

On the Charges brought against them by

LORD M-----D, and Others,

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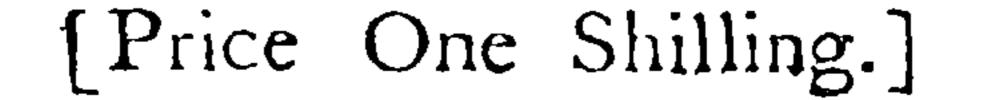
IN A LETTER TO

HIS LORDSHIP.

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington-House, Piccadilly. MDCCLXXVI.

LONDON:

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THE

PLEA of the COLONIES, &c.

To Lord M----D.

My Lord,

WHILE you were pleas'd to withdraw yourfelf from the cabinet, and fit in filence behind the curtain, fecurely to enjoy the confcious pleasure of guiding the political machine, and giving birth to meafures that you did not chuse publicly to adopt, whatever we might think of your Lordship's influence, or that of your noble countrymen and friends, we were not fully at liberty to express our sentiments upon it. It was generally believed that the noble Lord who prefides in the Treafury, and his kinfman, the late American fecretary, were not principals in devising the American war. They held a language, both in public and in private, that might tend to secure them from the charge. They were sometimes observed to unfay, or explain to nothing, what they had faid but yesterday; there was fuch a want of confiflence among some of their actions, there was



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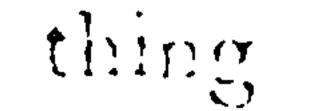
fuch a difagreement between the outward and visible face of their conduct, and the inward spirit, which was constantly opposing every healing proposition, and dragging the nation into the road to war, that we could not doubt of a secret influence of a real minister, who pointed out the path to the offenfible one, and brought him back whenever he chanced to liften to his own opinion, and step out of the true road; yet when we fought for the perfon who, deafto the cries of juffice, callous to the feelings of humanity, could think of paving the way to arbitrary domination, by fhedding the blood of thousands, we durst not fay to the first judge in the kingdom, "thou art the man." The time, however, is at last come when silence is no longer necessary; perhaps not fafe : we have croffed the Rubicon, your Lordship's prefence may be requifite to animate the troops, and inspire those Britons with martial rage, who might still pause at shedding a brother's blood. While the American dispute was confidered as little more than a quarrel with the town of Boston about drowning a few chefts of tea, the nation could hardly take the alarm; they could not fuspect that a capital revolution was intended, or that the liberties of the whole empire were in danger; nor would the confequent steps that seemed to spring from that quarrel, by a fatal progression of crimes, give any great alarm to a generous nation, that generally believeth all things and hopeth all things that

that are beft, efpecially as the bufinefs ftill feemed to be conducted by the ordinary minifters: and furely while nothing more was profefied than quelling a mob, or punifhing a refractory town, your Lordship's counfel was not requifite;

Nec deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus

Incederit.

But now that we have fmuggled a march, that we are passed over the preliminary steps, and are plunged, God knows why, into the verv bowels of a civil war; now that a political fubject of doubtful enquiry is, by the most barbarous figure in rhetoric, committed to the mouth of a cannon, and from a fingle town the fiery argument has extended fo far as to involve fourteen or fifteen provinces, your Lordship has thought proper to flep forward and inform us that you are for blood. No plan of accommodation, no terms of peace are to be held out to the Americans, the fword is not to be stayed fo much as for an hour; nothing lefs than " abfolute, unconditional" fubmission is to be accepted. We should not even talk of peace, for "much is to be done, and little faid". The Americans musi be abfolutely fubdued. The reafon you have been pleased to give for this severe process is very remarkable. "The Americans do not with for peace, they have long been aiming at abjolute independence and will be fatisfied with no-



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thing lefs." As this is the great pillar on which your Lordship and your friends have thought fit to lean; as this is the general argument by which you have lately agreed to justify the present plan of extirpating the Americans, or bending them beneath the conqueror's yoke, I shall take the liberty to examine it with some attention. That I may do juffice to your reasonings on this subject, and through you to the reasonings of the visible ministry, who, on this occasion, are certainly directed by that fecret confidential corps which you have formed, I shall collect into one point of view the fum of what you have delivered in defence of the American war, in your noted speech of November last on the capture bill, and in your late memorable speech on the Duke of Grafton's motion; for they tended to the fame object, they were founded on the fame hypothesis. Confeious I am, that in this humble difquisition, in which I appeal to the honest, the virtuous and difinterested part of this nation, I shall come far short of your Lordship in elegance of language, clearness of diction, and flowers of rhetoric; but I shall, for this reason among others, try to differ from your Lordship in another particular of some consequence; I schall deal in facts not in conjectures. Though every thing that is offered by your Lordship falls from so great an eminence that it cannot fail to make its impression on the public, yet I 1211

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fhall reftrain myfelf to the outlines and principal arguments of your two fpeeches, confident that I fhall not overlook those particular opinions which you wish the nation should embrace, nor those interesting arguments on which you have justified the present war, and repudiated the very idea of peace.

" It was foretold by Davenant, that when-

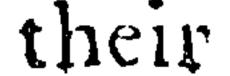
- « ever the American colonies should find
- " themfelves of fufficient strength, they would
- " Endeavour to form themfelves into a separate
- " independent state; and this (you fay) has
- " been the constant object of the people of
- " New England almost from their earliest
- " infancy. At the conclusion of the late war
- " an idea prevailed, that the Americans fhould
- " contribute towards the public expence," (and that the Parliament of England should tax them for that purpose without their confent.) " I shall not pretend to say how proper

" fuch a meafure might have been, but the ftamp-act paffed, and nobody oppofed it. Next year the declaratory act was alfo paffed without any oppofition. On the following year the port-duties were laid while a noble Lord, now in oppofition (Lord C mden) prefided on the woolfack, he never faid a word againft them. The Bofton port-bill alfo paffed the year before laft without any manner of oppofition. Of the following acts I-fhall fay nothing, but if the other acts were juftifiable I think the

66 latter

8 " latter were equally fo. I do not think " America complains of particular injuries so " much as fhe does of the violation of her "rights. The congress sum up the whole " of their grievances in that passage of the " declaratory act which afferts the right of "Great Britain to make laws to bind them " in all cafes whatfoever. That is the true

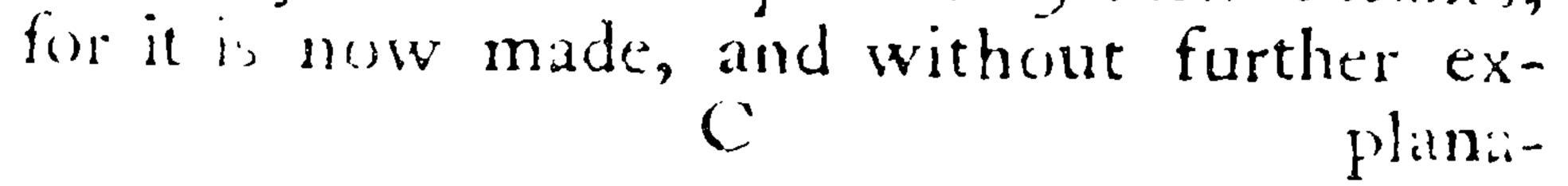
- " bone of contention. They positively de-" ny the right not the mode of exercifing it. " They would allow the King of Great Bri-" tain a nominal fovereignty over them, but "nothing else. They would throw off their " dependence on the crown of Great Britain " but not on the perfon of the King whom " they would render a cypher. They would " be as Hanover is to England." To this state of the controversy you were pleafed to add, in favour of hostile measures : "The " Americans are now at war, they have in-
- " vaded Canada, they are acting on the of-
- " fenfive; we are not to enquire who was the
- " aggreffor; whether we are right or wrong,
- "we must proceed. We are not to dif-
- " forminate the innocent from the guilty, if
- " we do not kill them, they will kill us." Of three positions which your Lordship has endeavoured to establish, it is hard to difcover which is best calculated to promote the present views of administration. If either of them should be fully received, it may be expected that the nation will cordially apply



9 their shoulders to the American war. If either of them should be questioned, some part of the nation may still remain tardy. Your first endeavour is to perfuade us that every set of ministers and all parties of men have uniformly agreed in their attempts to tax the Americans ever lince that queffion was first agitated. If that had indeed been the cafe, we have certainly nothing to gain by a change of men, for the fame meafures would ffill be purfued; and if there can be no change of measures, the Americans had beft fubmit in time, fince they can never expect more reafonable terms. Whatever the truth may be, your Lordship has certainly heard that the Americans in general view this fubject in a different light. They believe that there is a very respectable, a very numerous body of men in this kingdom, who are generally diftinguished by the name of Whigs, who are friends to civil liberty and perfectly averfe to the idea of taxing their brethren in North America. They believe, that by fome of those men the stamp-act was repealed, a humane, prudent, and magnanimous meafure, by which peace was reftored to the empire, though the authors of it knew they must be ruined at court.

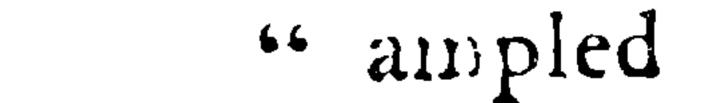
"Necprofunt domino quæ profunt omnibus artes."

