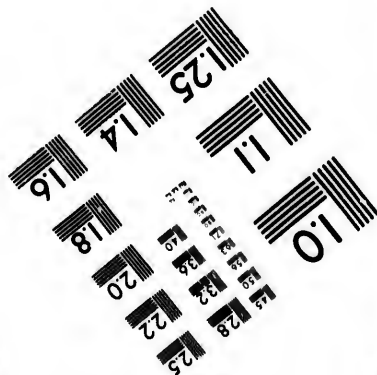
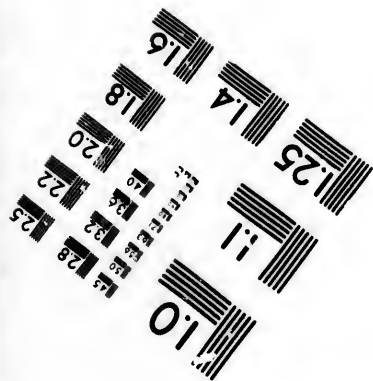
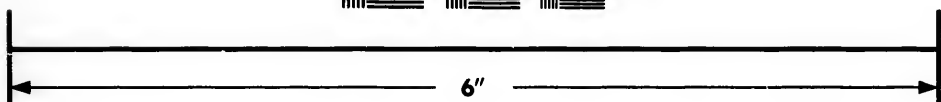
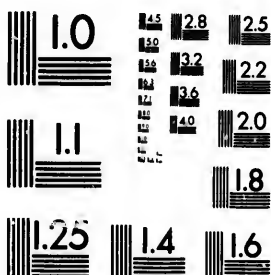


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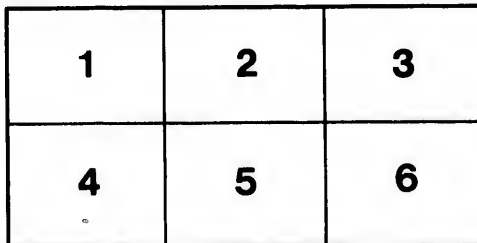
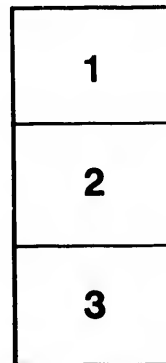
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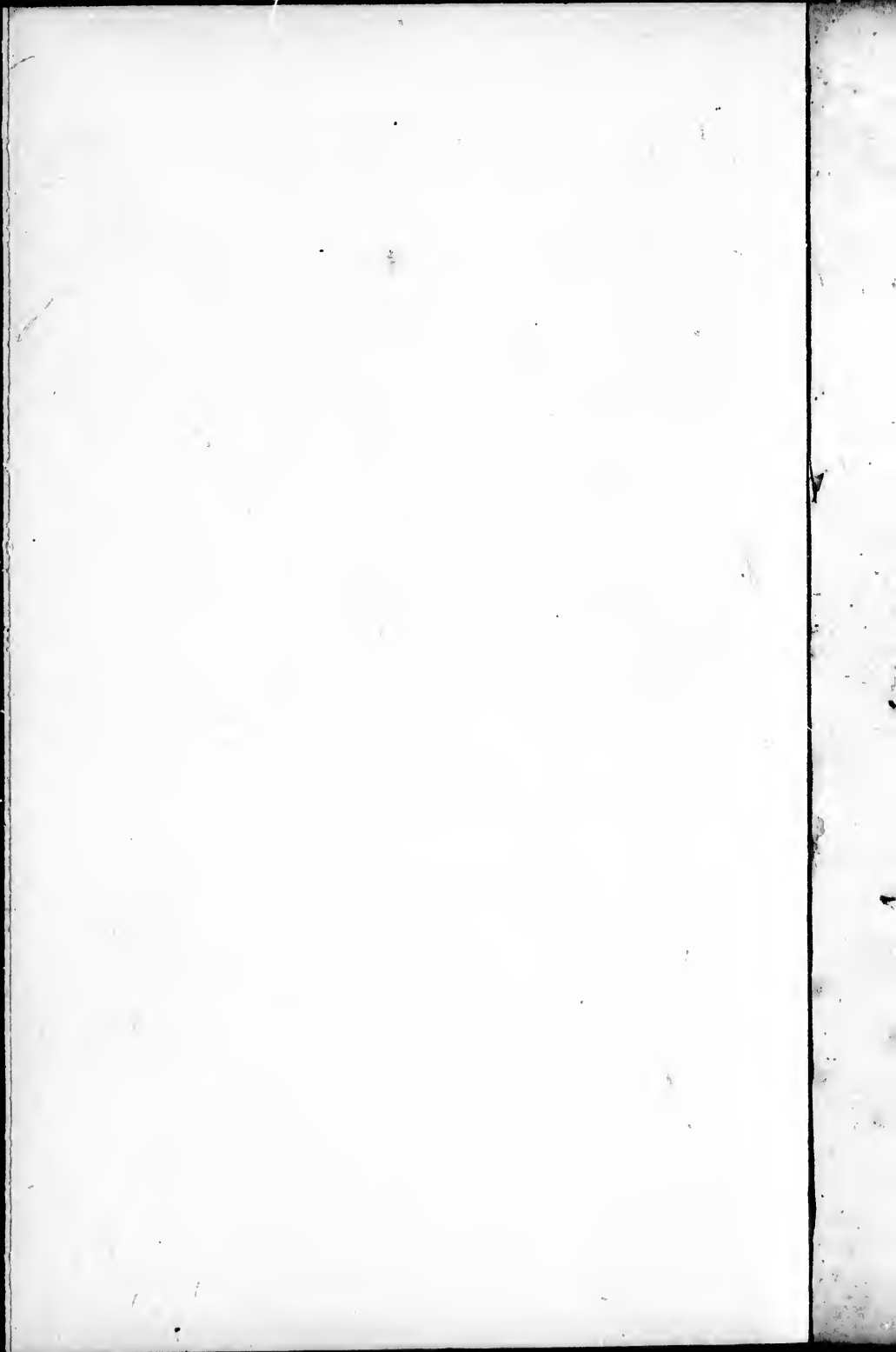
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THE
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THE torch of war, whether first
lighted by the genuine flame of
liberty, as American advocates
would suggest, or kindled by the fiery
spirit of faction, owes the fierceness with
which it now blazes, to the aid it has
from time to time received by the breath
of incendiary abettors among ourselves.

B

That

That men, mostly of desperate fortunes, embarked in a system of universal opposition to government, should eagerly seize the opportunity of joining in the cry of sedition and rebellion, is a consequence naturally flowing from the confederacy of such spirits ; but that a minister of the gospel of peace, the minister of a doctrine which inculcates charity, benevolence, and obedience to superiors, should so far depart from the steps in which his Divine Master, and his disciples uniformly trod, is matter of astonishment to many, and of indignation to some.

