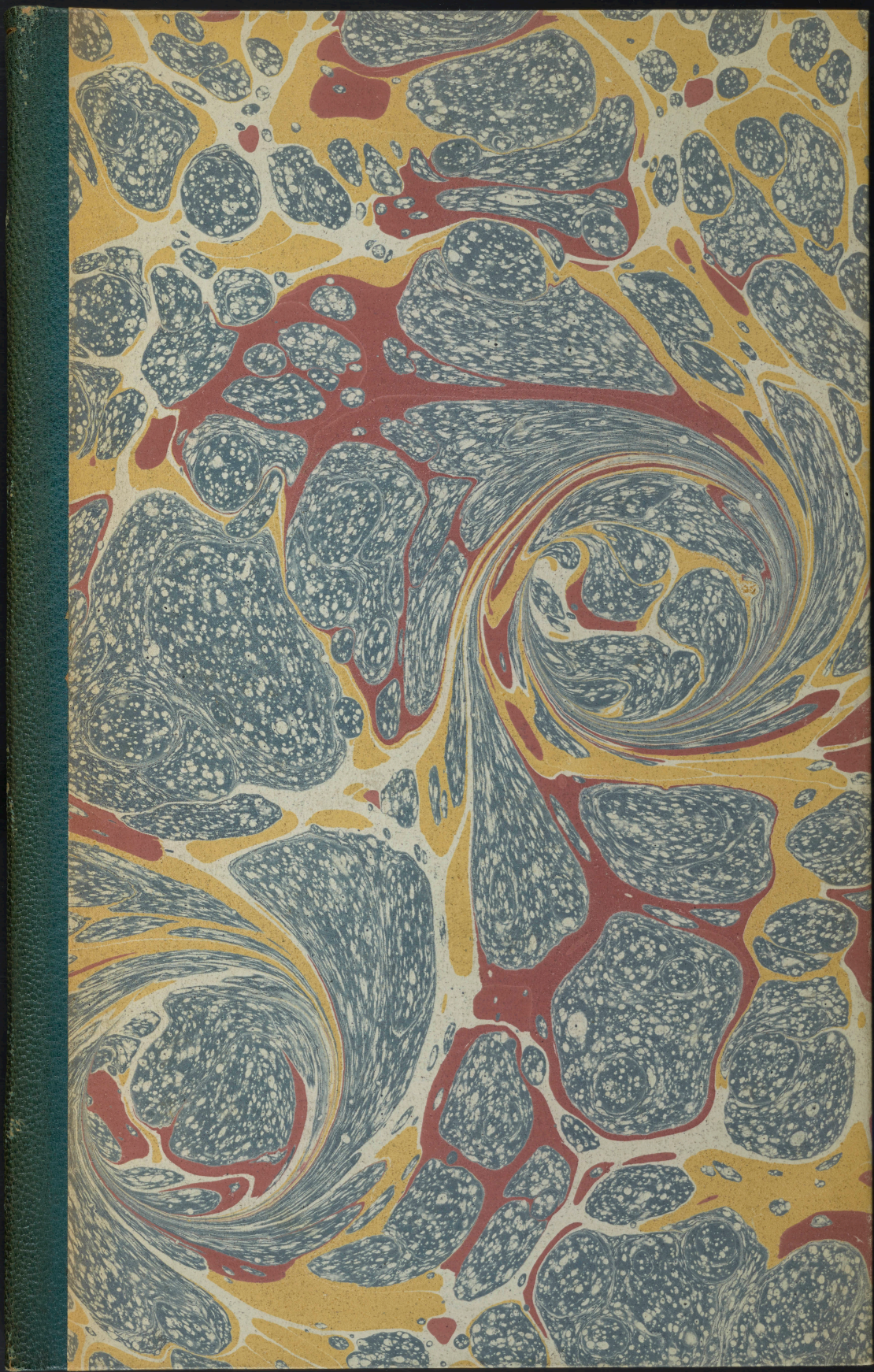

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LETTERS

FROM A

FARMER

IN

PENNSYLVANIA,

TO THE

INHABITANTS

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES.

By John Dickinson Esqr.

THE SECOND EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA:

Printed by DAVID HALL, and WILLIAM SELLERS.
MDCCLXVIII.

LETTERS

FROM A

FARMER, &c.

LETTER I.

My dear COUNTRYMEN,

I AM a *Farmer*, ſettled, after a variety of fortunes, near the banks of the river *Delaware*, in the province of *Pennſylvania*. I received a liberal education, and have been engaged in the buſy ſcenes of life; but am now convinced, that a man may be as happy without buſtle, as with it. My farm is ſmall; my ſervants are few, and good; I have a little money at intereſt; I wiſh for no more; my employment in my own affairs is eaſy; and with a contented grateful mind, undiſturbed by worldly hopes or fears, relating to myſelf, I am compleating the number of days allotted to me by divine goodneſs.

BEING generally maſter of my time, I ſpend a good deal of it in a library, which I think the moſt valuable part of my ſmall eſtate; and being acquainted with two or three gentlemen of abilities and learning, who honor me with their friendſhip, I have acquired, I believe, a greater knowledge in hiſtory, and the laws and conſtitution of my country, than is generally attained by men of my claſs, many of them not being ſo fortunate as I have been in the opportunities of getting information.

FROM my infancy I was taught to love *humanity* and *liberty*. Enquiry and experience have ſince confirmed my reverence for the leſſons then given me, by convincing me more fully of their truth and excellence. Benevolence towards mankind, excites wiſhes for their welfare, and ſuch wiſhes endear the means of fulfilling them. *Theſe* can be found in liberty only, and therefore her ſacred cauſe ought to be eſpouſed by every man, on every occaſion, to the utmoſt of his power. As a charitable, but poor perſon does not withhold his *mite*, becauſe he cannot relieve *all* the diſtreſſes of the

miſerable, ſo ſhould not any honeſt man ſuppreſs his ſentiments concerning freedom, however ſmall their influence is likely to be. Perhaps he " may touch ſome wheel, * " that will have an effect greater than he could reaſonably expect.

THESE being my ſentiments, I am encouraged to offer to you, my countrymen, my thoughts on ſome late tranſactions, that appear to me to be of the utmoſt importance to you. Conſcious of my own defects, I have waited ſome time, in expectation of ſeeing the ſubject treated by perſons much better qualified for the taſk; but being therein diſappointed, and apprehenſive that longer delays will be injurious, I venture at length to requeſt the attention of the public, praying, that theſe lines may be *read* with the ſame zeal for the happineſs of *Britiſh America*, with which they were *wrote*.

WITH a good deal of ſurprize I have obſerved, that little notice has been taken of an act of parliament, as injurious in its principle to the liberties of theſe colonies, as the *Stamp-Act* was: I mean the act for ſuſpending the legiſlation of *New-York*.

THE aſſembly of that government complied with a former act of parliament, requiring certain proviſions to be made for the troops in *America*, in every particular, I think, except the articles of ſalt, pepper and vinegar. In my opinion they acted imprudently, conſidering all circumſtances, in not complying ſo far as would have given ſatisfaction, as ſeveral colonies did: But my diſlike of their conduct in that inſtance, has not blinded me ſo much, that I cannot plainly perceive, that they have been puniſhed in a manner pernicious to *American* freedom, and juſtly alarming to all the colonies.

IF the *Britiſh* parliament has a legal authority to iſſue an order, that we ſhall furniſh a ſingle article for the troops here, and to compel obedience to *that* order, they have the ſame right to iſſue an order for us to ſupply thoſe troops with arms, cloaths, and every neceſſary; and to compel obedience to *that* order alſo; in ſhort, to lay *any burthens* they pleaſe upon us. What is this but *taxing* us at a *certain ſum*, and leaving to us only the *manner* of raiſing it? How is this mode more tolerable than the *Stamp-Act*? Would that act have appeared more pleaſing to *Americans*, if being ordered thereby to raiſe the ſum total of the taxes, the mighty privilege had been left to them, of ſaying how much ſhould be paid for an inſtrument of writing on paper, and how much for another on parchment?

AN act of parliament, commanding us to do a certain thing, if it has any validity, is a *tax* upon us for the expence that accrues in complying with it; and for this reaſon, I believe, every colony on the continent, that choſe to give a mark of their reſpect for *Great-Britain*, in complying with the act relating to the troops, cautiouſly

* POPE.

cautiouſly avoided the mention of that act, leſt their conduct ſhould be attributed to its ſuppoſed obligation.

THE matter being thus ſtated, the aſſembly of *New-York* either had, or had not, a right to refuſe ſubmiſſion to that act. If they had, and I imagine no *American* will ſay they had not, then the parliament had *no right* to compel them to execute it. If they had not *this right*, they had *no right* to puniſh them for not executing it; and therefore *no right* to ſuſpend their legiſlation, which is a puniſhment. In fact, if the people of *New-York* cannot be legally taxed but by their own repreſentatives, they cannot be legally deprived of the privilege of legiſlation, only for inſiſting on that excluſive privilege of taxation. If they may be legally deprived in ſuch a caſe, of the privilege of legiſlation, why may they not, with equal reaſon, be deprived of every other privilege? Or, why may not every colony be treated in the ſame manner, when any of them ſhall dare to deny their aſſent to any impoſitions, that ſhall be directed? Or what ſignifies the repeal of the *Stamp-Act*, if theſe colonies are to loſe their *other* privileges, by not tamely ſurrendering *that* of taxation?

