

A
L E T T E R

Sam^r. FROM *Paine's*
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A V E T E R A N,

T O T H E

OFFICERS OF THE ARMY

ENCAMPED

A T B O S T O N.



A M E R I C A:

PRINTED IN THE YEAR, 1774.

A LETTER, &c.

Gentlemen,

TH E Dispute between the Parent Country, and her Colonies, grows every Hour, more serious, advances rapidly to a Decision, and according to the miserable, and inveterate Frailty of our boasted Species, will soon devolve to us.

OLD as the World is, it is yet, I believe, too young, to have furnished a single Instance of such a Dispute, in any Country but this. There are still, some Nations left, thank God, that enjoy the Blessings of Liberty, and know the Value of it, as well perhaps, as an *American*. But I am much mistaken, if it would not puzzle the Understanding of the most ingenious Inhabitant of *Bern*, or of *Amsterdam*, to comprehend the Subject of it.

If he could read the News-Papers, Resolves, &c. which stun us every Hour, with the Cry of Slavery, the repeated Advice to the Publick, hawked about, at Noon Day, subversive of every Thing, publick and private, of every Law, human and divine; he would be at a Loss, how to reconcile Oppression, with such unbounded Licence of the Press; and would laugh at the Charge, as something much more than a Paradox, as a palpable Contradiction.

If the Indulgence, and Forbearance, of the Parent Country, after the highest, and the most repeated Provocations, could be expressed to him, by the Words of any Language on the Globe, he would probably confess, that in the Course of his Reading and Observation, even in his Knowledge of the domestick Life of his modest and virtuous fellow Citizens, he had never met with an Example of so much Goodness, on one Part, and of so much Infatuation on the other.

THE Eloquence of Town-Meetings, the Chicane-ry of the Bar, the Casuistry of the Pulpit, the Pomp of Resolves, and the Dreams of reclusè Men, unpractised in the Business of the World, have been long opposed, by the Example of History, the concurrent Opinions of all Nations and Ages, by established Maxims of Government, as old as Government itself, and by the venerable Authority of the Laws, but have been opposed in vain. Human Nature, makes a ridiculous, or an odious Figure, when the Plaintiffs, or the Defendants of contending Parties, stand convicted of Folly or of Knavery; altho' when it happens to be the Case of whole Nations, "the Infamy of every Body, becomes the Infamy of no Body:" Yet to the Eyes of a By-stander, it is the Completion of Folly, or of Iniquity.

WHEN Men are called upon, to explain the Reasons of their Conduct, and are ashamed to avow the true Reasons, they have Recourse to Subterfuges which would disgrace the Understanding of a School Boy, when he plays Truant.

THE intellectual Powers, like the Limbs of the Body, require constant Exercise, to improve and invigorate them. Excepting the mere unprincipled Rabble, which disgrace every Country, nine tenths of the World, are a plain, undefining, inoffensive People, who have other, and better Things to do, than to perplex themselves with the Subtilties of Metaphysicians, or the Cavils of Schoolmen; they have their honest, and useful Callings to mind, themselves and their Families to feed, and to clothe. Left in their own Walks of Life, they are perhaps, the happiest of all Mortals. But at any unusual Noise or Appearance, they lift up their harmless Faces, listen, gaze, and follow the first Bell-weather that takes the lead, thro' Water, thro' Fire, down Precipices to Perdition.

NINE Tenths of the Rest, I am afraid, are most deplorably corrupt and wicked ; these are the Men, who if they could be afraid of God, would tremble when they recollect, that they alone are the Authors of a Dispute, which may prove fatal to their Country.

WE have been, many of us, Spectators of this Dispute, and to the immortal Honour of the Lenity of the *English* Government, and of the Servants of the Crown, we have been, thank God, inactive Spectators of its Rise, Progress, and Maturity. Had it any other real Foundation, than in the Interests of a contraband Trade, and the Jealousy of an *East India* Monopoly ? Let us call upon the intelligent Inhabitants of every trading Town on this Continent ; let them deny the Charge. Their Clerks, their Apprentices, the very Boys of their Stores, and their Shops, know better.