The Americans, indeed, complain of the declaratory act as it is explained by their enemies,



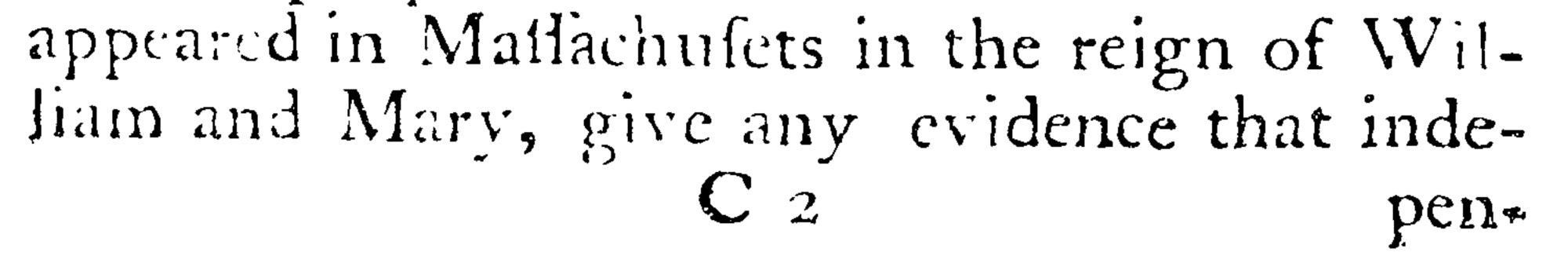
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planation may continue to be made, a foundation for every kind of oppression : but they do not believe that the framers of the declaratory act could ever be charged with the defire of taxing them; fince it was notorious that they had introduced that very act as a kind of falvo for the authority of Parliament, in order that they might be enabled to repeal the only law by which America was taxed. The declaratory act was a sword of state, for ornament rather than for ale; it was never to be drawn for the purpose of revenue, nor for any other occasion less important than the falvation of the empire. In this light the Americans viewed it from the beginning, for which reafon it had not the leaft tendency to check those shouts of joy which were heard from every province when the stamp-act was repealed. If we are still at a loss to know whether all classes of men among us are equally obnoxious to the Americans, and whether they confider themfelves equally aggrieved by all, let us hear the late declaration of the congress, the very piece your Lordship is pleased to quote. After enumerating the many acts of injuffice and cruelty that have lately been practifed against them, they add " fruitles were all the " entreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an " illustrious band of the most distinguished " peers and commoners, who nobly and ftre-" nuoufly afferted the justice of our cause, to " ftay or even to mitigate the heedl is fury " with which these accumulated and unex-



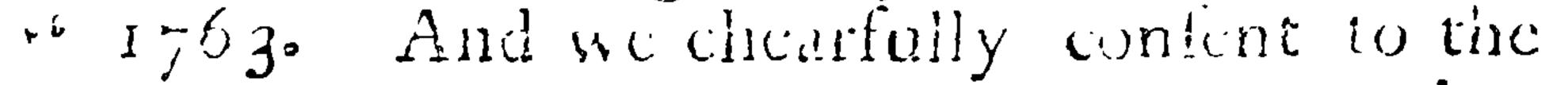
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" ampled outrages were hurried on." The evidence being thus stated, we shall continue to think that peace might be reftored to America by a change of measures; for I an certain that the Americans believe and hope that a change of men shall yet produce such a change of measures. 'To that alone they still trust for the comfort and advantage of remaining a part of this empire. To their own valour and to God they now trust for the prefervation of their liberty. The fecond position which your Lordship has endeavoured to establish is, that the Americans do not with for peace, they would not be fatisfied with relief from particular grievances; they aim at independence, and would throw off their subjection to the crown of Great Britain. As this very charge is circulated through every part of the kingdom by those who 'would juffify the oppreffor by cafting a darker shade on the oppressed, I have taken much pains to discover the evidence on which it is founded; but after all my refearches I cannot find any better reason for supposing that the Americans defire to be independent, than their own uniform declarations that they do not defire it. Davenant, for aught we know, was a very honeft man and a good prophet; but prophesies are not usually adduced in evidence of facts. The arguments that are brought from New England, seem to operate against your Lordship's position; for if the troubles that



I 2 1 pendence was their object, certainly the loyalty of those people and their unequaled zeal in his Majefty's fervice, on later occasions, give a more pleafing evidence of their defire to belong to the British engine. Your Lordhip is pleafed to suppose that the Americans would allow the King of Great Britain a nominal fovereignity over them but nothing elfe. We flatter ounderes that you do not with to see absolute desputishe established in any part of his Majefly's dominions, and yet we are at a lofs to conceive how a British judge fhould give the name of power and nothing elle to what the Americans have never refuled his Majefty. It the power of making peace and war, of appointing their governors and judges, of difallowing or confirming their laws and being their final arbitrer and judge, is to be called no power, we fhould gladly hear what confidutes full power. If it should even be faid that the Americans would reduce the power of a British Parliament to a name and nothing effe, we thould fill lament that the author of fuch a charge was not well informed. Let us hear the Americans on this very fubject, in their laft address to the people of England. " It has been faid that we re-"fule to fubmit to the refrictions on our " commerce. From whence is this inference

- " drawn? Not from our words; we have re-
- " peatedly declared the contrary, and we again
- " profets our fubmillion to the feveral acts
- " of trade and navigation paffed before the year

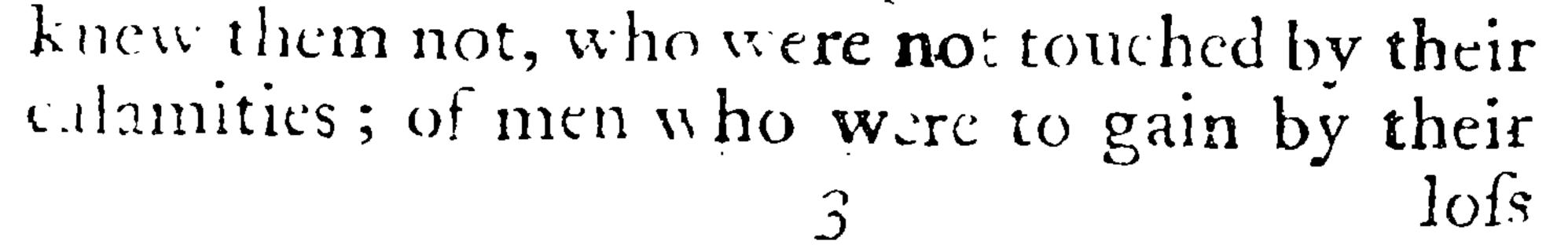


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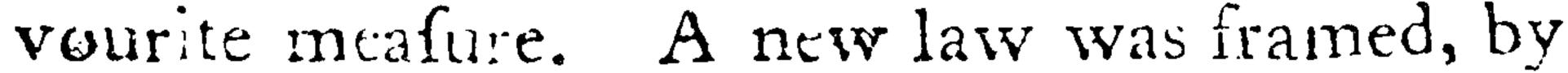
- 44 operation of fuch acts of the British Par-
- " liament as shall be reftrained to the regu-
- " lation of external commerce for the pur-
- " pose of securing the commercial advantages
- " of the whole empire to the mother country
- " and the commercial benefits of its respective
- " members, excluding every idea of taxation
- " internally or externally for raifing a reve-" nue on the fubjects in America without their " confent."

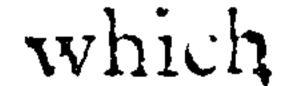
When we see men diligent in pointing out fecret caufes of public complaints, or labouring to place them to fome account which the parties do not avow, we are apt to suspect a want of candour in the enquirer, or an absence of real and obvious grievance in the perfons complaining. If the Americans had gone out of the way to feek for fome grievance, if they had gone back to revive fome ancient claim, or difculs fome doubtful theorem, then indeed we might have faid that the offenfible caufe was not the true one, and that they fought for fomething which they did not avow. Nothing of this fort has happened to the Americans. Their complaints immediately followed the injuries they had received; the injuries were not triffing or imaginary, they were grofs and palpable, they lay in the very road and mutt have been removed, elfe the miferable colonift must have ftumbled and fallen into the very pit of defpotifin. Life and property were at the sole disposal of men who



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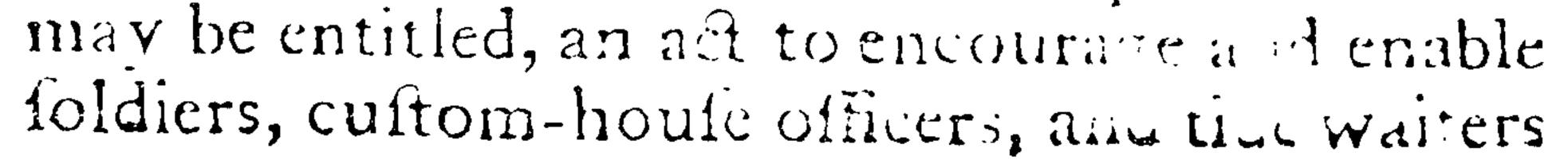
loss and prosper by their adversity. Do the Americans seem ripe for a revolt, merely because they complain of such a grievance? or does it follow that a man is not to be pacified by acts of justice, merely because he refists acts of violence and oppression. So far have the Americans been from complaining without cause, that we have long admired their patience in fuffering, their steady perfeverance and moderation in complaining. I do not indeed fay that the Americans have fuffered in proportion to the bitternels of the draught that has been prepared for them: I cannot deny that the guardian angel of that country feems to have been present in the British councils, while the demon of discord was dealing out her potions with an unrelenting hand. She has diluted the poison and faved her country. Our f atefmen have listened to the council of Ahithophel; they have added cruelty to opprefion, and infult to injury; they have followed one aft of tyranny by another, with fuch hafty steps, that they have faved where they meant to deftroy; they have rouzed the most torpid American, they have informed the most fcrupulous cafuift. It being once more determined, in an evil hour, to tax the Americans, though the ftampact had been repealed, and they being refolved in the most peaceable manner to elude the force of such a tax, by not confuming any article on which it was laid, the measure for some time sermed to be defeated; but it was a fa-