THERE is one conſideration ariſing from this ſuſpenſion, which is not generally attended to, but ſhews its importance very clearly. It was not *neceſſary* that this ſuſpenſion ſhould be cauſed by an act of parliament. The crown might have reſtrained the governor of *New-York*, even from calling the aſſembly together, by its prerogative in the royal governments. This ſtep, I ſuppoſe, would have been taken, if the conduct of the aſſembly of *New-York* had been regarded as an act of diſobedience *to the crown alone*; but it is regarded as an act of † "diſobedience to the authority of the BRITISH LEGISLATURE." This gives the ſuſpenſion a conſequence vaſtly more affecting. It is a parliamentary aſſertion of the *ſupreme authority* of the *Britiſh* legiſlature over theſe colonies, in *the point of taxation*, and is intended to COMPEL *New-York* into a ſubmiſſion to that authority. It ſeems therefore to me as much a violation of the liberties of the people of that province, and conſequently of all theſe colonies, as if the parliament had ſent a number of regiments to be quartered upon them till they ſhould comply. For it is evident, that the ſuſpenſion is meant as a *compulſion*; and the *method* of compelling is totally indifferent. It is indeed probable, that the ſight of red coats, and the hearing of drums, would have been moſt alarming; becauſe people are generally more influenced by their eyes and ears, than by their reaſon. But whoever ſeriouſly conſiders the matter, muſt perceive that a dreadful ſtroke is aimed at the liberty of theſe colonies. I ſay, of theſe colonies; for the cauſe of *one* is the cauſe of *all*. If the parliament may lawfully deprive *New-York* of any of *her* rights, it may deprive any, or all the other colonies of *their* rights; and nothing can

† See the act of ſuſpenſion.

can poſſibly ſo much encourage ſuch attempts, as a mutual inattention to the intereſts of each other. *To divide, and thus to deſtroy*, is the firſt political maxim in attacking thoſe, who are powerful by their union. He certainly is not a wiſe man, who folds his arms, and repoſes himſelf at home, viewing, with unconcern, the flames that have invaded his neighbour's houſe, without uſing any endeavours to extinguiſh them. When Mr. *Hampden*'s ſhip money cauſe, for *Three Shillings* and *Four-pence*, was tried, all the people of *England*, with anxious expectation, intereſted themſelves in the important deciſion; and when the ſlighteſt point, touching the freedom of *one* colony, is agitated, I earneſtly wiſh, that *all the reſt* may, with equal ardor, ſupport their ſiſter. Very much may be ſaid on this ſubject; but I hope, more at preſent is unneceſſary.

WITH concern I have obſerved, that *two* aſſemblies of this province have ſat and adjourned, without taking any notice of this act. It may perhaps be aſked, what would have been proper for them to do? I am by no means fond of inflammatory meaſures; I deteſt them. I ſhould be ſorry that any thing ſhould be done, which might juſtly diſpleaſe our ſovereign, or our mother country: But a firm, modeſt exertion of a free ſpirit, ſhould never be wanting on public occaſions. It appears to me, that it would have been ſufficient for the aſſembly, to have ordered our agents to repreſent to the King's miniſters, their ſenſe of the ſuſpending act, and to pray for its repeal. Thus we ſhould have borne our teſtimony againſt it; and might therefore reaſonably expect that, on a like occaſion, we might receive the ſame aſſiſtance from the other colonies.

Concordia res parvæ creſcunt.
Small things grow great by concord.

* *Nov.* 5. A FARMER.

* The day of King WILLIAM the Third's landing.

LET-

LETTER II.

My dear COUNTRYMEN,

THERE is another late act of parliament, which appears to me to be unconstitutional, and as destructive to the liberty of these colonies, as that mentioned in my last letter; that is, the act for granting the duties on paper, glass, *&c.*

THE parliament unquestionably possesses a legal authority to *regulate* the trade of *Great-Britain*, and all her colonies. Such an authority is essential to the relation between a mother country and her colonies; and necessary for the common good of all. He, who considers these provinces as states distinct from the *British Empire*, has very slender notions of *justice*, or of their *interests*. We are but parts of a *whole*; and therefore there must exist a power somewhere to preside, and preserve the connection in due order. This power is lodged in the parliament; and we are as much dependent on *Great-Britain*, as a perfectly free people can be on another.

I HAVE looked over *every statute* relating to these colonies, from their first settlement to this time; and I find every one of them founded on this principle, till the *Stamp-Act* administration *. *All before*,

* For the satisfaction of the reader, recitals from the former acts of parliament relating to these colonies are added. By comparing these with the modern acts, he will perceive their great difference in *expression* and *intention*.

The 12th *Cha.* Chap. 18, which forms the foundation of the laws relating to *our* trade, by enacting that certain productions of the colonies should be carried to *England* only, and that no goods shall be imported from the plantations but in ships belonging to *England, Ireland, Wales, Berwick*, or the *Plantations*, *&c.* begins thus: "*For the increase of shipping, and encouragement of the navigation of this nation*, wherein, under the good providence and protection of *GOD*, the wealth, *safety*, and strength of this kingdom is so much concerned," *&c.*

The 15th *Cha.* II. Chap. 7, enforcing the same regulation, assigns these reasons for it. "In regard his Majesty's plantations, beyond the seas, are inhabited and peopled by his subjects of this his kingdom of *England*; *for the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between them*, and keeping them in a firmer dependence upon it, and rendering them yet more beneficial and advantageous unto it, *in the further employment and increase of* English *shipping and seamen*, vent of *English* woollen, and other manufactures and commodities, *rendering the navigation to and from the same more safe and cheap*, and making this kingdom a *staple*, not only of the commodities of those plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places *for the supplying of them*; and it being the *usage* of other nations to keep their plantations trade to themselves," *&c.*

The 25th *Cha.* II. Chap. 7, made expressly "*for the better securing the plantation trade*," which imposes duties on certain commodities exported from one colony to another, mentions this cause for imposing them: "Whereas by one act, passed in the 12th year of your Majesty's reign, intituled, An act for *encouragement of shipping and navigation*, and by several other laws, passed since that

before, are calculated to regulate trade, and preſerve or promote a mutually beneficial intercourſe between the ſeveral conſtituent parts of the empire; and though many of them impoſed duties on trade, yet thoſe duties were always impoſed *with deſign* to reſtrain the commerce of one part, that was injurious to another, and thus to promote

that time, it is permitted to ſhip, *&c.* ſugars, tobacco, *&c.* of the growth, *&c.* of any of your Majeſty's plantations in *America*, *&c.* from the places of their growth, *&c.* to any other of your Majeſty's plantations in thoſe parts, *&c.* and that *without paying cuſtom for the ſame*, either at the lading or unlading the ſaid commodities, by means whereof the trade and navigation in thoſe commodities, from one plantation to another, is greatly increaſed, and the inhabitants of divers of thoſe colonies, *not contenting themſelves with being ſupplied with thoſe commodities for their own uſe, free from all cuſtoms* (while the ſubjects of this your kingdom of *England* have paid great cuſtoms and impoſitions for what of them hath been ſpent here) *but, contrary to the expreſs letter of the aforeſaid laws, have brought into divers parts of* Europe great quantities thereof, and do alſo vend great quantities thereof to the ſhipping of other nations, who bring them into divers parts of *Europe*, to the great hurt and diminution of your Majeſty's cuſtoms, and of the *trade* and *navigation* of this your kingdom; FOR THE PREVENTION THEREOF, *&c.*

The 7th and 8th *Will.* III. Chap. 22, intituled, "An act for preventing frauds, and regulating abuſes in the plantation trade," recites that, "notwithſtanding divers acts, *&c.* great abuſes are daily committed *to the prejudice of the* Engliſh *navigation, and the loſs of a great part of the plantation trade* to this kingdom, by the *artifice* and *cunning* of ill diſpoſed perſons; FOR REMEDY WHEREOF, *&c.* And whereas in ſome of his Majeſty's *American* plantations, a doubt or miſconſtruction has ariſen upon the before mentioned act, made in the 25th year of the reign of King *Charles* II. whereby certain duties are laid upon the commodities therein enumerated (which by law may be tranſported from one plantation to another, for the ſupply of each others wants) *as if* the ſame were, by the payment of thoſe duties in one plantation, diſcharged from giving the ſecurities intended by the aforeſaid acts, made in the 12th, 22d and 23d years of the reign of King *Charles* the II. and conſequently be at liberty to go to any foreign market in *Europe*," *&c.*

The 6th *Anne*, Chap. 37, reciting the advancement of trade, and encouragement of ſhips of war, *&c.* grants to the captors the property of all prizes carried into *America*, ſubject to ſuch cuſtoms and duties, as if the ſame had been firſt imported into any part of *Great-Britain*, and from thence exported, *&c.*

This was a *gift to perſons acting under commiſſions from the crown*, and therefore it was reaſonable that the *terms* preſcribed in that gift, ſhould be complied with---more eſpecially as the payment of ſuch duties was intended to give a preference to the productions of *Britiſh* colonies, over thoſe of other colonies. However being found inconvenient to the colonies, about four years afterwards, this act was, *for that reaſon*, ſo far repealed, that by another act "all prize goods, imported into any part of *Great-Britain*, from any of the plantations, were made liable to ſuch duties only in *Great-Britain*, as in caſe they had been of the growth and produce of the plantations."

The 6th *Geo.* II. Chap. 13, which impoſes duties on foreign rum, ſugar and melaſſes, imported into the colonies, ſhews the reaſons thus----"Whereas the welfare and proſperity of your Majeſty's ſugar colonies in *America*, are of the greateſt conſequence and importance to the *trade*, *navigation* and *ſtrength* of this kingdom; and whereas the planters of the ſaid ſugar colonies, have of late years *fallen into ſuch great diſcouragements*, that they are unable to improve or carry on the ſugar trade, *upon an equal footing* with the foreign ſugar colonies, *without ſome advantage and relief be given to them from* Great-Britain: FOR REMEDY

promote the general welfare. The raiſing a revenue thereby was never intended. Thus the King, by his judges in his courts of juſtice, impoſes fines, which all together amount to a very conſiderable ſum, and contribute to the ſupport of government: But this is merely a conſequence ariſing from reſtrictions, that only meant to keep peace, and prevent confuſion; and ſurely a man would argue very looſely, who ſhould conclude from hence, that the King has a right to levy money in general upon his ſubjects. Never did the *Britiſh* parliament, till the period above mentioned, think of impoſing duties in *America*, FOR THE PURPOSE OF RAISING A REVENUE. Mr. *Greenville* firſt introduced this language, in the preamble to the 4th of *Geo.* III. Chap. 15, which has theſe words---" And whereas it is juſt and neceſſary that A REVENUE BE RAISED IN YOUR MAJESTY'S SAID DOMINIONS IN AMERICA, *for defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and ſecuring the ſame:* We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, THE COMMONS OF GREAT-BRITAIN, in parliament aſſembled, being deſirous to make ſome proviſion in this preſent ſeſſion of parliament, TOWARDS RAISING THE SAID REVENUE IN AMERICA, have reſolved to GIVE and GRANT unto your Majeſty the ſeveral rates and duties herein after mentioned," *&c.*

A FEW months after came the *Stamp-Act*, which reciting this, proceeds in the ſame ſtrange mode of expreſſion, thus----" And whereas it is juſt and neceſſary, that proviſion be made FOR RAISING A FURTHER REVENUE WITHIN YOUR MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS IN AMERICA, *towards defraying the ſaid expences*, we your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the COMMONS OF GREAT-BRITAIN, *&c.* GIVE and GRANT," *&c.* as before.

