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A
SERIES of ANSWERS
TO CERTAIN
POPULAR OBJECTIONS,
AGAINST SEPARATING FROM THE
REBELLIOUS COLONIES,
AND
DISCARDING THEM ENTIRELY:
BEING THE
CONCLUDING TRACT
OF THE
DEAN OF GLOCESTER,
ON THE SUBJECT OF
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

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T H E
P R E F A C E.

THE Motives, which formerly determined the Author to postpone his Animadversions on Mr. LOCKE's Theory on Government, subsist still in their full Vigour: Or rather they have of late acquired additional Strength. For most undoubtedly, cool Disquisitions and metaphysical Speculations on the Origin of civil Society, and the Nature of civil Government, would be very little attended to, if ushered into the World during the Heat of Action, and amidst the Flames of War. But nevertheless I beg Leave to observe, that tho' I have postponed the Subject, in order to introduce the ensuing
A 2 Treatise,

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Treatise, which appears to be more suitable to the present Juncture, I am far from having abandoned my original Plan: Having indeed made a considerable Progress in the Work, and intending (God willing) to lay it before the Public, as soon as a Pacification shall render such a Subject more seasonable, than it is at present. In the mean Time, I have further to observe, that the Principles laid down in my 17th Sermon, preached on the 30th of *January* [printed for RIVINGTON] is the Foundation, which I propose to build upon: So that the Discerning and Judicious may, if they please, know before-hand, whether the Foundation is solid, and firm enough to support the Superstructure.

IN regard to the following Treatise, I request the candid and impartial Reader (for as to the bigoted, the uncandid, or malevolent, I must leave them to act as they please) to form his Judgment concerning it, not from a single Circumstance, or two, but from the whole Force of the Argument, *considered in one View.*

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It may possibly, nay probably be, that I may be mistaken in a few Particulars, and that I may have been imposed upon thro' a wrong Information in others; and yet the main, grand Argument remain as firm as ever. I will not therefore be answerable for every minute Point, or trifling Circumstance; but I hold myself obliged to defend the Truth, and Importance of the general Doctrine.

MEN, who have a bad Cause to defend, will catch at Shadows, pretending to raise mighty Triumphs on imaginary Victories, in order to divert the Attention of the Reader from the main Point. But Men, who are conscious of having Truth on their Side, will be the less attentive to mere Circumstantials; because they know, they are right as to Essentials. I have frequently experienced this Fact; and particularly in the Dispute between Dr. FRANKLIN and myself: Which, as it has an intimate Connection with the ensuing Treatise, and will serve to throw a strong Light on certain Manœuvres, now endeavoured

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voured to be concealed, I will lay before the Public.

AT the very Time, when Dr. FRANKLIN opposed the Stamp-Act, as being unconstitutional, and subversive of the Liberties of *America*, he was by the Favour of his present Majesty, continued Post-Master General for the Province of *Pennsylvania*:—An Office this! which, according to his own Doctrine, was created by an *unconstitutional* Act of a *tyrannical* Parliament in the Reign of Queen ANN, and during the Administration of the WHIGS. However, as he could reconcile it to his Conscience to enjoy this *unconstitutional, lucrative* Place; so it seems, that after the Stamp Bill had past into a Law, his Conscience became less squeamish in regard to that also, as will appear by the Sequel.

Now, in the first and second Editions of my Fourth Tract, unhappily for me, I had charged him with procuring a Place for *himself* in the *American* Stamp-Office; whereas, alas! it proved to be not for *himself*, but for his *Friend*. And as

poor

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poor Culprit was thus detected in an Offence of so heinous a Nature, against the eternal Truth and Rectitude of Things, great were the Exultations of the Doctor and his patriotic Friends. Reader, I plead guilty to the Indictment; *habes confitentem reum*. Therefore I will lay Dr. FRANKLIN'S OWN State of the Case before you;---and this the rather, because his republican Agents and Abettors, the Monthly Reviewers, have *dared me* to publish his own Account; hoping, I suppose, that I had mislaid my Voucher.

IN a Letter of his to me, dated *March 2, 1774*, are these identical Words:---
 “ Some Days after the Stamp-Act was
 “ passed, to which I had given all the Op-
 “ position I could with Mr. GRENVILLE,
 “ I received a Note from Mr. WHEAT-
 “ LEY, his Secretary, [the same WHEAT-
 “ LEY, whose Papers were afterwards *stolen*,
 “ and *confessed* to be in the Possession of Dr.
 “ FRANKLIN, and whose Nephew was in
 “ Danger of being *murdered*, for endeavouring
 “ to trace out the original Theft]
 “ desiring to see me the next Morning.

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“ I

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“ I waited upon him accordingly, and
 “ found with him several other Colony-
 “ Agents. He acquainted us, that Mr.
 “ GRENVILLE was desirous to make the
 “ Execution of the Act as little inconve-
 “ nient and disagreeable to the *Americans*
 “ as possible, and therefore did not think
 “ of sending Stamp Officers from hence;
 “ but wished to have *discreet and reputa-*
 “ *ble* Persons appointed in each Province,
 “ from among the Inhabitants, such as
 “ would be *acceptable* to them. For as
 “ they were to pay the Tax, he thought
 “ Strangers should not have the Emolu-
 “ ments. Mr. WHEATLEY therefore
 “ wished us to name for our respective
 “ Colonies, informing us, that Mr.
 “ GRENVILLE would be obliged to us for
 “ pointing out to him *honest and responsible*
 “ Men, and would pay great Regard to our
 “ Nomination. By this plausible, and ap-
 “ parently candid Declaration, *we were*
 “ *drawn in* to nominate: And I named for
 “ our Province Mr. HUGHES, saying at
 “ the same Time, that I knew not whe-
 “ ther he would accept of it. I was only
 “ sure

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“ sure, that if he did, he would *execute*
 “ *the Office faithfully*. I soon after had
 “ Notice of his Appointment.”

Now, can any Man in his Senses really
 believe, by perusing this Letter, that ei-
 ther Dr. FRANKLIN, or any of the Colo-
 ny-Agents conceived such dreadful Ideas,
 at that Juncture, of the *enslaving* Nature
 and *horrid* Tendency of this Stamp-Act,
 as have been so artfully imputed to it?
 No:—I am sure, he cannot in his Consci-
 ence believe any such Thing. Yet the
 whole Band of *Mock-Patriots*, and Repub-
 lican-Zealots held this very Language in
 all their Harangues both before, and since;
 representing the poor Stamp-Act as a
 Monster more destructive to the human
 Race, than the most terrible, *death-doing*
Giants in Romance. All therefore that
 can be fairly and justly concluded from the
 Tenor of this Extract is, that the Colony-
 Agents, after having made that Kind of
 Opposition which is *usually made to every*
new Tax, conceived, that they had gone
 far enough, and that now it was Time
 to

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to *acquiesce*, and to have recourse to other Measures of a more pacific Turn.

As therefore Peace and Harmony were again restored, or at the worst, were very likely to be restored in a short Time; from whence comes the present Fiend of Fury and Discord among us? Reader, I will not mince the Matter, but declare at once,—it came from the REGENCY BILL: That fatal Bill has brought on all the Calamities, which both *Great-Britain* and *America* have suffered, or are likely to suffer in the present War. To make this clearly appear, if it wants any Illustration, I would observe, that it had been the constant Practice with the *Mock-Patriots* and *Republicans*, for many Years, to represent the late Princess Dowager of *Wales* in the most odious Colours, and to asperse her Character in almost every Respect: In which Endeavour they had certainly so far succeeded, as to render her *extremely unpopular*. Therefore, when the *Regency-Bill* was to be framed, the Minister, [Mr. GREN-

VILLE]

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VILLE] thought it the most prudent Way to get it constructed in such a Manner, as to *omit* her Name, and consequently to exclude her from being Regent. This was Handle enough for wily, and machiavalian Politicians to take hold of. Consequently, they, who had so lately, and so grossly abused and insulted, now as much flattered and cajoled her, offering all their Weight and Assistance to serve her in this Cause. The Bait took; her Name was inserted in the *Regency-Bill*; the Stamp-Minister was dismissed; and they of course succeeded in his Room. And then indeed, out of mere Necessity (for I do not believe it was their *inward* Choice) they were compelled to repeal that Stamp-Act, against which they had so long, and so vehemently exclaimed. But alas! Conscious to themselves, that they had done exceedingly wrong, they endeavoured to mend the Matter, Tinker like, by making it much worse; hoping (vainly hoping) to patch up the Breach they had made in the Constitution, by the *Soldering* of a declaratory Law. But the

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the *Americans*, now taught to know their own Importance (a Doctrine, which they were always ready to learn) and feeling their own Strength in our Weakness, rejected the Expedient with Disdain. The only Use, to which they put it, was to swell their Catalogue of *pretended* Grievances with this additional one of an *enslaving* declaratory Law. And to be sure, it served admirably well for that purpose, but for no other. For as to any Thing else,—To pretend to bind the Colonies *in all Cases whatsoever*, after having given such a recent Proof, that we *dared not* bind them to pay even an Halfpenny Tax on a News-Paper, was such an Instance of Gasconading Folly as is hardly to be paralleled. No Wonder then, that the Colonists should first treat it as a ridiculous Bravado; and then make use of it as a Weapon against ourselves, by putting it into their List of imaginary Wrongs.

THEREFORE, let Mr. BURKE (or the *admirable* and *excellent* Mr. BURKE, as Dr. PRICE styles him) call me *Court Vermin*,

as

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as long as he pleases; yet as long as I can *crawl*, I will ever maintain, that the *Rockingham* Administration were the Cause, the *exciting* Cause I mean, of the present War, and of all the Calamities derived from it.—

*Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam, populumque fluxit.*

Moreover if the *declaratory Law*, which enacts, that the *British* Legislature has a Right to bind the Colonies *in all Cases whatsoever*; is so very bad, so tyrannical, and detestable, as Dr. PRICE, and the Rebel *Americans* now represent it;—I do further assert that *that* identical patriotic Administration, and particularly Mr. BURKE, were the Authors of this very Law. Dr. PRICE knew, as well as any Man living, that such was the State of the Case: But he had not the Ingenuity to acknowledge it. On the contrary by inserting this among others, in his Recital of pretended Grievances, he has led the unwary Reader to suppose, that the declaratory Act, as well as the rest of the sad Oppressions under which the poor *Americans* groaned, proceeded all from the same hateful Cause, from the same

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same wicked, and execrable Ministry; or rather from Sets of successive, tyrannical Ministers, the sole Authors of all those Evils, of which the Colonists have so loudly, and according to him, so justly complained. Whereas the Truth is, that at least one of these pretended galling *American* Chains was forged by his own dear patriotic Friends and Favourites, the *Rockingham* Administration.

READER, this learned Gentleman Dr. PRICE has wrote an elaborate Treatise on moral Obligation: In which he lays down Positions, which are sufficiently strict. Compare them therefore, I beseech you, with his own *latitudinarian* Practice, his own *lax* Conduct and Behaviour in this whole Affair.—As to the declaratory Law respecting the Colonies; against which he inveighs so bitterly, as if it were the *novel* Offspring of a modern, wicked Administration, and a corrupt Parliament; it is, [considered in itself, and not connected with the Repeal of the Stamp-Act] no other (and that likewise Dr. PRICE knew perfectly


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fectly well) than a *Copy* of the declaratory Law of the 6th of G. I. respecting *Ireland*, and the *re-enacting* of the 7th and 8th of WILLIAM III. respecting *America*: All these WHIG Princes! WHIG Parliaments! And WHIG Administrations!

INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION.


 HE Proposal for separating to-
 tally from *North-America* is ob-
 served to make Converts every
 Day;—it being now acknow-
 ledged by thinking People of all
 Denominations, that there can be no Medium
 between legal Subjection to the supreme Legis-
 lature on the one Hand, and an absolute Sepa-
 ration from it on the other. To pretend to
 make Distinctions in this Case is idle and vain;
 for the Nature of Things will not admit of
 them.

In Fact, were Taxation and Representation
 so essentially connected, and so absolutely inse-
 parable, as Mr. Lock and his Followers would
 make us believe;—then most certainly every
 Man's Consent [the Consent of every *moral*
 Agent of every Sex and Condition] ought to be
 B *previously*

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previously obtained for *divesting* him, her, or them of *any Part* of his, her, or their natural Rights and Liberties in *any Respect* whatever. For indeed our *personal Rights* are nearer and dearer to us, and are more essentially our own [our own Property] than any adventitious Accession of Lands or Tenements, Goods or Chattels. Nay, in Fact, without the former, it would be impossible either to acquire, or to enjoy the latter.

HENCE therefore it follows *a fortiori*, that the Act of Navigation, and every other restraining or prohibitory Law made long ago, without the Choice or Concurrence of the *Americans* either by themselves or their Representatives, yet enforced by a Confiscation of Goods, an Imprisonment of their Persons, and by various other corporal Punishments;—must, according to this Doctrine, be a more notorious Violation of their natural Rights and Property, and indeed a much *forer* Tax, than a paultry Halfpenny Stamp laid on a News-Paper. Therefore between Separation and legal Subjection there can be no Medium:—There is no Line to be drawn.

THE former Treatises, written by the Author in Favour of a total Separation, have never been

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been attempted to be answered; not one capital Fact pretended to be denied;—not one Argument refuted;—not one Conclusion disproved. Low, scurrilous Epithets, such as *childish, visionary, mercenary, mad, &c. &c.* have been the only Mode adopted for answering these Treatises. The Reader therefore will be at no Loss in discovering the true and only Reason, why other Kinds of Answers were not given.

BUT it is rather singular, and to some Persons may appear unaccountable, why so many of the *Americans* themselves, and why *all* their republican Abettors here at Home, should condemn this Proposal of an amicable Separation with such Asperity of Language, as they have been known to do, and with such heavy Execrations on its Author;—a Proposal, which they cannot but confess, would put a total End to all their present Complaints, and redress every Grievance pretended to be imposed upon them by *Great-Britain*.

NEVERTHELESS, it is not difficult to find out the Cause of such Overflowings of Malevolence. Every *American*, who is not intoxicated with the visionary Schemes of a growing Empire, and of personal Grandeur, well knows, that the petty *American* States and Republics could not subsist

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in any Degree of Safety, without the Assistance of *Great-Britain*, to defend them both from foreign and domestic Enemies:--And that the Expences of maintaining a Fleet and Army, of building Fortresses, and of fortifying Ports and Harbours, of supporting the Eclat of an independent Civil Government in each Province, would be about ten Times as great as the Sum which the Parent State should levy on or require from them, by Way of contributing their Share towards the general Defence of the Empire. Therefore the wary *Americans* do not chuse to part with these Benefits, while a Possibility remains of persuading the credulous *English* still to continue them.