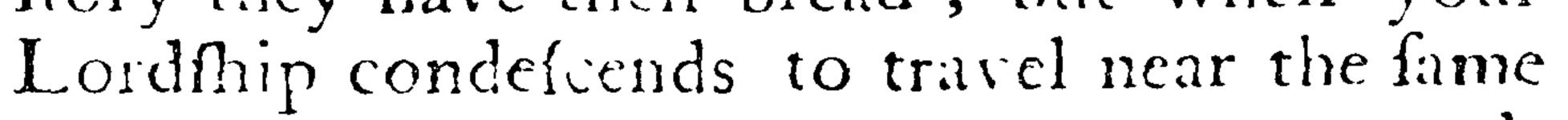
[15] which the ufual channel of commerce was altered, in order that you might enfnare the people and oblige them to referred; but people who had been thwarted and provoked for fome years, were not very tractable. The new meafures produced a riot in Bofton, and fome goods were deftroyed by the populace. Inftead of enquiring into the matter, or demanding ju-

stice in the usual form; that justice which had never been refused on former occasions, the whole town of Bofton, unheard and untried, was immediately condemned to suffer that kind of extreme, inadequate punishment which favours of revenge rather than correction, which resembles the bitterness of an enemy rather than the frowns of a parent. The mischief did not ftop there: an indigent, seditious governor had laboured for some years to gain the favour of his fuperiors, by contriving milchief to his native country, and though he was detected in his fehemes, though it was known that he had been difappointed and foured, that he hated his countrymen and was mutually hated by them, yet his counfel was adopted; to him did you give an attentive ear, as whilom our unhappy grandame liftened to the other enemy of our species. The charter of Massachusets was changed without necessiv, without provocation. By that fingle fincke every other province was informed that nothing was facred or secure. This was only the beginning of their calamities, sor an act was passed which



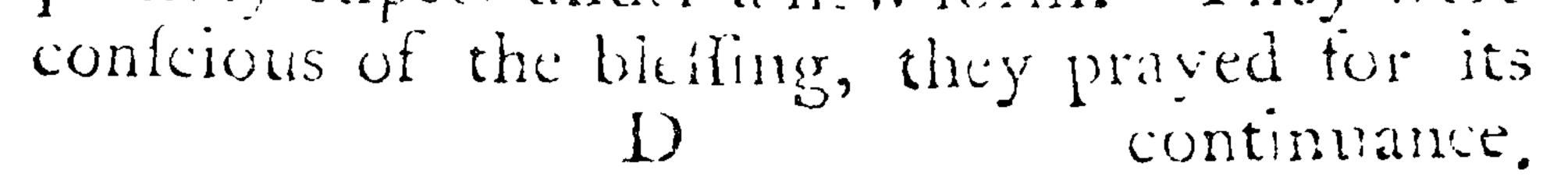
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[16] to murder his Majesty's subjects in America. Why do I mention particulars? They are fresh in your Lordship's memory; but you seem to have discovered no severity nor injustice in them. You do not think they gave rife to the present war. You are pleased to suppose that an abstract theorem, a general declaration, has given more offence to the Americans than all the injuries they have received. May I entreat your Lordship to review this subject without partiality, and judge with candor, fo may you expect mercy, when you also shall be judged. Have the Americans no folid caufe of complaint? Have they not fuffered many fevere injuries, and been forced to groan under the hand of oppression? Were not these injuries and that oppreffion the immediate and true caufe of their drawing the fword? When we hear the penfioners and runners of court, the common *floakers* of civil difcord in every coffeehouse and public assembly, dealing out the stale charge of malice prepenfe against the Ameriricans, boldly affirming that they have long been aiming at a ftate of independence, and that a rebellious difposition gave rife to the prefent commotions; though the ftory is founded on fiction, though it was invented for the purpose of deceiving and exasperating a generous people that they may take part in the quarrel and become partakers in the blood of their brethren. When we hear the calumny retailed by fuch people we are not furprized, for by this ftery they have their bread; but when your

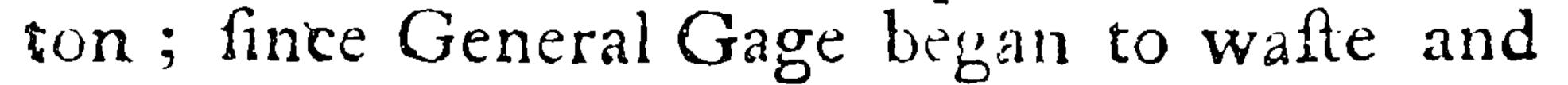




I7 ground, and to quote Davenant as a proof that fomebody has faid the Americans would hereafter strive to be independent; or to quote the declaration of the Americans themselves, as a proof that they alk for nothing more or lefs than a state of independence, we are in pain for the Majesty of Truth. In a little time we schall not wonder if it is commonly affirmed that the Americans, from their innate love of despotifm have been contriving a revolution in favour of an exiled family; we should not even be surprised if every recruiting officer was taught to use this argument as the most likely means of roufing the English nation; as for our brethren in the north, their loyalty, at prefent, does not seem to need any spur. However this may be, I must befpeak your Lordship's patience a few minutes, while I am a little more particular in confidering the foundation of that general charge which you have been pleased to bring. Whatever any writers have supposed might happen to America, by obferving what has happened to all other nations, yet I can fately affirm, that whoever was best acquainted with the colonists had least reason to believe that they were looking towards a state of independence. As members of the British empire, they have enjoyed, till the beginning of the prefent controverly, (a few impolitic and unprofitable reftrictions excepted) as much liberty as was confident with civil government, or as much as they could poffibly expect under a n.w form. They were



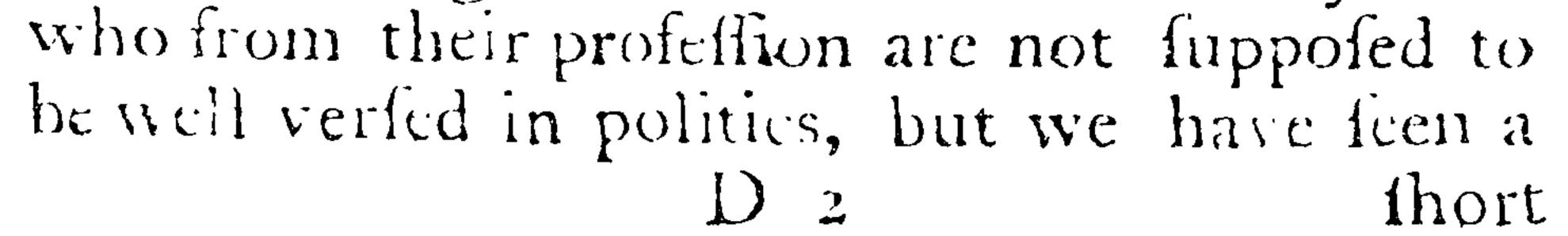
18 continuance. They esteemed Great Britain as a parent, they loved her with more than filial affection; they loved every thing that was British; they were to a man zealoufly attached to his Majesty, if we except a few individuals who migrated to that country in the year forty-five. What could tempt fuch people to become independent? We have generally supposed that it is more safe, as well as more honourable to be a member of a great empire than of a fmall one; not that I believe the Americans, as a separate state, have aught to fear from any of the most formidable nations in Europe; but no man would stand alone in a severe contest, who might have a powerful fupport; and to my certain knowledge the Americans have vainly flattered themselves with perpetual peace, apprehending that by their affiftance Great Britain would foon become fuch a dangerous adverfary, that no foreign state might provoke her with fafety. In this manner I should have supposed the Americans would reason, and in this manner I know they generally have reafoned concerning their connection with Great Britain; but lest I should be charged with partial judgment or dealing in conjectures, let us hear the general voice of America. I fhall not trouble your Lordship by repeating their numerous declarations on this fubject, from the beginning of the controversy; I shall confine myself to their latest publications, fuch as have been made fince the deftruction of the peafants at Lexin-





19 depopulate their country-a period in which we cannot suppose they have used flattering terms, nor professed more than they intended. The congress, in their petition to the King, after declaring their attachment to his perfon and family, proceed thus, "Connected with "Great Britain by the flrongeft ties that can " unite focieties, and deploring every event

- " that tends in any degree to weaken them, we
- " folemnly affure your Majefty, that we not on-
- " ly most ardently desire the former harmony
- " between her and these colonies may be reftor-
- " ed, but that a concord may be eftablished be-
- " tween them, upon fo firm a bafis, as to per-
- " petuate its bleffings uninterrupted by any
- " future diffentions." In their address to the inhabitants of Great Britain they fay, "Give
- " us leave most folennly to assure you, that
- " we have not yet lost sight of the object we
- " have ever had in view, a reconciliation with
- " you on conftitutional principles, and a refto-
- " ration of that friendly intercourfe which, to
- " the advantage of both, we till lately main-" tained." If it should be faid, that the congress has not delivered the true motives of its own conduct, nor the sense of its constituents, we are furnished with copious evidence to the fame import by the people themselves, who have lately been convened on public occasions in most of the provinces. I should not trouble your Lordship by repeating on this occafion any thing that has been advanced by men



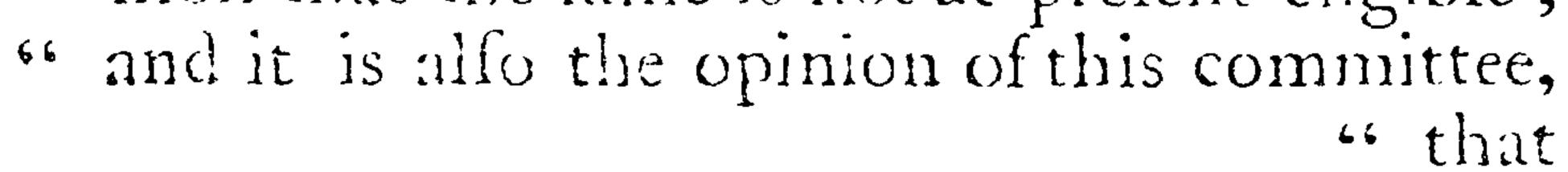
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short exhortation, published on June last, at New Yerk, by a convention of more than a hundred elergy, from seven or eight different provinces, which contains an observation fo remark ble, that it deferves even vour Lordfhip's attention. " It gives us," fay they, "ihe greatest pleasure to say from our own " certain knowledge of all belonging to our " communion, and from the beft means of in-

- " formation of the far greateft part of all de-
- " nominations in this country, that the pre-
- " fent opposition to the measures of admini-
- " ftration does not in the least arife from a dif-
- " affection to the King, or a desire of separa-" tion from the parent state." So far are the Americans from withing to become independent, that some of the most zealous provinces, fearing left a temporary confederacy, though adopted for the sole purpose of defence, should finally terminate in a feparation from the parent flate, have expressly inftructed their dele-

gates to be cautious in adopting any measures of that kind. The plan of a proposed confederacy (which was to laft for two years, or till the gridvances were removed) was laid before the provincial congress held at Hilliborough, in North Carolina, 21ft Suff, 1775; when after mature confideration. he congrefs in committee came to the following refolution.