THE laſt act, granting duties upon paper, *&c.* carefully purſues theſe modern precedents. The preamble is, " Whereas it is expedient THAT A REVENUE SHOULD BE RAISED IN YOUR MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS IN AMERICA, *for making a more certain and adequate proviſion for defraying the charge of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the ſupport of civil government in ſuch provinces, where it ſhall be found neceſſary; and towards the further defraying the expences of defending, protecting and ſecuring the ſaid dominions*, we your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the COMMONS OF GREAT-BRITAIN, *&c.* GIVE and GRANT," *&c.* as before.

HERE we may obſerve an authority *expreſly* claimed and exerted to impoſe duties on theſe colonies; not for the regulation of trade;

MEDY WHEREOF, AND FOR THE GOOD AND WELFARE OF YOUR MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS," *&c.*

The 29th *Geo.* II. Chap. 26, and the 1ſt *Geo.* III. Chap. 9, which continue the 6th *Geo.* II. Chap. 13, declare, that the ſaid act hath, by experience, been found *uſeful* and *beneficial*, *&c.* Theſe are all the moſt conſiderable ſtatutes relating to the commerce of the colonies; and it is thought to be utterly unneceſſary to add any obſervations to theſe extracts, to prove that they were all intended *ſolely as regulations of trade.*

not for the preſervation or promotion of a mutually beneficial intercourſe between the ſeveral conſtituent parts of the empire, heretofore the *ſole objects* of parliamentary inſtitutions; *but for the ſingle purpoſe of levying money upon us.*

THIS I call an * innovation; and a moſt dangerous innovation. It may perhaps be objected, that *Great-Britain* has a right to lay what duties ſhe pleaſes upon her † exports, and it makes no difference to us, whether they are paid here or there.

To this I anſwer. Theſe colonies require many things for their uſe, which the laws of *Great-Britain* prohibit them from getting any where but from her. Such are paper and glaſs.

THAT we may legally be bound to pay any *general* duties on theſe commodities relative to the regulation of trade, is granted; but we being *obliged by her laws* to take them from *Great-Britain*, any *ſpecial* duties impoſed on their exportation *to us only*, *with intention to raiſe a revenue from us only*, are as much *taxes* upon us, as thoſe impoſed by the *Stamp-Act*.

WHAT is the difference in *ſubſtance* and *right*, whether the ſame ſum is raiſed upon us by the rates mentioned in the *Stamp-Act*, on the *uſe* of paper, or by theſe duties, on the *importation* of it. It is only the edition of a former book, ſhifting a ſentence from the *end* to the *beginning*.

SUPPOSE the duties were made payable in *Great-Britain?*

IT ſignifies nothing to us, whether they are to be paid here or there. Had the *Stamp-Act* directed, that all the paper ſhould be landed at *Florida*, and the duties paid there, before it was brought to the *Britiſh* colonies, would the act have raiſed leſs money upon us, or have been leſs deſtructive of our rights? By no means: For as we were under a neceſſity of uſing the paper, we ſhould have been under the neceſſity of paying the duties. Thus, in the preſent caſe, a like *neceſſity* will ſubject us, if this act continues in force, to the payment of the duties now impoſed.

WHY was the *Stamp-Act* then ſo pernicious to freedom? It did not enact, that every man in the colonies *ſhould* buy a certain quantity

* "It is worthy obſervation how quietly ſubſidies, granted in forms *uſual* and *accuſtomable* (though heavy) are borne; ſuch a power hath uſe and cuſtom. On the other ſide, what diſcontentments and diſturbances ſubſidies *framed in a new mould* do raiſe (SUCH AN INBRED HATRED NOVELTY DOTH HATCH) is evident by examples of former times." Lord *Coke*'s 2d Inſtitute, p. 33.

† Some people think that *Great-Britain* has the ſame right to impoſe duties on the exports to theſe colonies, as on the exports to *Spain* and *Portugal*, &c. Such perſons attend ſo much to the idea of exportation, that they entirely drop *that of the connection between the mother country and her colonies.* If *Great-Britain* had always claimed, and exerciſed an authority to compel *Spain* and *Portugal* to import manufactures from her only, the caſes would be parallel: But as ſhe never pretended to ſuch a right, they are at liberty get them where they pleaſe; and if they chuſe to take them from her, rather than from other nations, they voluntarily conſent to pay the duties impoſed on them.

quantity of paper---No: It only directed, that no inſtrument of writing ſhould be valid in law, if not made on ſtamped paper, &c.

THE makers of that act knew full well, that the confuſions that would ariſe from the diſuſe of writings, would COMPEL the colonies to uſe the ſtamped paper, and therefore to pay the taxes impoſed. For this reaſon the *Stamp-Act* was ſaid to be a law THAT WOULD EXECUTE ITSELF. For the very ſame reaſon, the laſt act of parliament, if it is granted to have any force here, WILL EXECUTE ITSELF, and will be attended with the very ſame conſequences to *American* liberty.

SOME perſons perhaps may ſay, that this act lays us under no neceſſity to pay the duties impoſed, becauſe we may ourſelves manufacture the articles on which they are laid; whereas by the *Stamp-Act* no inſtrument of writing could be good, unleſs made on *Britiſh* paper, and that too ſtamped.

SUCH an objection amounts to no more than this, that the injury reſulting to theſe colonies, from the total diſuſe of *Britiſh* paper and glaſs, will not be *ſo afflicting* as that which would have reſulted from the total diſuſe of writing among them; for by that means even the *Stamp-Act* might have been eluded. Why then was it univerſally deteſted by them as ſlavery itſelf? Becauſe it preſented to theſe devoted provinces nothing but a * choice of calamities, imbittered by indignities, each of which it was unworthy of freemen to bear. But is no injury a violation of right but the *greateſt* injury? If the eluding the payment of the taxes impoſed by the *Stamp-Act*, would have ſubjected us to a more dreadful inconvenience, than the eluding the payment of thoſe impoſed by the late act; does it therefore follow, that the laſt is *no violation* of our rights, tho' it is calculated for the ſame purpoſe the other was, that is, *to raiſe money upon us*, WITHOUT OUR CONSENT?

THIS would be making *right* to conſiſt, not in an exemption from *injury*, but from a certain *degree of injury*.

BUT the objectors may further ſay, that we ſhall ſuffer no injury at all by the diſuſe of *Britiſh* paper and glaſs. We might not, if we could make as much as we want. But can any man, acquainted with *America*, believe this poſſible? I am told there are but two or three *Glaſs-Houſes* on this continent, and but very few *Paper-Mills*; and ſuppoſe more ſhould be erected, a long courſe of years muſt elapſe, before they can be brought to perfection. This continent is a country of planters, farmers, and fiſhermen; not of manufacturers. The difficulty of eſtabliſhing particular manufactures in ſuch a country, is almoſt inſuperable. For one manufacture is connected with others in ſuch a manner, that it may be ſaid to be impoſſible to eſtabliſh one or two, without eſtabliſhing ſeve-

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* Either the *diſuſe* of writing, or the payment of *taxes* impoſed by others *without our conſent*.

ral others. The experience of many nations may convince us of this truth.

INEXPRESSIBLE therefore muſt be our diſtreſſes in evading the late acts, by the diſuſe of *Britiſh* paper and glaſs. Nor will this be the extent of our misfortune, if we admit the legality of that act.

GREAT-BRITAIN has prohibited the manufacturing *iron* and *ſteel* in theſe colonies, without any objection being made to her *right* of doing it. The *like* right ſhe muſt have to prohibit any other manufacture among us. Thus ſhe is poſſeſſed of an undiſputed *precedent* on that point. This authority, ſhe will ſay, is founded on the *original intention* of ſettling theſe colonies; that is, that ſhe ſhould manufacture for them, and that they ſhould ſupply her with materials. The *equity* of this policy, ſhe will alſo ſay, has been univerſally acknowledged by the colonies, who never have made the leaſt objection to ſtatutes for that purpoſe; and will further appear by the *mutual benefits* flowing from this uſage ever ſince the ſettlement of theſe colonies.

OUR great advocate, Mr. *Pitt*, in his ſpeeches on the debate concerning the repeal of the *Stamp-Act*, acknowledged, that *Great-Britain* could reſtrain our manufactures. His words are theſe---- "This kingdom, as the ſupreme governing and legiſlative power, has ALWAYS bound the colonies by her regulations and RESTRICTIONS in trade, in navigation, in MANUFACTURES----in every thing, *except that of taking their money out of their pockets*, WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT." Again he ſays, "We may bind their trade, CONFINE THEIR MANUFACTURES, and exerciſe every power whatever, *except that of taking their money out of their pockets*, WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT.

HERE then, my dear countrymen, ROUSE yourſelves, and behold the ruin hanging over your heads. If you ONCE admit, that *Great-Britain* may lay duties upon her exportations to us, *for the purpoſe of levying money on us only*, ſhe then will have nothing to do, but to lay theſe duties on the articles which ſhe prohibits us to manufacture---and the tragedy of *American* liberty is finiſhed. We have been prohibited from procuring manufactures, in all caſes, any where but from *Great-Britain* (excepting linens, which we are permitted to import directly from *Ireland.)* We have been prohibited, in ſome caſes, from manufacturing for ourſelves; and may be prohibited in others. We are therefore exactly in the ſituation of a city beſieged, which is ſurrounded by the works of the beſiegers in every part *but one*. If *that* is cloſed up, no ſtep can be taken, *but to ſurrender at diſcretion*. If *Great-Britain* can order us to come to her for neceſſaries we want, and can order us to pay what taxes ſhe pleaſes before we take them away, or when we land them here, we are as abject ſlaves as *France* and *Poland* can ſhew in wooden ſhoes, and with uncombed hair *. PER-

* The peaſants of *France* wear wooden ſhoes; and the vaſſals of *Poland* are remarkable for matted hair, which never can be combed.