THE Republicans at Home are most violently incensed against the Author of this Proposal, because it would quash at once all their darling Projects of introducing similar Liberty-Meetings, similar Congresses, and similar Forms of Government here in *Britain*;—and because it would cut off all Pretences for clamouring against Government on Account of its tyrannizing over the natural Rights and Liberties of their dear persecuted Brethren, the poor, innocent *Americans*.

[WHILST I was writing the above, the following incendiary Paragraph, inserted in the *London*

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London Evening Post, August 1, 1776, as soon as the Nation was informed, that the King's Forces had obliged the Rebels to evacuate *Canada*,—was put into my Hands, as a Corroboration of what I was here advancing.

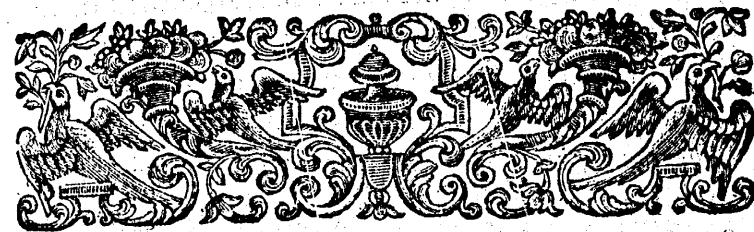
“SOMETHING must be DONE.

“LET the Merchants meet at Guildhall, seriously deliberate, and DETERMINE: Let them invite the *Lords*, and *Members* of the *Opposition* to JOIN THEM: Let them make their APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE AT LARGE, and to the City of *London* in particular: Let them openly declare, that nothing but Necessity, and the Principle of Self-Preservation [CATALINE'S *Speech exactly*, see his *Harrangue in SALUST*] induced them to take this important Step: And let them call themselves, “THE COMMITTEE OF CONSERVATION.” This Language is so plain, that it needs no Comment. He that runs may read.

NOTHING now remains, in order to finish this Controversy, but to obviate certain Objections raised by the Crafty, swallowed by the Credulous, and terrible only to the Ignorant, against the Idea of a total Separation. And therefore, to put these Objections in as strong a Light as possible, I shall here introduce them in the

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Form of Questions, in order that the Reader may the better judge, Whether their respective Answers, taking the whole Series together, be satisfactory or not.



A
SERIES of ANSWERS
TO CERTAIN
POPULAR OBJECTIONS,
AGAINST AN
ENTIRE SEPARATION
FROM THE
NORTHERN COLONIES.



OBJECTION I.

HOW shall the Merchants and Manufacturers of *Great-Britain* recover their Property out of the Hands of the *Americans*, or sue for their Debts, in Case of a Separation?

ANSWER I. WHILE *Great-Britain* and *America* remain connected together under any Form
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of Government whatever, this Difficulty of recovering *English* Property out of the Hands of the Colonists will never cease: And a total Separation is the most effectual Cure. In Fact, those *Americans*, who have contracted larger Debts than they are disposed to pay, or who want to stop an Importation of more Goods from the Mother-Country, 'till their own [perhaps damaged] Stores are sold off at an exorbitant Profit;—these Men will never cease to exclaim, under one Pretence or other, against the *English* Government, as long as the Connection shall subsist. Faults and Imperfections, more or less, there are, and ever will be; but it is much easier to caricature real Faults, and to invent imaginary ones at the Distance of 3000 Miles, than if the Scene of Action had been at Hand. When a Separation shall ensue, the Faults in the *American* Government, be they what they may, will then be all their own: Whereas every Thing which they dislike at present is imputed to us; and on this they ground their repeated Injuries and Acts of Injustice.

ANSWER 2. ENGLISH Creditors always found more Trouble in securing or recovering their Property in *America*, and in collecting their Debts, than in any other Part of the Globe. Our former Acts of Parliament, during the Reigns

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Reigns of WILLIAM III. and of GEO. I. and II. and also the Remonstrances of our Board of Trade, are full of Complaints on this Head.

ANSWER 3. In Case of a total Separation, each Colony or Province will then become independent, and a jealous Rival, of its Neighbour. No common Cause or common Interest will unite them together: And the Fears and Jealousies of Trade will more effectually operate in such a Case, to ensure their Honesty and punctual Dealings, than the better Principles of Conscience and Religion. In short, each independent State will then be an independent rival Shop: And that Shopkeeper, who will use his Customers best, will infallibly get the most Custom.

ANSWER 4. WERE any of these numerous petty States or Republics to refuse at any Time, after a proper Requisition had been made in Form, to do Justice to the *English* Merchant or Creditor, a few small Ships of War sent to their Coasts, not to make *Conquests*, but *Reprisals* according to the Law of Nations, would soon teach them to be more observant of the Rules of Justice and good Faith, than they are disposed to be. And the other Provinces, their Neighbours and Rivals, instead of arming in their Defence, would rejoice at their Chastisement.

OBJECTION



OBJECTION II.

HOW shall we prevent the *West-India* Islands from falling under the Power of the growing Empire of *America*, in Case of a Separation?

ANSWER I. THE Northern and Southern Colonies of *America* have, and ever had, an inveterate Hatred and Antipathy against each other. And nothing prevents this from breaking out into Action * even at present, but the Apprehension of common Danger. Remove, therefore, this Apprehension, and then there will remain no central Attraction uniting them in one common League or general Association. And without such a Confederacy, it will be impossible for any one of these Republics to make the Conquest here proposed.

ANSWER 2. SHOULD two or three of these little Republics join together in such an Expedition, the rest would oppose them of Course to

* See the *American Pamphlet Plain Truth*, in Answer to *American Common Sense*.

the

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the utmost of their Power, and would invite *Great-Britain* to aid and assist them. The very Principle of Jealousy, natural to all States, especially to small Republics, would drive them to these Measures. For they would immediately see, that the Aggrandizement of their Rivals foreboded their own Destruction. And *Great-Britain* would at all Times be capable of holding the Balance of Power between these little, querulous, fretful States, by never inclining it too much to any one Side, so as to enable it to give Law to the rest.

ANSWER 3. SUPPOSE the worst;—suppose all these Colonies firmly united together under one Head [we know not *how*, nor *why*, nor *when*] yet even in such a Case, the poultry little Islands in the *American* Seas would be no Object adequate to the Ambition of such an Empire. For after the first Plunder was over, (and if Plunder alone was to be the Motive, it would not repay a tenth Part of the Expence of the Expedition) nothing farther could be obtained from such Spots without continual hard Labour, fresh Capitals, new Stocks of Slaves, a peaceable Bartering of Goods, with a long commercial Intercourse, &c. &c. Whereas the rich and large Countries of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and the *Brazils* would be more likely Objects to rouse their Ambition,

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bition, and tempt their Avarice; and they would soon be at War with the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*.

ANSWER 4. SUPPOSE nevertheless, and against all Probability, that the *North-Americans* not only took Possession of these Islands, but also kept them, and cultivated, or rather permitted, and encouraged their *new Subjects*, the original Proprietors or Planters to cultivate them, and to raise Sugars, and every other *West-India* Produce;—what would be the Consequence?—Nothing but this, that the *British* Merchants would in that Case buy Sugars, Rum, Ginger, Cotton, &c. &c. just as they now buy Wines, Fruit, Oils, Coffee, Chocolate, &c. &c.; that is, at the *best* and *cheapest* Market. And it is a Fact well known in the commercial World, that were we permitted to enjoy the like Liberty at present, we might purchase Sugars and Rum almost *Cent. per Cent.* cheaper than we now do, by being confined to the Market of our Sugar Planters. Moreover in that Case, we should probably be obliged through *Necessity* to do that *Justice*, and to make that *Restitution*, to a great Part of our Fellow Creatures, which we ought to have done long ago, by *Choice*, and through a Principle of *mere Humanity*,---to say nothing of higher Motives:—That is, we should teach the

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the much injured Natives of *Africa*, which might easily be done, and at a small Expence, to cultivate their own luxuriant and spontaneous Sugar Canes, and to manufacture Sugars, and several other Commodities, and more especially Rice and Indigo, in their own native Country; who would then exchange such Produce for our *European* Goods and Manufactures:—Instead of this, we make Slaves of these poor Wretches, contrary to every Principle, not only of Humanity and Justice, but also of national Profit and Advantage; as I have often proved in several of my Writings both Commercial and Theological:—We, I say, the boasted Patrons of Liberty, and the professed Advocates for the natural Rights of Mankind, engage deeper in this murderous inhuman Traffic than any Nation whatever:—And to shew our Consistence, we glory in it!

I might likewise add, that the Cane grows spontaneously in *Sicily*, where immense Quantities of Sugar might be made, were the *Neapolitan* Government to give the least Encouragement;—or rather, were the Court of *Naples* once to see its own Interest, by removing the many heavy Burthens, which are now laid *expressly* with a View [Oh, cruel Infatuation! absurd Tyranny!] to check and prevent the Industry, Riches,

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Riches, and Population of the *prolific Sicilians*. This therefore is another striking Instance of the Practicability of making Sugars by Means of common Day-Labourers and hired Servants, without any Slaves at all. For the Peasants of *Sicily* could as well stand the Heat of the Climate in the Culture of Canes and the Manufacture of Sugars, as in their present Occupation.

Now the Advocates for Republicanism, and for the supposed Equality of Mankind, ought to have been the foremost in suggesting some such humane System for abolishing the worst of all the Species of Slavery, viz. that of the *domestic* or *predial* Kind. But, alas! all Republicans antient and modern, as far as History and Experience can inform us, suggest no other Schemes but those of pulling down and leveling all Distinctions above them, and of tyrannizing over those miserable Beings, who are unfortunately placed below them.

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OBJECTION III.

HOW shall we prevent the *North-Americans* from becoming a formidable maritime Power in Case of a Separation?

ANSWER 1. WE may always prevent, if we please, any one of these States from swallowing up the rest:—In the Execution of which we shall be sure of obtaining the Assistance and Good-Will, and not the Execration, of the neighbouring rival States. And this Circumstance alone will prevent their becoming a formidable naval Power.

ANSWER 2. THE *American* Coasts, from *St. Augustine* up to *Chesapeake Bay*, are generally shallow, and not so fit for capital Ships of War, as for smaller Vessels from 100 to 600 Tons Burthen. This is another insuperable Bar against that Part of *America* ever becoming very formidable by Sea. And as to the other Part from *Chesapeake Bay* up to *Cape Breton*, tho' there are several good Ports on that Coast, yet they labour under many Inconveniences: And it may be observed in general, that the Coasts of *Great-Britain*

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Britain and Ireland have more than double, or even treble, the Number of good, safe, and deep Harbours, and are never annoyed with Ice or Fogs; which are to be found in all the rebellious Provinces of *North-America*.

ANSWER 3. THE Sea Coasts of *North-America* are generally barren and unhealthy, if compared with those vast and fruitful Regions, which lie beyond the *Alleghenny* Mountains, and approaching the Borders of the great Lakes. Thither many of the *Americans* who dwelt near the Sea Coasts have removed already: And the present Disturbances will oblige them to do so in still greater Numbers. New Governments and new Common-Wealths, half civilized and half savage, will start up in those distant Regions: For every Topic and every Argument which the Sea Coast *Americans* now urge against the Mother Country, will be retorted with double Force against themselves by the distant Back-Settlers. Nay, strange Feuds and Animosities have risen already in many Places on this very Score. So that the *Americans* remaining in the Sea-Port Towns will have Work enough on their Hands to maintain their Authority over their own People, the remote Back-Settlers, or *English Tartars* (as Mr. BURKE calls them) without quarrelling with the great maritime Powers of *Europe*. And
if

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if there should be any naval Engagements between the new, and old Republicans on the great Lakes of *Erie, Ontario, &c. &c.* methinks, we here in *Britain* can have as little to do with them in Point of national Interest, or Honour, as we should have with a Sea-fight in the Moon, or in the Planets.

ANSWER 4. GRANTING even that the Northern Continent of *America* was to be united in one great Empire; and granting also that that Empire was to become formidable by Sea; still what Reason is there to think, that this new maritime Power would have any Inducement either of Interest, or Ambition to quarrel with *Great-Britain*? If Conquest was to be their Object, they surely would never think of invading and conquering *Great-Britain*, so far distant from them; [a wild Scheme not only difficult, but morally impossible]---especially considering, that they would have such inviting Objects nearer at Hand in *South-America*, and infinitely more easy to be subdued. But if their Aims were only to be directed towards the Extention and Protection of their Trade and Navigation; they certainly would wish to keep well with *Great-Britain*, their best Customer in Peace, and their most dangerous Enemy in War.

C OBJECTION



OBJECTION IV.

WILL not the present War, now carried on with so much Rancour and Animosity, prevent the *English* and the *Americans* from trading with each other in Case of a Separation.

ANSWER I. IF there be any Force in this Objection, the sooner a Separation shall take Place, the better; for nothing short of this can be a radical Cure. Suppose, for Instance, that the *British* Legislature had yielded to the late Demands of the *American* Congress, before they openly declared for absolute Independence: That is, suppose they had granted, that the *Americans* should always enjoy the Rights, Privileges, and Protections of *Englishmen*, without being *obliged* to contribute a Farthing towards the general Expence:—In that Case the whole *British* Nation would have been highly and justly incensed against the Authors of such an infamous Concession,—a Concession, which would in Fact have made *America* the *Sovereign*, and *Great-Britain* the *subject* and *tributary* State. And then even the Mock-Patriots themselves would have changed their Notes, would have exclaimed

exclaimed against wicked Ministers for betraying their Country to the ungrateful, rebel *Americans*, and have clamoured for Impeachments.