- " That the committee have taken into con-
- " fideration the plan of general confederation
- " between the united colonies, and are of opi-
- " nion that the fame is not at prefent eligible;



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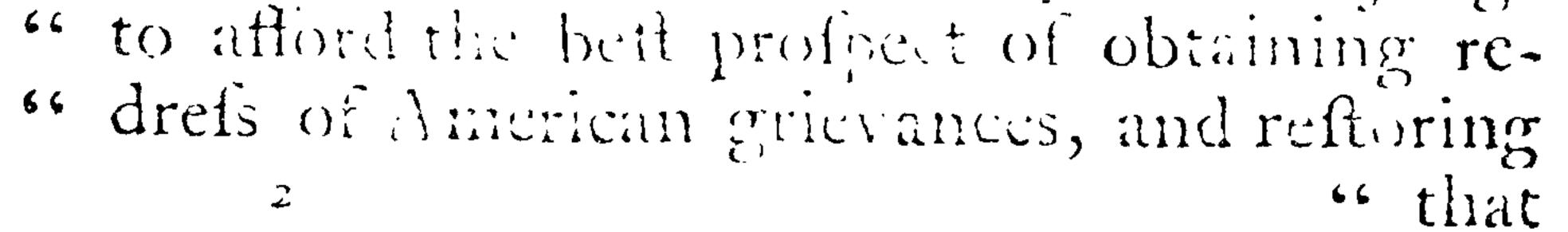
- " that the delegates of this province ought to
- 4 be instructed, not to confent to any plan of
- " confederation which may be offered in an
- " enfuing congress, until the same shall be laid
- " before and approved by the provincial con-
- " grefs. That the prefent affociation ought
- " to be relied on for bringing about a recon-
- " ciliation with the parent flate, and a further

" confederacy ought only to be adopted in " cafe of the last necessity." The committee (of the affembly of Penfylvania fitting at Philadelphia 9th Nov. 1775) appointed to prepare and bring in a draught of inftructions for the delegates of that province in congrefs, reported an effay for that purpose, which being read and confidered, was agreed to by the houfe, and is as follows, viz.

" Gentlemen,

" The truft reposed in you is of such a na-"ture, and the modes of executing it may be

- " so diversified in the course of your delibera-
- "tions that it is fearcely poffible to give you
- " particular infructions respecting it. We
- " therefore in general direct that you, or any
- " four of you, meet in congrefs the delegates of
- " the feveral colonies now affectbled in this city,
- " and any fuch delegates as may meet in con-
- " grefs the next year, that you confult toge-
- " ther on the preferit critical and alarming fiate
- " of public affairs, that you may exert your
- " utmost endeavoors to agree upon and re-
- " commend fuch measures as you thall judge



[22]

- " that union and harmony between Great
- " Britain and the colonies, fo effential to the
- " welfare and happinels of both countries.
- " Though the oppressive measures of the
- " Britisch Parliament and administration have
- " compelled us to refift their violence by force
- " of arms, yet we strictly enjoin you, that you, in
- " behalf of this colony, dissent from, and utterly
- " reject any propositions, should such be made,

" that may caufe to lead to a separation from our " mother country, or a change of the form of " this government. You are directed to make " report of your proceedings to this House." Such are the proofs we have received concerning the object of dispute in North America; to adduce more evidence on this fubject would be vain tautology : he that can fet his face against such declarations, and continue to fay that the Americans have engaged in the present dispute through the defire of becoming independent, must have shut his eyes against conviction, and hardened himfelf in the practice of saying things which are not. Your Lordship has discovered, and no common genius could have discovered from the above instructions, that the Penfylvanians wish to become independent. Hitherto we have only had occasion to complain that your Lordship has attempted to hurt the Americans by blackening their reputation, and charging them with crimes of which they are not guitly. Your third position goes farther; you are not fatisfied with painting them





23 esteem of the most virtuous, and hitherto the most loyal part of this nation, you would follow them to the grave. Without evidence, and contrary to the clearest evidence, you are first pleased to suppose them guilty, you would then proceed to their execution. " The Ame-" ricans," you say, " have invaded Canada, " they are acting on the offenfive; we are not " to enquire who was the aggreffor; we must " proceed : if we do not kill them, they will " kill us." On this occasion we can hardly fay which is the most confpicuous, your Lordship's humanity, or your close attachment to the hiftory of facts; the Americans are acting on the offenfive, if we do not kill them they will kill us: this is curious and perfectly new. On what principal does your Lordship suppose we can adopt this ftory, while we retain a spark of common sense? Have we not seen a map of that country? I lave we not read the hiftory of the prefent war. Your violence commenced by shutting up the port of Boston; a fleet and army were sent to intimidate and diffress the inhabitants, till, by the pure dint of compulsion, like beafts and not like men, they should give what they were not suffered to refuse. They feemed to wince under the yoke; you then cut off their sissery, and lest starvation should make them more refractory, you sent more troops, All America had been complaining, therefore it was refolved that all America should be reduced to a perfect state of flavery. Their charters were to be abolished, and they were to be

held by military tenure. Such was your plan.

The

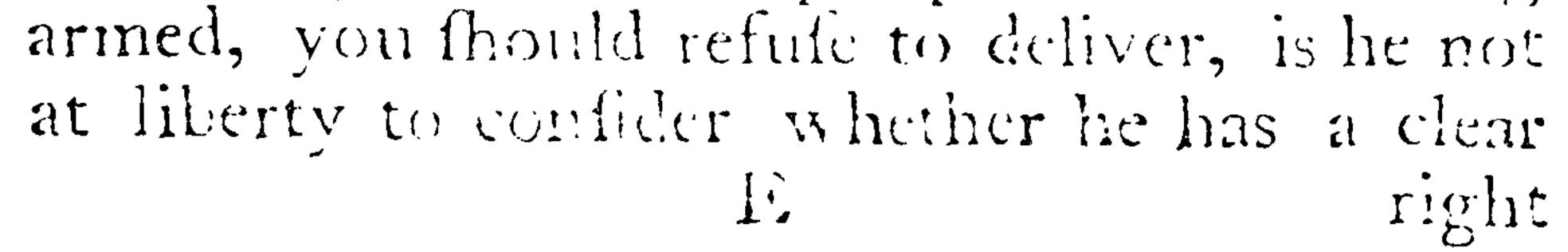
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The colonies were to be attacked by fea and land; thips of war, regular troops, and flaves were to destroy them on the fea coast, while the Canadians and favages were to affail them with fire and fword from the wildernefs. Never was any devoted people vifited, or like to be visited, by such a group of calamities, until cruelty became honourable, until tyranny was digested into a regular fystem. Does any minifter or ministerial man deny the charge? Does he dispute any part of this plan? Let him review general Carleton's laft committion; your Lordship has already feen it once too often. For what purpole was he authorized to arm the Canadians, and them to march into any other of the plantations, and his Majofry's rebellious fubjects there to attack, and, hy God's help, them to defiat and put to death. For what purpose did Guy Johnson deliver black belts to all the Indian tribes in his diftrift, and perfuade them to lift up the hatchet against the white people in the colonies? The congrefs is possible of those very war belts; they have a copy of governor Carleton's commission: they have long fince been possessed of the whole plan. What could they do in this dreadful dilemma? They must either deliver themselves up to gene al carnage, or try to avert the impending troke : the latter was moft defirable; but how was it to be done? Certainly not by acting on the defensive, in the manner your Lordhip could have preferiled, by ftanding with their hands in their bolom;



Albany,

25 Albany, and the Indians had ftruck the frontiers, and destroyed eight or ten thousand women and children : that would have been acting in self-defence to some purpose. Is an Indian war to be averted by fuch means? Is a frontier of 1200 miles to be constantly guarded by a line of troops? It is not possible! The congress had more sense than to attempt it. The fword of governor Carleton was pointed at their bosom; they endeavoured to rush in and difarm him. By that expedition, their hope was, that they should protect their frontiers against the inroads of the favages, by taking possession of the great avenues into their country; that they should take the ftores also which are neceffary to an Indian war, and thus gain the friendship of the Indians. Surely these were measures which arose from the very idea of felfdefence; they were measures that pure neceffity had forced upon the congres: for that reason they were not adopted till it was too late in the feason; they were afterwards purfued with that species of ardour which seldom arifes but in a state of desperation. It seems to be a matter of no confequence, in your Lordship's opinion, who was the aggressor at the beginning of this dispute, "We are in " blood ftep'd in fo far, we must go on"---" unless we kill them they will kill us." You have not been used to reason thus in cases of lefs importance. Suppose a highwayman should demand your Lordship's purse, and, being



[26] right to your cafh, much lefs to your life alfo? Would it not be kind in him to put about his horfe and ride off? That would be contrary to your Lordthip's plan; he fhould kill you, left, while he ftayed to inforce his demand, you might chance to kill him. The cafes are pefectly fimilar; you have attempted to tax the Americans; they fay you have no right to demand their money. Your demand

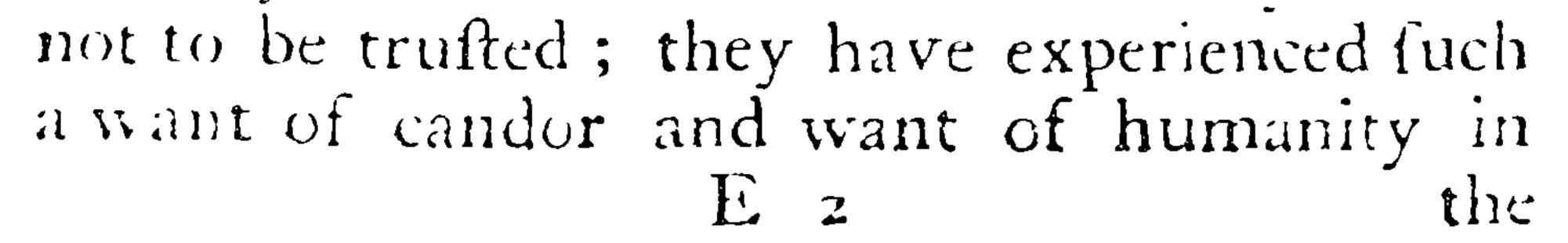
is followed by threats, it is aggravated by repeated injuries. The American draws his fword, he would die rather than fubmit to the dangerous claim. What is to be done? Shall we enquire who was first in the wrong? Had we a clear right to tax the Americans? Had they loft or forfeited their ancient privilege of taxing themselves? Is our claim founded on the natural rights of mankind? Is it supported by usage? The cafe is disputed; it may be doubtful. Had we not best withdraw our troops; by which means we fhall preferve the commerce and fubjection of America, we shall fave thousands from death, and millions from ruin. Your Lordthip fays, No: we have begun the dispute, and just or unjust, we are bound to perfevere. We have croffed the Rubicon; let us now croß the Red Sea; let us wade in blood. In fuch a caufe, my Lord, and with fuch principles, you may take the field against the Americans, but heaven will not be numbered among your allies.