The Doctor, however, engages in the field of dispute with great advantages over his opponents in respect to the majority of his American readers. His constant references to Providence * ; his fancy of seeing

* The Reverend Author, page 97, says, “ I
 “ *fancy I see* in these measures, something that can-
 “ not be accounted for merely by human ignorance.
 “ I am inclined to think that the hand of Providence
 “ is

seeing things he cannot account for, but by preternatural means; his abhorrence of masquerades; his dislike to gambling in gaming houses, (which however is rather an unfair exception, as no place it is presumed can be more proper for gambling than gaming houses;) his frequent assurances to the Americans, like Doctor Squintum to his flock, that Providence will do for them; his expectations of ca-

B 2 lamities

“ is in them working to bring about some great ends.” And again page 98, “ From one end of North America to the other they are FASTING and PRAYING. But what are we doing? shocking thought! We are ridiculing them as fanatics, and scoffing at religion. We are running wild after pleasure, and forgetting every thing serious and decent at *masquerades*. We are gambling in *gaming houses*, &c. Which side then is Providence likely to favour?” And again, “ May we not expect calamities that shall recover us to reflection? Is our cause such as gives us reason to ask God to bless us?” After thus terrifying us in this manner with having lost Providence for our ally, the Doctor, page 99, very gravely puts an end to his fancies, by promising “ *not to expose himself any more in this way.*”

lamities to fall upon this nation, and above all his assurances that the Lord will act as Generalissimo of the American forces, are circumstances that will, no doubt, crown him with the general applause of all the perturbed spirits of America.

The Doctor's divisions and definitions of liberty, and particularly his distinctions of physical and moral liberty, not being made any material use of in the course of his work, and being besides liable to considerable exceptions, I shall not follow him through them, nor shall I take notice of his plan of universal peace, being totally foreign to the present occasion, but proceed to try this question with him—Whether civil liberty, and the natural rights of mankind, are invaded by the demand of the British Legislature to tax the American colonies?

A mixed government once established ought to be perpetual, unless the system
established

established should be afterwards found derogatory to the rights of mankind; devoutly administered; or altered by the consent of every part of the state. The stability of a well regulated legislature is the surest foundation of order and good government; and it is evidently for the advantage of the people, that government, with the reservations above specified, should be considered as a kind of inheritance in the constitution. Anarchy and confusion would be the constant attendants of every government, were it allowable for the people to make a resumption of their power on any other pretences. In elective, though limited monarchies, even where the form of government is perpetuated, What extreme confusion ensues, at restoring only a part of the legislature to its former state *? The licentiousness attend-

B 3

ing

* The history of the Roman emperors; and the choosing the kings of Poland, in our own times; are sufficient instances of the bad consequences attending an elective monarchy.

ing the revival of one part of the British legislature, upon its dissolution, though but once in seven years, is a melancholy proof of the effects of power resumed by the people. * Omnipotence of Parliament, or in other words of the established Government, is, therefore, no such absurd doctrine, as the Reverend Author would insinuate; nor can a greater degree of misery attend any nation than the adoption of contrary maxims.

We need go no farther back than the usurpations during the civil wars of Charles I. until the glorious Restoration; a period exactly resembling that, which the
 Doctor

* Dr. Price says that a Parliament by prolonging its own duration would become a conclave, or junto of self-created tools, and the state enslaved: he must have forgot that the first Parliament of George I. extended the term of three years, for which they had been elected agreeable to the Bill of Rights, to a duration of seven years; this law has subsisted ever since; and, as every man knows, is now the term for which are Parliaments are chosen.

Doctor says is at hand. The people had their full bent; the Commons took possession, not only of their own shares of the power of Government, but of the whole power of the legislature. Peasants trod on the necks of Peers; Draymen became senators; and a Brewer the sovereign. Were the natural rights of mankind secured by this? No; confiscations, fines, imprisonments, executions, and at length, the horrid crime of regicide, distinguished this bloody period of the British history. Were the people satisfied under all this? How long did they felicitate themselves on the change in the constitution? The constant struggles of their leaders for the supreme government; the perpetual fears of him who at last gained the seat of absolute power; the attempts against his life; the universal dissatisfaction expressed against him and the chiefs of the several parties then afloat; together with the universal joy which appeared at the restoration of the heir of the kingdom, and of the original constitution; plainly mark

B 4

the

the inexpediency of a resumption of power in the people *ad libitum*. It also proves that a nation accustomed to be governed by the different ranks of the state, cannot be more effectually cursed than by throwing the power * of governing into the hands of the commonalty.

A mixed, or limited monarchy, is congenial with the ideas of every true Briton. Ourselves; our country; and our ancestors, from very remote times; have flourished under such a government. Our increase in power, opulence, science, grandeur, and every valuable acquisition, has been equal, if not superior to that of any other nation. *Even Holland, the Doctor's favourite republic, has not surpassed his own country*

* And yet Dr. Price very well knows that during those usurpations there were no masquerades, not even a play-house exhibition, nor was the poor merry inoffensive little Punch suffered to gabble his drolery; but the Doctor's favourite principles of fasting, praying, and fighting the Lord's battles had place in their utmost extent.

country in those arts which adorn and aggrandize a nation; nor has the Great Empire of America, a term he is pleased to make use of, over-run the world as yet with its learning, science, or renown of arms. If the excellence of a government is to be known by such effects, the race of glory Great Britain has run, entitles her's to claim the rank of first in the universe. The pains this champion of America has taken to depreciate his country, and which deserves the name of something very little short of paricide; happens, however, at a period very fortunate for the nation; as its reputation in arts and arms never stood in higher estimation with every part of the globe.

It might not perhaps be improper in this place to observe, that after all the ingenious forms of Government which have been suggested by the most famous legislators, no one has yet been devised which could prevent the introduction of monarchy. By monarchy, I mean the
government

government of one person, whether by direct establishment, or the ebullition of some superior genius rising from the senate, or assembly, as their real, though not acknowledged master. Monarchy, indeed, appears in every society, soon after its establishment; however guarded its resolutions may be against it, and however repugnant its principles may be to such an innovation. The most stanch Republics, as Holland and Venice, our ministers well know are generally governed by some leading spirit, with whom all business of the state is previously conducted, and to which the assent of either Republic is a mere *fiat* of the will of the individual. The Greek and Roman histories furnish innumerable instances of the tendency of each nation at every period of time to the government of one person; either by the establishment of monarchy, the rhetorical persuasion of some leading member, or, a surrender to some qualification equally captivating to the people. Could any set of men begin upon a footing of more perfect equality than