PERHAPS the nature of the *neceſſities* of dependent ſtates, cauſed by the policy of a governing one, for her own benefit, may be elucidated by a fact mentioned in hiſtory. When the *Carthaginians* were poſſeſſed of the iſland of *Sardinia*, they made a decree, that the *Sardinians* ſhould not raiſe *corn*, nor get it any other way than from the *Carthaginians*. Then, by impoſing any duties they would upon it, they drained from the miſerable *Sardinians* any ſums they pleaſed; and whenever that oppreſſed people made the leaſt movement to aſſert their liberty, their tyrants ſtarved them to death or ſubmiſſion. This may be called the moſt perfect kind of political neceſſity.

FROM what has been ſaid, I think this uncontrovertible concluſion may be deduced, that when a ruling ſtate obliges a dependent ſtate to take certain commodities from her alone, it is implied in the nature of that obligation; is eſſentially requiſite to give it the leaſt degree of juſtice; and is inſeparably united with it, in order to preſerve any ſhare of freedom to the dependent ſtate; *that thoſe commodities ſhould never be loaded with duties*, FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF LEVYING MONEY ON THE DEPENDENT STATE.

UPON the whole, the ſingle queſtion is, whether the parliament can legally impoſe duties to be paid *by the people of theſe colonies only*, FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF RAISING A REVENUE, *on commodities which ſhe obliges us to take from her alone*, or, in other words, whether the parliament can legally take money out of our pockets, without our conſent. If they can, our boaſted liberty is but

Vox et præterea nihil.
A ſound and nothing elſe.

A FARMER.

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LETTER III.

My dear COUNTRYMEN,

I REJOICE to find that my two former letters to you, have been generally received with ſo much favor by ſuch of you, whoſe ſentiments I have had an opportunity of knowing. Could you look into my heart, you would inſtantly perceive a zealous attachment to your intereſts, and a lively reſentment of every inſult and injury offered to you, to be the motives that have engaged me to addreſs you.

I AM no further concerned in any thing affecting *America*, than any one of you; and when liberty leaves it, I can quit it much more conveniently than moſt of you: But while Divine Providence, that gave me exiſtence in a land of freedom, permits my head to think, my lips to ſpeak, and my hand to move, I ſhall ſo highly and gratefully value the bleſſing received, as to take care, that my ſilence and inactivity ſhall not give my implied aſſent to any act, degrading my brethren and myſelf from the birthright, wherewith heaven itſelf "*hath made us free* *."

SORRY I am to learn, that there are ſome few perſons, who ſhake their heads with ſolemn motion, and pretend to wonder, what can be the meaning of theſe letters. "*Great-Britain*," they ſay, "is too powerful to contend with; ſhe is determined to oppreſs us; it is in vain to ſpeak of right on one ſide, when there is power on the other; when we are ſtrong enough to reſiſt, we ſhall attempt it; but now we are not ſtrong enough, and therefore we had better be quiet; it ſignifies nothing to convince us that our rights are invaded, when we cannot defend them; and if we ſhould get into riots and tumults about the late act, it will only draw down heavier diſpleaſure upon us."

WHAT can ſuch men deſign? What do their grave obſervations amount to, but this----"that theſe colonies, totally regardleſs of their liberties, ſhould commit them, with humble reſignation, to *chance*, *time*, and the tender mercies of *miniſters*."

ARE theſe men ignorant, that uſurpations, which might have been ſucceſsfully oppoſed at firſt, acquire ſtrength by continuance, and thus become irreſiſtable? Do they condemn the conduct of theſe colonies, concerning the *Stamp-Act*? Or have they forgot its ſucceſsful iſſue? Ought the colonies at that time, inſtead of acting as they did, to have truſted for relief to the fortuitous events of futurity? If it is needleſs "to ſpeak of rights" now, it was as needleſs then. If the behavior of the colonies was prudent and glorious then, and ſucceſsful too; it will be equally prudent and glorious

* GAL. v. 1.

glorious to act in the ſame manner now, if our rights are equally invaded, and may be as ſucceſsful. Therefore it becomes neceſſary to enquire, whether " our rights *are* invaded." To talk of " defending" them, as if they could be no otherwiſe " defended" than by arms, is as much out of the way, as if a man having a choice of ſeveral roads to reach his journey's end, ſhould prefer the worſt, for no other reaſon, but becauſe it *is* the worſt.

As to " riots and tumults," the gentlemen who are ſo apprehenſive of them, are much miſtaken, if they think, that grievances cannot be redreſſed without ſuch aſſiſtance.

I WILL now tell the gentlemen, what is " the meaning of theſe letters." The meaning of them is, to convince the people of theſe colonies, that they are at this moment expoſed to the moſt imminent dangers; and to perſuade them immediately, vigorouſly, and unanimouſly, to exert themſelves, in the moſt firm, but moſt peaceable manner, for obtaining relief.

THE cauſe of *liberty* is a cauſe of too much dignity, to be ſullied by turbulence and tumult. It ought to be maintained in a manner ſuitable to her nature. Thoſe who engage in it, ſhould breathe a ſedate, yet fervent ſpirit, animating them to actions of prudence, juſtice, modeſty, bravery, humanity and magnanimity.

To ſuch a wonderful degree were the antient *Spartans*, as brave and free a people as ever exiſted, inſpired by this happy temperature of ſoul, that rejecting even in their battles the uſe of trumpets, and other inſtruments for exciting heat and rage, they marched up to ſcenes of havock, and horror*, with the ſound of flutes, to the tunes of which their ſteps kept pace----" exhibiting," as *Plutarch* ſays, " at once a terrible and delightful ſight, and proceeding with a deliberate valor, full of hope and good aſſurance, as if ſome divinity had ſenſibly aſſiſted them."

I HOPE, my dear countrymen, that you will, in every colony, be upon your guard againſt thoſe, who may at any time endeavor to ſtir you up, under pretences of patriotiſm, to any meaſures diſreſpectful to our Sovereign and our mother country. Hot, raſh, diſorderly proceedings, injure the reputation of a people, as to wiſdom, valor and virtue, without procuring them the leaſt benefit. I pray GOD, that he may be pleaſed to inſpire you and your poſterity, to the lateſt ages, with a ſpirit of which I have an idea, that I find a difficulty to expreſs. To expreſs it in the beſt manner I can, I mean a ſpirit, that ſhall ſo guide you, that it will be impoſſible to determine whether an *American*'s character is moſt diſtinguiſhable, for his loyalty to his Sovereign, his duty to his mother country, his love of freedom, or his affection for his native ſoil.

EVERY government at ſome time or other falls into wrong meaſures.

* *Plutarch* in the life of *Lycurgus*. Archbiſhop *Potter*'s Archæologia Græca,

ſures. Theſe may proceed from miſtake or paſſion. But every ſuch meaſure does not diſſolve the obligation between the governors and the governed. The miſtake may be corrected; the paſſion may ſubſide. It is the duty of the governed to endeavor to rectify the miſtake, and to appeaſe the paſſion. They have not at firſt any other right, than to repreſent their grievances, and to pray for redreſs, unleſs an emergence is ſo preſſing, as not to allow time for receiving an anſwer to their applications, which rarely happens. If their applications are diſregarded, then that kind of *oppoſition* becomes juſtifiable, which can be made without breaking the laws, or diſturbing the public peace. This conſiſts in the *prevention of the oppreſſors reaping advantage from their oppreſſions*, and not in their puniſhment. For experience may teach them, what reaſon did not; and harſh methods cannot be proper, till milder ones have failed.

If at length it becomes UNDOUBTED, that an inveterate reſolution is formed to annihilate the liberties of the governed, the *Engliſh* hiſtory affords frequent examples of reſiſtance by force. What particular circumſtances will in any future caſe juſtify ſuch reſiſtance, can never be aſcertained, till they happen. Perhaps it may be allowable to ſay generally, that it never can be juſtifiable, until the people are FULLY CONVINCED, that any further ſubmiſſion will be deſtructive to their happineſs.

When the appeal is made to the ſword, highly probable is it, that the puniſhment will exceed the offence; and the calamities attending on war out-weigh thoſe preceding it. Theſe conſiderations of juſtice and prudence, will always have great influence with good and wiſe men.

To theſe reflections on this ſubject, it remains to be added, and ought for ever to be remembered, that reſiſtance, in the caſe of colonies againſt their mother country, is extremely different from the reſiſtance of a people againſt their prince. A nation may change their king, or race of kings, and, retaining their antient form of government, be gainers by changing. Thus *Great-Britain*, under the illuſtrious houſe of *Brunſwick*, a houſe that ſeems to flouriſh for the happineſs of mankind, has found a felicity, unknown in the reigns of the *Stewarts*. But if once *we* are ſeparated from our mother country, what new form of government ſhall we adopt, or where ſhall we find another *Britain*, to ſupply our loſs? Torn from the body, to which we are united by religion, liberty, laws, affections, relation, language and commerce, we muſt bleed at every vein.

In truth----the proſperity of theſe provinces is founded in their dependence on *Great-Britain*; and when ſhe returns to her "old good humour, and her old good nature," as Lord *Clarendon* expreſſes it, I hope they will always think it their duty and intereſt,

as it moſt certainly will be, to promote her welfare by all the means in their power.

We cannot act with too much caution in our diſputes. Anger produces anger; and differences, that might be accommodated by kind and reſpectful behavior, may, by imprudence, be enlarged to an incurable rage. In quarrels between countries, as well as in thoſe between individuals, when they have riſen to a certain height, the firſt cauſe of diſſenſion is no longer remembered, the minds of the parties being wholly engaged in recollecting and reſenting the mutual expreſſions of their diſlike. When feuds have reached that fatal point, all conſiderations of reaſon and equity vaniſh; and a blind fury governs, or rather confounds all things. A people no longer regards their intereſt, but the gratification of their wrath. The ſway of the * *Cleons* and *Clodius's*, the deſigning and deteſtable flatterers of the *prevailing paſſion*, becomes confirmed. Wiſe and good men in vain oppoſe the ſtorm, and may think themſelves fortunate, if, in attempting to preſerve their ungrateful fellow citizens, they do not ruin themſelves. Their *prudence* will be called *baſeneſs*; their *moderation* will be called *guilt*; and if their virtue does not lead them to deſtruction, as that of many other great and excellent perſons has done, they may ſurvive to receive from their expiring country the mournful glory of her acknowledgment, that their counſels, if regarded, would have ſaved her.

The conſtitutional modes of obtaining relief, are thoſe which I wiſh to ſee purſued on the preſent occaſion; that is, by petitions of our aſſemblies, or where they are not permitted to meet, of the people, to the powers that can afford us relief.