THERE are some Men, still left, of the Number. The Virtuous few, of great Abilities, of unquestionable Truth, Probity, and Honour, and few as they may be, equal at least, in Proportion to any Country, we have ever known. These Men are in earnest, are conscious of the purest Motives, and of no other ; and are entitled, however they may differ from us, in their Opinions, to the Love and Veneration of all. But they are still Men, and subject, like the best of their fellow Creatures, to Error. Great Characters are seldom found, great Actions are never achieved, without some Degree of Enthusiasm. An enthusiastick Pursuit of unattainable Wisdom, or impracticable Piety, may be sometimes ridiculous, but is never odious. We revere the Memories of a *Paschal*, a *Fenelon*, a *Boyle*, or a *Littleton*, even the Hero of *Cervantes*, is a very amiable Cavalier ; we laugh, but with no Mixture of Scorn, we lament, that his Means were unequal to his Ends ; and that his generous and benevolent Attempts, were beyond
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the Reach of human Wisdom, or human Power to accomplish. There are *New Lights* in Politicks, as well, as in Religion; and in Spite of Prejudice, the sincere Professors of such Doctrines, are far from being on common Occasions, the worst Members of Society. If the same Sensibility, and the same Passion for Virtue, pervaded the whole Mass of Mankind, that by long and sad Experience, is known to have been ever the Portion only of a few, this bad World, would be a *New Jerusalem*. Until that happens, in Pity to the Frailties and Impurities of their Neighbours, it is much safer to leave the World to go on in its ordinary Course. Attempts to subvert Establishments in Religion, or Government, in order to substitute new Modes in their Place, are always dangerous, generally unsuccessful, and in the Eye of Man at least, highly criminal; unless where the Absurdity, Usurpation, and Oppression, is palpable and notorious.

IF certain Doctrines, which will remain controvertible forever, were to be applied, like different Medicines, to different Constitutions, with a proper Discrimination of Men and Times, they might have the same salutary Effects. If a certain Set of our brother Officers, of every Nation among us, whom we have known both at home and abroad, instead of thumbing *Millan's* List, D. B. and the Sofa, were now and then, to turn over a Leaf or two of *Harrington* or *Locke*, it would not be amiss. Some small Infusion of their generous Principles, would teach them the Rights and Privileges of their fellow Subjects, of which upon some Occasions, they do not appear to have the most accurate Ideas; and might lessen the humbling Disparity between a sheepish defenceless Citizen, and a Soldier, skilled in his Art, and armed at all Points for War.

REGULAR, exact Subordination, and prompt implicit Obedience to all lawful Commands, are the Practice,

Practice, the Glory, and the indispensable Duties of a Soldier; whatever Faults we may have, the Faults of Republicans, are not, I presume, of the Number.

THE Inhabitants of *North America*, on the contrary, are in general refractory and intractable; their Manners, Opinions, and Principles Republican. And no Wonder they are so. The great Masters in the Science of Government whom I have mentioned, have taught already much too long, and with too much Credit, in the Schools of this Country; the Scholars have eclipsed the Lustre of their Masters; who are become as useless, in the Library of an *American*, as in the Wigwams of *Onondago* or *Oneida*.

FROM the flattering Theories and Systems of these and other Philosophers of the same Sect, and from the general Relaxation of the Powers of Government over distant Colonies; we are, in my Opinion, to trace the Principles of the Men of Sense, Honour, and Virtue, who are real, not pretended Patriots.

IF a plain Soldier, personally acquainted with many of them, and sincerely loving and respecting them, might presume to hint the least Advice, on this alarming Occasion; he would entreat them to consider, whether there be not some Truth in this, and whether it might not be worth their while to recollect when, and upon what Occasions, these celebrated Authorities appeared.