than the Puritans at the death of Charles I. and yet how soon did they become the slave of one of their own creatures? Is it possible to prevent superior genius from taking the lead, and destroying the best concerted equality, unless where monarchy of some kind is established? Do we not imbibe the principle of governing in our infancy? Is not contention for power in the several progressions of the infant state as strongly characterised, and as assiduously maintained as in our adult state? In every class of the schools, or in the senate, some one must predominate; and that one become a real, if not a nominal sovereign, in case there be not one established by law or inheritance. Is not monarchy the basis of domestic government? Even Dr. Price's *Great Empire* thinks it no disgrace to submit most obsequiously to the dictates of the very Hon. John Hancock; though his honour has the modesty to assume at present no higher title of dignity than that of President. The time is not yet ripe
for

for his honour to assume his real title; but should the execrable schemes, now in agitation in this Utopian Empire succeed, we shall then, no doubt, hail the Protector, and ultimately the Monarch. Upon the whole it seems to be in vain to seek for safety under a Republican Government; for in truth, there is no such Government. And since monarchy must sooner or later prevail, in some shape or other, there is such security in adhering to an heretable succession, as neither election, nor any other mode of appointment can equal. I have, perhaps, digressed a little on this head, but the frequent leaning of the Rev. Doctor to republican principles, as it has drawn me into it, will I hope plead my excuse.

That a supreme power, competent in its jurisdiction to every part of the state, should, in all governments, be somewhere lodged, is a position which no man until the present commotions has ever ventured to deny. Before any attempts had been made to deny it, some precedents to justify the contrary

opinion would have been necessary, as the arguments in support of it do not so readily appear. States accruing to the territories of a prince by cession, conquest, marriage or otherwise, as in the case of the Austrian and French Netherlands, and many provinces of France, often retain, by common consent, their own form of government, acknowledging the supremacy, and granting, perhaps, some small share of the legislative power to their new sovereign; still there is one uniform lawful power embracing the extreme bounds of the state with its new additions in every part. A partial legislature is a mock legislature; and a government that should be incompetent in any one case, or locally circumscribed, must very soon become an object of derision, even where its competency and limits were allowed. The English history shews how difficult it has ever been for a weak prince to sustain himself in the regal seat; but much more difficult would it be found for a weak government to support itself. If the
Colonies

Colonies mean to declare themselves an independent state, and shake off all subordination to the British Government, however ungrateful and rebellious the procedure might be ; however it might shock the loyal and obedient subjects of the Mother Country in those respects ; it would not disgust their understanding with the present absurdity of allowing a Government and no Government.

The Colonists either are, or are not the subjects of Great-Britain. If they are the subjects of Great-Britain, the legislature cannot treat with them while its supremacy is denied, without betraying the interests, and wounding the dignity of the nation. If they are not the subjects of Great-Britain, their petitioning its Government is mean. The idea of a petition upon the term theirs have been presented is too absurd to be scarcely a moment attended to. What! petition a power for redress ; while the very petition denies its power to redress ! The pretext of duty, obedience, and the desire of an amicable

amicable accommodation, is too flimsy and thin to conceal the true design of the petitioners from the coarsest eye.

The Reverend Author's reasons for constituting the Colonies an *Empire*, may be worth enquiring into. Is it because Great-Britain, at immense expence, fitted out ships to make discoveries in the western world, and took that possession of the countries now in question, which the law of nations adjudges to be the best title of supremacy? Can it be, because this country granted the ancestors of the Colonists charters revokable at pleasure, and transported them to America at the expence of the kingdom? Or, is it because this nation has fostered, supported and maintained them from their first migration to the present period, against innumerable foreign attacks, any one of which would have been sufficient to overwhelm them? The Doctor says, they are now able to defend and sustain themselves against any foreign attack; **THAT**, perhaps,

perhaps, may be his reason for *dubbing* the Colonies of Great Britain an *Independent Empire!* There is something truly jocular in his idea of a maritime country without one port in its possession, or one ship of war upon the seas, pretending to hold out such language to a naval power, whose virtual force is nearly equal to the rest of the navy of Europe. If, however, this be the reason upon which they found their pretension to Empire and Independency; however disproportionate their attempt may be to their means; however ridiculous it may appear in the eyes of all Europe, for a few fishing boats to wage war against the whole navy of Great-Britain, their title, it seems, is not to be disputed. There will then be no occasion for any more of the Doctor's reasons; the *ultima ratio parricidarum*, is to work its best. The pen has its office, and must give place to a keener weapon. Every idea of good faith, gratitude, and such feeble ties, will be easily cut asunder by
the

power of the sword. And, as most Empires have been formed by that power, if the Americans are able to *Empirize* themselves that way, their valour will, in some degree, colour the ingratitude and infamy of their proceedings.

The Doctor's attempt to depreciate and debase the parent state to a degree, not only level, but inferior to the Colonies, is so evidently produced by the strong workings of fancy, and the delusions of a brain heated with intemperate zeal, that it scarcely deserves an answer. *What gives us our superiority, says he? Is it our wealth? This never confers real dignity.* Is wealth, indeed, of no use in acquiring dignity? If by dignity he means power, wealth must be considered as the sinews, and the very support of dignity. Or, if by dignity he would suppose the influence of the state in foreign nations; a splendid court; or refinement in the arts; surely he would not draw a comparison between Great Britain and his *new Empire,*

pire, in these respects? In what courts are the Ambassadors of America to be found, and who are the Princes that entertain them? Perhaps elevated eyes, lank hair, and a well starched band, are the true marks of dignity. In no other instances will Great Britain yield in dignity to *his Utopian Empire*. Is it, says the Reverend Author, *the number of our people?* *The Colonies will soon be equal to us in number*. If the Doctor could prevail on his fellow-labourers in the Lord's Vineyard, to suspend their rebellious designs until the arrival of that period, he might do a truly good office; for there is reason to apprehend that two millions and an half of people, will find some time necessary to out-number thirteen millions; even though a greater increase of population should arise in the Colonies than the parent state. Indeed, the superior vigilance and assiduity of procreation in general among the Colonists, must be allowed; but the *extreme vigour* with which zealots will *fructify* in a
good

good cause, is really tremendous. The next question our Author asks about superiority, *Is it our knowledge and virtue? They are probably equally knowing and more virtuous. There are names among them that will not stoop to any names among the Philosophers and Politicians of this Island.* Which of the two are most knowing is a question difficult to decide, on account of the difficulty of understanding what the Doctor means by the word *knowing*. It is a word that people may hear at the Opera doors, while the honourable fraternity of link-lighters are in the height of their business; and, I believe, there, signifies dexterity in picking of pockets; but *there* the Doctor could not have selected such a choice word, for none but the *profane* go to Operas. He surely cannot mean knowledge, or an acquaintance with the arts. The idea of a comparison is too ridiculous; and to specify the names of those among us, whose genius gives so great a lustre to the present period, would be

little short of prostitution, when opposed to such names as the Doctor could set against them. I would be understood to except one gentleman, a native of America, whose learning and genius would do honour to any country; but that gentleman has more respect for true fame, than to oppose his merit against the whole circle of British Geniuses, however he might vie individually with the foremost of them.