We have an excellent prince, in whoſe good diſpoſitions towards us we may confide. We have a generous, ſenſible and humane nation, to whom we may apply. They may be deceived. They may, by artful men, be provoked to anger againſt us. I cannot believe they will be cruel or unjuſt; or that their anger will be implacable. Let us behave like dutiful children, who have received unmerited blows from a beloved parent. Let us complain to our parent; but let our complaints ſpeak at the ſame time the language of affliction and veneration.

If, however, it ſhall happen, by an unfortunate courſe of affairs, that our applications to his Majeſty and the parliament for redreſs, prove ineffectual, let us then take *another ſtep*, by withholding from *Great-Britain* all the advantages ſhe has been uſed to receive from us. Then let us try, if our ingenuity, induſtry, and frugality, will not give weight to our remonſtrances. Let us all be united with one ſpirit, in one cauſe. Let us invent----let us

* *Cleon* was a popular firebrand of *Athens*, and *Clodius* of *Rome*; each of whom plunged his country into the deepeſt calamities.

work-----let us ſave-----let us, continually, keep up our claim, and inceſſantly repeat our complaints------But, above all, let us implore the protection of that infinitely good and gracious being, † " by whom kings reign, and princes decree juſtice."

Nil deſperandum.

Nothing is to be deſpaired of.

A FARMER.

† PROV. viii. 15.

LETTER IV.

My dear COUNTRYMEN,

AN objection, I hear, has been made againſt my ſecond letter, which I would willingly clear up before I proceed. " There is," ſay theſe objectors, " a material difference between the *Stamp-Act* and the *late act* for laying a duty on paper, *&c.* that juſtifies the conduct of thoſe who oppoſed the former, and yet are willing to ſubmit to the latter. The duties impoſed by the *Stamp-Act* were *internal* taxes; but the preſent are *external*, and therefore the parliament may have a right to impoſe them."

To this I anſwer, with a total denial of the power of parliament to lay upon theſe colonies any " *tax*" whatever.

THIS point, being ſo important to this, and to ſucceeding generations, I wiſh to be clearly underſtood.

To the word " *tax*," I annex that meaning which the conſtitution and hiſtory of *England* require to be annexed to it; that is---that it is *an impoſition on the ſubject, for the ſole purpoſe of levying money.*

IN the early ages of our monarchy, certain ſervices were rendered to the crown *for the general good.* Theſe were perſonal *: But in

* It is very worthy of remark, how watchful our wiſe anceſtors were, leſt their *ſervices* ſhould be encreaſed beyond what the law allowed. No man was bound to go out of the realm to ſerve the King. Therefore, even in the conquering reign of *Henry* the *Fifth*, when the martial ſpirit of the nation was highly enflamed by the heroic courage of their Prince, and by his great ſucceſs, they ſtill carefully guarded againſt the eſtabliſhment of illegal ſervices. " When this point (ſays Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke)* concerning maintenance of wars out of *England*, came in queſtion, the COMMONS did make their *continual claim* of their *antient freedom* and *birthright*, as in the firſt of *Henry the Fifth*, and in the ſeventh of *Henry the Fifth*, &c. the COMMONS made a PROTEST, that they were not bound to the maintenance of war in *Scotland, Ireland, Calice, France,*

in proceſs of time, ſuch inſtitutions being found inconvenient, *gifts* and *grants* of their own property were made by the people, under the ſeveral names of aids, tallages, taſks, taxes and ſubſidies, *&c.* Theſe were made, as may be collected even from the names, *for public ſervice* upon "need and neceſſity †." All theſe ſums were levied upon the people by virtue of their voluntary gift ‡. Their deſign was to ſupport the *national honor and intereſt.* Some of thoſe grants comprehended duties ariſing from trade; being impoſts on merchandizes. Theſe Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke* claſſes under "ſubſidies," and "parliamentary aids." They are alſo called "cuſtoms." But whatever the *name* was, they were always conſidered as *gifts of the people to the crown, to be employed for public uſes.*

COMMERCE was at a low ebb, and ſurprizing inſtances might be produced how little it was attended to for a ſucceſſion of ages. The terms that have been mentioned, and, among the reſt, that of "*tax*," had obtained a national, parliamentary meaning, drawn from the principles of the conſtitution, long before any *Engliſhman* thought of *impoſition of duties, for the regulation of trade.*

WHENEVER we ſpeak of "taxes" among *Engliſhmen*, let us therefore ſpeak of them with reference to the *principles* on which, and the *intentions* with which they have been eſtabliſhed. This

 will

France, Normandy, or other *foreign* parts, and cauſed their PROTESTS to be entered into the parliament rolls, where they yet remain; which, in effect, agreeth with that which, upon like occaſion, was made in the parliament of 25th *Edward* I." 2d Inſt. p. 528.

† 4th Inſt. p. 28.

‡ *Reges* Angliæ, *nihil tale, niſi convocatis primis ordinibus, et aſſentiente populo ſuſcipiunt.* Phil. Comines. 2d *Inſt.*

Theſe gifts entirely depending on the pleaſure of the donors, were proportioned to the abilities of the ſeveral ranks of people who gave, and were regulated by *their* opinion of the public neceſſities. Thus *Edward* I. had in his 11th year a *thirtieth* from the *laity*, a *twentieth* from the *clergy*; in his 22d year a *tenth* from the *laity*, a *ſixth* from *London*, and other corporate towns, *half of their benefices* from the *clergy*; in his 23d year an *eleventh* from the *barons* and others, a *tenth* from the *clergy*, a *ſeventh* from the *burgeſſes*, *&c.* *Hume's Hiſt. of England.*

The ſame difference in the grants of the ſeveral ranks is obſervable in other reigns.

In the famous ſtatute *de tallagio non concedendo*, the king enumerates the ſeveral *claſſes*, without whoſe conſent, he and his heirs never ſhould ſet or levy any tax---"*nullum tallagium, vel auxilium per nos, vel hæredes noſtros in regno noſtro ponatur ſeu levetur, ſine voluntate et aſſenſu archiepiſcoporum, epiſcoporum, comitum, baronum, militum, burgenſium, et aliorum liberorum com. de regno noſtro.*" 34th *Edward* I.

Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke*, in his comment on theſe words, ſays----"for the quieting of the *commons*, and for a *perpetual and conſtant law for ever after*, both in this AND OTHER LIKE CASES, this act was made. Theſe words are *plain*, WITHOUT ANY SCRUPLE, *abſolute*, WITHOUT ANY SAVING." 2d *Cokes's* Inſt. p. 532, 533. Little did the venerable judge imagine, that "*other* LIKE *caſes*" would happen, in which the ſpirit of this law would be deſpiſed by *Engliſhmen*, the poſterity of thoſe who made it.

will give certainty to our expreſſion, and ſafety to our conduct: But if, when we have in view the liberty of theſe colonies, we proceed in any other courſe, we purſue a *Juno* || indeed, but ſhall only catch a cloud.

In the national, parliamentary ſenſe inſiſted on, the word "tax §" was certainly underſtood by the congreſs at *New-York*, whoſe reſolves may be ſaid to form the *American* "bill of rights."

The third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth reſolves, are thus expreſſed.

III. "That it is *inſeparably eſſential to the freedom of a people*, and the *undoubted right* of *Engliſhmen*, that * NO TAX be impoſed on them, *but with their own conſent*, given perſonally, or by their repreſentatives."

IV. "That the people of the colonies are not, and from their local circumſtances, cannot be repreſented in the houſe of commons in *Great-Britain*."

V. "That the only repreſentatives of the people of the colonies, are the perſons choſen therein by themſelves; and that NO TAXES ever have been, or can be conſtitutionally impoſed on them, but by their reſpective legiſlatures."

VI. "That ALL *ſupplies to the crown*, being free gifts of the people, it is *unreaſonable, and inconſiſtent with the principles and ſpirit of the* Britiſh *conſtitution*, for the people of *Great-Britain to* grant to his Majeſty *the property of the colonies*."

Here is no diſtinction made between *internal* and *external* taxes. It is evident from the ſhort reaſoning thrown into theſe reſolves, that every impoſition "to grant to his Majeſty *the property of the colonies*," was thought a "tax;" and that every ſuch impoſition, if laid any other way than "with their conſent, given perſonally, or by their repreſentatives," was not only "unreaſonable, and inconſiſtent with the principles and ſpirit of the *Britiſh* conſtitution," but deſtructive "to the freedom of a people."

This language is clear and important. A "TAX" means an impoſition to raiſe money. Such perſons therefore as ſpeak of *internal* and *external* "TAXES," I pray may pardon me, if I object to that expreſſion, as applied to the privileges and intereſts of theſe colonies. There may be *internal* and *external* IMPOSITIONS, founded on *different principles*, and having *different tendencies*; every "tax" being an impoſition, tho' every impoſition is not a "tax." But *all taxes* are founded on the *ſame principle*; and have the *ſame tendency*.

EXTER-

|| The Goddeſs of *Empire*, in the Heathen Mythology; according to an antient fable, *Ixion* purſued her, but ſhe eſcaped in a cloud.

§ In this ſenſe *Monteſquieu* uſes the word "tax," in his 13th book of *Spirit of Laws*.

* The rough draught of the reſolves of the congreſs at *New-York* are now in my hands, and from ſome notes on that draught, and other particular reaſons, I am ſatisfied that the congreſs underſtood the word "tax" in the ſenſe here contended for.

EXTERNAL impoſitions, for the regulation of our trade, do not "grant to his Majeſty *the property of the colonies.*" They only *prevent the colonies acquiring property*, in things not neceſſary, in a manner judged to be injurious to the welfare of the whole empire. But the laſt ſtatute reſpecting us, "grants to his Majeſty *the property of the colonies*," by laying duties on the manufactures of *Great-Britain* which they MUST take, and which ſhe ſettled them, on purpoſe that they SHOULD take.

WHAT * *tax* can be more *internal* than this? Here is money drawn, *without their conſent*, from a ſociety, who have conſtantly enjoyed

* It ſeems to be evident, that Mr. *Pitt*, in his defence of *America*, during the debate concerning the repeal of the *Stamp-Act*, by "*internal* taxes," meant any duties "for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue;" and by "*external* taxes," meant duties impoſed "for the regulation of trade." His expreſſions are theſe----"If the gentleman does not underſtand the difference between *internal* and *external* taxes, I cannot help it; but there is a plain diſtinction between taxes levied FOR THE PURPOSES OF RAISING A REVENUE, and duties impoſed FOR THE REGULATION OF TRADE, for the accommodation of the ſubject; although, in the conſequences, ſome revenue might incidentally ariſe from the latter."