HARRINGTON's Oceana, a Work of extraordinary Genius, but an impracticable System, was produced at a Time, when all Orders of the State were dissolved; when no Authority was left, but the Authority of the Sword; when Fathers, Sons, Brothers and Friends, had glutted their fullen Vengeance on each other. When their Country had been ravaged by a long destructive War, and covered with the Blood of its Natives. In the midst of these horrible Convulsions, *Harrington*, with many other Men of Genius, weary of a Contention to which they

they saw no End, after changing a weak, misguided and arbitrary Monarch, whom they contemned, and whom *Harrington* nevertheless lived to lament, for a magnanimous Tyrant, at the very Sound of whose Name they trembled, wished to restore Repose to their miserable Country, and if possible, on the Basis of ideal Liberty; but unhappily they mistook Reading for Practice, Visions for Realities; their fanciful Notions of Mankind, for the true Character of Mankind; they finished as they had begun; and as the profound and virtuous *Montesquieu* observes, “ they looked
 “ every where for a Republick, but found it no
 “ where; they wished to build *Calcedonia*, with the
 “ Banks of *Constantinople* before their Eyes.”

ON its former Banks notwithstanding, the ancient Fabrick of the *British* Constitution, was rebuilt at the Restoration, by the irresistible and salutary Force of Habit and Opinion; in Spite of splendid and promising Theories, the wretched Remains of the Inhabitants, remembered, that they had been uneasy and discontented, under the Abuses of Government. But they were at last convinced from fatal Experience, that even the worst Government was a Paradise, compared with an Anarchy.

MR. LOCKE'S Treatise on Government was written expressly to defend a Revolution, not to effect One. To account for the Excess of his Principles, it is necessary to read the History of his Life; it was written in one of those Seasons, when the wisest Men mistake their Resentments and their Passions for their Reason. The most improper of all Seasons to give a Theory, the Authority of Laws; and notwithstanding, that it has ever been the Palladium of our good Friends the old Whigs, and quoted by them with the same Emphasis, that the learned in the Laws quote my Lord *Coke*, and that Gentlemen of Curiosity, and good Taste cite *Blackstone*, with all his very singular Merit; it is perhaps, but little better, than
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a very ingenious masterly party Pamphlet, written not to innovate, but to confirm, what was already established. To *Jacobites*, to *Non-Jurors*, to Men who had been educated, and tramelled conscientiously, in the foolish Doctrines of *Jus divinum*, indefeasible hereditary Right, Non-Resistance, Passive-Obedience, and the rest of the abominable Nonsense, and Jargon of systematick Slavery. It was designed as an Antidote to the Poison of the Decrees of *Oxford*, and the Doctrines of *Hobbes* and *Filmer*. Doctrines however incredible it may appear to most of the Inhabitants of this free Country, that once made the political Creed of half the ablest Heads, of an enlightened Nation, and were as fashionable, and oraculous then as the Doctrine of an original express Compact is now; thank God, they have been long since exploded and forgotten, and are hardly to be found, even in the Gloom of a College.

MR. LOCKE's Theory has hitherto had a better Fate, but the Conduct of *America*, begins to discover its Weaknesses, to its Admirers, and gives but too much Occasion to its Enemies, to call it by a much worse Name than it deserves; it seems to have been ever, a Vanity inseparable, from almost all Framers of Systems, from the System of Atoms, *Tourbillons* Climate, &c. to attempt to reconcile Things, by Nature incompatible, and to cry out with *Montesquieu*, "every Thing submits to my Principles." All that floats on the surrounding Surface of their Imagination, however heterogeneous, is drawn in by the profound Vortex.

THE Principles of Mr. *Locke*, are noble, benevolent, and in general true, or ought to be so; but the Application of them to particular Cases, is wild and Utopian; even in Idea and in Practice, dangerous to the extremest Degree. Adopted in private Life, they would introduce perpetual Discord; in the State perpetual Anarchy. The least Failure in the reciprocal

cal Duties of Worship and Obedience in the matrimonial Contract, would justify a Divorce. In the political Compact, the smallest Defect in the Prince, a Revolution. Now I cannot think so ill of this Country, as to believe there are many People in it, like the Men *Swift* speaks of, who used to swear “ the “ more Revolutions the better.” The Web is too finely spun, for common Use ; subject every Moment to be torn in Pieces, even by the gentlest Hand ; and fit only for the Cabinets of the Curious.