It was not intended to follow the Doctor through his positions in this regular gradation; but such a number of extravagant passages appearing about this part of his performance, it was impossible to desist from attacking them.

But we are the Parent State. These, says the Doctor, are the magic words which have fascinated and misled us. The English came from Germany. Does that give the German states a right to tax us? Did the Germans, who settled in England, ever settle as Colonists under the protection

protection of another state? Was not England an independent Empire long before the Germans settled; and the seat of Government previously established within the Empire? Did the English Government ever acknowledge the supremacy of Germany in this country, and in what single instance can the condition of the Germans, who invaded England, be compared to that of the Colonists? The Doctor might as well have drawn his example from the kingdom of Monomotapa. The Reverend Author, indulging his favourite idea of a parent state, the idea which he says has so fascinated us, tells us, That the Colonists, considered heretofore in the light of our children, are no longer so, in respect to subordination and dependence on the parent; for that they are now arrived at maturity, and can, as in the natural state, with justice claim their emancipation from every tie or restraint of the parent. I do not know who it was first informed the Doctor, that the parallel of a parent

and children in the natural state, was ever considered as any ground of argument in respect to the obedience of the colonies. The argument has been put upon us by the Doctor; but even here the alarm to war appears. They are able to support themselves, says he, and they will therefore make us remember they are no longer children. Let them too remember, that stripes are as proper for fools as children's backs, and that a double portion of them are due to traitors. Though the laws allow to adults, the total emancipation from, and dependance of, the authority of the parent, yet no law of God, of man, or nature, authorizes the subject in resisting the lawful authority of the state, while his natural rights are maintained. If the Doctor will have the parallel continued, let him recollect that a state may be always considered as flourishing in its earliest youth, while it continues in a prosperous condition; but that the sure way to bring it to decay, and finally to dissolution, is complaining without a cause, and founding the alarm of sedition to the well-affected.

A most

A most erroneous and fatal opinion seems to have gone forth among the favourers of the American cause. They appear to have adopted as a maxim, that we were bound to nourish the colonies with our best blood, and with a boundless expence of treasure, in order to bring them to a state of opulence and prosperity; and that having brought them into such a state, we are bound to relinquish our superiority; give them up the instant they are capable of proving beneficial to the power that formed and raised them; and leave them to—what? Not to aggrandize themselves, and erect a government of their own; as they vainly imagine: no. They are incapable of supporting themselves against any maritime power of Europe; they must, if abandoned, inevitably become a prey to the first great power that shall invade them; and thus throw a weight into the scale of the house of Bourbon, (most probably) which might ultimately prove the overthrow of this country. Too much wisdom prevails in the

Great Council of the nation to suffer such a procedure. Was the fraternal affection we feel towards them as brethren (though offending brethren) cancelled in our breasts; and were the ties of blood and the reciprocal intercourses of commerce and good offices, which have so long subsisted between us, to be effaced from the remembrance of Britons; the common safety of the mother country, and of the governments depending upon it, forbids us to renounce our supremacy over them. We, and our ancestors, have freely bled for the support of a chimerical balance of power upon the continent of Europe; and shall we now hesitate to aid with every nerve towards the fixing in our interest, a community so formidable as the Colonists insinuate themselves to be? Their opulence and power, the very arguments they make use of for the support of their independency, are the most forcible that can be urged to us for keeping them ours.

Was

Was it true that the principles of justice were injured by our demand of taxation ; (the contrary of which it is hoped will clearly be proved) there is a law superior to that which would compel us to subdue their rebellious spirits. Self-preservation, the first, the immutable law of nature, tells us we have no safety but in their subjection. Let not their vanity suggest that it is the natural power of America we fear ; they deceive themselves most egregiously in supposing that they have intrinsically that weight which could hurt us. We fear them only as they will become a prey to the first great power that shall invade them. Under such protection they might become formidable, or rather the power that swallowed them up might become so. It must however be owned for the honour of the sovereign Princes of Europe, that they have, contrary to the usual disposition of Princes, preferred the general principles of justice and their own permanent safety, to the temporary advantages which might have accrued to them from an interference in the present rebellion. Let the Reverend

Doctor take a survey of the policy of Spain, France, and Holland; let him view the behavior of the Colonies dependent on those sovereignties; and he will find absolute supremacy maintained on the one side, and the most faithful allegiance readily adopted on the other. Nay, he will see more; he will see the neighboring Colonies look with horror upon the proceedings of our own; and find them ready, if called upon, to join in subduing, and bringing them back to their duty. There can be no doubt but our Colonists have their emissaries dispersed about, endeavouring to render some prince of Europe propitious to their cause. Their known vigilance and activity prevents a doubt from being entertained on that head. But Heaven be praised! the present state of Europe gives us clearly to understand, that no success has hitherto attended any efforts of that kind. These are lessons for Paricides. Treason is not, at present, a fashionable commodity; and traitors, like mad dogs, may run their course, but are sure at last to be knocked on the head.

The

The Doctor says, the Americans are already half our number ; whereas it is well known they are not a fifth. His fallacious positions every where in respect to numbers, are too gross to escape notice ; but as he has been already attacked on that head ; and as others have given notice of following him still more closely, in preparing others better founded, with the authorities annexed ; I shall leave him to those persons for correction in such particulars.

It is time that we hasten to the grand question upon which the American advocates build such vast hopes of success. *viz.* Whether in respect to Taxation and “ internal Legislation the Colonies are “ bound to be subject to the jurisdiction of “ this kingdom ?”

It has been before observed that a Legislature, that is incompetent to any point of legislation, (which necessarily includes taxation) is a mock, and not a real legislature. The individuals of which
the

the British Parliament, or any legislature is composed, are not legislators for themselves respectively; nor separately for the several parts of the kingdom which they are nominally said to represent. In respect to Great-Britain, each member of the House of Commons is a member of the British Parliament; and a legislator of the whole state, and not of any part of it. He is as much bound by the ties of justice, patriotism and common policy, to be a guardian of one part of the state, as of any other. An invasion of the rights of any part of it, however remote, affects him as much as if suffered in the county wherein he resides; and equally as if his own lands were immediately affected by it—the government being overthrown, and his security therein lost. If, by the local situation of any part of the kingdom, representation is rendered impracticable, each member of the state is bound to give a more immediate attention to that part of it, than to any other.

The

The hereditary Grand Council of the nation are surely to be considered as general guardians of the laws. They have no fears for the continuance of their legislative station; and are as likely to be faithful trustees and even advocates for a transmarine province, as the immediate representatives of such a province, was their admission in a legislative capacity practicable.