Theſe words were in Mr. *Pitt*'s reply to Mr. *Greenville*, who ſaid he could not underſtand the difference between external and internal taxes.

In every other part of his ſpeeches on that occaſion, his words confirm this conſtruction of his expreſſions. The following extracts will ſhew how poſitive and general were his aſſertions of our right.

"It is my opinion that this kingdom has NO RIGHT to lay A TAX upon the colonies."----"The *Americans* are the SONS, not the BASTARDS of *England*. TAXATION is NO PART of the *governing* or *legiſlative* power."---"The *taxes* are a voluntary *gift* and *grant* of the *commons* ALONE. In LEGISLATION the THREE eſtates of the realm are ALIKE concerned, but the concurrence of the PEERS and the CROWN to a TAX, is only neceſſary to cloſe with the FORM of a law. The GIFT *and* GRANT is of the COMMONS ALONE."---"*The diſtinction between* LEGISLATION *and* TAXATION *is eſſentially neceſſary to liberty.*"----"The COMMONS of *America*, repreſented in their ſeveral aſſemblies, have ever been in poſſeſſion of the exerciſe of this their conſtitutional right, of GIVING and GRANTING their OWN MONEY. *They would have been SLAVES, if they had not enjoyed it.*" "The idea of a *virtual* repreſentation of *America* in this houſe, is the moſt contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of man.---It does not deſerve a ſerious refutation."

He afterwards ſhews the unreaſonableneſs of *Great-Britain* taxing *America*, thus----"When I had the honor of ſerving his Majeſty, I availed myſelf of the means of information, which I derived from my office, I SPEAK THEREFORE FROM KNOWLEDGE. My materials were good, I was at pains to *collect*, to *digeſt*, to *conſider* them; and *I will be bold to affirm*, that the profit to *Great-Britain* from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is TWO MILLIONS A YEAR. *This* is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the laſt war. The eſtates that were rented at two thouſand pounds a year, threeſcore years ago, are three thouſand pounds at preſent. Thoſe eſtates ſold then from fifteen to eighteen years purchaſe; the ſame may now be ſold for thirty. YOU OWE THIS TO AMERICA. THIS IS THE PRICE THAT AMERICA PAYS YOU FOR HER PROTECTION."----"I dare not ſay how much higher theſe profits may be augmented."---"Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the houſe what is really my opinion; it is, that the *Stamp-Act* be repealed abſolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reaſon for the repeal be aſſigned, becauſe it was founded on an ERRONEOUS PRINCIPLE."

enjoyed a conſtitutional mode of raiſing all money among themſelves. The payment of this *tax* they have no poſſible method of avoiding; as they cannot do without the commodities on which it is laid, and they cannot manufacture theſe commodities themſelves. Beſides, if this unhappy country ſhould be ſo lucky as to elude this act, by getting parchment enough, in the place of paper, or by reviving the antient method of writing on wax and bark, and by inventing ſomething to ſerve inſtead of glaſs, her ingenuity would ſtand her in little ſtead; for then the parliament would have nothing to do but to prohibit ſuch manufactures, or to lay a tax on *hats* and *woollen cloths*, which they have already prohibited the colonies *from ſupplying each other with*; or on inſtruments, and tools of *ſteel* and *iron*, which they have prohibited the provincials *from manufacturing at all* †: And then, what little gold and ſilver they have, muſt be torn from their hands, or they will not be able, in a ſhort time, to get an ax ‡, for cutting their firewood, nor a plough, for raiſing their food. In what reſpect, therefore, I beg leave to aſk, is the late act preferable to the *Stamp-Act*, or more conſiſtent with the liberties of the colonies? For my own part, I regard them both with equal apprehenſion; and think they ought to be in the ſame manner oppoſed.

Habemus quidem ſenatus conſultum,---------tanquam gladium in vagina repoſitum.

We have a ſtatute, laid up for future uſe, like a ſword in the ſcabbard.

A FARMER.

† "And that *pig* and *bar iron*, made in his Majeſty's colonies in *America*, may be FURTHER MANUFACTURED IN THIS KINGDOM, be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that from and after the twenty-fourth day of *June*, 1750, no *mill*, or *other engine*, for *ſlitting* or *rolling* of *iron*, or any *plating forge*, to work with a *tilt hammer*, or any *furnace* for *making ſteel*, ſhall be erected; or, after ſuch erection, continued IN ANY OF HIS MAJESTY'S COLONIES IN AMERICA." 23d *George* II. Chap. 29, Sect. 9.

‡ Tho' theſe particulars are mentioned as being abſolutely neceſſary, yet perhaps they are not more ſo than glaſs in our ſevere winters, to keep out the cold from our houſes; or than paper, without which ſuch inexpreſſible confuſions muſt enſue.

LET-

LETTER V.

My dear COUNTRYMEN,

PERHAPS the objection to the late act, imposing duties upon paper, &c. might have been safely rested on the argument drawn from the universal conduct of parliaments and ministers, from the first existence of these colonies, to the administration of Mr. *Greenville*.

WHAT but the indisputable, the acknowledged exclusive right of the colonies to tax themselves, could be the reason, that in this long period of more than one hundred and fifty years, no statute was ever passed for the sole purpose of raising a revenue on the colonies? And how clear, how cogent must that reason be, to which every parliament, and every minister, for so long a time submitted, without a single attempt to innovate?

ENGLAND, in part of that course of years, and *Great-Britain*, in other parts, was engaged in several fierce and expensive wars; troubled with some tumultuous and bold parliaments; governed by many daring and wicked ministers; yet none of them ever ventured to touch the *Palladium* of *American* liberty. Ambition, avarice, faction, tyranny, all revered it. Whenever it was necessary to raise money on the colonies, the requisitions of the crown were made, and dutifully complied with. The parliament, from time to time, regulated their trade, and that of the rest of the empire, to preserve their dependence, and the connection of the whole in good order.

THE people of *Great-Britain*, in support of their privileges, boast much of their antiquity. It is true they are antient; yet it may well be questioned, if there is a single privilege of a *British* subject, supported by longer, more solemn, or more uninterrupted testimony, than the exclusive right of taxation in these colonies. The people of *Great-Britain* consider that kingdom as the sovereign of these colonies, and would now annex to that sovereignty a prerogative never heard of before. How would they bear this, was the case their own? What would they think of a *new* prerogative claimed by the crown? We may guess what their conduct would be, from the transports of passion into which they fell about the late embargo, tho' laid to relieve the most emergent necessities of state, admitting of no delay; and for which there were numerous precedents. Let our liberties be treated with the same tenderness, and it is all we desire.

EXPLICIT as the conduct of parliaments, for so many ages, is, to prove that no money can be levied on these colonies by parliament, for the purpose of raising a revenue, yet it is not the only evidence in our favour.

EVERY

EVERY one of the moſt material arguments againſt the legality of the *Stamp-Act*, operates with equal force againſt the act now objected to; but as they are well known, it ſeems unneceſſary to repeat them here.

THIS general one only ſhall be conſidered at preſent: That tho' theſe colonies are dependent on *Great-Britain*; and tho' ſhe has a legal power to make laws for preſerving that dependence; yet it is not neceſſary for this purpoſe, nor eſſential to the relation between a mother country and her colonies, as was eagerly contended by the advocates for the *Stamp-Act*, that ſhe ſhould raiſe money on them without their conſent.

COLONIES were formerly planted by warlike nations, to keep their enemies in awe; to relieve their country, overburthened with inhabitants; or to diſcharge a number of diſcontented and troubleſome citizens. But in more modern ages, the ſpirit of violence being in ſome meaſure, if the expreſſion may be allowed, ſheathed in commerce, colonies have been ſettled by the nations of *Europe* for the purpoſes of trade. Theſe purpoſes were to be attained, by the colonies raiſing for their mother country thoſe things which ſhe did not produce herſelf; and by ſupplying themſelves from her with things they wanted. Theſe were the *national objects* in the commencement of our colonies, and have been uniformly ſo in their promotion.

TO anſwer theſe grand purpoſes, perfect liberty was known to be neceſſary; all hiſtory proving, that trade and freedom are nearly related to each other. By a due regard to this wiſe and juſt plan, the infant colonies, expoſed in the unknown climates and unexplored wilderneſſes of this new world, lived, grew, and flouriſhed.

THE parent country, with undeviating prudence and virtue, attentive to the firſt principles of colonization, drew to herſelf the benefits ſhe might reaſonably expect, and preſerved to her children the bleſſings, on which thoſe benefits were founded. She made laws, obliging her colonies to carry to her all thoſe products which ſhe wanted for her own uſe; and all thoſe raw materials which ſhe choſe herſelf to work up. Beſides this reſtriction, ſhe forbad them to procure *manufactures* from any other part of the globe, or even the *products* of *European* countries, which alone could rival her, without being firſt brought to her. In ſhort, by a variety of laws, ſhe regulated their trade in ſuch a manner as ſhe thought moſt conducive to their mutual advantage, and her own welfare. A power was reſerved to the crown of *repealing* any laws that ſhould be enacted: The *executive* authority of government was alſo lodged in the crown, and its repreſentatives; and an *appeal* was ſecured to the crown from all judgments in the adminiſtration of juſtice.

FOR all theſe powers, eſtabliſhed by the mother country over the colonies; for all theſe immenſe emoluments derived by her from

from them; for all their difficulties and diſtreſſes in fixing themſelves, what was the recompence made them? A communication of her rights in general, and particularly of that great one, the foundation of all the reſt----that their property, acquired with ſo much pain and hazard, ſhould be diſpoſed of by none but* themſelves---or, to uſe the beautiful and emphatic language of the ſacred ſcriptures †, "that they ſhould ſit *every man* under his vine, and under his fig-tree, and NONE SHOULD MAKE THEM AFRAID."

CAN any man of candor and knowledge deny, that theſe inſtitutions form an affinity between *Great-Britain* and her colonies, that ſufficiently ſecures their dependence upon her? Or that for her to levy taxes upon them, is to reverſe the nature of things? Or that ſhe can purſue ſuch a meaſure, without reducing them to a ſtate of vaſſalage?