If there was ever a formal express Compact, between a Prince and a People, it was at the glorious Revolution. If there was ever a patriot Prince, and a patriot People, it was then. Yet the Compact, if we may believe his Friend and Historian *Burnet*, was no sooner made, than it was broken, by all the Parties to it, nor could it have happened otherwise. Government, according to Mr. *Locke*, was of Course dissolved, or might have been subverted, with a safe Conscience, “ *Chaos might have come again.* And Men were at Liberty, to return if they pleased, to the State of Nature from whence they originally came.

Our Ancestors, were wiser, thank God, than to take him at his Word. They and their Posterity have continued so. And it is from the very Moment of that happy Era, that we date the Freedom of the *British* Constitution, at least, the Enjoyment of it. These Disciples of Mr. *Locke*, who complain of the Breach of Compact, and think themselves conscientiously absolved from all Allegiance to the supreme Power ; are many of them, Members of the provincial supreme Power of their respective Colonies, and have entered into a Compact too, with their People. Their People reason as their Betters are too apt to do. They know, or which answers all the same Purposes, they think they know, how this Act came to be passed ; why that was thrown out ; how such

such a Gentleman got the Government ; the other a Seat in the Council. How much it cost Mr. Such-a-One, and Mr. Such-a-One, the last Election ; that this Thing is done, or not done, to make Interest against the next ; why this Employment was given to this Man, that to the other Man.

ACCORDING to the great Mr. *Locke*, according to the Reasonings and Examples of their Betters, they cry out, “ what is this but to cut up Government by the Roots, and poison the very Fountain “ of publick Security.”

THE original Compact is broken, we are absolved from all Allegiance. The Friends of Liberty are desired to meet, &c. &c. &c. They can read, and write too ; they have the venerable Volume of *American Resolves* and State Papers before them, and will soon turn the Artillery of Mr. *Locke*, against their Masters ; they have begun already.

In a very few Weeks perhaps, the Men who hold the Plough, who tug at the Oar, who handle the Axe and the Sledge, who black their Shoes, may have their Turn too ; and the affrighted Senator may be glad to escape the Rage of the Tylers and Cades of *America*, and fly for Protection, even into the City of *Hobbes*, into the Jaws of the Monster *Leviathan*.

I do not pretend to see farther than my Neighbours, but in the moral, as in the natural World, there are certain Causes, which invariably produce certain Effects. The established Axioms of both, are discoverable by History and Experiment. Now the most superficial Knowledge of the first, is in my Opinion, sufficient to convince any Man, that some signal Calamity, is at this very Moment impending over this once happy Country. He may without being a Coward foresee it, under the Dominion of the brutal and barbarous Rabble, or their defence,

less Towns, the easy Prey of a Fleet from *Toulon*, *Ferrol*, or *Algiers*.

It is not yet too late, for the greater Part of the Colonies to recede.

WE have many of us lived in the Pleasures of their Society, shared in the Hospitality of their Tables, and in the Offices of their Friendship. We have been long good Friends, may we ever remain so. Let us hope that they will remember, there is a golden Mean in every Thing, in Liberty, even in Virtue itself; that the Fit of Peevishness and Passion will subside, before it is too late, and give Place to sober and cool Reflection; and that the delightful Current of Peace and Tranquillity, may return once more into its old Channel.

WOULD to God we could form the same Hopes, for the deluded Inhabitants of *New-England*; but they have already advanced too far to retreat; the Sword is suspended over their Heads by a single Hair, and nothing but the immediate Hand of Heaven, can avert the Misery that awaits them.