GRANTING on the other Hand, that the *Americans* submitted to pay those Quotas which the *British* Parliament should require for the general Defence of the Empire;—still this would be only a pretended Submission, which would last no longer than while the Rod hung over them. For as soon as ever an Opportunity should offer, they would immediately revolt; and then we should have the same Work to do over again, with greater Difficulties, and increased Expences. Indeed the famous *American* Pamphlet, called *Common Sense*, hath put this whole Matter in so strong a Light, that more need not be said on the Subject. Therefore in this single Assertion, tho' in very few others, I entirely agree with the Authors, [supposed to be Dr. FRANKLIN and Mr. ADAMS] IT IS TIME TO PART. Nay, every Man of every Denomination is so thoroughly convinced, that the Colonies will and must become independent one Time or other, that the only Point to be decided is,—at which Time, or at what Juncture, can such a Separation be made with the most Benefit, or, if you please, with the least Detriment to the Mother Country? And the Answer to this Enquiry is very obvious,—*No Time like the Time present.*

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ANSWER 2. IN regard to the Difficulties in bringing the Merchants of each Country to Trade again with each other; let it be observed, as the universal Rule with Merchants and Traders of all Countries, Religions, and Languages, that self Interest needs no Reconciliation: For Trade is not carried on for the Sake of Friendship, but of Interest. If after a Separation, the Colonists shall find, that they can trade to greater Advantage with us, than with others, they certainly will, not for our Sakes, but for their own. And in Times of the profoundest Peace, and the greatest Harmony, they never acted on any other Principle.

INDEED it is now become evident, that it ever was, and ever will be impossible for the Parent-State to prevent the Colonies from trading with other Countries, if there is a Prospect of trading to Advantage. As a signal Proof of this, view the present State of Things:---We have now the whole Force of the British Empire collected together:---We have also as much Assistance as our Money can procure from foreign Powers:---All our Men of War, Frigates, and Tenders; and most of our Transport-Ships are completely armed: All of them are stationed on the Coasts of *America*, in order to prevent the Colonists from carrying on any Trade of *any*

Sort

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Sort to our Detriment. And yet we feel to our Cost, that all is not sufficient to prevent them from trading almost where-ever they please. How then shall we be able to restrain their Commerce and Navigation, when this great and formidable Armament shall be removed? [as removed it must be in Times of Peace] and when there will not be much more than Half a Dozen Frigates [or say, if you please a Dozen] to guard a Sea-Coast of nearly 1500 Miles? More-over, it may be asked in regard to those very Frigates, *Quis custodes custodiet ipsos?*

ANSWER 3. THE *Americans* themselves furnish a decisive Answer respecting the Easiness of a Pacification with public Enemies, where private Interest is concerned on the opposite Side. For notwithstanding all their doleful Lamentations against *Spanish* Depredations, *Spanish* Cruelty, and *French* Incurfions, they reconciled it to their Consciences to trade with those very *French* and *Spaniards*, when it was their private Interest so to do, during the hottest of the War;---and even to furnish them with Ammunition and warlike Stores for the Destruction of the *English*, their only Protectors and Benefactors in that very War.

C 3

ANSWER

ANSWER 4. IT hath been found by Experience long ago, that after a Separation, even the bitterest and most rancorous Animosities are soon forgot. No sooner had the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* separated peaceably from each other, than they became mutual good Customers, frequenting each other's Ports in the most friendly Manner, and carrying on a great Trade to reciprocal Advantage. Nay, in a few Years afterwards, they entered into a League offensive and defensive against the *French*, their common Enemy, and have remained very good Friends ever since.

ANSWER 5. THE Trade of *Great-Britain* with the Colonies rests on a much firmer Foundation, than that of a *nominal* Subjection by Means of *Paper* Laws and *imaginary* Restrictions:---A Foundation so very obvious, as well as secure, that it is surprizing it hath not been taken Notice of in this Dispute. The Foundation, I mean, is, the Superiority of the *British* Capitals over those of every other Country in the Universe. As a signal Proof of this, let it be observed, that the *British* Exporter gives long Credit to almost every Country, to which he sends his Goods; but more especially he used to do so to *North-America*: Yet when he imports from other Countries, he receives no Credit.

Credit. On the contrary, his general Custom is, either to advance Money beforehand, or at least to pay for the Goods as soon as they arrive. Hence therefore it comes to pass, that the Trade of the World is carried on, in a great Measure, by *British* Capitals; and whilst this Superiority shall last, it is morally impossible that the Trade of the *British* Nation can suffer any very great or alarming Diminution. Now the *North-Americans*, who enjoyed this Advantage to a greater Degree than any others, by purchasing Goods of us at long Credit, and then selling the same Goods to the *Spaniards* for ready Money, will find by Experience, that in quarrelling with the *English*, they have quarrelled with their best Friends. Let them therefore go wherever they please, and try all the Nations on the Globe. When they have done, they will suppliantly return to *Great-Britain*, and entreat to be admitted into the Number of our Customers, not for ours, but for their own Sakes.



OBJECTION V.

IF we should lose the northern Colonies, where shall we get Pitch and Tar, Masts and Naval Stores for our Navy?

ANSWER 1. To what Market will the Northern Colonies send their Pitch and Tar, their Masts and Naval Stores, if they should refuse to sell them to the *English*? Some Questions are best answered by their Opposites: And it is a Fact, that were we to withdraw our Bounties, it would be an exceeding difficult Matter for the Colonies to find any vent at all for these Articles.

ANSWER 2. THE *French*, *Dutch*, and *Spaniards* have Ships, which carry Masts, and require Pitch and Tar, Hemp, Iron, and Cordage as well as *English* Ships. And happily for them, they have no Northern Colonies. Yet these Nations are supplied with all these Articles at a moderate Price, and without Bounties. What therefore should prevent the *English* from being supplied from the same Source, and on as good Terms?

ANSWER

ANSWER 3. THE *English* Navy receives much greater, and more necessary supplies from the Northern States of *Europe* than from the Northern Colonies of *America*. For the large, clean grained oaken Plank of three, four, five, and six Inches in Thickness, so necessary for the very Existence of our capital Ships of War, is chiefly imported, and has been for upwards of 100 Years past, from *Germany*, *Dantzick*, and the other Ports of the *Baltic*: The Iron (if any wanted besides our own) is brought from *Sweden* and *Russia*; and the Hemp almost altogether from *Russia*, and its conquered Provinces. Yet we have most absurdly and impolitely loaded both the Iron, and Hemp of those Countries with heavy, discouraging Taxes, in order to favour the Iron and Hemp of ungrateful *America*. As to Masts, Yards, and Deals, they may in general be purchased cheaper in *Norway*, *Sweden*, and in some Parts of *Russia*, Quality for Quality, than in *North-America*: Though they seldom can be rendered so cheap at an *English* Market, on account of those ill-judged Bounties and Indulgencies, which were formerly granted to the Colonies; but which of course will be removed when we come to understand our true Interest.

ANSWER 4. IN respect to the particular Articles of Pitch and Tar; be it observed, That originally

originally we had our Pitch and Tar from *Sweden*: But the *Swedes* were so impolitic as to lay an exorbitant Duty on the Exportation of their Pitch and Tar, presuming that the *English* could find no other Supplies. At that Juncture, had our Nation but applied to the other Northern Powers of *Europe*, they might have procured enough, and probably at a cheaper Rate; for rival Shops naturally dissolve Monopolies: But the *English*, ever anxious to favour the Colonies, tho' in the Event to their own Loss, took a different Method, by granting a most profuse Bounty to these Colonies to manufacture Pitch and Tar: Whereby they were enabled at our Expence to clear their Woods, and to bring their Lands into Culture. And after these Favours have been continued to them to this very Hour [for the Law is not yet formally repealed] they and their Advocates have now the Modesty to ask, What can you do without *American* Pitch and Tar?

OBJECTION



OBJECTION VI.

IN Case of a Separation, where shall we get Pipe-Staves, and other Lumber for our *West-India* Islands? and above all, where shall we get Provisions?

ANSWER I. WHERE, or from whence do the *French* and *Spaniards*, *Dutch* and *Danes* procure Provisions, Pipe-Staves, and Lumber for their respective *West-India* Settlements? The Answer to this Question will serve for both. Now it is a Fact too notorious to be denied, that the *North-Americans* never ceased supplying the *French* and *Spaniards*, not only with Provisions and Lumber, but with every Article whatever, for which there was a Probability of being paid: I say, they supplied them even in Times of War, as well as in Times of Peace: Though indeed at both Junctures they acted illegally, and were liable to Confiscations and various other Penalties for so doing. But what are Laws, Penalties, and Confiscations to an *American*, when put into the Scale against present Gain? Even HANCOCK himself, the nominal Head of the Congress, and the Tool of artful ADAMS, was one of the greatest Smugglers on the

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the whole Continent. Tell me therefore, *why* the *North-Americans*, after a peaceable Separation, will refuse to supply our Sugar Islands (whilst they supply others) if they shall be as well, or *better paid* for what they bring? And tell me also, *when* did they supply them with any one Article whatever, without being well paid for it?

ANSWER 2. IF the Inhabitants of the *West-India* Islands were less luxurious, and more industrious (and Necessity is not only the Mother of Invention, but also the most persuasive Encourager) they might have raised, and therefore may still raise great Quantities of most Sorts of Provisions within their own Plantations. Consequently, if they will not raise them, they can in Reason only blame themselves.

ANSWER 3. IF the *West-Indians* should find a Difficulty in supplying themselves out of their own Plantations with Flour, Bread, Biscuit, Beef, Pork, Salt-Fish, Oats, Pease, and Beans, then *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* can supply them with all these Articles in great Abundance, either from their own Stores, or from Stores imported. And the Advantage either Way would be very great to the Mother-Country in the Increase of her Shipping and Navigation, as well as in the Extension of her Commerce. Indeed
for

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for a few Years last past *Great-Britain* hath not raised either Corn or Cattle sufficient for its own Consumption. But this accidental Scarcity is no general Rule, because it will be found, taking 100 Years together, that for one Year of Scarcity, it is blessed with two of Plenty.

OBJECTION



OBJECTION VII.

IN Case of a Separation, from whence shall we procure Rice and Tobacco?

ANSWER I. THIS Objection turns on two Suppositions, viz. 1. That after a Separation the *Virginians* and *Carolinians* will not sell Tobacco and Rice to *English* Merchants for a good Price, and ready Money:---And, 2dly, that Tobacco and Rice can grow in no Part of the Globe, but in *Virginia* and *Carolina*. Will any Man in his Senses dare to affirm either of these Things?

ANSWER 2. WITH respect to Tobacco, almost every Country in *Europe* can produce it in Plenty, if permitted by its respective Legislatures so to do, [see my Fourth Tract on Political and Commercial Subjects, 3d Edit. Page 205.] Nay, in *England* itself there were formerly considerable Plantations, and more Ground was daily planting. But our Government forbid the Cultivation of it by severe Penalties in several Acts of Parliament, in order to favour the Interest of the Colonies.

ANSWER

ANSWER 3. IN respect to Rice, a great Part of the swampy Coast of *Guinea*, and more especially the Marshes near the great Rivers, which, like the *Nile*, annually overflow, would produce Rice in great Abundance for us, if properly cultivated. For were the native Inhabitants of *Guinea* (I repeat it again, because it cannot be repeated too often) to be taught and encouraged to be industrious in their own Country, instead of being made Slaves, and cruelly transported into ours, they would, beyond a Doubt, use and consume at least four Times the Quantity of *British* Manufactures, more than the Slaves and their tyrannical Masters now do. For Slaves are little better Customers in any Country than so many Head of Black Cattle; yet much more dangerous and difficult to be governed. And indeed little Industry can be expected from any poor Wretches, who know beforehand, that a greater Exertion of Industry on their Parts, would *only* be an Increase of Labour, painful to themselves, and solely beneficial to their Masters.

[WHILST I was copying the above for the Press, a learned and ingenious Friend, formerly a Governor in one of our Plantations, obliged me with the following important Observation: "That Rice may be raised on the Grain Coast of *Africa* in any Quantities: And that he himself

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“himself hath bought on the Spot, for Two
 “Shillings the Hundred Weight, Rice of a
 “superior Goodness to that of *Carolina*. It
 “grows on Up-Lands, tho’ of the same Spe-
 “cies with that which grows in Swamps: But
 “as it receives five or six Months heavy Rains,
 “it wants no other Supply of Moisture. The
 “Negroes understand very well how to raise it;
 “but they are ignorant of the Machines for
 “pounding it out: All Labour of that Kind
 “being performed by Women; and confe-
 “quently slow and tedious.”] Now this Piece
 of Intelligence strongly corroborates the *grand*
Principle, which runs thro’ all my Treatises on
 the Subject of *America*, viz. That the Colo-
 nists, in quarrelling with the Mother-Country,
 are essentially hurting themselves; and are
 greatly, tho’ not intentionally benefiting us, by
 obliging us to see and pursue our own true and
 lasting Interests.]

OBJECTION

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OBJECTION VIII.

IN Case of a Separation, will not the *North-*
Americans set up various Manufactures of
 their own, and lay heavy, discouraging Duties
 on the Importation of ours?

ANSWER 1. DAILY Experience proves be-
 yond Contradiction, that we do actually send
 vast Quantities of *British* Manufactures to *Spain*,
 to *Italy*, *Germany*, *Russia*, *Holland*, and even to
France:—Though each of these Countries have
 long established similar Manufactures of their
 own, and have laid discouraging Duties on
 ours. Nay some of them are *seemingly* so heavy
 as to amount to a Prohibition. Yet, let the
 Manufacturers in *Birmingham*, *Manchester*, *Nor-*
wich, &c. &c. tell the rest. So that the
 Threat, that the Colonists *may*, or *will* set up
 Manufactures in Opposition to ours, proves
 very little in proving too much.

ANSWER 2. THE Colonists have already, and
 long before the Beginning of the present Trou-
 bles, set up every Species of Manufacture, which
 could be attended with any Probability of Suc-
 cess:—To which End they have carried over
 D *English*

English Machines, working Tools, Patterns, and Models in great Abundance: They have also been seducing and kidnapping our Workmen, Journeymen, and Artists by every Kind of Artifice and Pretence, for at least these 70 Years last past: Nay, they have publickly offered Rewards and Premiums: And have inserted these Advertisements in all our Newspapers;—they have enlisted Volunteers of this Sort by beat of Drum. I ask therefore, what more can they possibly do, in Case of a Separation?—I ask further, can they do as much? And would it not have been *Acts of Felony* in them to have made the like Attempts, had they been separated from us, and put on the same Footing with other Nations?