Without purfuing the disagreeable task of making further remarks on your Lordship's



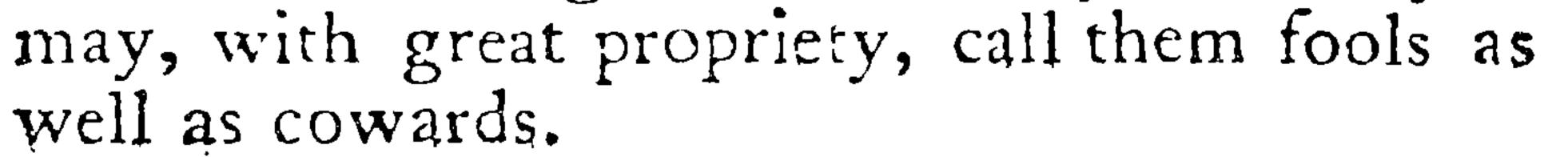
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27 I take a short view of what has already been effected by the American controverfy, and hazard a few conjectures concerning its progreis; they shall be conjectures founded on some information which I presume you have not received. After all the evidence that has been adduced on this fubject, I am certainly juftified in faying, that your repeated endeavours to tax the Americans without their confent, has been the fole caufe of the prefent war. To repell that tax and the cruel means of enforcing it, they have taken up arms. You fay the tax was triffing, too finall a caufe to produce such great effects-you never intended to oppress the Americans—you expected no great supplies from them-your chief object was to effablish the authority of Parliament. The Americans have no confidence in fuch declarations; if the tax was too finall for them to refift, it was also too finall for you to claim at fo great an expence; the more zealous you have been in profecuting that measure, the more cogent was the proof that your finall tax would foon become a grievous burden. It was not to be supposed that for a mere bubble, for the name of power which you had no intention to exercise, you should perfevere, year after year, to harrafs your fellow subjects at the expence of millions, lofs of much trade and hazard of the empire. Let us speak it out. The Americans fav there is fuch an opposition between your words and actions that you are



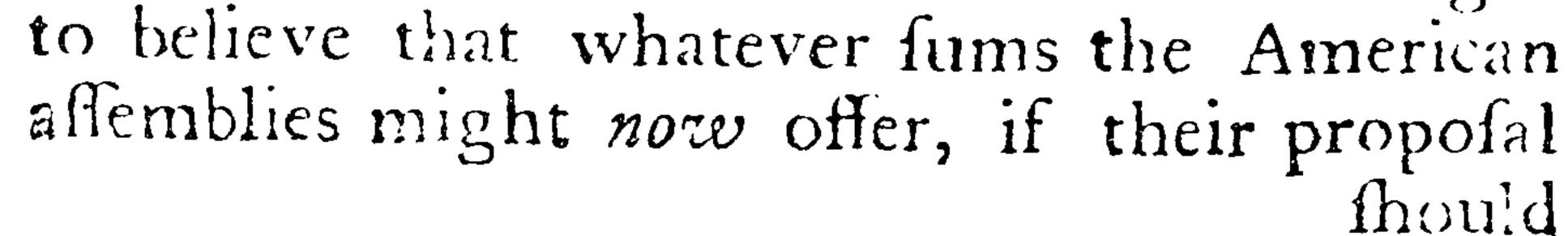
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the whole of your conduct, that they would brav the calamities of a civil war, and every other danger, rather than put th.mfclves, in the power of such men. Of your want of candor and want of faith the Americans relate many instances, I shall repeat two or three of them. When the inhabitants of Bofton were threatned with famine during the last fummer, General Gige promifed that he would give them permission to leave the town, with all their goods and effects, if they would confent to difarm; they accepted the terms, and delivered their arms into the General's possession; his fears were then at an end, and he thought no longer of keeping his promise; a few of the inhabitants only were suffered to remove with their effects, to fave appearances; a few more were next permitted to remove without their effects; the reft, being three-fourths of all the inhabitants, were not sufiered to ftir on any terms; the General knew that the day might come, when their goods would prove valuable plunder. Quid domini facient, audent cum talia fures? By supporting the General in this single act of perfidy, you give the most invincible proof that you do not with for peace with America. You tell us, indeed, that you defire peace, but you cannot treat with rebels; the Americans are in arms; till they difarm you will not hear them. Do you ferioufly think they will difarm, after such a breach of faith, while your armies are among them? If they should, you





29 During the last winter you exhibited a different kind of proof that you are not to be trusted. On the 20th of February, Lord North moved the following refolution in the House of Commons, viz. " That as soon as " the legiflative body of any province shall " make provision for contributing their pro-" portion to the common defence, and thall " engage to provide for the support of civil " government in that province; if fuch pro-" vision shall be approved by his Majefty in " Parliament, fo long as it shall be made, it " may be proper for Parliament to forbear to " levy any duty or tax, or to impose any fur-" ther tax or duty on fuch province, except " for the regulation of commerce." This was called a plan of reconciliation, and ftrange as it may feem, the very apprehension of peace was like to produce great disorder; his Lordship was deferted for fome time by the houfhold troops, nor did they return to the ftandard, till they were fully convinced, by a faithful leader, that the motion might be so construct as to mean nothing. With this falvo they fuffered it to pass. In their view it was vor et preterea nihil. It was a bubble, by which they might amuse this nation; and it was a trap, in which they might catch the fimple Americans. Lest the Americans should not embrace this plan with sufficient eagerness, great care was taken to explain it as a vaft concession in their favour. We were taught



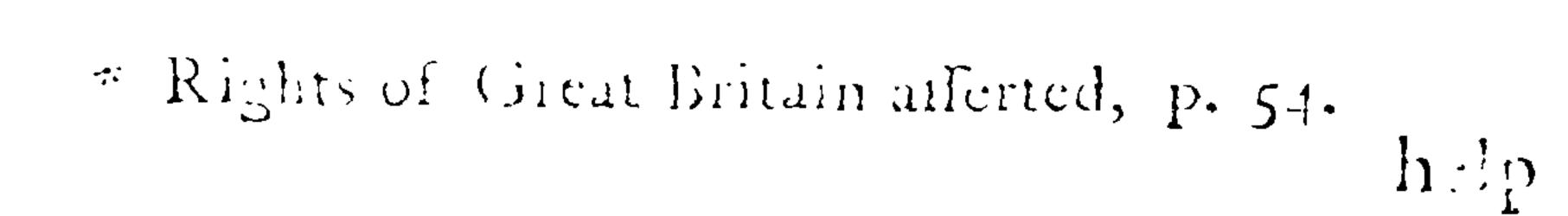
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should be approved by Parliament, those fums were to ftand in the place of taxes imposed by Parliament, and as long as they should be paid, no farther taxes were to be imposed. In a few words, their granting those fums at the requisition of Parliament, to be approved of by it, was to be confidered as a good fecurity for the dignity of that body, and future supplies were to be voted by the Americans alone. To view this plan in the most favourable light, very little could be faid in its defence. It was to support the imaginary dignity of Parliament, by degrading our brethren; it was to require the Americans to submit to one act of tyranny, in hopes of being fuffered afterwards to enjoy freedom. But the Americans viewed the conciliatory plan in a light still more unfavourable; they had received early information of the manner in which it was treated by the friends of the court. They faw, indeed, that it had been suffered to pass, but they were convinced that it was not honeftly intended, that it could not come to good. The refult has juftified their apprehensions. The affembly of Nova Scotia were pleased to make an experiment on the above plan; they offered his Majesty a certain duty, ad valorem, on goods imported into that province, and prayed that it might be accepted. On the 29th of November, fundry refolutions were reported to the House of Commons on the subject of their petition; these resolutions were to be the foundation of a bill which was then ordered; by

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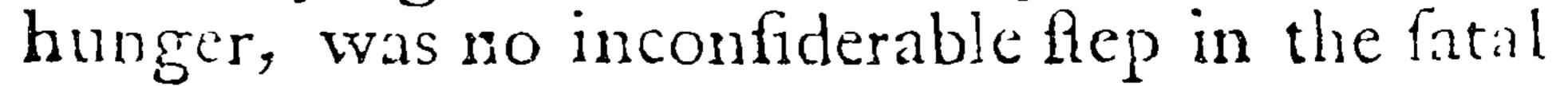
31 be fixed for the province of Nova Scotia; and through it a fample and fecurity was to be given to the other provinces, of what they were to expect. This was dangerous ground; for you was compelled on this occasion, a little before your time, to unmask. An honourable member, Sir George Yonge, I think it was, in order to prevent ambiguity in the No-, va Scotia bill, proposed the following resolution, in addition to those brought in by administration. "Whenever the exigences of state " shall require further supplies from the pro-" vince of Nova Scotia, fuch requisitions shall " be made as have formerly been practifed in " North America." A motion more unfeasonable for administration could not have been offered. It never had been the defign of government to make a fingle conceffion in favour of the Americans, nor to give them fecurity for preferving a fingle veftige of their property. Embarraffed as ministers might be, by speaking out, it now became necesfary. They could not adopt the proposition; the unfortunate bill was finothered in its birth. The refolution of taxing America from time to time and as often as cash may be wanted is now publicly avowed. A very courtly writer has been pleafed to suppose that the colonies would be quite emancipated, if neither the MODE of raifing taxes nor the QUANTUM is to be left in the power of Parliament.* Ey fuch