If a conscientious regard to general justice should be wanting, the landed and commercial interests of both Houses are a perfect security to the Americans for their administration of the laws, in a manner beneficial to the latter. Any interruption to the commerce of America must soon increase the tax upon the landed possessions; and the commercial interests would necessarily fail, was the trade of our Colonies diminished, or destroyed. The interests of Great-Britain, and her Colonies, are so intricately blended, that they must equally suffer as far as a certain share of property extends:

extends: so that was there a case where the want of *representation* might be unjust, the Colonies of Great-Britain would be an exception. How many parts of the kingdom send no representatives to Parliament? Most of the islands dependent on Great-Britain, as Jersey, Guernsey, the Isle of Man, &c. are in that predicament; yet no dissatisfaction or complaint of injustice towards them has ever been preferred; but if by representation is understood an elective voice in the choosing of representatives, the truth is, that nine-tenths of this kingdom are unrepresented. Upon what authority is, it that the Doctor tells us the legislature cannot invade the rights of the unrepresented of this country without including themselves*? Might not a law be so partially framed, and in the article of taxation as well

* The Doctor, page 42, speaking of the representatives of the nation, says, "The laws they make for others they at the same time make for themselves."

well as any other, to make as great a distinction to the prejudice of the former as could possibly be made between the Mother Country and the Colonies? Hitherto no mention has been made of the remaining part of the legislature; nothing has been said of the security derived to the subjects of Great-Britain, by the known equity and fatherly love which dwell in the breast of the mildest of princes, and the most beneficent of men. His virtues, have not, as yet, been urged as a security for the rights of every, the meanest British subject, wheresoever he may reside. Not that it is to be doubted it would be as well received by every Briton, as any security depending upon mortal existence could be. Is the known wisdom and equity of Parliament; their long established fame for justice in every quarter of the world; no security? Parliament may, perhaps, have sometimes accorded trifling concessions, trivial compliments to its sovereigns, and even at some small expence to the nation; but the

the essential privileges of the state, the welfare of the community, and of all its members in every part of the globe; those they have never betrayed (that period of seventeen years which so indelibly disgraces the British history, when fanaticism prevailed to the extirpation of all order and justice, ought indeed to be excepted.)

But the justice and wisdom of Parliament, hitherto unimpeached, may, says the Reverend Author, at some future period, shrink from that degree of reputation it has hitherto sustained. He instances many circumstances which may occur to destroy that reputation, and render them a band of sycophants, and the slaves of venality and corruption. Grant all this—for who can say how long the virtue of a state, any more than the virtue of an individual, shall remain unshaken? How does this make in favour of America, unless America has obtained the exclusive possession of virtue, as a
 freehold

freehold to its inhabitants for ever? Suppose America in the full enjoyment of such a legislature as it seeks, and the administration thereof in the hands of the Americans: Is it treason, or nonsense, to suppose, that vice, venality, corruption, or some blasting power, may, hereafter, wither the tree of Liberty, which they pretend shoots forth among them, at present, with such unexampled vigor.

The Quebec Act displeases the Doctor. He is a gentleman very difficult to please. The Canadians were indulged to the extent of their wishes; yet that does not satisfy him. They have been too much indulged, he says. He forgets perhaps, that the province of Canada came into the possession of this country by compact*, and cession. The faith of the nation was pledged in the first instance to the Canadians, for the exercise of their native laws and religion. Is there

* The Articles of Capitulation.

any thing extraordinary or unjust, in ratifying a solemn treaty? If the Rev. Doctor would give himself the trouble to look into the state of the government of Minorca, he would find that the compliment made to the Canadians was not the first of its kind.

But the grand example of delinquency, in the proceedings of the British Parliament, is the Act for the better regulating the Government of Massachusetts Bay. This Act is, by the Reverend Author, considered as entirely subversive of the customs and ancient privileges of that province; contrary to the spirit of the British constitution; and a prelude to the entry of the whore of Babylon; or in other words, for Popery to find its way through. The Reverend Author well knows, that the mildness of the British legislature never appeared in a more conspicuous light, than in the framing of that Act. An Act made with a view to reclaim a province upon the verge of rebellion;

bellion; a province bidding defiance to the British legislature, and pretending to establish one of their own. A Government the least tinctured with severity, would have proclaimed martial law immediately, or, at least, have forthwith subjected the inhabitants to fines, imprisonments, and confiscations in case of further resistance. Let us see what measures the British Parliament pursued: They furnished the king with power to appoint and remove the members of one part of the legislature; to alter the mode of chusing juries; and to prevent seditious meetings, under the notion of assemblies; but this, for a limited time only*. Would not the Doctor have exposed the absurdity of the British Par-

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liament,

* The Reverend Author has thought proper to suppress the circumstance which peculiarly marks the lenity of Parliament in that Act. He does not take the least notice of the term for which it was made. It was for three years only; and, therefore, Parliament evidently could have no other view, but a temporary expediency in the passing it.

liament, if they had referred the trial of a rebel to a jury of rebels? Would he not have burlesqued the idea of an arch-rebel being appointed to preside as the judge at such a farcical trial? And would he not have been even merry, (if his profession had allowed it,) with the British legislature, for giving their sanction to an assembly meeting on purpose to destroy its authority? There is something so unfair in representing the Act, in question, as a general maxim, or principle of the British legislature, in its conduct towards the Colonies; and in endeavouring to infer tyranny and injustice from a proceeding the most gentle and tender, that ever was used by any Government towards subjects in the predicament of the Massachusettsians; that I am sure every unprejudiced Briton, so far from yielding up his heart's blood to oppose such an Act (as the Doctor recommends), would sacrifice his last drop in the enforcement of it.

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The people of this nation agree with the Reverend Author in censuring the act for regulating the Province of Massachusetts Bay. The ground, however, on which theirs is founded, happens to be the very reverse of his. It is for its mildness, and not its severity they execrate it. Untimely lenity, say they, has been the nurse of rebellion. Gentle correction has had no effect upon the delinquents; and the nation now laments that severity had not been earlier substituted in its stead. Had the Government adverted to the particular sect from whence this people sprung; had it considered the pernicious consequences that ensued from gentleness, concessions, and moderation towards them in the last century; or had it acted with the dignity which ought to influence all the proceedings of a legislature; the viper rebellion, which now scatters its venom throughout our western territories, had been crushed in its birth.