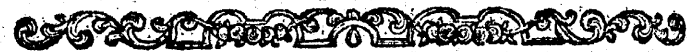
ANSWER 3. IN regard to the *Capability* of *America* to rival *Great-Britain* in the Cheapness and Goodness of Manufactures (which are the main Points to be attended to) be it observed, that *America* naturally labours under many capital Defects respecting Manufactures. For in the first Place, it doth not abound with Wool, or Silk, Copper, Iron, Lead, Tin, or Coals; Articles of the utmost Consequence in establishing large and extensive Manufactures:—Secondly, the Climate of the greatest Part of the Country is unfavourable to several Species of Manufactures,

Manufactures, being either too cold, and too much frozen up in Winter, or too melting and suffocating in Summer; and very frequently the same Country or Province partakes of both Extremes. Thirdly, the Genius and Disposition of the People are not turned towards hard and constant Labour; a Circumstance this, which is visible through every Part of this great Continent. Fourthly, their small Capitals, and Want of Credit is another very great Impediment; and it is too apparent, that this Difficulty is not likely to be removed by their present Conduct. Fifthly, their Desertion of the Sea Coasts, and removing in such Shoals up into the Country, beyond the *Alligahenny* Mountains, as they now do, or lately did, is another great Bar to the Encrease of any Manufactures, which could come in Competition with the *English* in any foreign Market. For, granting, if you please, that Multitudes of manufacturing Towns and Villages are to start up, like Mushrooms, on the Borders of the great Lakes, and even beyond them; still such Places, in that distant Situation from the Sea, can no more rival us, than if they had started up in the Wilds of *Tartary*, or the Deserts of *Arabia*.

ANSWER 4. IN respect to the heavy and discouraging Duties which these little independent
D 2 Republics

Republics are to lay upon *English* Manufactures, when imported into their respective Territories: Enough has been said already, to convince any reasonable Inquirer, that there is but little to fear on that Head. However, as this Topic has been used as a Kind of Trumpet, to sound the commercial Alarm, I shall therefore add, that the Situation of the Sea Coasts of *North-America* is such, that it will be morally impossible to prevent Smuggling, if the People should be so inclined: And it is also an indisputable Fact, that there is not a People in the Universe so addicted to a smuggling Way of Life, as the *Americans*. In respect to the Face of their Country along the Sea Side, it is intersected with large Bays, Promontories, and navigable Rivers; and full of Islands, and other hiding Places from one End to the other: Moreover, it is not better guarded by Land. For the Country is open between Province and Province, without narrow Passes or Defiles: So that it will be impossible to prevent an Intercourse by Day, or by Night, if private Interest should find its Account in maintaining such an Intercourse. But what is still more, and above all, the Southern independent Republics will never consent to prohibit the Introduction of the Manufactures of *Old England* merely for the Sake of encouraging (to their own Loss) the
Manufactures

Manufactures of *New England* (a People whom they both hate, and despise) nor will the *New-Englanders* give a Monopoly to the Southern Provinces against themselves. Therefore as both will act separately, according to their respective local Interests; the *English* Manufactures will find an easy Admission with very little, or no Obstruction. Nay, it is notorious, that at this very Juncture, when the *American* Rebels have absolutely prohibited the direct Importation of any *British* Goods, they admit, solely against their Wills, various *English* Manufactures, through the Intervention of the *Dutch*, *French*, and *Spaniards*:---But why? Because they cannot do without them; and therefore must have them even with all this additional Expence. Now, as this is a Fact, certain and indisputable, what have we to fear in Case of a Separation? But for a more distinct Account, how it comes to pass, that we have such an increasing Trade, notwithstanding the Defection of the Colonies; and indeed in order to prove, contrary to the vulgar Opinion, that the Colonies never were the *real* Cause of that Increase, see the Note in my Fourth Tract, P. 213---215.



OBJECTION IX.

WILL not a Separation from the Northern Colonies greatly decrease the Number of our Seamen?

ANSWER 1. BY the Term *our* Seamen must be meant *British* Seamen, in Contradistinction to *North-Americans*. And then the Objection supposes, that a Separation will necessarily decrease the Shipping and Navigation belonging to the Ports of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. But what Proofs are there to be brought of this? And without *some* Proof, why must the Objection be admitted?

ANSWER 2. THE obvious Reasoning on the Case suggests just the contrary. For after a Separation has taken Place, the Act of Navigation will operate as effectually against the *North-Americans*, as against the *French*, *Hollanders*, or any other Nation. Consequently they (the *Americans*) will no longer be permitted to be the Carriers of Sugars, Rum, Cotton, Coffee, Pimento, Mahogany, Logwood, and all other Woods and Articles for dy-

ing,

ing, &c. &c. from our own Islands, from the *Mosquito* Shore, or the *Spanish Main*, into *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*:—Nor will they be permitted to carry any of our Manufactures, Salt-Fish, or Provisions, any of our Malt Liquors, Cyder, or any Wines, from *Great-Britain* or *Ireland* to the Sugar Colonies, or to any of our Settlements in any Part of the World. Judge therefore from this Enumeration of Facts certain and indisputable, on which Side would the naval Balance preponderate in Case of a Separation. But this is not all; for we have at least 150,000 Lamps burning every Winter in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, more than we had 60 or 70 Years ago; and their Number is every Year encreasing. Now the *North-Americans* used to supply us with at least one Third, if not one Half of the Oil [extracted from Fishes] used and consumed in these Lamps:—All which, together with several Articles depending on them, will for the future be supplied by *British* and *Irish* Sailors. Therefore what a Nursery is here! How growing and extensive! And yet how little attended to, 'till the *North-Americans* obliged us, as it were, whether we would or not, to see our own Interest!

ANSWER 3. OUR former Predilection for our Colonies not only caused us to neglect several

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Branches

Branches of Trade, which we ought to have *cherished*: - But, what is still more extraordinary, and hardly credible, it induced us to *check*, and in some Instances almost to *prohibit*, them by Means of heavy Duties. Thus for Example, we gave for many, very many Years, a most profuse Bounty (and at one Time no less than 8l. Sterling per Ton) to the Importation of Hemp from *America*, as if on purpose to nurse up that Country into a *rival, naval* Power: But we neglected to give even the smallest Bounty for the Growth of Hemp in *Ireland*, as if that Branch of Trade was not worth regarding: Tho' it is evident to a Demonstration, that it ever was more our Interest to have promoted the Culture of Hemp in *Ireland*, than in *America*; and tho' the fertile Soil of that Island, particularly near the Borders of the *Shannon*, seems destined by Nature for the Growth of that Commodity. Again, as to positive *Checks* and *Restraints* by Means of heavy Duties, we have laid a Tax, not only on foreign Hemp, but also on foreign Iron, Pitch, and Tar: All which we ought *not* to have done; and which we ought now to undo, in order to promote our own Welfare, and to encrease our own Shipping and Navigation, instead of those of *North America*. Therefore we have at present the Means in our Power of treating with the Northern Potentates of *Europe* on very advantageous

tageous Terms: That is, we may signify to each of them (as we did formerly to *Portugal*) that in what Proportion soever, they will favour the Introduction of the *English* Manufactures into their Territories by the Repeal or Diminution of Taxes; in the same Proportion we will admit their Bar-Iron, Hemp, Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, &c. into *Great-Britain*. Now, Reader, I ask, supposing these Measures were pursued, what Loss shall we sustain in our Breed of Seamen? And who will be the Sufferers in Case of a Separation?

ANSWER 4. BUT we have many other Resources still in Reserve for the Increase of Sailors, and the Encouragement of Shipping and Navigation. By the general Tenor of the present Corn Laws, we discourage the Importation of Oats, Pease, and Beans from *Ireland*, unless under peculiar Circumstances; though these are Articles which we daily want, and Articles likewise which would be so far from interfering with---that the Importation of them, in the Event, would greatly promote the Agriculture of *Great-Britain*.—To make this Case plain, let it be observed, that we might allot every Year much larger Portions of Land, than we now do [and the Land be likewise in a better State] for Wheat, for Barley, or for Barley and Clover mixt, also for Turneps, Vetches, Ray-Grass, Saintfoin,

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 Saintfoin, Cabbages, Carrots, and other artificial
 Provender and Grasses;—provided we were al-
 lowed to import good Stores of Oats, Pease,
 and Beans from *Ireland* at all Times and Seasons.
 And as the Culture of these Articles, as a Spring
 Crop, would best suit the moist Climate of *Ire-
 land*; so also would the Culture of Wheat and
 Barley be better adapted to the drier Soil of
England. In the next Place, let it be further
 observed, that all the Surplus (after our own
 Consumption) whether of the Growth of *Great-
 Britain* or *Ireland*, would be ready on the Spot
 for Exportation to our Sugar Colonies. Not
 to mention that our Live-Stock of every Kind,
 and particularly of fat Cattle, might be greatly
 encreased by this additional Quantity of Food
 and Nourishment. So that we might soon be
 enabled to supply our Sugar Colonies, and all
 our Out-Settlements, with most of the Necessa-
 ries of Life in great Abundance. But, alas!
 we have hitherto been so bewitched with the
 Notion, that we could never favour dear *America*
 too much, that we have sacrificed to that Idol
 every Opportunity of improving the Trade and
 Navigation of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*.

ANSWER 5. THE Case of encreasing our
 Quantity of Live-Stock is of such Importance
 to Shipping and Navigation, as well as to all
 the other Branches of Commerce, that I must
 beg

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beg Leave to give it a distinct Consideration.
 I observe then, that were a *permanent*, not a *tem-
 porary* Law to pass for the Admission of Live-
 Stock from every Country (which in Reason
 and good Policy ought always to be done), then
 we might import vast Quantities of Pigs and
 Poultry from *France* and *Flanders*, and young
 Cattle from almost every Port in *Germany*,
Denmark, and the *Baltic*. Nay, I have been
 assured by a Foreigner of Distinction, who spoke
 from his own Knowledge, that a good Cow may
 be bought in *Hungary* always for less than ten
 Shillings, and frequently for five: And that
 Drovers of *Hungarian* young Cattle might be
 brought to, and purchased at *Hamburgh*, were
 a constant Intercourse, and a ready Market
 established, for about 20s. or at most 30s. per
 Head. Allow therefore about 20s. more for
 Freight and Port Charges, Risk, Losses, Pro-
 fit, and Insurance: And then the *English* Far-
 mer on the Eastern Shores of *England* might
 stock his Grounds at a much less Expence than
 he doth at present: The Consequence of which
 (like Water finding its Level) would soon be
 felt in the Western, and more distant Parts.
 And the Difference between the original Price
 of such young Cattle abroad, compared with
 their Value, when grown to Maturity, and fat-
 tened here at Home, would be just so much
 clear Gains to the *Landed-Interest* of this King-
 dom.

dom. Moreover respecting the *Commercial*, let it be observed, that the Hides, the Horns, the Hair, the Hoofs, nay the very Bones would be so many additional Raw-Materials for future Manufactures. After this, it is needless to add, that all these Circumstances necessarily tend to encrease *Shipping* and *Navigation*.

ANSWER 6. NEVERTHELESS I will here suppose, [contrary to all Reason, and every Degree of Probability,] that after a Separation, *Great-Britain* will suffer some small Diminution in the Number of its Sailors: Still, even on this Supposition, improbable as it is, it doth by no Means follow, that we shall have fewer Ships, or fewer Sailors, than we have at present, for the Defence of our *central* Territories, *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. On the contrary, when we shall have a less extended Coast to guard by almost 1500 Miles [and this Coast actually at *Home*, in the very Centre of our Empire, instead of being 3000 Miles distant from it] it is evident to common Sense, that we shall be better able to defend our Channel and narrow Seas with 100 Sail, great and small, than we could have been, to have defended both our own, and the distant Coasts of *America*, with 150 Sail. So much as to the comparative State of the Increase, or Decrease of *British* Sailors, in Case a Separation should take Place.

OBJECTION



OBJECTION X.

WOULD it not be better to continue some Kind of Union with the Colonies at any Rate, rather than to throw them entirely off? Suppose both Parts of the *British* Nation, the *European* and the *American* were to remain united under one, and the same Prince, but to act as distinct and separate States, independent of each other in all other Respects; Would not even this be more desirable than a total Separation?

ANSWER 1. As this Scheme of Independency respecting the Parliament, but not respecting the King was, the favourite Topic of the Congress 'till of late (when they entirely threw off the Mask, and entered into open Rebellion against both); and as the same Notion hath been advanced over and over by their Advocates here at Home, who have quoted the Case of the Electorate of *Hanover*, as an Example, and Illustration; I shall therefore examine this Matter with more Attention than it would otherwise have deserved.

HERE

HERE therefore I ask one plain, decisive Question,—Are *Englishmen* and *Hanoverians* the same People, or the same Nation? Are they the Subjects of the same Prince by one and the same Title? And do *Hanoverians* enjoy any one Privilege either at Home or Abroad, belonging to the *English* Nation? Certainly not: How then can these Cases be pretended to be parallel? And to what Purpose are they brought, but to perplex the Cause, and to draw off the Attention of the Reader? To make the Cases parallel, we are to suppose an *American* to be as much an ALIEN, and to be as incapable by Law of enjoying any Honours, Places, or Preferments in these Realms, as an *Hanoverian* is: We are also to suppose him excluded from all those commercial Benefits and Protections by Sea or Land, which are possessed, and have by Treaties been acquired, by the *English* Government, for the sole Use of *English* Subjects:—Nay, we are to suppose still further, viz. That the *Americans* never owed any Allegiance to his Majesty by Virtue of his being King of *Great-Britain*, and of the Dominions thereunto belonging;—but as being King of *America* by a separate, distinct, and independent Title. All this, I say, must be previously supposed. But alas! this is not what the Congress and their republican Advocates ever meant to say, or wished to suppose.

Their

Their Business was, to play the Legerdemain of Cups and Balls with Common Sense and Common Honesty. For when any *English Benefit* was to be enjoyed, then we were gravely told, that *Americans* were as much *Englishmen* as ourselves, and therefore ought to be permitted to enjoy the same Privileges and Advantages in common with us: But when any *English Burthens* were to be born, or any *English Taxes* to be raised, for the Maintenance of these Privileges---then truly the *Americans* were no longer *Englishmen*, but a distinct and separate People, who ought not to have been taxed without their own Consent.

AWAY ye Advocates for Treason and Rebellion! Away with such Jesuitism and Chicane! And ye pretended Patriots, either stay and reason at Home like fair and honest Man; or else throw off your Disguise, act openly, and leave us. Go, and join your Associates in *America*, and there be happy in your *free* and *equal* Democratic Governments. There preach up the Doctrine, that every human moral Agent is to be his own Legislator, his own Governor, and his own Director. There maintain your *fundamental Paradox*, that no Man ought to obey any Laws, imposed upon him without his own Consent: And there also refuse to pay any Taxes, which

which had not received your own Approbation. The Congresses, both Provincial and Continental, will undoubtedly listen with attentive Ears to these instructive Lessons: And they will suffer you to spurn at their Authority with the same Impunity, that you spurn at ours.

