled to retreat
before

before the enemy. Do you, I say, believe that America will be, can you wish that she should be conquered? If she should be subdued, *cui bono*, to what wise end? Is it proposed to fortify and garrison that whole country? If not, will not rebellions multiply upon your hands, until your wealth and strength shall be utterly exhausted? Are these growing millions of free men, think you, to be reconciled to the exercise of slavery? Will not the sons cry aloud for vengeance, for the blood of their fathers; and doth not every life you sacrifice, create you a multiplicity of enemies yet in the womb?

Let us intreat his Majesty to consider that he held this vast domain, not as a private inheritance to be sacrificed to the rash destructive projects of his servants, to false or mistaken pride, without account or satisfaction to his people, but as the faithful trustee or guardian of your interests. The

Americans certainly were not the enemies of his house and government. Ill usage may do much. Why they should have been marked out for vengeance, so contrary to every principle of true wisdom and good policy, is with difficulty to be conceived. But it is now time to draw a veil over these lamentable mistakes, and to close this unhappy contest. What chance we have of drawing them back to us, it is not easy to determine; but sure I am, that their separation grows wider every day that the war continues. I am much inclined to think we may yet regain them. It is an object worth the trial. Withdraw your troops.—Repeal your late acts.—Give the Americans satisfaction upon the principal points of the original dispute.—Change your measures.—Restore the system of colony administration by which they were governed before the late fatal innovations.—Introduce those men into power, in whose public character Englishmen

men and Americans can place confidence ; and having done justice and intitled yourselves to it, demand the renewal of their allegiance. The generosity and magnanimity of such proceedings cannot, I think, fail of the desired effect ; and will, I conceive, efface from the minds of the Americans your late violences, and establish your authority deep in their affections. At any rate, it is the only chance you now have for it ; and if, in place of so much wisdom, blind pride and headstrong obstinacy are still to prevail, I earnestly recommend to you to make up your minds to the final and irreparable loss of America.

T H E E N D.