If the Americans are not nominally, they may be said to be virtually repre-

presented in the British Parliament. Their connection with the merchants of this kingdom, many of whom, depending entirely on the commerce of America, are also members of the House of Commons, and as it were the particular representatives of that country, and knit to the interests of it by the firmest of all ties, mutual advantage. What a number of the natives of America are always resident in this kingdom, either temporarily or settled, most of whom have at least elective voices, and some of them seat in the British Parliament; to say nothing of the permanent interest America has in this kingdom out of Parliament, by means of its commercial connexions? But the Colonies have a still more firm and powerful security than any yet mentioned, **THE LOVE OF LIBERTY IN THE PEOPLE.** Make it appear to the people of Great Britain that any class of their fellow-subjects groan beneath the yoke of tyranny, or arbitrary power; that their natural rights are invaded by the legislature of this, or any country; and

and you will find them as ready to redress the injuries of their brethren in the most distant part of the world, as their own immediate grievances.

But the fact is, that, in general, the subjects of Great Britain hold the proceedings of the Colonists in the utmost detestation. They join with hand, heart, and voice in support of that government from which they derive every blessing, every privilege, that civil liberty, or the natural rights of mankind entitle them to, consistently with the good of society. Nor will they suffer such a glorious fabric to be sapped and undermined upon frivolous pretences. They are ready, they even press forward to support their Prince in defence of the honour of the crown. The consideration of commercial advantages, however lucrative, vanishes from before their sight, when that great object, national honour, is at stake. Were they sure never to reap the smallest advantage from the Colonies, they would not desert

their Sovereign until the honor of the legislature was asserted and vindicated, and the contemners of it chastized.

The support given to government in the American cause, by both Houses of Parliament, deserves to be recorded to their immortal honor. They have not only concurred in every method to restore peace to a rebellious people upon the mildest terms ; but they have done it in a manner, perhaps more gracious than is to be found in any former period. If any thing could strengthen the acts of the British legislature, it is the great majority in both houses upon every question respecting America. This would point out to the Colonists, if they were not a people the most bigotted to their own opinions, the most connected in attachment to their own maxims, of any other upon the face of the earth, that the almost universal voice of the kingdom is against them.

The Reverend Author's idea that the Americans have a government of their own ;

own; that they are happy in it, and only desire to remain unmolested in it; is as extraordinary as any in his performance. They have a government. What government? The Doctor cannot mean an independent government, for that they never had. They had charters, indeed, upon which they placed their dependence. The Reverend Author will not say that the British Parliament, impolitic and ignorant as he would represent it, could ever be so infatuated as to establish a power expressly for its own destruction. No, the Crown, or Parliament granted charters for the incorporation of certain societies, with every advantage that could promote the interest of the incorporated; but with this proviso or intention, that such charter or power of incorporation should be void, whenever the superior interest of the granter should be injured by its continuance. If this was not expressed, as in most charters it is, common sense would offer such an interpretation. What consideration has Great Britain received for her
indulgence

indulgence to the Americans ; for establishing, protecting, and bringing them to a state of opulence and rank in society? If the aids she has ever received from them have been, the service of the natives to protect their own lands. Has the mother country ever called upon them to defend her? In the hour of distress, and in the day of trouble she has always fought her own battles, and found her resources in some other quarter. Far otherwise, when the Colonies have been in danger from any enemy; Great Britain, with the affection of a true parent, has always flown to their assistance; protected their commerce; and expelled their enemies from the very bowels of their country. But this is not all: she has paid them for fighting their own battles; subsidized them in their own immediate cause; and never yet left them until she brought them to a state of security and glory. But Great Britain, strange to be told! holds an advantageous commerce with the Colonies: so she does with Portugal,

tugal, and many other nations ; and must she therefore stoop to their will and pleasure? Would Portugal, the Colonies, or any other nation whatever, trade with this country, if they did not find in it a reciprocal advantage? By a reciprocal advantage, I would not be understood to mean exactly quantity for quantity, or value for value, in respect to the commodities of traffic ; but that, upon the grand scale of advantage, no nation would trade with any other, if it was not better, more useful to that nation to hold such a commerce, than to decline it. The Colonies cannot deny that their commerce with Great Britain, even under all its unavoidable restrictions, has been extremely beneficial to them. Their opulence, insolence, and aim at Independence, fatally prove it. But say they, we could trade to still greater advantage, if the restrictions laid upon us by Great Britain were withdrawn, and free commerce with all the world allowed to us. Mistaken people ! The first principle of a commercial people, should be an adequate

quate naval protection. Without this, how long could you expect an independent commerce? Is there a maritime nation of Europe so supine, so indolent, and so stupid, as to neglect such an opportunity of seizing you? Had the inhabitants of our Colonies migrated from France, Spain, or any other nation, and been deserted by their original founders, common policy would have taught us to insist upon their accepting our protection. Had even our ideas of justice, and civil liberty, quadrated exactly with theirs: the law of self-preservation; the common principles of defence; would have compelled us to take them under our government. Weak states can, no more than poor individuals, flourish, or even subsist, without protection and patronage. The inferior states of Italy all throw themselves into the arms of some great power for protection. States, even of some magnitude, seek for great alliances before they can rest without fear of invasion, from the more potent kingdoms. Nothing but the most consummate vanity could

could lead the Colonists to see their own case in any other point of view. They could not be more severely cursed than by our renouncing them; if such a weakness could possess the nation. Instead of enjoying a mild and equitable Government:—a Government, the envy and admiration of the world! they would soon find themselves in the predicament of being obliged to submit to the arbitrary mandates of a despotic monarch. Perhaps, indeed, the Princes of the house of Bourbon might graciously condescend to share this deluded, chimerical, vain, extravagant race of men between them. But of this they may be assured, that under the power of whomsoever they might fall, a proper regard would be had to their ingratitude towards the hand that raised them. If, say their future Sovereigns, the ties of blood, of interest, gratitude and friendship, could not bind them to their first Government, what security shall we have for fidelity towards us, but their most abject humiliation? Your future Sovereigns (if the British nation gives you
up,

up, which Heaven avert should ever happen) will make you hewers of wood, and drawers of water; at least, if they have common policy, you may expect it.

The Reverend Author fearing his arguments in favour of America were insufficient to stimulate a loyal people to join the interest of the sons of rebellion on the other side of the Atlantic, has attempted to sow the seeds of sedition by gloomy and falacious accounts of the internal state of the kingdom. According to this dismal representation, *Great-Britain is to be dismembered; the blood of thousands to be unrighteously shed; our strength exhausted; our merchants break; our manufacturers starve; our revenues sink; our funds totter; and public bankruptcy, (like a meteor in the air) to impend over our heads.* But suppose these things should not turn out just as the Reverend Gentleman predicts, but that the very reverse should happen. I believe upon examination the latter will be found most likely. The empire may not be *dismembered,*

bered, but strengthen its *member* by bringing it under a more due subjection to its power. The *shedding such oceans of British blood* may be prevented by superior skill and policy in arms; by undermining treachery with its proper antidote; as in the affair of Quebec. Our *strength instead of being exhausted* may gain such fresh vigor from proper applications to the unsound part, as to give new powers to the *body*. Our *merchants in general, so far from apprehending ruin*, may desire no further correspondence with the Colonies until they have better security for their future concerns; *our manufacturers* (and if the Doctor will make the tour of Yorkshire and most of our manufacturing counties, he may receive a more full information) may be pretty much of the same opinion; nor is there scarcely a tradesman who may not by this time so far discern his own interest as to see that he can never trade to America with advantage until the British Government has the power of executing justice effectually among the Colonists, and procuring a
 restitution

restitution of due returns; a vigorous trade, in consequence of all this may decrease our debts, and prop the poor decrepid *sinking revenue*; the *tottering of the funds* may prove to be no more than the vertigo of an old distempered brain; and the *public bankruptcy said to be hanging over our heads*, may turn out to be a renewal of our commerce with fresh vigor. At such a crisis, should our natural enemies, as the Doctor observes, *eager for our ruin, seize the opportunity*, why they may—ay—they may chance to do as a king of France has before done, and retire with confusion.