ANSWER 2. LET us now suppose another Case, viz. That the *Americans* are declared by Law to be as much *Aliens* and *Foreigners*, as the *Hanoverians* are: But to be, like them, subject to the same Prince, under a separate and independent Title; What would be the Consequence of such an heterogeneous System? Nothing surely very desirable, if we can rely either on the *Experience* of what is past, or on *Reasoning* as to what may come.

By Experience we learn, that our Junction with *Hanover* was far from being a Blessing to either Country. For it is well known that the innocent Inhabitants of that Electorate have been involved, for our Sakes, in all the Calamities of War, whilst we ourselves enjoyed no Sort of Advantage from their Misery, unless the Lavishing of our Blood and Treasure in Defence of a Country not to be defended, can be called an Advantage. The Words of the *American Pamphlet, Common Sense* are here very true

true, and very apropos,—“The Miseries of *Hanover* [in the] last War ought to warn “us against Connections.” Nay, we are farther taught by long Experience, that the Genius of the *English* is peculiarly unfit to be joined with any other People, upon and equal Footing, or in a *co-ordinate State*; of which their Behaviour towards the *Scotch* and *Irish*, as well as towards the *Hanoverians*, is too striking an Example to pass unnoticed. Though indeed, properly and strictly speaking, *Scotland* is not *co-ordinate*, but *united* and *incorporated* with *England*, at the earnest Request of the *English*: which Circumstance renders the daily and bitter Reproaches of the *English* against the *Scotch* still more inexcusable; for the *Americans* have declared, one and all, that they never will be united or incorporated with *Great Britain*. And in respect to *Ireland*, ’till the much-wished-for Union can take Place, this Country is not *co-ordinate*, but a *sub-ordinate State*. For the Proofs of which, see the Declaratory Act of 6th of GEORGE I. made to quell the Tumults excited by the factious * Writings of Mr. MOLINEUX. See also my Address and Appeal to the Landed

* A further Account will be given of these Writings in my Answer to Mr. LOCK; wherein will be explained, how far Mr. MOLINEUX himself practised, or wished to practise, his own Doctrine.

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Interest,

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Interest, Pages 80---84. Now after a due Consideration of these Facts, I ask, doth Experience and past Trials warrant us to say, that a Junction with *Hanover* is found to be of such a national Advantage, that we ought to attempt the like Plan in regard to *America*?

BUT this is not all: For our *Reasoning* on the Case still strengthens the Argument against a Junction with *America*. Thus for Example, *Hanover* is but a little Way off, and is indeed but a little Country if compared to *America*; nor can it ever be a greater: But above all, the Mass of the Inhabitants of that Electorate have never been instructed in any Notions, as a *Rule of Duty*, but those of Submission and Obedience. Whereas *America* is an immense Country, the nearest Part of which is 3000 Miles distant from *Great-Britain*: And the *Americans* in general are described by their own Friends and Advocates, as some of the most litigious, turbulent, and ungovernable People upon Earth. [See Mr. BURKE'S Speech, and my Answer to it, Pages 15—26.]

ANSWER 3. *Hanover* can never wrest from *England* the Seat of Empire; for every Thing conspires to prevent the very Possibility of such a Project: Whereas it has been the unanimous

Opinion

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Opinion of the *North-Americans* for these 50 Years past, that the Seat of Empire ought to be transferred from the lesser, to the greater Country, that is, from *England* to *America*, or as Dr. FRANKLIN *elegantly* phrased it, from the *Cock-Boat* to the *Man of War*. Moreover the famous *American* Pamphlet, *Common Sense* (in the Composition of which Dr FRANKLIN and Mr. ADAMS are supposed to be principally concerned) declares it to be preposterous, absurd, and against the Course of Nature, that a great Continent should be governed by an Island. "In no Instance hath Nature made the Satellite larger than its primary Planet: And as *England* and *America*, with respect to each other, reverse the common Order of Nature, it is evident they belong to different Systems, *England* to *Europe*, and *America* to itself."

E 2

OBJECTION



OBJECTION XI.

WILL not the severing *America* from *England* have the same Effect in our political Constitution, as that of cutting off, or striking away a main Prop, a massy Pillar, or a strong Buttress from an antient, crazy Building?

ANSWER I. METAPHORICAL Objections are best confuted by metaphorical Replies. The *English* Constitution is by no Means crazy in itself: It is built of Materials the best, the strongest, and the most durable of any yet discovered in the World. Moreover it hath this peculiar Excellence, that every Part of it strengthens the other Parts, at the same Time that it supports itself.---*Ponderibus librata suis*, was a just Compliment paid it by an excellent Judge, *Monf. de Lolme*, in his admirable Treatise on the *English* Constitution. But as all Things may be impaired by Time, and more especially as the best of Things may be injured by unskilful Treatment, so it hath happened, that ignorant Undertakers have endeavoured to repair, and perhaps, as they imagined, to decorate this goodly Fabric, by sticking many additional

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tional Buildings to it, which had no real Use, Symmetry, or Proportion; but which have weakened the original Structure, by drawing it out of its true Perpendicular.

ANSWER 2. METAPHOR apart:—As our Constitution is composed of three different Powers, the Regal, the Aristocratical, and the Democratical; and as the Mock-Patriots and Republicans are in full Cry, that the Crown hath too much Power already by the Disposal of so many Places; I ask, With what Face can these Men oppose a Separation, if they really think what they say? The Places in *North-America* lately in the Disposal of the Crown (or if you please, of the Ministry) were (great and small) some Hundreds. And yet you, a staunch Patriot! You, who are for ever crying out, O Liberty! O my Country!) You who desire to counter-act the Influence of the Crown by legal and constitutional Means, wish nevertheless to retain dear *America* with all its evil Appendages of Places, Pensions, Sinecures, Contracts, Jobs, &c. &c. &c. What Absurdity! What Inconsistency is this! Surely there must be some deeper Reason for such a Conduct than any that has been yet assigned.

ANSWER 3. THE true Reason is the following. As long as ever *North-America* shall remain

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main connected with *Great-Britain*, under any Mode whatever; the republican Party among us will ever find an Asylum for sheltering themselves under that Connection. This is the true Secret: *Et hinc illa lacrymæ.* They, good Men, are only pleading the Cause of injured Innocence: "They mean no Harm to the King, or the Constitution: They only wish to instruct you in the first Rudiments of Government, and to trace out for your Use and Benefit the Origin of civil Society. And alas! it is for Want of this Knowledge, that you are now making cruel War on your Brethren in *America.*"

HEAR then some of these kind, benevolent Instructions: And from them judge of the Nature and Tendency of the rest.

* "IN Countries where every Member of the Society enjoys an equal Power of arriving at the *supreme Offices*, and consequently of directing the Strength and Sentiments of the whole

* Dr. PRIESTLY's Effay on the first Principles of Government, 2d Edit. Pages 11 and 12. The judicious Reader will here observe, once for all, that what is inserted between Crotchets [] in the Quotations from this Author, and from others, is added, in order to clear up the designed Ambiguity of the respective Authors in some Places, and to fix and ascertain their true and practical Meaning in others.

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"whole Community, there is a State of the most perfect political Liberty. On the other Hand, in Countries, where a Man is by his Birth, or Fortune excluded from these Offices, or from a Power of voting for proper Persons to fill them: That Man, whatever be the Form of Government, or whatever civil Liberty, or Power over his own Actions he may have, has no Power over those of another, he has no Share in the Government, and therefore has no political Liberty at all.

"It may be said, that no Society upon Earth was ever formed in the Manner represented above. I answer it is true, because all Governments whatever have been, in some Measure, compulsory, tyrannical, and oppressive in their Origin: But the Method I have described, viz. [that every Member ought to have an equal Power of arriving at the supreme Offices of the State] must be allowed to be the only equitable and fair Method of forming a Society. And since every Man

others: I say, their practical Meaning: For that is the real Question, and not what the Authors either intended, or pretended by such Passages, or Positions: For this is a distinct Consideration. The Reader therefore is to judge, what is the obvious Application of such Positions, what their natural Tendency, and what moral Effect, they must be supposed to have, if made the Rule of human Actions.

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“retains, and can never be deprived of his na-
 “tural Right (founded on a Regard to the ge-
 “neral Good) of relieving himself from all Op-
 “pression, that is, *from every Thing that has*
 “*been imposed upon him without his own Consent,*
 “this must be the *only true* and proper Founda-
 “tion of all the Governments subsisting in the
 “World, and that to which the People, who
 “compose them, have an UNALIENABLE RIGHT
 “to bring them back” (consequently, as all the
 Governments subsisting in the World were not
 built on this the *only true* and proper Founda-
 tion; but were *compulsory, tyrannical, and op-*
pressive in their Origin; therefore the People
 who compose them, have an *unalienable Right*
 to pull them down, and to institute others in
 their stead, according to this new Model.]

AGAIN, Pages 40---43. “The Sum of
 “what has been advanced upon this Head is a
 “Maxim, than which nothing is more true,
 “that every Government in its original Princi-
 “ples, and *antecedent* to its present Form, is an
 “* EQUAL REPUBLIC; and consequently, that
 “every

* The Doctor would have been puzzled to have given a
 single Instance of a democratical Government having been
 the first, and antecedent to other Forms. On the contrary
 all History declares, I think without a single Exception,
 that

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“every Man, when he comes to be sensible of
 “his *natural Rights*, and to *feel his own Impor-*
 “*tance*, will consider himself as *fully equal* to any
 “other Person whatsoever. The Consideration
 “of *Riches* and Power, however acquired, must
 “be entirely set aside, when we come to these
 “first Principles.—Whoever enjoys *Property*,
 “or *Riches* in the State [whether he be King,
 “Lord, or Commoner] enjoys them for the
 “Good of the State, as well as for himself.
 “And whenever those Powers, Riches, or
 “Rights of *any Kind*, are abused to the Injury
 “of the whole, that awful and ultimate Tribu-
 “nal [the People] in which every Citizen hath
 “an *equal Voice*, may demand the RESIGNATION
 “of them. And in Circumstances where
 “*regular* Commissions from this abused Public
 “cannot be had, EVERY MAN, who has Power,
 “and who is actuated with the Sentiments of
 “the Public may assume a PUBLIC CHARAC-
 “TER, and bravely redress public Wrongs.

that democratical, or republican Governments were *not* the
 original Forms, but were owing to subsequent Alterations,
 which arose from Disputes between Prince and People,
 Sovereigns and their Subjects. Undoubtedly democratical
 Governments may prove good Institutions in some In-
 stances; and so may others. Why therefore the People,
 that is, the Subjects of other *good* Governments, should have
 an unalienable Right to pull them down in order to intro-
 duce the *Jewelling* Scheme of an *equal Republic*, or a demo-
 cratical Government is a Position, and a Paradox fit only
 for our modern Republicans to maintain.

“ In

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“ In such dismal and critical Circumstances, the
 “ justified Voice of an oppressed Country is a
 “ loud Call upon every Man possessed with a
 “ Spirit of Patriotism to exert himself. [That
 is, to deprive the present Possessors of their Pro-
 perty, Power, Riches, or Rights of *any Kind*, or
however acquired; and even to deprive them of
 Life itself; if this self-erected Patriot, Legisla-
 tor, Judge, and Executioner should happen to
 think, that the public Good requires him so to
 do: I say, *even of Life itself*; for the whole Bu-
 siness of the Treatise is to prove, that *Killing* in
 such Cases is a *meritorious Act*.]

THUS far the celebrated Dr. PRIESTLY:—
 In relation to whom I shall add no more at pre-
 sent, than just to observe, that this is the very
 Treatise which Dr. PRICE so often quotes, call-
 ing the Author an excellent Writer: And that
 it was circulated about with uncommon Indus-
 try and Ardor, when the Republicans, and
 Mock-Patriots attempted to raise a Ferment
 throughout the Nation for addressing the King
 to dissolve the Parliament. But his M.—
 (God for ever bless him) like another FABIVS
 MAXIMUS,---CUNCTANDO RESTITUIT REM.

LET US now hear another of these sage En-
 lighteners of modern Times; who pronounces
 his

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his Oracles in the following Strain, in a little
 Tract, entituled, “ An Address to Protestant
 “ Dissenters of all Denominations on the ap-
 “ proaching Election of Members of Parlia-
 “ ment with respect to the State of public Li-
 “ berty in general, and of *American Affairs* in
 “ particular, printed for J. JOHNSON, Price
 “ 2d, or 50 Copies for 5s.” At Pages 8 and 9
 of this Performance, so replete with Instruction,
 the Author is pleased to tell us, that “ The
 “ Hope of Mankind, who have *so long been de-*
 “ *based and trampled upon* by Forms of *unequal*
 “ Government, is, that this horrible Evil [of
 “ unequal Government] may find its own *An-*
 “ *tidote and Cure*. KINGS being always worse
 “ educated than other Men, the Race of them
 “ may be expected to degenerate till they be
 “ little better than IDEOTS, as is the Case already
 “ with several of them *needless to be named*:
 “ And it is said, will be the Case with others,
 “ when the present reigning Princes shall be no
 “ more: Whilst those who are not the Objects
 “ of *Contempt*, will be the Objects of *Hatred*
 “ and *Execration*.

“ In this Situation [where some Kings are
 “ Ideots, and others Tyrants] the Temptation
 “ to Men to assert their natural Rights [the
 “ Rights of *equal Government*] and to *seize* the
 “ invaluable

“ invaluable Blessings of Freedom *will be* very
 “ great: And it may be hoped, that *enlighten'd*
 “ as the World now is [by such republican
 “ Writers] with respect to the Theory of Go-
 “ vernment, and taught by the Experience of
 “ so many past Ages, they will no more suffer
 “ themselves to be transferred, like the live
 “ Stock of a Farm from one worn out Royal
 “ Line to another [as was the Case when the
 “ present Royal Family came to the Throne on
 “ the Demise of Queen ANN,] but establish
 “ every where [in *England*, as well as in *Ame-*
 “ *rica*] Forms of *free* and *equal* Government:
 “ By which, at an infinitely less Expence, than
 “ they are now at, to be *oppressed* and *abused* [by
 “ the *Hanover* Succession, and the present Go-
 “ vernment] every Man may be secured in the
 “ Enjoyment of as much of his natural Rights
 “ [which he doth not now enjoy in *England*] as
 “ is consistent with the Good of the whole
 “ Community. If this should ever be the Case,
 “ even the past Usurpations of the Pope will not
 “ excite more Astonishment and Indignation,
 “ than the present *disgraceful* Subjection of the
 “ *many to the few* in civil Respects.”

READER, what a Pity it is, that this bright
 Luminary, and grand Dispenser of political
 Knowledge, should have so long concealed his
 Name!