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32 help let us solve the resolution of last year, and it will be found to contain a prodigious favour. It may be thus abridged. If the Americans shall offer certain contributions to be approved by Parliament, while they continue to pay them, no tax shall be imposed by Parliament; i. e. If the Americans shall vote and faithfully pay every fum that Parliament defires, and as often as fuch fun.s are called for, Parliament will be fo good as not to infift upon fums that it does not defire. If these, and such other proofs of infincerity and want of faith, had not been sufficient to deter the Americans from trufting your promifes, or putting themselves in your power, the proofs you have lately given of cruelty are of fo dark a ftain, that every trace of confidence is blotted out. It is both instructive and curious to observe the progress of cruelty, to note by what steps of eafy transition the human mind once plunged into vice, may wade and fwim onward, till it attains the very abyfs of wickednefs. To shut up the port of Boston, and diffres. perhaps destroy, twenty or thirty thousand pcople; to injure them to the certain amount of three or four hundred thousand pounds, in order to repay the lofs of feven or eight thoufand pounds, the loss still unrepaid, was a wanton act of fruitless barbarity. To refirain the American trade, and cut off the fishery of the northern provinces, for the very purpole of destroying the inhabitants by nakedness and

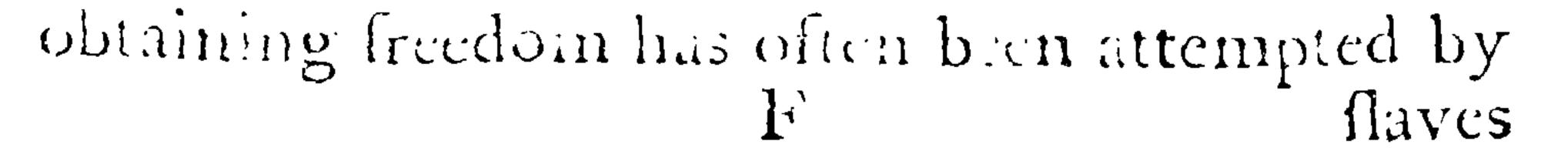
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33 progression of cruelty. Your next project, of turning the Indians upon the innocent defenceless frontiers, was certainly the project of a mind well trained in vice. It is well known that the American Indians make war, not against ftockades and forts; they feldom moleft foldiers or armed men, their hatchets are ftaired with the blood of women and children only. To see 1209 miles of a frontier, whof inhabitants are poor and thinly planted, who are far removed from the ferne of politics, and have never offended government; to fee them exposed to the nightly incursions of a favage enemy, the paths crowded with thoulands of those wreiched people, flying to diftant towns for thelter, while the face of beaven is darkened by the finoke of their delerted costages-perhaps the fight might chear the heart of a British chief juffice, to every other perfon the very idea is terrible. The laft flep I shall mention in this progress of crucity is the maffacr shat was lately attempted in the fouthern provinces. This is a ftep that defies all precedents. Nothing like it has ever been practifed by any other fiate. Lord Dunmore is ordered to proclaim freedom to flaves who belong to rebels. The flaves are to be the judges, and, flupid as they are, they must soon discover that their mafters are rebels to a man. It must follow that the flaves are all free. How thall they obtain their liberty? There is but one method; they underftand it perfectly-they muft cut their masters throats. This method of

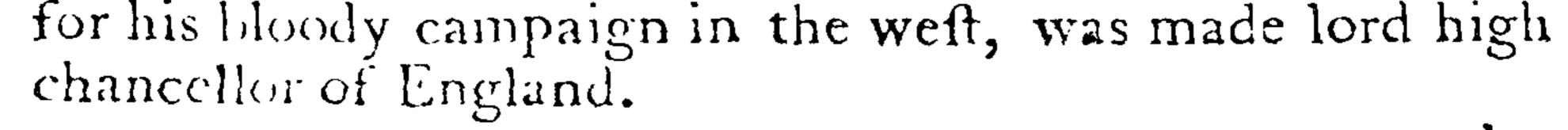


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flaves when they were not encouraged or protected by any of his Majesty's representatives. In some parts of Virginia and Carolina, there are four flaves to one white person; in those places a general massacre might scem very practicable. If the flaves had embraced the measure so clearly pointed out by the governor;* if they had fixed on fome fatal night for shaking off the authority of rebels, and speedily reducing the colony to a proper sense of their duty, with the next day's fun Lord Dunmore might have received the joyful tidings that the Virginians were all dead; What a glorious achievement! Two or three hundred thousand men, women, and children, butchered in one night. This would have been a stroke worthy a favorite governor: it would have been a scene that Pluto himself might have viewed with pleafure; to Jefferies it would have been the object of envy. Such, my Lord, are the outlines of ministerial conduct towards our unhappy fellow fubjects in North America, fuch have been

* See Lord Dunmore's proclamation.---" And I do hereby further declare all indented fervants, NE- GROES, and others, appertaining to rebels, FREE, that are able and willing to bear arms, they joining his Ma- jefty's troops as foon as may be, for the more fpeedy re- ducing this colony to a proper fense of their duty to his Majefty's crown and dignity.

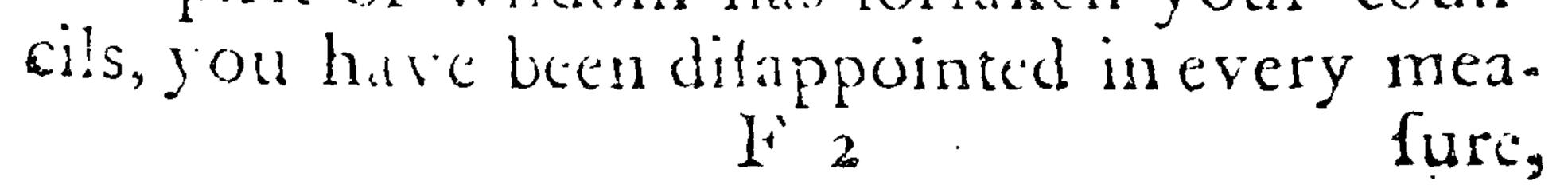
+ For the mere attempt Lord Dunmore seems to have been rewarded by a seat in the house of Peers. Jefferies,



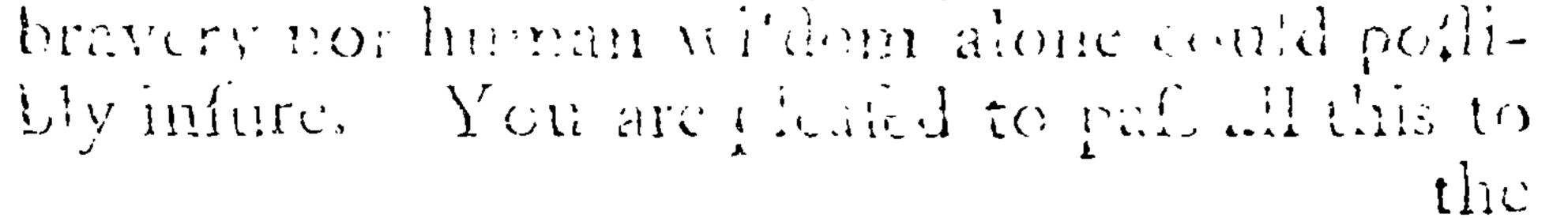


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the true causes of their taking up arms, and fuch are the reasons why you may be assured thev will never disarm, while the British councils are directed by the authors of fo much injuftice and cruelty. In the mean time, though I am confident that I have pointed out the true fource of the present civil war in America, I beg it may be noted, that I shall not take the future conduct of the Americans for any proof of their original intention; on the contrary, as their temper and conduct must ever be formed and regulated by the treatment they receive, I firmly believe that they are already to far alienated, and their indignation to perfectly roufed by the late measures of government, that vou are in a fair way to lofe them for ever. You are pleafed to suppose that the Americans have long fought for a state of independence, but they may be compelled by vigorous measures to submit to your discipline; on the other hand, I am fully perfuaded that the defire of independence was foreign from their hearts, but vour vigorous measures will drive them to that refuge, and will, if continued, compel them to remain an independent flate. This, however, is an opinion in which I have the misfortune to differ from your Lordhip, and may continue to differ, till heaven has been plealed to reflore or defiroy this empire. In the mean while you will give the Americans Icave to fig, that his herto the Lord half helped them. From the biginning of this difpute the spirit of wildom has fortaken your coun-