ATTEMPTS have been long made, in vain, to untie the Knot. It must be left or cut. The Skill of the acutest Politicians, has been baffled; it will soon be consigned, to the Hands of the stout *Ajax*, the honest Grenadier. The self devoted People, are doomed to Punishment; it may be in the Power of even the youngest Subalterns among us, on many Occasions, to make that Punishment, no greater than it is designed to be.

It is for this Reason, brother Officers, Friends, Companions, and fellow Soldiers, that I presume to address myself to you. To you, Gentlemen, the gallant Defenders of the Property, Liberty, and Lives of your fellow Citizens, with whom, in Spite of Calumny, you are inseparably united in one common Interest. And to whom you are allied, by Birth, Education, Religion, Laws, Principles and Manners; by

by all the Attachments and Endearments of Mankind. Not the Jannissaries of a Despot, or the pretorian Cohorts of an Usurper, but the free Servants of a free State, of a limited, and virtuous Monarch. The undegenerate Successors, or Members of that distinguished Order of Men, whose Conduct, after the Experience of more than a Century has falsified the Predictions of the timid, and the factious, whose Arms, have been invariably employed, not in invading but in defending the free Constitution of their Country, and on one memorable Occasion, even against the Prince himself.

WHOSE Courage has been felt, and is respected in every Part of the Globe. Has extended every where, the Dominions of the State in War. And in Peace has hitherto, until this melancholy Occasion, preserved the Laws of the Land, from becoming a dead and ineffectual Letter. A Service the most Important of all to the Interests of your fellow Citizens, to the Happiness of all Men, to the miserable *Massachusetts* itself. And altho' we

*Might wish the Task had been assign'd,
To Spirits of less gentle Kind.*

It is nevertheless, a Duty we owe to God, to our Country, to our King, to our own Honour, to perform it with Alacrity. Our Enemies know it to be our Duty. Let us do that intrepidly, and that only, with the same honourable Regard to the Rules of Politeness and Generosity, as we shew in the Wars of our Country with foreign Nations, and in deciding our own Quarrels with each other. In Spite of all "*the Pride, the Pomp, and Circumstances of glorious War.*" In Spite of the flattering Hopes of Promotion, War is at the best, but a necessary Evil, let us make the best of it, and give the World an Example, that the Men, who are sometimes called by the invidious Names of Hirelings and Mercenaries, know how to avenge the Cause of the Publick, without the Meanness of private Animosity, or of personal Revenge.

To the Honour of modern Times, degenerate as they are called by Men, who know little of other Times. War is become a mere Sport and Amusement, compared with the Ferocity, and Cruelty recorded in every Page of History; from the Old Testament, down to *Davila* and *Thuanus*. By the humanizing Intercourse of Commerce, and the free Communication of the liberal Arts and Sciences, Men are become much better acquainted with each other; and have at last discovered, that Nations, like individuals, have their Defects and their Excellencies; that their particular Vices, are often compensated, by some peculiar Virtues; that a Man may be a Foreigner, without being a Barbarian. And that as the good Citizen of a State owes Forbearance and Indulgence, to the Frailties of his Countrymen; the benevolent Citizen of the World, is ever disposed to shew it, to the Weaknesses of all Mankind.

GREAT Progress has been already made in the Virtues of Humanity; and without diminishing the Prowess of the Soldier; it has been made in a very short Space of Time, but the Reformation is not yet complete.

ARTS, that have been used to inflame the mere Vulgar of every Nation, and of every Party, have extended their Influence much farther, than they were designed to reach; because the Vulgar comprehends a much greater Body of People, than is commonly imagined. The trivial Circumstances of Language, Dicks, Food, &c. Even the nick Names of *Yankey*, *Serpent*, *Taffey*, *Padáy*, *Nick Frog*, *Sawney*, *John Bull*, *Jean F.* and *D. B.* have at this Hour, more, and worse Effects than Men in general are aware of; when we are a little more polished, we shall perhaps discover, that the Wit there may be in such Jokes, may as well be spared; that there is no very good Reason to laugh at a Man, because he speaks the Language, or wears the Drefs of his native Country;