Name! But *Bashfulness* and *Self-Diffidence* are
 the Companions of great Minds. However,
 that the grateful Public may know, at least in
 Part, to whom they are so much indebted, I
 think, I can venture to say, that a * *young* and
modest dissenting Minister of sprightly Parts, is
 the Author of this, and of several other *po-*
lemical Tracts against both Church, and State,
 all written in the same gentle Strain, and with

* It is remarkable, that the younger Dissenters of all
 Denominations, both Clergy and Laity, are [I do not say
universally but] *too generally* tainted with levelling republi-
 can Principles respecting the *State*, and with various wild
 Heterodoxies in Point of *Religion*. The Elder, the more ex-
 perient, and those, who are in every Sense the wiser, and
 better Part of them greatly lament this general Defection
 in their Brethren; and as they do all that can be expect-
 ed from Men in their Stations to prevent it, they ought not
 to be involved in one common Censure; it being but just
 to make a Distinction between the *Innocent*, and the *Guilty*.
 More-over it ought to be further observed, that the whole
 Church of *Scotland*, whether Presbyterian, or Episcopalian,
 have no other Contest at present respecting the *State*, than
 which of them shall manifest the greatest Zeal for his Ma-
 jesty's Service in a rational conformity to the Principles of
 our excellent Constitution. Common Justice seems to re-
 quire that such a Remark should be made at the present
 juncture, when the united Pack of false Patriots, and re-
 publican Bigots are in full Cry against the *Scotch* Nation.
 And I will add further, that this is not the Remark of a
Scotchman, or even of one, who has any particular Interest,
 Alliance, or Connection with any of the Natives of that
 Contry: But of a Person totally indifferent, who never has
 received, and according to all human Probability, never
 can receive any personal Advantage from them.

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the same Regard to *Truth* and *Decency*. I will also add, as a *Matter of Fact*, that many Thousands of this little Tract were dispersed gratis by the Republican Junto at the Approach of the last general Election, in order to serve the *good old Cause*: And that it had a surprizing Influence on the lower Class of Voters in the City of *Bristol*, in turning out their former Members, and in electing the present:—The present I say, of whose private Virtues, and public Services I must be silent, *Ne nos tenues conemur grandia*.

THE last in Time, tho' not in Dignity, is the *republican Goliath* himself, the great *Dr. PRICE*. This Gentleman not content with treading in the Steps of his Precursors, plainly hints, nay in effect declares, that *Englishmen*, as well as *Americans* ought to rise up in Arms, at the present critical Juncture, in order to obtain more Liberty, and a better Constitution. For after having mentioned in the preceding, what he frequently afterwards repeats in the subsequent Pages, that the *Americans* have taken up Arms, and that they are determined never to lay them down, 'till the *English* shall recede from their Demands, he adds the following Words at page 41 of the 1st Edition. "Suppose it true, that they [the *Americans*] are indeed contend-

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ing [by Force of Arms] for a *better* Constitution, and *more Liberty* than we enjoy. Ought this [rising up in Arms against the Government] to make us angry? Who is there that doth not see the Danger, to which this Country is exposed for Want of *more Liberty*? Is it generous, because we are in a Sink [of Slavery] to endeavour to draw them into it? Ought we not rather to wish earnestly, that there may be at least ONE FREE COUNTRY left upon Earth, to which we may fly, when Venality, Luxury, and Vice have completed, the Ruin of Liberty here?" [But nevertheless, we need not fly even from this wicked Country, if we could overturn the present tyrannical Government, and establish a better, such as I and my Fellow-Labourers have been describing in its Stead. And therefore we

* Is there no Venality, no Luxury, or Vice to be found among Republicans and Mock-Patriots? And are not they, in Proportion to their Numbers, and Circumstances, at least equally guilty with others in these Respects? Nay more, is it not notorious, that where-ever they have Power, and can act as Landlords, electioneering Managers, principal Manufacturers, Justices of the Peace, &c. &c. They are less scrupulous than others in the Use of Power for the Purposes of undue Influence, and Oppression?—A Man must be stark-blind, who cannot see these Things. In short (Religion apart, they having no Religion to cant about) the Race of the Sir *Hudibrasses*, and the *Ralphos* is very far from being extinct.

ought,

ought, not only to *wish* earnestly, but also to *fight* earnestly, after the Example of the brave *Americans*, in order to procure more Liberty, and a better Constitution than we now have].

AND now, Reader, having given these Samples of Republicanism, I here lodge my solemn Appeal, whether any strained, any forced, or unnatural Construction hath been put on the Sense and Meaning of these much boasted patriotic Writers. If there hath not, the Case is clear, and the Point is decided: But if there hath, it is easy to make the same appear by examining the Contents, and specifying Particulars. Multitudes of Quotations might have been produced from other Authors to the same Effect: But surely these are sufficient: And from these it must appear, that as long as ever the Continent of *America* shall remain connected with *Great-Britain*, under any Mode or Form whatever, so long will the Champions for *American* Republicanism be stirring up the People to REBEL; and to establish a *republican Tyranny*, the worst of all Tyrannies, instead of the present Government, which is certainly the least oppressive, the mildest, the best poised, and the most reasonable upon Earth. In a Word, nothing short of a total Separation, can prevent the spreading, or can radically cure the Contagion of

of Republicanism. And this would do it; for it is hardly possible to suppose, that either of these Writers would have dared to have gone such great Lengths, had it not been for the Maxim, *defendit numerus*, and that they foresaw, that the great Cause of *America* would become a *Cloke for their Sins*. Indeed Dr. PRICE repeatedly declares in his Pamphlet, and mightily glories in it, that the Time is near at hand, when *America* and *Great-Britain* must necessarily separate. If so, Doctor, why not separate at present? And what Reason can you give for not embracing this, the most favourable of all Opportunities? An Opportunity, which would put an End to all Wars, and even Rumours of Wars (*of this Kind*) probably for ever; which would turn our Swords into Plow-Shares, and our Spears into Pruning Hooks; and, what is still more, which would save you the Trouble of writing more Panegyrics on the Blessings of Anarchy and Confusion.—“ Oh, no: This is “ not the *convenient* Season for parting: For “ we cannot, we ought not, to separate from “ *America* at present. Whilst *America* continues “ in Connection with us (it matters not what “ that Connection is) it can, and will assist us “ in carrying on the great and necessary Work “ of a *free* and *equal* Republic. At the worst, “ it may serve as a masked Battery, from which

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“ we may, safely, and *under Cover*, annoy
 “ those detested Foes of the Liberties of
 “ Mankind, the Friends of a *British*, constitu-
 “ tional Monarchy. But if we should be sepa-
 “ rated, all these Advantages will necessarily
 “ cease; and we shall be deprived of the *Ame-*
 “ *rican* Assistance for ever. Therefore, ’till that
 “ happy Period shall arrive, we must make the
 “ Cause of *America* our own: For indeed it is
 “ *one and the same Thing*.”

OBJECTION



OBJECTION XII.

IF it be right to separate from *North-America*,
 I will not the same Arguments lead to prove,
 that it will be right to separate from *Ireland* also?
 But can such a Scheme be consistent with Com-
 mon Sense, or Common Prudence?—[See a
 scurrilous anonymous Tract to this Effect,
 printed, I think, for BECKET.]

ANSWER I. SUCH a Scheme, as here proposed,
 would assuredly be inconsistent with Common
 Sense, and Common Prudence: But certainly it
 hath no Manner of Connection with the Argu-
 ments in Favour of a Separation from *North-*
America. *Ireland* is in a Manner at our own
 Doors, and almost in Sight of our Coasts;
 whereas *America* is 3000 Miles off. To make
 the Case parallel, you must set *Ireland* afloat;
 and then if you can push it but 1000, instead of
 3000, Miles from our Shores, I will allow that
 all the former Arguments will stand good, and
 be very conclusive. Nay, I will allow, that we
 ought to have no more Connection with *Ireland*,
 in Reason and good Policy, than we have with
Sicily or *Sardinia*, with *Madeira*, or the *Canaries*.

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But Providence hath fixt *Ireland* to be our nearest Neighbour; and as the Country is too small to be a separate, independent State of itself, it must depend either on *Great-Britain*, or on some other governing and protecting Power. Therefore the only proper Question is, To whom, or to what Country, for its own Sake, as well as for ours, ought it to belong? And surely this Question is soon answered.

ANSWER 2. IRELAND is, very unluckily for the republican Faction, lugged into this Debate; for whenever they have recourse to the Case of *Ireland*, they are sure of receiving a * signal Overthrow. The only proper Inference to be drawn from the Defection of *North-America* is, that it ought to accelerate our Union and Incorporation with *Ireland*; lest the same malignant Spirit of Discord and Rebellion, which hath so grievously spread itself over the one Country, should infect the other also; and where indeed, with Sorrow be it spoken, there are not wanting already a Number of noisy Pretenders to Patriotism, who would run any Lengths, † as-
fert

* See my Address and Appeal, Pages 80---84.

† I have been assured by a Gentleman lately come from the North of *Ireland*, that the common People among the Dissenters are there made to believe, that a certain great
and

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fert any Falshoods, and would plunge their Country into any Distresses, for the Sake of becoming Men of Consequence themselves, and of gratifying their Revenge upon others.

ANSWER 3. THE Trade from *Great-Britain* to *Ireland*, considered merely as a Nursery for Seamen to man the *British* Navy, is more than double to that from *Great-Britain* to the rebellious Provinces of *North-America*. And yet this Trade at present is little better than in its Infancy, if compared to what it might be, in Case of an Union, and a thorough Incorporation. This Assertion, I know, like several others which I have ventured to make, will be looked upon at first as very extravagant and absurd. But be it so, I am accustomed to hear my Opinions treated as Paradoxes, 'till they have undergone a thorough Examination: And then, they have met with a very different Fate. The present Case is plainly this:—Divide the whole Coast of *Great-Britain* into four Parts or Portions: Let the first Division be from the

and excellent Personage (whose private and public Virtues entitle him to the Regard and Veneration of all Mankind) is literally and actually such as the young Dissenting Minister (whom I have quoted Page 69) has represented him, and that he cannot count twenty: And—but I forbear. In the *New-England* Provinces the same Personage is represented as a bigotted Papist, and that he goes to Mass every Day.

Land's

Land's End in *Cornwall* up to BRISTOL, and from *Bristol* to *Milford-Haven*: The second from *Milford-Haven* to LIVERPOOL, and from *Liverpool* to *White-Haven*: The third from *White-Haven* to GLASGOW, and from *Glasgow* to the farthest Port in the North of *Scotland*: And the fourth from the North of *Scotland* all round to LONDON, and from *London* to the Land's End in *Cornwall* again.—Now tho' the Ports of *Bristol*, of *Liverpool*, *Glasgow*, and *London* do [did] certainly imploy more Hands in the *American*, than in the *Irish* Trade; yet if you will take all the intermediate Ports into the Account, and more especially the *Coal-Ports* on the Coasts of *Wales*, and on the North-West of *England*, and of *Scotland* (from all which hardly a single Ship goes to *North-America*) you will then find, *on striking the Balance*, that my Computation, instead of being exaggerated, is greatly deficient. Nevertheless I here repeat (what I have often said, and *proved* before) it by no means follows, that we shall lose our Trade to *North-America* by a Separation: Whereas it is obvious to common Sense, that we may *double* our Trade to *Ireland*, if we will incorporate with that Kingdom, and if, by removing our absurd, prohibitory, and restraining Laws, we will make of both Countries, one grand System of civil Government, and commercial Polity.

OBJECTION



OBJECTION XIII.

IF we should separate from *North-America*, what Recompence shall we be able to make to those faithful *Americans*, who have suffered for their Loyalty to the King, and their Allegiance to the *British* Government?

ANSWER I. The Continuance of the War is by no Means a likely Method of procuring a just and adequate Compensation for the unhappy Sufferers. For suppose what is *called* the best: Suppose we should subdue the *Americans*, and compel them to accept of any Terms which we shall please to lay upon them:—Still what shall we get? And wherein shall either we, or even the Loyalists be in better Circumstances? 'Tis true, we shall take Possession of a large Country; but it will be a Country almost ruined, and deserted. For most of the Inhabitants, mad with enthusiastic Notions of the Blessings of Independency, and setting little Value on Lands, which they know are not comparable either for Goodness, or Healthiness with those on the other Side of the *Alligahenny* Mountains, will certainly retire thither, as Mr.

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BURKE

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BURKE before me has well observed: Thither, I say, where they have Reason to believe our regular Troops cannot pursue them to Advantage; and from whence they can make daily Incurfions on our defenceless Frontiers. In Respect to the few Inhabitants, who *will* not, or *can* not remove, their excessive Poverty will render them (for many Years to come) incapable of paying sufficient Taxes even for their own Defence, much less for making a full and adequate Compensation for the Injuries they have done to others. Now these Things will certainly happen, supposing even that we should prove victorious. But on the contrary, if we should miscarry at last (which is certainly a supposable Case) then we shall be disabled, not only from compelling the Rebels to make Restitution of their Lands and Houses to the Loyalists, but also from relieving them ourselves.

ANSWER 2. THE best, the most effectual, and in the End the least expensive Method would be, — to order a fair and reasonable Estimate to be made of their Losses; and then to indemnify the Sufferers out of the current Services of the Year. A public Lottery or two, or even a Million taken out of the Sinking Funds, would perhaps be more satisfactory to the Sufferers, than any other Mode of Compensation.

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penfation. Which Sums, nevertheless, if they should prevent the Costs of but one Year's Campaign by Sea and Land, would be a great and desirable Saving of the Expence of *Blood*, and by much the cheapest in regard to *Treasure*. But above all, we ought always to remember, that we can better spare *Seas* of Treasure, than *Rivulets* of Blood: And that there hardly ever returns a Moiety of the Men who first go out, fit for Service at the End of two Campaigns, even tho' there should not be one pitched Battle fought. Not to mention, that many of these Sufferers may be fully and properly indemnified, and at no Expence to the Public, by such Promotions in Church, or State, in the Revenue, the Army, and Navy, as their respective Talents, Occupations, or Professions have rendered them fittest for.