That not one string might remain untouched which could vibrate in unison with any note of sedition, the Doctor has struck his *plectrum* upon one that has seen its best days. The alarm of a national bankruptcy must be sounded. That our national debt is enormous, will very easily be granted; and that a reduction of the revenue must increase our taxes. It may also be admitted that the cessation of
our

our trade will occasion a decrease in the revenue of 500,000*l. per ann.* Still the credit of the nation is firm, as well without the kingdom as among ourselves; and stood equally so when the national debt exceeded the present amount, in the sum of nine millions. The highest estimate that has been yet formed for carrying into execution the intended plans of the legislature, in regard to America, does not exceed that sum. If therefore our debt should arrive at its greatest period, we shall then be only in a condition which we have borne with ease, and even flourished under. But should that success attend the British arms, which the courage and intrepidity of our soldiers, and the conduct of our generals give room to hope for, there is every reason to expect a quick, favourable, and much less expensive issue to the war. The hellish attempts which have been made to poison the minds of our soldiers with treason and disaffection to the present service, have, indeed, happily recoiled with infamy, on the insidious emissaries of faction and rebellion. An

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extreme alacrity appears in the troops destined for this American war. Volunteers, from every rank of the state, push forward to join them; and the difficulty lies, not in stimulating, but in repressing the ardor of the British subjects on this occasion.

The ingenious *manoeuvre*, and valour, of the commanders at Quebec, at the same time that it has rivetted universally the confidence and reliance of the British troops on the conduct of their officers, has had its opposite effect on the Provincials. Notwithstanding the importance of the capital of Canada, the Provincial officers have been reduced to the last extremity of supplication to get a man to stir from the camp before Boston on that service; nor is it known that they have yet been able to succeed. It is to this backwardness that we owe our intelligence of the transaction at Quebec. The Provincial leaders were obliged to authenticate, and to give even a favourable color to the success of that day, as an experi-

experiment to work on the minds of their men. I should be happy to know what *the Doctor fancies he sees* in the affair of Quebec. There were four advertisements for masquerades; two columns full of like information of public diversions; and much gaming, *even in gambling houses*, on the very day that Montgomery fell, and Arnold was made prisoner.

If there had been a circumstance wanting to inspire the British soldiers, and seamen, with ardor, to meet the rebellious foe, it would have been supplied by the appointment of the GALLANT LORD HOWE to the command of his Majesty's forces. Such tried courage; such invincible honor; a mind so free from speculation; a spirit so superior to every idea of lucre, and a soul animated with such an enthusiastic love for his country, would give life, even to a languishing cause; but accompanying the present promptitude of the nation to assert its dignity, and vindicate the insult offered to it, a race of glory seems as it were prepared for him

to run. It would be infamous to neglect the present opportunity of offering some tribute of respect to the brave General, his brother; whose name will be remembered with glory, so long as the American war shall be upon record.

There remains very little more to be said in reply to the Reverend Doctor's performance, except what regards his last section. *Of the probability of succeeding in the war with America.*

It is really matter of astonishment, that a man of genius and penetration should be so warped from his natural justness of thinking by party zeal, and the illusions of fancy, as to urge circumstances that are the flattest contradictions to each other. He makes no account of the maritime towns of America; the sooner they are destroyed the better for the Americans. By a magical waving of his pen, he can build others in different, and more secure situations. Alas, Doctor! if you destroy the maritime towns of America,

rica, Tell us what others they have left worth defending? The fact is, they have no other towns of any eminence. But, says he, they will build others in safer situations, where the British ships cannot sail; and he has very gravely told us, that inland countries are out of the reach of our shipping. He gives us permission to destroy the whole coast of America; nay he will thank us for it, it will reform American mariners: he does not want to have one town there accessible to shipping; but still he intends to make the Colonists a great maritime power. Would any man believe, that Dr. Price could recommend to the Americans such a method of becoming a great naval power? Had he five hundred Amphions ready to raise so many towns in the time a modern concerto could be performed, we have so many ships ready to demolish them; with proviso that they should not be remote from water, where it is with some confusion confessed, *our ships cannot sail*—But, to give the Doctor's arguments full scope: Suppose the Americans to have deserted

their maritime towns, or that by the event of war they are all destroyed. The latter he charitably thinks not only possible, but very probable, from our merciless disposition. Suppose after this, the British forces should remain quietly on board their ships, and guarding the coast only, let the *Imperialists* proceed unmolested in the building of other towns, out of the reach of our shipping: how does all this make them a great maritime power? Will it leave them masters of a schooner, or in a few years of a sailor to man it? America has as yet its first ship of war to build. *This vast great empire*, which Dr. Price holds up as the terror of Europe, is, fortunately for us, stopped in good time from prosecuting its designs: as yet it has not a sufficient number of small vessels to set up with any sort of *reputation* as a nation of pirates. By what means then is the naval power to be formed? If the Reverend Author can produce one fair argument in support of his position, that, "leaving them without
 " a maritime town, is the way to make
 " them

“ them a great maritime power:” It will be granted to him, that “ *guarding their coasts with a chain of British frigates is the way to multiply the number of American vessels.*” The only probable method the Doctor has of bringing about the events he predicts from such extraordinary positions, is, by administering an opiate not only to Great-Britain, but to all Europe, which shall lull them to sleep for half a century at least.