IF any perſon cannot conceive the ſupremacy of *Great-Britain* to exiſt, without the power of laying taxes to levy money upon us, the hiſtory of the colonies, and of *Great-Britain*, ſince their ſettlement, will prove the contrary. He will there find the amazing advantages ariſing to her from them----the conſtant exerciſe of her ſupremacy---and their filial ſubmiſſion to it, without a ſingle rebellion, or even the thought of one, from their firſt emigration to this moment----And all theſe things have happened, without one inſtance of *Great-Britain*'s laying taxes to levy money upon them.

How many ‡ *Britiſh authors* have demonſtrated, that the preſent wealth, power and glory of their country, are founded upon

D theſe

* "The power of *taxing themſelves*, was the privilege of which the *Engliſh* were, WITH REASON, *particularly jealous*." *Hume's Hiſt. of England.*

† MIC. iv. 4.

‡ It has been ſaid in the Houſe of Commons, when complaints have been made of the decay of trade to any part of *Europe*, "That ſuch things were not worth regard, as *Great-Britain* was poſſeſſed of colonies that could conſume more of her manufactures than ſhe was able to ſupply them with."

"As the caſe now ſtands, we ſhall ſhew that the *plantations* are a ſpring of *wealth* to this nation, that they *work* for us, that their TREASURE CENTERS ALL HERE, and that the laws have tied them faſt enough to us; ſo that it muſt be through our own fault and miſmanagement, if they become independent of *England*." DAVENANT *on the Plantation Trade.*

"It is better that the iſlands ſhould be ſupplied from the Northern Colonies than from *England*; for this reaſon, the proviſions we might ſend to *Barbados*, *Jamaica*, *&c.* would be *unimproved* product of the earth, as grain of all kinds, or ſuch product where there is little got by the improvement, as malt, ſalt beef and pork; indeed the exportation of ſalt fiſh thither would be more advantageous, but the goods which we ſend to the *Northern Colonies*, are ſuch, whoſe *improvement* may be juſtly ſaid, one with another, to be near *four fifths* of the value of the *whole commodity*, as apparel, houſhold furniture, and many other things." *Idem.*

"*New-England* is the moſt prejudicial plantation to the kingdom of *England*; and yet, to do right to that moſt induſtrious *Engliſh* colony, I muſt confeſs, that though we loſe by their unlimited trade with other foreign plantations, yet

we

theſe colonies? As conſtantly as ſtreams tend to the ocean, have they been pouring the fruits of all their labors into their mother's lap. Good heaven! and ſhall a total oblivion of former tenderneſſes and bleſſings, be ſpread over the minds of a good and wiſe nation, by the ſordid arts of intriguing men, who, covering their ſelfiſh projects under pretences of public good, firſt enrage their countrymen into a frenzy of paſſion, and then advance their own influence and intereſt, by gratifying the paſſion, which they themſelves have baſely excited.

HITHERTO

we are very great gainers by their direct trade to and from *Old England*. Our yearly exportations of *Engliſh* manufactures, malt and other goods, from hence thither, amounting, in my opinion, to *ten times* the value of what is imported from thence; which calculation I do not make at random, but upon *mature conſideration*, and, peradventure, upon *as much experience in this very trade*, as any other perſon will pretend to; and therefore, whenever reformation of our correſpondency in trade with that people ſhall be thought on, it will, in my poor judgment, require GREAT TENDERNESS, and VERY SERIOUS CIRCUMSPECTION." *Sir* JOSIAH CHILD's *Diſcourſe on Trade.*

"Our plantations ſpend moſtly our *Engliſh* manufactures, and thoſe *of all ſorts almoſt imaginable*, in *egregious quantities*, and employ near *two thirds of all our* Engliſh *ſhipping*; ſo that we have *more people* in *England*, by reaſon of our plantations in *America*." *Idem.*

Sir JOSIAH CHILD ſays, in another part of his work, "That not more than fifty families are maintained in *England* by the refining of ſugar." From whence, and from what *Davenant* ſays, it is plain, that the advantages here ſaid to be derived from the plantations by *England*, muſt be meant chiefly of the continental colonies.

"I ſhall ſum up my whole remarks on our *American* colonies, with this obſervation, that as they are a certain annual revenue of SEVERAL MILLIONS STERLING to their mother country, they ought carefully to be protected, duly encouraged, and every opportunity that preſents, improved for their increment and advantage, as every one they can poſſibly reap, muſt at laſt return to us with intereſt." BEAWES's *Lex Merc. Red.*

"We may ſafely advance, that our trade and navigation are greatly increaſed by our colonies, and that they really are a ſource of treaſure and naval power to this kingdom, ſince THEY WORK FOR US, and THEIR TREASURE CENTERS HERE. Before their ſettlement, our manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent; the number of *Engliſh* merchants very ſmall, and the whole ſhipping of the nation much inferior to what now belongs to the Northern Colonies only. *Theſe are certain facts.* But ſince their eſtabliſhment, our condition has altered for the better, almoſt to a degree beyond credibility.---Our MANUFACTURES are prodigiouſly increaſed, chiefly by the demand for them in the plantations, where they AT LEAST TAKE OFF ONE HALF, and ſupply us with many valuable commodities for exportation, which is as great an emolument to the mother kingdom, as to the plantations themſelves."

POSTLETHWAYT's *Univ. Dict. of Trade and Commerce.*

"Moſt of the nations of *Europe* have interfered with us, more or leſs, in divers of our ſtaple manufactures, within half a century, not only in our woollen, but in our lead and tin manufactures, as well as our fiſheries."

POSTLETHWAYT, *ibid.*

"The inhabitants of our colonies, by carrying on a trade with their *foreign neighbours*, do not only occaſion *a greater quantity of the goods and merchandizes of* Europe *being ſent from hence to them*, and a greater quantity of the product of *America* to be ſent from them hither, *which would otherwiſe be carried from,*

and

HITHERTO *Great-Britain* has been contented with her proſperity. Moderation has been the rule of her conduct. But now, a generous humane people, that ſo often has protected the liberty of *ſtangers*, is enflamed into an attempt to tear a privilege from her own children, which, if executed, muſt, in their opinion, ſink them into ſlaves: AND FOR WHAT? For a pernicious power, not neceſſary to her, as her own experience may convince her; but horribly dreadful and deteſtable to them.

and brought to Europe *by foreigners*, but an increaſe of the ſeamen and navigation in thoſe parts, which is of great ſtrength and ſecurity, as well as of great advantage to our plantations in general. And though *ſome of our colonies* are not only for preventing the *importations of all goods of the ſame ſpecies they produce*, but ſuffer particular planters to *keep great runs of land in their poſſeſſion uncultivated*, with deſign to prevent new ſettlements, whereby they imagine the prices of their commodities may be affected; yet if it be conſidered, that the markets of *Great-Britain* depend on the markets of ALL *Europe in general*, and that the *European* markets *in general* depend on the proportion between the *annual conſumption* and the *whole quantity* of each ſpecies *annually produced* by ALL *nations*; it muſt follow, that whether we or foreigners are the producers, *carriers*, importers and exporters of *American* produce, yet their reſpective prices in *each colony* (the difference of freight, cuſtoms and importations conſidered) will always bear proportion to the *general conſumption* of the *whole quantity* of each ſort, *produced in all colonies*, and *in all parts*, allowing only for the uſual contingencies that trade and commerce, agriculture and manufactures, are liable to in all countries." POSTLETHWAYT, *ibid.*

" It is certain, that from the very time Sir *William Raleigh*, the father of our *Engliſh* colonies, and his aſſociates, firſt projected theſe eſtabliſhments, there have been perſons who have found an intereſt, in *miſrepreſenting*, or leſſening the value of them----The attempts were called chimerical and dangerous. Afterwards many malignant ſuggeſtions were made about ſacrificing ſo many *Engliſhmen* to the obſtinate deſire of ſettling colonies in countries which then produced very little advantage. But as theſe difficulties were gradually ſurmounted, thoſe complaints vaniſhed. No ſooner were *theſe lamentations* over, but *others* aroſe in their ſtead; when it could be no longer ſaid, that the colonies were *uſeleſs*, it was alledged that they were not *uſeful enough* to their mother country; that while we were loaded with taxes, they were abſolutely free; that the *planters* lived like *princes*, while the inhabitants of *England* laboured hard for a tolerable ſubſiſtence." POSTLETHWAYT, *ibid.*

" Before the ſettlement of theſe colonies," ſays *Poſtlethwayt*, " our manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent. In thoſe days we had not only our naval ſtores, but our ſhips from our neighbours. *Germany* furniſhed us with all things made of metal, even to nails. Wine, paper, linens, and a thouſand other things, came from *France*. *Portugal* ſupplied us with ſugar; all the products of *America* were poured into us from *Spain*; and the *Venetians* and *Genoeſe* retailed to us the commodities of the *Eaſt-Indies*, at their own price."

" If it be aſked, whether foreigners, for what goods they take of us, do not pay on *that conſumption* a great portion of our taxes? It is admitted they do."

POSTLETHWAYT's *Great-Britain's True Syſtem.*

" If we are afraid that one day or other the colonies will revolt, and ſet up for themſelves, as ſome ſeem to apprehend, let us not *drive* them to a *neceſſity* to *feel* themſelves independent of us; as they *will* do, the moment they perceive that *THEY CAN BE SUPPLIED WITH ALL THINGS FROM WITHIN THEMSELVES*, and do not need our aſſiſtance. If we would keep them ſtill dependent upon their mother country, and, in ſome reſpects,

ſubſervient

It ſeems extremely probable, that when cool, diſpaſſionate poſterity, ſhall conſider the affectionate intercourſe, the reciprocal benefits, and the unſuſpecting confidence, that have ſubſiſted between theſe colonies and their parent country, for ſuch a length of time,

ſubſervient to her *views* and welfare; let us make it their INTEREST always to be ſo." TUCKER *on Trade.*

"Our colonies, while they have *Engliſh* blood in their veins, and have relations in *England*, and WHILE THEY CAN GET BY TRADING WITH US, the *ſtronger* and *greater they* grow, the *more* this *crown* and *kingdom* will *get* by them; and nothing but ſuch an arbitrary power as ſhall make them deſperate, can bring them to rebel." DAVENANT *on the Plantation Trade.*

"The Northern colonies are not upon the ſame footing as thoſe of the South; and having a worſe ſoil to improve, they muſt find the recompence ſome other way, which only can be in property and dominion: Upon which ſcore, any INNOVATIONS in the form of government there, ſhould be cautiouſly examined, for fear of entering upon meaſures, by which the induſtry of the inhabitants be quite diſcouraged. 'Tis ALWAYS UNFORTUNATE for a people, either by CONSENT, or upon COMPULSION, to depart from their PRIMITIVE INSTITUTIONS, and THOSE FUNDAMENTALS, by which they were FIRST UNITED TOGETHER." *Idem.*

The moſt effectual way of *uniting* the colonies, is to make it their common intereſt to oppoſe the deſigns and attempts of *Great-Britain.*

"All wiſe ſtates will well conſider how to preſerve the advantages ariſing from colonies, and avoid the evils. And I conceive that there can be but TWO ways in nature to hinder them from throwing off their dependence; *one* to keep it out of their *power*, and the *other*, out of their *will*. The firſt muſt be by *force*, and the *latter*, by *uſing them well*, and keeping them employed in ſuch productions, and making ſuch manufactures, as will ſupport themſelves and families comfortably, *and procure them wealth too*, and at leaſt not prejudice their mother country.