ANSWER 3 IF such Loyalists, who are Natives of *America*, are so in Love with the Air and Climate of that Country, that nothing less than a Return to it again can content them, (which seems to be the Case with some of them) then even *they* may be gratified in their Wishes, by a proper Disposition of our Forces now on Duty in that Country. For as a great Part of the Provinces of *New-York*, *New-Jersey*, *Pennsylvania*, and *Maryland*, are at present open to
our

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our Land Forces, and at all Times accessible by Sea; and as they are likewise the most central Provinces, whose Inhabitants are the least infected with the Madness of the Times;—it will be no difficult Matter, whilst our Fleets and Armies are on the Spot, to erect these Provinces into four separate and * independent Republics, under the immediate Protection and Guardianship of *Great-Britain*. Thither therefore the well-affected Refugees, now residing either in *Great-Britain*, or in the adjoining Colonies, might retire; and there they might receive Lands in full equivalent to all their Losses, and enjoy as much Liberty, as Men of Reason and Moderation would wish to use, and as good Men would know how to apply. And there, by peculiar Favours and Indulgencies, they might soon get wealthy. Thus likewise, in rendering *them* happy, (who were made miserable on our Account) we should consult our own national Honour in the most effectual Manner,

* Two of these Provinces, *Pensylvania* and *Maryland*, are proprietary Governments. But that Circumstance would be so far from being an Obstruction to the general Plan, that it would greatly favour it. For most certainly the proprietary Governors of these two Provinces would be much more desirous of being under the Protection and Guardianship of *Great-Britain*, than to be cast off, and left to the Mercy and Honesty of republican Independents.

and

POPULAR OBJECTIONS. 83

and establish our public Character on a lasting Foundation. As to their Neighbours to the North, or to the South, a greater, and a more deserved Punishment could not be inflicted on them, than TO LEAVE THEM TO THEMSELVES. And then the fanatical Hypocrites on the one Side, and the Tyrants over Slaves on the other, would afford an useful Lesson to Mankind.

OBJECTION



OBJECTION XIV.

WHO will dare to move in either House of Parliament for the Separation here proposed?

ANSWER I. NONE ought to move for it, but those who are convinced in their Consciences, that the Measure is in itself just and expedient, and that it evidently tends to promote our Happiness in general; and still more particularly, that it will frustrate the Design of those *machiavelian* Politicians, who have been labouring hard, and long endeavouring to over-turn the Constitution in Church and State. REAL PATRIOTS, who are persuaded of these important Truths, ought to move for a speedy Separation, but no others. As to how many, or how few there are of this Persuasion; that is another Question, which cannot be so easily determined, whilst there is such a Variety of Motives for a Man's concealing his Sentiments. However, one Thing is certain, that this Doctrine is making Converts every Day; and that many Persons, even of great Eminence and Distinction, avow it at present, who formerly treated it with Marks of Levity and Ridicule.

ANSWER

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ANSWER 2. THOUGH mere ministerial Men should be afraid to propose a Separation; and tho' the Herd of *Mock-Patriots*, of *republican* Bigots, and of * *French Pensioners*, should declaim bitterly against it; yet (God be thanked) we are not so destitute of Men of unbiassed Principles, and of independent Fortunes, as to despair of Success. The chief Misfortune is, that many who approve of the general Plan, and would heartily join in it (were it once set on Foot by others) yet do not chuse to appear themselves the first in promoting it. Now, tho' great Timidity and great Caution are Qualities not amiss in some Circumstances, and are extremely proper in others; yet in the present Case they are highly detrimental; as they afford Opportunities to the impudent, and the daring, to Men of no Principles, or of very erroneous and dangerous ones, to erect their own Systems on the Ruin of their Country.

ANSWER 3. THERE is the less Reason to despond in this Affair, because the former Prejudices are all wearing off; and, what is still more, because every Man now plainly sees, that we shall never be able to retain the *Americans* in

* See my Address and Appeal, Pages 9—19.

due

due and constitutional Subjection (even supposing that we conquered them in the present War) but at such an Expence both of Men, and Money, as would, in the Event, prove our Ruin.

The former commercial Prejudices were, that the *American* Trade was the only one worth considering, in a national View; and that our Traffic with other Countries, especially with the Nations of Europe, was hardly to be desired, in Comparison with this.—The Reverse of all which is, by Experience, proved to be the FACT. And the Author of these Tracts against the rebel *Americans* now appears in a very different Light in most Men's Eyes to what he did some Years ago. Indeed were a little innocent Mirth to be indulged on this Occasion, it is really diverting to recollect what absurd and nonsensical Stuff was vented to mislead, and inflame the People. Nay, those patriotic Worthies, the News-Writers not only proclaimed the Downfall of the Commerce of this opulent Kingdom, but also ventured to foretell that a Set of *Cicero*'s would appear, in a Century or two, who (for Want of Employ) were to conduct inquisitive Strangers over the Ruins of this our once great Metropolis. “Here, Gentlemen, stood “*Westminster Hall*, and adjoining to it was the
“Parliament

“Parliament House: Let us now go and view “another famous Ruin. Here, Gentlemen, “was a Place called the *Royal Exchange*, where “Merchants used to meet, when Merchants “lived in this Country.” Kind and instructive! And you too, my ingenious Doctor, you, a Writer on moral Obligation, could condescend to lend your assisting Hand in this good Work: You too could think it not below your Dignity to pronounce a Kind of funeral Oration over the *dead Corpse* of the Bank of *England*. Poor Bank of *England*! Unfortunately taken captive in the *American* War, and afterwards scalped, and put to Death in cold Blood by an *American* Sachem, one Dr. PRICE. But surely, Sir, you was sadly taken in to be made such a Tool, to bedaub your Fingers in such dirty Work. Your pretended grand Discovery is, after all, no more than this—that when a Man [a Corporation of Men makes no Difference, as to the Truth of the Case] shall mortgage his Lands, or pledge his Personals for more than they are worth, such Mortgage or Pledge will *so far* not be *valid*.—Indeed! *tuumne hoc obsecro? vetus credidi*.—And if he singly, or the Corporation jointly, shall divide such *bad* Mortgages or Pledges into lesser, called Notes of Hand, Bills, Bank-Bills, &c. &c. each of these smaller *bad* Mortgages or Pledges will be proportionably

proportionably *bad* likewise. Wonderfully great and new! And, as you said of one of Mr. BURKE'S Speeches, admirable and excellent! Go on therefore, great Sir, and continue to illumine our dark Minds with more Discoveries. Go on, and prove to a Demonstration, that a Guinea, for Instance, if it should be light in Weight, or of a greater Alloy than the Standard, is *so far a bad Guinea*.

BUT, my kind Instructor, while you are busied in these *abstruse* Investigations, you omitted to mention one Thing, which perhaps is the only Thing worth mentioning in this Affair, viz. That the great national Security against being over-run with Paper Money, or Paper Credit is, that no Banker's Note, not even a Note of the Bank of *England*, can be offered in Payment as a *legal Tender*. Now this you omitted to mention. But why? Even because your favourite *honest Americans* had made a Law formerly, and have since made a similar Law, declaring that Paper Money may be offered as a *legal Tender*, and that it must be accepted, under Penalty of *Death*, as a full Discharge. [See this iniquitous Proceeding exposed in several of my Tracts, and particularly in Tract V. dedicated to the Continental Congress.] Now Dr. PRICE chose to conceal this important Circumstance,
But,

But still some perhaps will be apt to ask, Why is Dr. PRICE so full of Wrath particularly against the Bank of *England*? And what Part of their Conduct has stirred up his patriotic Indignation to such a Degree? I will inform them by telling the *whole* Truth respecting a certain Transaction, where the Doctor contents himself with telling a little Truth, a very little indeed, omitting every Circumstance, which would have placed the Subject in a just and proper Light.

EVER since the Reign of Queen ANN (and how long before cannot be ascertained) it was customary with Government, when in Want, to get Money advanced by rich Individuals on the Credit of the Land and Malt Tax; which Sums were repaid, as soon as the Money arising from these Taxes were received and brought into the Exchequer. This Practice was attended with bad Consequences. For first, the Money was generally borrowed on very disadvantageous Terms; the Lenders making a Prey of the Public in Proportion as the Exigencies of the State became *more apparent*: And secondly, if the Lenders found themselves distressed for Money before the Time of Payment of the Taxes came round, which was frequently the Case; they used to send, or carry these exchequer Tallies to the ALLEY in order to
G raise

raise Money on them. This last Circumstance was, not only very *detrimental*, but very *disgraceful* also to Government. Detrimental it was, because in the Event, it enhanced the Premium for Lending; and *disgraceful*, because it exposed the Exigencies of the State to our Enemies abroad, and to every wanton Scribler, or malevolent Incendiary at Home. [But N. B. Dr. PRICE did not chuse to utter a Syllable of all this.] Therefore the Bank and the Ministry agreed, that they [the Bank] should advance the Money on more moderate Terms than ever: And that none of these exchequer Tallies should appear at Market to be hawked about for the future. Therefore now they are never seen in Public, as heretofore, but being safely locked up in the Bank, are delivered out, and cancelled in Proportion as the Money is brought in. This Account I had from a worthy Person, who certainly ought to know; because he is principally concerned in the Transaction. He is a Dissenter likewise, but a very different one from the modern Stamp, and not at all infected with the present dissenting Madness.

HOWEVER, this Lending of Money to Government, on such *easy* and *honourable* Terms, is the Offence which has incensed Dr. PRICE, and all the Patriots. And therefore they all ex-claim

claim bitterly against it. Why do the Ministry borrow at all? Why not stay 'till the Taxes are received, and 'till regular Payments can be made? Why so lavish of the public Treasure? Why so like a spendthrift young Heir not of Age, wasting the Estate before he is in Possession of it? &c. &c. Doctor I will tell you: It is because your whole Faction (whether you are personally concerned, you best can tell) have put Government to such enormous Expences, by exciting the *Americans to rebel*, that the Ministry are forced [unless they will adopt my Scheme] to anticipate the public Revenue, after the Manner above described:---I say, *by exciting the Americans to REBEL*: For the *Americans* themselves declare, that they never would have gone such Lengths, had they not received the most *solemn* and *ample* Assurances from your Party, that vigorous Measures would be taken to support them. Therefore I assert, that the *Americans* have been *betrayed* into Rebellion by the false Hopes given them by their dastardly Encouragers here at Home:---And consequently, that every Drop of Blood, and every Shilling of Money expended in this Quarrel, ought to be put to the Account of your Faction of *Republican Bigots*, and *Mock Patriots*. I do not say indeed, that any of you wished, that the *Americans* would have thrown off the Mask so soon, and have

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 have declared with such Vehemence against all
 kingly Government. No, this is what you did
 not wish, because you wanted to have made
Tools of them, in order to have brought your
 own Schemes of *more Liberty, and a better Consti-
 tution first to bear.* And then:---But they were too
 precipitate, and both of you have been disap-
 pointed in your Turns:---You---by their Over-
 Eagerness for attaining the wished-for Object of
 a *free and equal Republic*: And *they*,---by your
 Tardiness and Procrastination.

HOWEVER, from what has been said, the intel-
 ligent Reader will be at no Loss in comprehend-
 ing the true Cause and Foundation of the Dis-
 pleasure of the whole Party against the Bank of
England. And whilst I am on the Subject, I
 will add still one Thing more concerning Paper-
 Money, [the Importance of it being a sufficient
 Apology] viz. That Paper Money, and Copper
 Money have a great Affinity with each other re-
 specting the present Subject. For the grand
 Security against being over-run with Copper
 Money, and against being drained of our Gold
 and Silver by such Money, is, that Copper is
 no *legal Tender* of Payment, excepting to a
 small Amount. Therefore no Person, as he is
 not obliged by Law, will take much more of
 Copper Money than he sees convenient. Con-
 sequently

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frequently Copper Money never is, and never
 can be poured in upon us in any alarming Quan-
 tities. But the patriotic Dean SWIFT had almost
 raised a Rebellion in *Ireland* under the like
 shameful Pretence, with that which is now
 maintained by the patriotic Dr. PRICE, viz.
 That Copper Money and Paper Money will drain
 us of our Gold and Silver; *and, oh sad! sad!
 leave not a Wreck behind.* And thus it appears
 but too plainly, that *Mock-Patriots* in every
 Country, in every Age, and of every Denomina-
 tion, are much the same. Therefore to return.

As the great Cry, that our Trade is in
 Danger, is now proved to be a Phantom; and
 as it is apparent all over the Kingdom, that
 Trade was never brisker, (indeed too brisk to
 last, for when there is such an excessive De-
 mand for Goods, as at present, they are never
 well made; and that brings on a national
 Discredit) therefore the Objections against a
 Separation are greatly lessened; at the same
 Time, that the Difficulties and Discourage-
 ments in carrying on this War, are found to
 multiply every Day. Now these two Circum-
 stances, operating together, will of themselves
 (not to mention other Reasons) necessarily bring
 about in Time, tho' not immediately, the happy
 Event of a total Separation.



CONCLUSION.

THUS I have at last gone through every Objection, which can be thought worthy of Attention. In regard to which I am more afraid, that my judicious Readers will think I have been unnecessarily prolix, than that I have omitted any material Circumstance. However, as I am now taking my Leave of the Subject, I am persuaded, that it is better to err in the *Excess*, than in the *Defect*. For by this Redundancy of Answers, there is the less Pretence for any one to say, that his Objections have not been considered, and attended to.

As to the Treatment, which the Author has received on this Occasion, it is not *new* to him, nor altogether unexpected. In his younger Years, he received much Ill-usage from the * Jacobites: He had therefore no great Reason

to

* In the Year 1745, the Year of the Rebellion, I wrote a little Tract, which, with the Approbation, and by the Advice of the Recorder of *Bristol* (afterwards Judge FOSTER) was printed, and given away in great Numbers. The Title

to expect much better from the *Republicans*. Violent Extremes are frequently observed to beget each other. And on the Extinction of Jacobitism, it was perceived very early by many discerning Persons, that an opposite Error had luxuriantly shot up; and that we should soon have another Enemy from a different Quarter to encounter with: An Enemy, who would prove so much the more dangerous, as his outward Appearance, and Garb were much the same with our own, so that he was not at first Sight to be distinguished from us. This Observation induced the late excellent Judge FOSTER sometimes to say (and I think there is a Passage similar to it to be met with in his Works) "I do not approve of the Notion, that the Right of

Title of it was, 'A Calm Address to all Parties in Religion on the score of the present Rebellion.' It was so well received at Court, that the Government re-printed, and circulated it, together with the Archbishop of *York's* Speech, all over the Nation. At that Juncture I was pretty well instructed in a very material Point, viz. What were the Numbers and Strength of *reputed* Jacobites in *Bristol*, and in the neighbouring Counties. And I have had the Mortification to find, that not a few of those, who formerly wore all the *Insignia*, and drank all the *Healts* of Jacobitism, now give as evident Proofs of their being Republicans. Perverse Infatuation! as if there was no Medium between *Scylla* and *Carybdis*! And that the Reverse of Wrong is always *Right*! Dr. PRICE's Book is as much in Vogue at present, as Dr. SACHEVEREL's Nonsense was formerly with these Gentry.