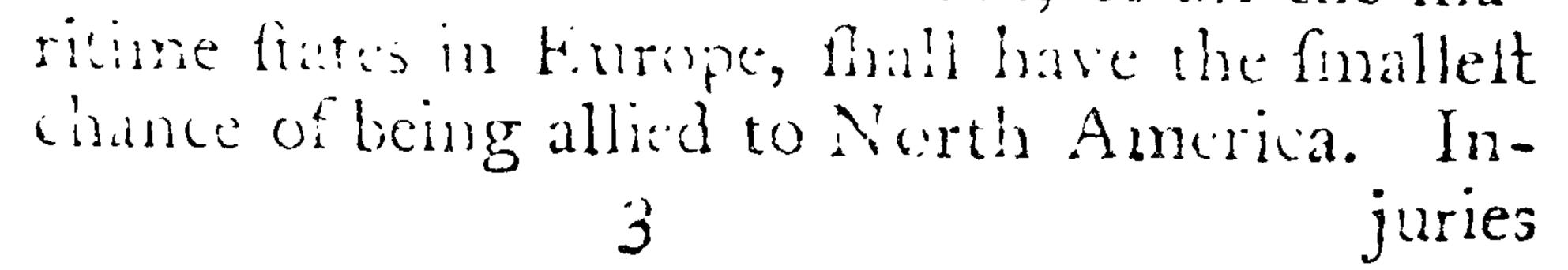


[36] fore, while fucces has generally attended the steps of the Americans. From these pressges they gratefully conclude, that Providence is on their fife; while von, neither reafoning like chriftians nor philosophers, but like children at play, are plecfed to fa pose, that you shall win last becaufe vou loje first. Vou hope against evidence, and take the frowns of heaven for certhin proof that you thall profper in your iniquity. From the time of palling the Bofton ret III, which was the first unequivocal act allet alignated in the very fpirit of defpotifin and hereights from that period the very clereceive la affifted in defeating your fehemes. tability ins to your generals have been long a while the Americans have received quick interligence; vour foldiers, who were deffined to flied blood, have been detained by adverfe winds; your thip: have been feverely buffeted by the iform ; more of your tranfports and troops have been loft, from the beginning of this food a war, than were loft during the whole of the life condict with France and Spain; your define was to cut of trade from Bofon and Barve the inhalitants; in that very town your troops have been fnut up, and aimsie franked to death. In all your telemes of division, fedaction and " flarva-" Hon," you have been defeated; your projefts have tended to gran, unite, and frengthen the Americani, who, on their part, have enjoyed fuch a firits of prosperity, as neither



37 the chapter of accidents, while the American takes it for the favour of Omnipotence, on which he refts, in fure and certain hope of a glorious escape from the hand of oppression. Let us, however, view this fubject in another light; let us suppose that success should, on fome occasions, attend your arms, still the profpect of conquering the Americans must be very

diffant. There are many inftances on record, of people contending for Eberty; if there had been none befides these of the Swifs cantons and Dutch united provinces, they must have taught us that the battle is not always to **Å** the ftrong. I think there never has been an infituce of people being fubdued, who fought in fuch a caufe as now infpires the Americans, with fuch numbers and fuch advantages on their fide. You mean to rifque all on a defperate effort. If vou could gain a victory or two, and advance a few miles into the country, you are taught to believe that all would be fafe. Strange as it may feem, I shall venture to fay, that a little fuccefs must prove a dangerous thing to this nation. While defolation and the rage of war has not involved the whole continent, the breach might still be healed, if healing measures should be attempted. When vou have routed some of their armies, destroyed their chief cities, and laid waße part of their country, the wound may have gone too deep, the dife se may be past eure. The time may foon come when Great Britain, of all the ma-



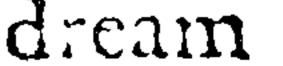
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juries that are done by the hand of a kinfman are not foon forgotten. If Great Britain, prefuming on the allegorical name of a parent, will treat the Americans as children and inferiors, it is high time that the Americans were affociated with a fifter inflead of a parent flate. If the fame wildom which lately induced the French monarch to grant an arret for re-effablifhing the edict of Nants, in a particular inftance, and granting liberty of confeience to a proteflant fubject, flould continue to prefide in his councils, that kingdom mult foon flourifh; and if the Americans flould proceed no further, they may at leaft fay of England and France, with the Tyrian queen,

Tros Tyriujque mili nullo discrimine agentur.

Much pains has been taken to involve the prefent difpute in darknefs, and conceal the danger that lies in the road, as though it was beft that we fhould die by an anodyne. We are told that neither France nor Spain will aftift the Americans. "Will France," fivs a courtier,* " in the prefeat frate of her finances " involve herfelf in a ruinous war? Will " Spain give her affiftance to raife an inde-" pendent empire in America? Will the en-" courage her own American fubjects to rife " againit her authority?" Nothing can be more deceitful than fuch reafoning. The French certainly have no colonies that can

* Rights of Great Britain afferted, p. 68.



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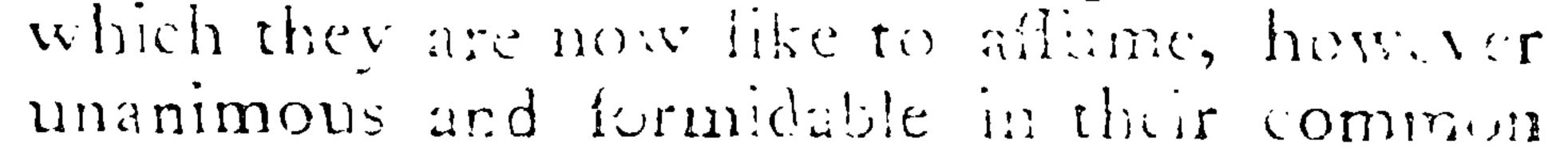
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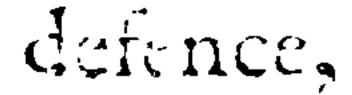
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dream of becoming independent; madnefs itself could un tem t them to think of it. The Spaniard, indeed, have vaft posses in America; but whetever the natives might attempt, the fm II Spanish colonies, that are scattered over the face of a great country, will hardly think of a revolt : they fnould rather be confidered as so many factories planted by Spain in those golden regions, than as a compact body of men, who might ever attempt to form a separate empire. There are reasons, however, which may prevent France and Spain from viewing this controverfy with an eve of perfect neutrality; their fafety and commercial interest are at stake, they are blind to neither. Great Britain and her colonies, united as they have been by the cords of intereft and mutual affection, must foon have become a dangerous neighbour. The fleets of Britain, and the armies of North America would have left France and Spain no other fecurity for their fugar illands, or their poffethons on the fouthern continent, than the faith of treaties or priolity of claim-- seeble tenures, when the longeft fword is wanting. On the other hand, thould the colonies findly thake off their union with Britain, neither France nor Spain could have any thing to fear from eith r. Great Britain, deprived of her colony trail, and deprived, as the foon would be, of her Newfoundland fiftery, muft certe to be formidable at fla, and the colonics along, in that republication

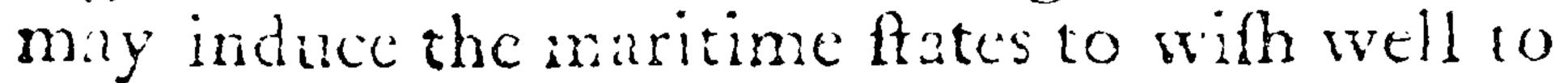
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defence, would hardly shew the fame union or spirit in offensive measures. The commercial intereste of France and Spain seem allo to mark the independence of North America as an object of great importance, In that country, France will find a prodigious vent for her filks and velvets. Wine alfo, imported as it may be without the prefent burdens, will come to an excellent market in a country where it is not made, though the nature of the climate requires a copious use of it. For these, and other manufactures of those kingdoms, the Americans will make remittances in rice, tobacco, flour, naval stores, and the other natural produce of their country. The expence and trouble of a circuitous trade will then be prevented, and a direct intercourse be eftabished between states whose mutual wants feem to point out a friendly intercourse. It would be tedious to describe the advantages which the French fugar iflands must derive from the independence of the British colonies. If Great Britain, after this revolt, should retain her fugar islands, she must do it under prodigious difadvantages, by which the price of her sugars must rife at least 30 per cent; hence the French fugar would come to a better market in Europe, and the Americans would buy none else. If the fugar islands should fall off with the other colonies, the African trade and other circumstances confidered, France must be an equal gainer by your missortune. Having mentioned the general arguments which

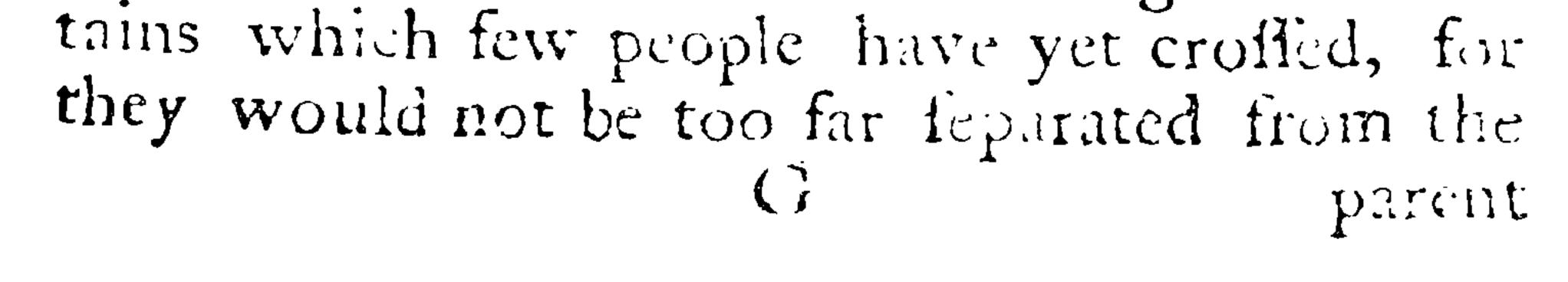




4I America rather than Great Britain, in the prefent dispute, I shall not be charged with rashnefs, in faying that their actions may foon give language to their wishes. By a reasonable supply of military ftores and fundry manufactures they may foon deferve that friendship which you have loft by oppression. The want of formal ambaffadors will hardly prevent the Americans from receiving the affiftance of foreign states: ambassadors are not requisite to point out the most obvious truths, treaties are not requisite to engage men to pursue their mutual interests. However this may be, whether the Americans may receive the finallest afsistance from other states, such ideas have they formed of the despotic and eruel temper of those men who now direct his Majesty's councils; fuch ideas have they of that flavery, worfe than death, which is prepared for them should they ever truft in your mercy, that they are fully determined never to confide in your promifes, nor fheath the fword while you are in the field. Your Lordship may possibly be furprised when I fay that the Americans will not even submit to your armies though victory schould declare on your fide : but I fay it on the knowledge of some facts to which you may not have attended ; from some intelligence which I prefume you have not received. Have you confidered that a very small part of Ameis yet cultivated. About an hundred miles from the sea coast there is a vast ridge of moun-