“ In America,” says Doctor Price, “ we see a number of rising states in the vigour of youth, inspired by the noblest of all passions, the passion for being free; and animated by piety.” In political bodies, as in the natural body, a great exertion of the vigour of youth may be more apt to destroy a constitution, than the less powerful, but more judicious, and well-regulated efforts of mature age. Youth, requires a guide and director to restrain its follies and impetuosities; and it is the duty of riper age to restrain them. *Flatulencies, irreligion,*

religion, and a *train of nervous complaints*, attending old age, are disorders, the Doctor says, the old state (Great Britain) is very much troubled with. Is the Doctor sure his favourite *Empire* is not troubled with a much worse disorder? Is he sure, that it is not afflicted with convulsions in the bowels, that indicate a very speedy dissolution to its political existence? For a more particular investigation of these diseases, I will refer him to Doctor Time, a physician of great eminence in the cure of state disorders. But what success may attend his expectations, "That calamities will recover to reflection" (*perhaps to devotion*) "our libertines and atheists," it is difficult to determine. I believe, however, I may venture to assert, that before the members of White's and the *Savoir Vivre*, become so many Polemons, some other Xenocrates must arise, whose doctrine is not so inflated with fanaticism; and so full of the workings of the spirit. The transition from *no grace* to *long graces*, is not to be attempted all at once; nor

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is it probable, that such a sudden revolution should happen in the visual system of our fine gentlemen, as from an *ogling simper* to adopt a *solemn squint*. The Doctor has already been told, that his commodity of treason is entirely out of fashion; and he may be assured, that the manners of his sect are equally foreign to the present manners of the kingdom.

It has been usual with the puffers of American greatness, to give our Colonists credit for the possession of the whole western continent; at least, for all that tract of land, north of our southernmost boundary; whereas, the fact is, that they inhabit no more than the mere skirt of that vast continent; their settlements upon it are, but as the fringe upon a waist-coat. They inhabit the coast of a continent, and no more; and can flourish, or increase in wealth, only as that coast is left unmolested. That they might exist without an external intercourse, so far as regards the article of food, is what has never been denied; but that they
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could, in such a case, aggrandize their power, or increase in opulence, is what no man in his senses would insist upon. They may, with such a force, become a nation of herdsmen; but a great independent maritime power, it is impossible they ever should be, under such circumstances.

But with a fleet that will nearly extend from the northern to the southernmost boundary of the American settlements, with forty thousand of the best troops in Europe, (all, either Britons, or allied by ancient friendship, and the tie of blood among their respective princes,) landed in their country, there is no reason to expect this people should be able to resist our power, or possess, in defiance of the rights of this kingdom, a quiet state, even in the capacity of herdsmen. The glorious 17th of June, has plainly proved, what a few brave disciplined troops can do against a numerous army of banditti. Nor are our soldiers uninformed of the wretched ragged state of the enemy; *Sir John Falstaff* would not have marched
through

through Coventry with them. Their present deficiency of ammunition is a circumstance also too well known, not to be another object on which our hopes of success might rest with tolerable security. But suppose they were supplied with a quantity of that article sufficient for a few months, which is a supposition exceedingly favourable to them, how are they to depend for a future supply? It is true, that notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of the British fleet, a vessel might, by accident, land a supply into some creek or remote corner. The arrival of many vessels is, however, exceedingly improbable; but supposing the circumstance, it is not likely they should be able to land their cargoes near the seat of action; by which means they would be totally useless, from the impossibility of transporting heavy stores to a great distance. The supplies of every kind necessary for the British forces, will be transported to America with a tolerable degree of certainty. The wisdom of our ministers will easily suggest to them, that more
ships

ships, and a greater quantity of ammunition, should be transported thither, than the estimates for the respective demand of each article require. They will easily see that duplicates, if I may use that term, should be sent of almost every demand, by different ships; and may we not say, that in such a case, there is as great a certainty of a necessary supply being received, as if the same was to be transported from one county of Great Britain to another. One ship may be detained by contrary winds; a second may be wrecked; a third may meet with some accident to detain her; but we are not to suppose, that all our vessels should sink, or miscarry. Notwithstanding the insight our Reverend Author has into the *womb of Providence*, notwithstanding all *he fancies he sees*, it is to be hoped he does not see that they are all to be exterminated; nor as Bobadil killed his twenties; that every ship is destined, one after another, to dash against a rock, or be buried in the sea. If then the Doctor will suffer us to conclude, that
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by sending nearly double the quantity of supplies necessary, a sufficient quantity may come safely to its destination; we shall get over one very great impediment. In *so great* an object as this, parsimony would become profusion. May we go further, and take the liberty of supposing, that some of our troops should venture to land, and even summon resolution sufficient to meet the enemy? To go further, it is feared, the Reverend Author would think presumptuous, and shew a want of *piety*; but might it not be presumed, without great offence to the faithful, and without any share of vanity in ourselves, that the same troops which have been accustomed to conquer the most courageous, and the best disciplined soldiers of Europe, might gain the victory over such an enemy as they have now to contend with. The Doctor's plea, That the Americans are fighting for liberty, and the defence of their property, is not likely to inspire the sons of rebellion with more true courage than may be expected from Britons, fighting
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for the future security of their country ; for the honour of the Crown, and the glory of their Sovereign ; for the maintenance of their just rights ; and for the noble purpose of chastising rebels. The Reverend Author's base assertion, that we are fighting to *destroy*, and they to *preserve their liberty*, is a calumny too gross to gain a shadow of credit. Britons are incapable of drawing their swords for the establishment of tyranny or despotism ; even were the people over whom it was to be exercised, a nation of savages. Much less can they be suspected of such a design against a race of men claiming the same descent, sprung from one common ancestry, at a period not two centuries remote ; and against a people whom they have bled so freely to support upon every other occasion. It is the characteristic of Britons to fly to the standard of their prince, with unusual alacrity, whenever rebellion erects her snaky crest. On such occasions loyalty has never failed, in the end, to triumph ; even though a brother was to bleed by a brother's hand. The love of
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a just prince, who governs according to law, and the veneration due to the British Government, will always insure to Great-Britain a sufficient force to subdue treason or paricide :—this, indeed, is the first time that a rebellion of the latter kind has ever been set up against the British laws. An unjust administration of them, or the want of reformation in some particular, (which no Government is exempt from) has been sometimes the cause of seditious tumults : but renouncing the supremacy of the British laws, and declaring for a substantially new form of Government, are ideas that never before entered into a British mind ; no, not even into the mind of that arch traitor Cromwell, or any of his cotemporaries. Go on then my countrymen, defend the honour of your Government, and manifest the justice of your nation. Establish and maintain the rights of your country ; assert and vindicate them over all the territories of the British Empire, upon the principles of the British constitution ; *whose service is perfect freedom.*

or If ever tyranny or despotism should
 command you to execute its baneful man-
 dates upon the meanest of our fellow sub-
 jects, turn your swords against your com-
 manders :—But while your laws and con-
 stitution remain inviolate; while you
 have a gracious prince, who administers
 them with equity, and is as zealous to
 maintain your rights as his own; while
 your fellow citizens at home are happy,
 contented, and flourishing; do not suffer
 ingratitude, rebellion, and parricide, from
 without, to contemn our power; invade
 our authority; and endanger our safety.

F I N I S