G 4

" Election,

“ electing, and deposing Kings should be made
 “ the Subject of daily Conversation. This Right
 “ is one of those desperate Remedies, which never
 “ should be administered but in desperate Cases;
 “ and therefore is not fit for vulgar Use, or
 “ common Practice. We all know, that the
 “ Revolution was a necessary Work; but there
 “ is a wide Difference between Necessity, and
 “ Wantonness. When therefore I hear, that
 “ Men are for ever inculcating the Duty of put-
 “ ting revolutionary Principles in *Practice*, with-
 “ out regard to Times and Circumstances, and
 “ whether in Season, or out of Season; I al-
 “ ways suspect, that these Men mean to say,
 “ we wish to over-turn the present Constitution,
 “ and to erect a Republic in its Room!”

NAY more, this *constitutional Whig*, and *truly*
great Lawyer had the Courage to maintain, in a
 solemn and judicial Charge, the Prerogative of
 the Crown in the great Affair of Pressing; not-
 withstanding the popular Prejudices were so
 strong, and the *Mock-Patriots* so clamorous
 against it. And when he printed his Speech, I
 had the Honour of dispersing many Copies of
 this *unanswerable Tract*, as soon as printed, and
 long before it was published with the rest of his
 Works in the Folio Edition. But I hear, that
 one, or two of our *Law-Patriots* [whose seditious,
 and

and inflammatory Harangues have been regarded
 in *America* as the Oracles of Law] have spoken
 contemptuously of this Performance, and have
 commended the *Americans* for refusing at *all*
Times, as well as at present, to pay any Regard
 to Judge FOSTER'S Law-Authorities. If this is
 the Case, let them speak out, let them publish
 their Objections, and set their Names to what
 they publish.—Time will shew the rest.

As a Clergyman, it is often objected to me,
 that I am a mercenary Wretch (or as Mr.
 BURKE was pleased to phrase it, a *Court Vermin*)
 writing for Preferment. This is very hard and
 cruel, after so many solemn Declarations to the
 contrary. Let it therefore be observed, that
 whereas I had often said before, I would never
 directly, or indirectly *seek* for Preferment; I
 will here add, once for all, that I will never
accept of any, even tho' offered to, and pressed
 upon me.

SO HELP ME GOD.

HAVING now, I think, said enough on this
 Subject to convince those, who are capable of
 Conviction, I shall proceed to observe in gene-
 ral, that of all Controversies agitated in modern
 Times, this about the Colonies appears to have
 been carried on by their Friends and Advocates
 with

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 with the most Virulence, and with the least Re-
 gard to Truth and Decency. [No bad Argument
 this, in my Opinion, independently of others,
 why we should wish for a Separation, in Order
 to put an End to such Procedures.] As to *De-*
centy, indeed there was not much Ground to ex-
 pect it from the *common Herd* of Mock Patriots,
 and republican Bigots, considering who they
 are, what are their Aims and of what Materials
 most of them are made: And still less was the
 Prospect that they would pay a due Regard to
 TRUTH. But nevertheless, as they have
 Writers of Eminence among them, and such
 Writers too, who before this contagious Disor-
 der, had maintained a spotless Character; one
 might have hoped for better Things from *them*.
 And yet, Reader, what a falling away has there
 been even in the best of them! Dr. PRICE him-
 self not excepted!

IN my Letter to Mr. BURKE (whose unpro-
 voked Usage compelled me to censure and ex-
 pose him, as I am now constrained to do by Dr.
 PRICE) I observed at Page 11, "That in Pro-
 cess of Time the Notion, that Dominion was
 founded in Grace, grew out of Fashion [with
 the Antinomian Fanatics of *New-England*,]
 but that the Colonists continued to be Repub-
 licans still, only Republicans of another Com-
 plection.

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"plection. They are now Mr. LOCKE's Disci-
 ples, who has laid down such Maxims in his
 Treatise on Government, that if they were to
 be executed according to the Letter, and in
 the Manner the *Americans* pretend to under-
 stand them, they would necessarily *unhinge* every
 Government upon Earth. I shall at present
 mention only four of them." [Which I did,
 quoting both Book, and Chapter from whence I
 made my Extract.]

Now an open and ingenuous Opponent had
 first to say, if he thought proper to say any
 Thing, that the *Americans* were *not* Mr. LOCKE's
 Disciples, and to give his Reasons for that Affir-
 mation:—Or, secondly, if he allowed them to be
 his Disciples, that Mr. LOCKE's Positions were
 not so extravagant, and so detrimental to the
 Peace of Society, as I had represented them:—
 Or, thirdly, that taking them even according to
 my Quotation, they were to be justified, and
 ought to be defended, by every true Friend
 to the Rights of Mankind:—I say, an open and
 ingenuous Opponent would have adopted one
 or other of these Modes of Proceeding; because
 each of them is free from the low Cunning of
 Equivocation, and mental Reservation.

BUT what Method doth Dr. PRICE adopt in
 this Case? He adopts neither of the former;
 but

but wheels about, and attacks the Dean of *Glocester* under the Cover of ambiguous Expressions, capable of different Meanings;---a Manceuvre fit only for a bad Cause! Dr. PRICE's Words are these [Page 93, 1st Edit.] "One of the MOST VIOLENT ENEMIES of the Colonies has pronounced them all Mr. LOCKE's Disciples:---Glorious Title! How shameful it is to make War against them for *that* Reason?" Now the obvious and natural Meaning of these Words, and the only Meaning, in which Dr. PRICE wished that his Readers should understand him, is, that the Person who had called the Colonists Mr. LOCKE's Disciples, had likewise recommended the making War against them for *that* Reason; that is, because they were Mr. LOCKE's Disciples. Now, as every Tittle of this Accusation is *notoriously false*; and as all my violent Enmity against the Colonies rises no higher than to wish to throw them off, leaving them to themselves, and to their own Imaginations,---What can Dr. PRICE say to these Things? And how can he clear himself from the Guilt of being a *false Accuser*? I profess, I know of no Salvo, no Subterfuge whatever. For either he must submit to this Imputation, or lie under another, which, by adding Crime to Crime, and chicaning away the Meaning of the Passages, is much worse. And then his Defence and Vin-

dication

dication would run much in the following Strain: "I did not mention Dr. TUCKER by Name, therefore he needed not to have applied the Passage to himself." But, Sir, the Circumstances prove, that you meant him. "Do they? Why then an *Enemy* might signify only an *Adversary*, such as Dr. TUCKER certainly is." But a *most violent Enemy*; what can that signify? "A *violent Enemy* may signify a *violent Adversary*." Still, Sir, you cannot come off even by the Help of this Salvo; for you add immediately afterwards, "How shameful it is to make *War* against the *Americans* for being Mr. LOCKE's Disciples;" therefore this *violent Enemy* was likewise for *making War* against them, according to your State of the Case? "Oh no: I had there turned the Discourse by a Figure in Rhetoric called *Apostrophe*; and was then thinking of the bloody-minded Ministry, and not of Dr. TUCKER." Bravo!--The Order of the *Jesuits* is now extinct: And certainly there was no Need of continuing them any longer, even for teaching the Art of Chicane and Equivocation, if we can find such *adroit* Professors among Protestants themselves. As to the Apellation, *glorious* Title! which Dr. PRICE bestows on all Mr. LOCKE's Disciples; surely it is not very consistent for him, of all Men, who disclaims paying *any* Deference in

Matters

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Matters of Argument and Reason to *any* * human Authority; when it makes against him; yet to exult so much on the Authority of a single Man, when it makes for him: But let this pass at present, in Order that we may not anticipate what may further be said on the Subject of Mr. LOCKE. Indeed it is here particularly urged, as a *distinct* Consideration, that he was the great Friend of the Liberties of Mankind: And I am ready to allow, that such a Character is a *glorious Title*, when truly and eminently deserved. But a mere Assertion is no Proof. Therefore the great Question is still remaining, viz. In what Respects did he so eminently deserve to be stiled the Friend of, and Champion for the Liberties of Mankind? Now 'till this can be fairly decided, surely it would be wrong to build so high an Encomium as Dr. PRICE has done, on a mere Supposition. In the mean Time, he must give me Leave to mention one Circumstance; which, according to my Ideas (I will

* In my Letter to Dr. KIPPIS (printed for RIVINGTON) the Case is stated; in what Respects, and under what Limitations; Human Authority is admissible in all Controversies whatever, religious, civil, philosophical, &c. &c. And it is further shewn, that the Church of *England* lays no other Stress on, or further claim to, any Authority than what is perfectly agreeable to the Rules of Procedure in all the Affairs of Human Life;—and indeed *without which Degree* of it; Human Affairs could not be carried on.

not

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not answer for the Doctor's) makes no shining Part in the Character of Mr. LOCKE, as the Patron, Protector, and Guardian of the common Rights of all Mankind. In his fundamental Laws of the Province of *Carolina*, he lays it down as an invariable Maxim [Constitution CX.] “That every Freeman of *Carolina* shall have ABSOLUTE POWER AND AUTHORITY over his Negro Slaves.” And at the Conclusion of this Code of Laws, he adds these remarkable Words:—“These Constitutions, in Number 120, and every Part thereof, shall be and remain the *sacred* and *unalterable* Form and Rule of the Government of *Carolina* FOR EVER. Witness our Hands and Seals the 1st Day of *March*, 1669.” Such is the Language of the humane Mr. LOCKE! the great and glorious Assertor of the natural Rights and Liberties of Mankind.

Now I have observed already both in this, and in former Treatises, that Republicans in general are for leveling all Distinctions above them, and at the same Time for tyrannizing over those, whom Chance or Misfortune have placed below them. And most undoubtedly a stronger Proof of this Conduct could not have been given, than what is contained in the above Assertion of Mr. LOCKE. But here I foresee, that an Excuse, or

Apology

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Apology (such as it is) will be attempted to be made: "Mr. LOCKE was then a young Man, " as appears by the Date of this Code of Laws " [1669] And as he lived under the Reign of a " *Tyrannical* STUART [CHARLES II.] it is no " Wonder, that he should be a little tainted " with the Vices of the Times." Well [waving at present the Consideration, that *to follow a Multitude to do Evil* is no just Excuse] let us attend this great Man to the Æra of Liberty, and to the Times subsequent to the Revolution: Nay, let us see, what were his real Sentiments concerning Slavery in that very Treatise, which was said to have been wrote in Defence of the Revolution: A strange Defence it was! I mean his Treatise on Government. For in that very Treatise, Book 2, Chap. 7, of *political or civil Society*. We find the following astonishing Position. " There is another Sort of Servants, " which by a peculiar Name we call SLAVES, " who being Captives taken in a *just War*, are " *by the Right of Nature*, subjected to the ABSOLUTE DOMINION, AND ARBITRARY POWER " *of their Masters.*"

READER, I can proceed no farther; for the Point is here decided, as far as the Judgment of Mr. LOCKE can decide it. [And if he has maintained Opinions in other distant Parts of his Book,

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Book, which *seem* to contradict this Position, I am not to be answerable for his *seeming* Contradiction.] Nothing therefore now remains, but to determine, whether this, or any other War carried, or to be carried on, is *just*, or *unjust*. And two Sets of Casuists will always make quick Dispatch with that Matter: Our *Guiney* Captains in one Instance, and such Party-Writers as Dr. PRICE in the other. Indeed Dr. PRICE has already determined, that the War on the Part of the *Americans* is *merely defensive*, consequently *just* and *necessary*. Therefore it must follow according to the above Position of Mr. LOCKE, that every *Englishman* taken Prisoner in the present War, is by the *Right of Nature*, to be *subject to the absolute Dominion and arbitrary Power of his American Master*. And as to the *Guiney* Captains, they too can easily find as good an Apology as the Doctor's, for making War upon the poor Negroes, or for causing others to make War against them, in order to procure Slaves. Consequently, Blacks, or Whites, the Inhabitants of *Africa*, or of *Great-Britain* are, according to this comfortable Interpretation of the Law of Nature, and the Rights of Conquest, under the same Condemnation: And nothing but *Force* is wanting to justify the *selling us all for Slaves*. Glorious Titles these! Glorious

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Deeds!

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Deeds! All the antient Republicans, *Romans,*
Athenians, Spartans, &c. &c. reasoned, and act-
ed exactly after the same Manner.



POSTSCRIPT.

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P O S T S C R I P T.

THE foregoing Treatise was finished, and a great Part sent to the Press, before the News arrived of the Success of his Majesty's Forces against the *American* Rebels. Probably this Circumstance may make a great Alteration in some Men's Minds, respecting the Necessity or Expediency of a total Separation. But, alas! arguing from mere Contingencies and the Chance of War, is at best a very precarious Method, and is the more fatally delusive, as it is so flattering to human Vanity. Indeed it has no Weight at all, if put in the Balance against the natural, and therefore in the End the *necessary* Course of Things. It was certainly as much the Interest of the *English* Nation to have abandoned *France*, immediately after the shining Victories of *Agincourt* and *Cressy*, as ever it was either before, or since. But, alas! who is so wise and prudent as to make Cessions immediately, after having gained a Victory, or made a Conquest?

THE only proper Inference to be drawn from our present Success is, to terminate the War
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with more Speed, and with greater Reputation. It is now wholly in our Power to provide proper Settlements for the loyal Part of the *Americans* in the four central Provinces [see Pages 81--83] of *New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania*; which Provision and Settlements perhaps it may not be in our Power to make some Years hence, or after a Reverse of Fortune. Therefore we ought to embrace the present Opportunity 'ere it be lost; and CONCLUDE THE WAR. National Interest, national Honour, good Policy, and the Principles of permanent, extensive Commerce all unite in this Point.



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2. That all Taxes whatsoever [even those which are for the necessary Support of the State, and for the Payment of its Debts] ought to be considered as mere Free-Gfts, and voluntary Donations.
3. That in the Affairs of Taxation and Legislation, if any Person can have a Right to tax another, or to make Laws to bind him, without his own Consent, in *some* Degree, he must have a Right to tax and bind him in *all* Degrees: Or in other Words, that there can be no Medium found out between *discretionary Power*---and *arbitrary Power*; they being synonymous Terms.
4. That the Enjoyment of Protection, and of all the Benefits of a social State, doth not oblige any Man to obey that State any longer than he pleases; unless he has bound himself by a special Covenant so to do.
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