Country ; and we shall leave our Neighbours, who happen to be born under a different Cookery, to eat their salt Pork and Molasses, their toasted Cheese, their Frogs, and their Haggels, in Peace ; and they will not disturb us, over our roast Beef and Plumb-Pudding, our Blood, and melted Butter. There is nothing truly Ridiculous, in the Diversity of the Manners and Customs of different Nations, tho' I am afraid, if we will take the Word of any Foreigner on Earth, it is one of the Characteristics of an *Englishman* to think otherwise.

WE are finer Gentlemen, no doubt, than the plain Farmers we are going to encounter. Our Hats carry a smarter Cock, our Swords hang more gracefully by our Sides, and we make an easier Figure in a Ball Room ; but let us remember, that the most finished Maccaroni among us, would pass for an arrant Clown at *Pekin*, and that *Saxe, Lincoln*, "*that Joy of Womankind*, even *Mars* himself, if we may believe *Homer*, would have made but a clumsy Figure in the Celebrations of *Ooutabeite*."

DIFFERENCE of Religion has produced the most fatal Effects of all ; a sensible Mind turns with Horror from the Recollection of them : That ours, is not exactly the same with theirs, is no clear Proof of its being better, or worse. There is no Set of Men, I believe, less prone to quarrel with their Neighbours about Punctilios of Faith, than we are, which I take to be a good presumptive Evidence at least, that our Religion is not a bad one.

If they pray too much, we may possibly pray too little ; the gallant Armies on the *Danube* and the *Vistula*, pray much more than either of us. Let us leave them to swear like *Lady Kate*, *Sunday Citizens Oaths*. Let us when it is incumbent upon us to swear, swear "*good Mouth-filling Oaths*, like the noble *Harry*," the Difference is not very material ; in these Matters there is Nothing to love or to hate.

If there are among them Thousands (and can we doubt that there are?) who are just in their Dealings, sincere in their Friendships, kind in their Affections, and benevolent in their Dispositions,---these are not laughing Matters; let us treat them as if they had such Qualities, till we are sure they have them not.

BUT “they are a Pack of canting Scoundrels” and d---d Rebels;” they do snuffle too much; no doubt. They learn it from their Pastors, who have it by descent from the Ancestors of many among ourselves. There are many pious good Souls at home who snuffle still; the most genuine Christians I have ever met with, queer and unlike as they may be to us, in the outward Man, the Men of the purest and severest Morals snuffle and quake too. I appeal to the History of *Pennsylvania*.

THAT they are Rebels cannot be denied; would to God it could. It is well for them that they are in the Hands of a Man of approved Gentleness, Humanity and Justice; but even Rebel (in War at least) is a convertible Term, which Knave was never.

As Soldiers it is our Duty, as it is his, to reduce them to Obedience; as Men to lament, like him, their Infatuation. If there are among them Men of dissolute Manners, corrupt Principles, or desperate Ambition, who under the Pretence of Patriotism, wish to repair their ruined Fortunes, and rise into Consideration by Subversion of the Laws, and the Destruction of their Country, they deserve the Judgments of God, and the Detestation of all honest Men.

REBELLION is a Crime of the deepest Die, in Contemplation of Law, and in the Eye of every Government on Earth, which presumes not to search into the Consciences of its Subjects, and therefore neither condemns nor acquits them for their Intentions, but for their Actions, in the Eyes of the
Breasts

Searcher of all Hearts ; a *Hampden*, and a *Faikland*, a *Cameron*, and a *Thornton*, may be equally acceptable.