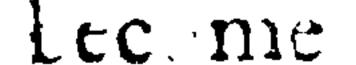
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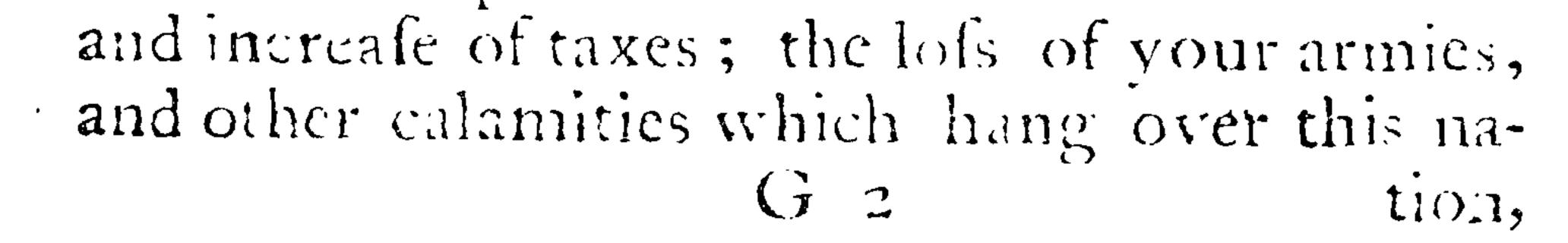


parent state; beyond those mountains is a country of prodigious extent, more fertile than what has yet been cultivated, healthy, pleafant, abounding in minerals, and fit for producing every thing that is grateful to the tafte. Hither the Americans will retreat, hither more than a million of them are determined to retreat in the last extremity. No acts of Parliament can hinder the fun from shining, or heaven from shedding its dew upon them. They will firm a league with the Indians and wild beafts, who are lefs cruel and lefs dangerous than you; in a few years they will become a formidable republic. That very herd of crouching flaves who may remain on their prefent possessions, must forever hate you with a fincere hatred; they must, as your friend J-nk-n has expressed himfelf, be governed as the Romans used to govern their provinces, by a standing army. Your mercenaries must be scattered through every part of the old provinces? Upon these the confederated Americans will pour down like fo many bands of Scythians or Taitars. How long will your provinces be worth keeping on fuch terms? How long will you be able to keep them? Have the French no account to fettle with Britain? Have they forgot what they owe to national honour? Is Great Britain like a polypus? Can she remain whole after her limbs are cut off? Can she retain her naval ftrength when the employment ceafes for half of her shipping? Will shebe a match for France, when the colonies are thrown into the other scale? The Americans, you know, are already

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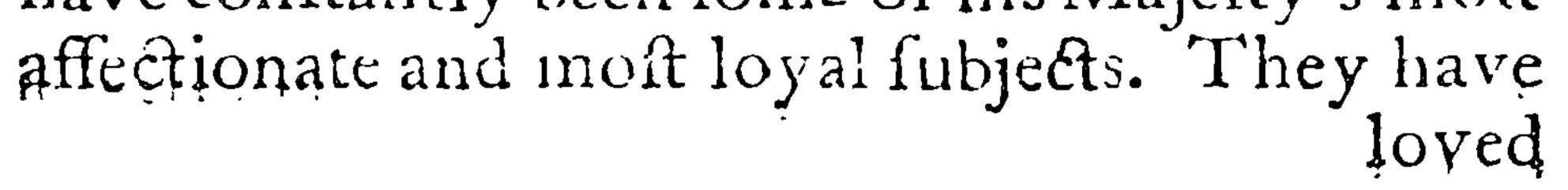


43 become dextrous in the manufacture of firearms and gunpowder; these arts, with fuch as they formerly possessed, must render them perfectly independent: but these people will profper by the very effort of your cruelty. You are now sending manufacturers among them of every kind, from Great Britain and Germany, in the garb of foldiers. Do you believe that mercenaries will prefer your interest to their own? Will they trudge and fweat under a brown musket and knapfack, or stand in a trench to be shot at sor a farthing an hour, rather than defert from your fervice, when they may follow their respective trades, and enjoy affluence and eafe in a pleafing hofpitable country? Thefe, however, are circumftances that have only been mentioned by the way, as they may chance to accelerate the fate of the prefent war; not that the Americans have placed the leift dependence on fuch aids. By their native ftrength and refources they will find fufficient employment for your troops, till a foreign war, or fome other fortunate event, shall rescue them from vour hands. While vou are pleased to cut off their trade, and reduce them to the condition of Algeriacs, they may poffibly invent fome other amufement for your ships of war than stealing sheep, or burning defenceless towns; your trading thips may demand their assistance; the diffrets of your fugar-iflands may also be felt by more people than West-India planters. The decrease of trade



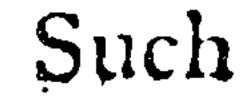
[44] tion, will prefently teach the people at large to execute the men who have plunged them in debt, under the pretence of gaining a revenue; who have degraded them in the eyes of all Europe, while they affected to fecure the dignity of Parliament.

Your Lordship will do me the justice to believe, that I have not troubled you with this letter, from the vain apprehension that it was in my power to fay any thing that might tend to alter your opinion, or rather your conduct respecting the Americans; wherever the weight of argument or of truth may lie, your Lordschip must be confissent. We have long fince been told, by an infect of power, that " Delends est Carthago," the Americans must be extirpated. They breathe the spirit of liberty with too much freedom; and though the larger creatures of power, who are better taught and better trained, may speak their sentiments with more referve, there is not the least reason to doubt whether you are all of one mind. My only attempt has been to state the conduct of our American brethren in its proper light, before the unprejudiced, uncorrupted part of this nation; and to refcue them from the charge of an intractable, rebellious temper, with which your Lordship and your friends have been pleafed to load them. It appears, unless I am greatly mistaken, from the evidence that has been produced, compared with other notorious facts, that the Americans have conftantly been some of his Majesty's most



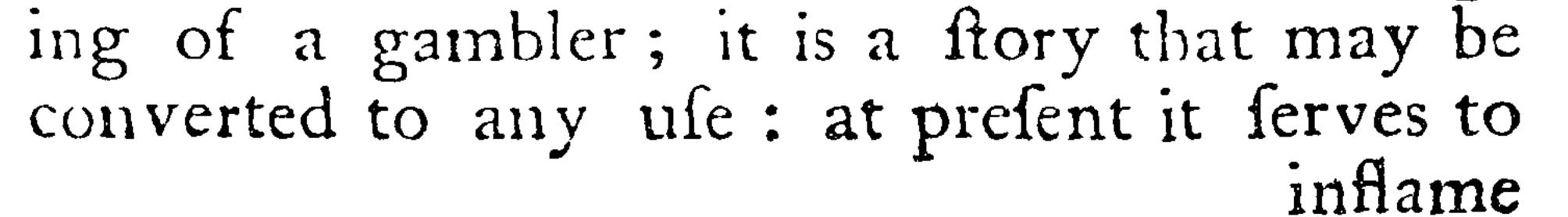
4.5 loved Great Britain with the utmost fincerity; they have wished, and to this hour they continue to wish, that their union with her may be perpetual. While they were required and permitted, like free men, to contribute to the public expences, in men or in money, they did it chearfully; but the very first explicit attempt to deprive them of that freedom, produced discontent and universal complaints. The nation was soon afterwards blessed with a set of ministers who could listen to the cries of humanity and justice; a public calamity was averted; it was delayed, but not prevented; for a change of ministers produced a second attempt to tax the Americans, and they exhibited new proofs of universal discontent. They complained, they befieged the throne with their petitions, they did every thing that can be done by loyal subjects who have the misfortune to be oppressed. Their prayers were not heard; in vain did they appeal to former proofs of liberality and zeal; in vain did they pray that they might not be degraded below the rank of his Majesty's other subjects in Britain or Ireland; that they might be permitted to judge of their own abilities and dispose of their own property; that they might be governed as they had been for near two hundred years: but times were changed; instead of listening to their reasonings or complaints, new grievances were added; a fleet and army was also fent to reason them into submission. This argument

was not conclusive, for the Americans also appealed to the fword : they would rather perish than submit to those never demands.



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Such are the steps by which a civil war has been kindled in America. To a seditious temper, or any defire of independence, we are not to look for the origin of this calamity; a more cogent reason stares us in the face. He is a bad philosopher-he is a bad politician, or a dischonest man, who seeks for two causes when one is sufficient to produce the effect. The whole body of the Americans have frequently faid in general congress, that the exercise of taxation, and the injuries which arose from that fource, are the sole cause of their resistance. They declare that they do not with to become independent. The feveral provinces declare the fame thing, and the individuals in those provinces, in all their harangues, and in all their writings, declare that they covet nothing more ardently than a perpetual union with the parent state. Against this group of evidence, against this full demonstration of the true causes of the present social war, the enemies of America, and perhaps I may fay the enemies of Great Britain, are pleased to set up their fimple affertion. In the cause of oppreffion, in the last scene of a gloomy tragedy, in their attempt to distress or extirpate the inhabitants of a great country, they fufpect that a generous nation will not follow them; hence they have recourse to fiction and fraud; they would conceal the true caufe of the war, and substitute one that never existed. This modern baseless fabrick is like the hedg-



47 inflame the nation, and engage them heartily in a civil war, in order to deftroy or crush the Americans. This is doubtlefs the great object of the minister, but as the success of these measures is not absolutely certain, while it is very certain that the Americans, if they have prudence or spirit, must soon be driven by these measures to a state of independence, that they may the better be able to defend their liberties and lives, and as fuch a flep may terminate in the absolute loss of that country, the ministry are prepared for that event-they have foretold it, and the ruin of this kingdom will appear to be nothing more than a proof of their fagacity. The men who are now labouring with admirable fuccefs to diffolve the union between Great Britain and her colonies, will presently assume great merit in having discovered that the Americans were ripe for a revolt.

FINIS.