CAN we wonder at these infatuated unhappy People? Descended as they are, from Men who carried their Notions in Religion, to the wildest Fanaticism; their Principles in Government, to the utmost possible extreme of Liberty; dropt in a Corner of the World, uncontrolled for Generations, by the Authority of the parent Country, inheriting such dangerous Opinions; by the Blood of their Ancestors, imbibing them from the Breasts of their Mothers, until, by the Contagion of general Manners, and by the pious Aid of the very Men who were consecrated to instruct their Consciences, in Morality and the Meekness of the Gospel, it ripened into Sedition, as the immediate Word of God, as if they had heard it with their own Ears, from the burning Bush, and ended in Rebellion. To Men born and educated under such Circumstances, excluded in a great Measure by their Situation, from the beneficial Intercourse and Examination of the Effects of different Opinions and Principles; it is not easy to emerge from Darkness to Light, and to see the World in its true Colours. The Popularity of their old Government, and the interior Policy of their Townships, have contributed much to their Blindness; from these they have collected all the technical Terms in Politicks, and a huge Stock of sonorous Words, which serve them for Logick; have the same Effect upon their Understandings, and a much greater upon their Passions. Learned notwithstanding, as they think themselves in the Science of Government, they do not yet seem to have discovered, that a Charter carelessly granted, as a Matter of Indifference, because it was asked, for two or three Hundred commercial or fanatic Emigrants, was never designed to be a regular System of Legislation, for Half a Million of opulent Merchants, substantial Land-Holders, &c. That altho' it was vacated under the

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Reign

Reign of a Tyrant, it was forfeited by the Laws of the Constitution. Laws however odious that Tyrant made them, as much the Law of the Land, as *Magna Charta* itself.

It was restored indeed, under a new and a happy Reign, but in a new Form, vamped for a Time ; has been since patched up, as Occasion required ; ever at the Mercy of a *quo Warranto*, saved because it was neglected ; uncondemned because it was not brought to the Bar ; born to live but for a short Time, and to expire in Convulsions ; such was this famous Compact.

THE Charter is lost, but the Country may still be saved ; the same tolerant and philosophick Legislature that has extended its beneficent and paternal Care, over all its Subjects, from the *Ganges* to the Banks of *St. Lawrence* and *Mississippi* ; and has given to the whole World, an illustrious Example of Moderation and Philanthropy, regards the deluded Inhabitants of the *Massachusetts*, with equal Eyes of Affection, and consigns them to Punishment, to save them from Ruin.

LET us, Gentlemen, who are the Instruments of this Punishment, act our Parts in this sad Scene like brave Soldiers, like true Gentlemen, not like Rioters ; Gibes, Reproaches, hard Names, make no Part of the Punishment allotted them ; the dispassionate Judges of our merciful Courts, are Counsel for the very Criminals whom the Laws enjoin them to condemn ; these are not Times for Merriment and Buffoonery, let us reserve our Wit and our Humour, if we happen to have it, for the Tables of our Friends.

EVEN in the Exultation of Victory, when the Laws of Men are silent, there are Laws antecedent to those ; Laws which restrained the Arm of *Cæsar*, and were written on the Heart of the merciful *Bourbon*. The Persons, Goods and Lives of the vanquished are not ours. Let us imitate the Virtues,
which

which have endeared the Names of an *Amberst*, a *Gage*, and a *Haldimand*, to the conquered *Canadians*.

INNOCENCE, Imbecillity, Age and Affliction, have a peculiar claim to the Protection of all Men, of Soldiers above all Men ; we have our Homes, our domestick and social Affections, as well as our Enemies, and may one Day have our Sorrows too ; these are not “ *glorious golden Opportunities*,” even for the Scoundrel *Lothario*. Wars, civil Wars especially, have Miseries enough of their own ; they have been often aggravated, and prolonged by Licence and Brutality ; till what the Wisdom of the State designed for the Reformation of a Part, became the Destruction of the Whole.

LET us remember, that the Memories of an *Alva*, a *Tavanne*, and a *Kirk*, are held in Execration by all Mankind, and that the Laws of Conquest, exclude not the Right of Humanity.

F I N I S.





E R R A T A.

Page 4, Line 12, after the Word *Knavery*, read,
when it happens to be the Case of whole Nations,
altho' " the, &c.