"*Force* can never be uſed effectually to anſwer the end, *without deſtroying the colonies themſelves.* Liberty and encouragement are neceſſary to carry people thither, and to keep them together when they are there; and violence will hinder both. Any body of troops, conſiderable enough to awe them, and keep them in ſubjection, under the direction too of a needy governor, often ſent thither to make his fortune, and at ſuch a diſtance from any application for redreſs, will ſoon put an end to all planting, and leave the country to the ſoldiers alone, and if it did not, *would eat up all the profit of the colony.* For this reaſon, arbitrary countries have not been equally ſucceſsful in planting colonies with free ones; and what they have done in that kind, has either been by force, at a vaſt expence, or *by departing from the nature of their government*, and *giving ſuch priviledges to planters* as were *denied to their other ſubjects.* And I dare ſay, that a few prudent laws, and a little prudent conduct, would ſoon give us far the greateſt ſhare of the riches of all *America*, perhaps drive many of other nations out of it, or into our colonies for ſhelter.

"There are *ſo many exigencies* in all ſtates, *ſo many foreign wars*, and *domeſtic diſturbances*, that theſe colonies CAN NEVER WANT OPPORTUNITIES, if they watch for them, *to do what they ſhall find their intereſt to do*; and therefore we ought to take all the precautions in our power, that it ſhall never be *their intereſt* to act againſt that of their native country; an evil which can no otherwiſe be averted, than by keeping them *fully employed* in ſuch trades *as will increaſe their own*, as well as our wealth; for it is much to be feared, if we do not find employment for *them*, they may find it for *us*; the intereſt of the mother country, is always to keep them dependent, and ſo employed; and it requires all her addreſs to do it; and it is certainly more *eaſily* and *effectually* done by *gentle* and *inſenſible* methods, than by *power* alone." CATO's *Letters.*

time, they will execrate, with the bittereſt curſes, the infamous memory of thoſe men, whoſe peſtilential ambition unneceſſarily, wantonly, cruelly, firſt opened the ſources of civil diſcord between them; firſt turned their love into jealouſy; and firſt taught theſe provinces, filled with grief and anxiety, to enquire----

Mens ubi materna eſt?
Where is maternal affection?

A FARMER.

LETTER VI.

My dear COUNTRYMEN,

IT may perhaps be objected againſt the arguments that have been offered to the public, concerning the legal power of the parliament, "that it has always exerciſed the power of impoſing duties, for the purpoſes of raiſing a revenue on the productions of theſe colonies carried to *Great-Britain*, which may be called a tax on them." To this objection I anſwer, that this is no violation of the rights of the colonies, it being implied in the relation between them and *Great-Britain*, that they ſhould not carry ſuch commodities to other nations, as ſhould enable them to interfere with the mother country. The impoſition of duties on theſe commodities, when brought to her, is only a conſequence of her parental right; and if the point is thoroughly examined, the duties will be found to be laid on the people of the mother country. Whatever they are, they muſt proportionably raiſe the price of the goods, and conſequently muſt be paid by the conſumers. In this light they were conſidered by the parliament in the 25th *Charles* II. Chap. 7, Sect. 2, which ſays, that the productions of the plantations were carried from one to another free from all cuſtoms, "while the ſubjects of this your kingdom of *England* have paid *great cuſtoms and impoſitions for what of them have been* SPENT HERE," *&c.*

BESIDES, if *Great-Britain* exports theſe commodities again, the duties will injure her own trade, ſo that ſhe cannot hurt us, without plainly and immediately hurting herſelf; and this is our check againſt her acting arbitrarily in this reſpect.

* IT may be perhaps further objected, "that it being granted that ſtatutes made for regulating trade, are binding upon us, it will

* If any one ſhould obſerve that no oppoſition has been made to the legality of the 4th *Geo.* III. Chap. 15, which is the FIRST act of parliament that ever impoſed duties on the importations into *America*, for the *expreſſed* purpoſe of raiſing a revenue there; I anſwer----Firſt, That tho' the act expreſly mentions the

will be difficult for any perſons, but the makers of the laws, to determine, which of them are made for the regulating of trade, and which for raiſing a revenue; and that from hence may ariſe confuſion."

To this I anſwer, that the objection is of no force in the preſent caſe, or ſuch as reſemble it; becauſe the act now in queſtion, is formed *expreſly* FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF RAISING A REVENUE.

HOWEVER, ſuppoſing the deſign of parliament had not been *expreſſed*, the objection ſeems to me of no weight, with regard to the influence which thoſe who may make it, might expect it ought to have on the conduct of theſe colonies.

IT is true, that *impoſitions for raiſing a revenue*, may be hereafter called *regulations of trade*: But names will not change the nature of things. Indeed we ought firmly to believe, what is an undoubted truth, confirmed by the unhappy experience of many ſtates heretofore free, that UNLESS THE MOST WATCHFUL ATTENTION BE EXERTED, A NEW SERVITUDE MAY BE SLIPPED UPON US, UNDER THE SANCTION OF USUAL AND RESPECTABLE TERMS.

THUS the *Cæſars* ruined the *Roman* liberty, under the titles of *tribunicial* and *dictatorial* authorities---old and venerable dignities, known in the moſt flouriſhing times of freedom. In imitation of the ſame policy, *James* II. when he *meant* to eſtabliſh popery, *talked* of liberty of conſcience, the moſt ſacred of all liberties; and had thereby almoſt deceived the Diſſenters into deſtruction.

ALL artful rulers, who ſtrive to extend their power beyond its juſt limits, endeavor to give to their attempts as much ſemblance of

the raiſing a revenue in *America*, yet it ſeems that it had as much in view the "improving and ſecuring the trade between the ſame and *Great-Britain*," which words are part of its title: And the preamble ſays, "Whereas it is expedient that new proviſions and regulations ſhould be eſtabliſhed for improving the revenue of this kingdom, and *for extending and ſecuring the navigation and commerce between* Great-Britain, *and your Majeſty's dominions in* America, which by the peace have been ſo happily extended and enlarged," *&c.* Secondly, *All* the duties mentioned in that act are impoſed ſolely on the *productions and manufactures of foreign countries*, and not a ſingle duty laid on any production or manufacture of our mother country. Thirdly, the authority of the provincial aſſemblies is not therein ſo plainly *attacked* as by the laſt act, which makes proviſion for defraying the charges of the "adminiſtration of juſtice," and "the ſupport of civil government." Fourthly, That it being *doubtful*, whether the intention of the 4th *Geo.* III. Chap. 15, was not as much *to regulate trade*, as *to raiſe a revenue*, the minds of the people here were wholly engroſſed by the terror of the *Stamp-Act*, then impending over them, about the intention of which there could be *no doubt*.

Theſe reaſons ſo far diſtinguiſh the 4th *Geo.* III. Chap. 15, from the laſt act, that it is not to be wondered at, that the firſt ſhould have been ſubmitted to, tho' the *laſt* ſhould excite the moſt univerſal and ſpirited oppoſition. For *this* will be found, on the ſtricteſt examination, to be, in the *principle* on which it is founded, and in the *conſequences* that muſt attend it, if poſſible, more deſtructive than the *Stamp-Act*. It is, to ſpeak plainly, a *prodigy* in our laws; not having one *Britiſh* feature.

of legality as poſſible. Thoſe who ſucceed them may venture to go a little further; for each new encroachment will be ſtrengthened by a former. " † That which is now ſupported by examples, growing old, will become an example itſelf," and thus ſupport freſh uſurpations.

A FREE people therefore can never be too quick in obſerving, nor too firm in oppoſing the beginnings of *alteration* either in *form* or *reality*, reſpecting inſtitutions formed for their ſecurity. The firſt kind of alteration leads to the laſt: Yet, on the other hand, nothing is more certain, than that the *forms* of liberty may be retained, when the *ſubſtance* is gone. In government, as well as in religion, " The *letter* killeth, but the *ſpirit* giveth life ‡."

I WILL beg leave to enforce this remark by a few inſtances. The crown, by the conſtitution, has the prerogative of creating peers. The exiſtence of that order, in due number and dignity, is eſſential to the conſtitution; and if the crown did not exerciſe that prerogative, the peerage muſt have long ſince decreaſed ſo much as to have loſt its proper influence. Suppoſe a prince, for ſome unjuſt purpoſes, ſhould, from time to time, advance ſo many needy, profligate wretches to that rank, that all the independence of the houſe of lords ſhould be deſtroyed; there would then be a manifeſt violation of the conſtitution, *under the appearance of uſing legal prerogative.*

THE houſe of commons claims the privilege of forming all money bills, and will not ſuffer either of the other branches of the legiſlature to add to, or alter them; contending that their power ſimply extends to an acceptance or rejection of them. This privilege appears to be juſt: But under pretence of this juſt privilege, the houſe of commons has claimed a licence of tacking to money bills, clauſes relating to things of a totally different kind, and thus forcing them in a manner on the king and lords. This ſeems to be an abuſe of that privilege, and it may be vaſtly more abuſed. Suppoſe a future houſe, influenced by ſome diſplaced, diſcontented demagogues---in a time of danger, ſhould tack to a money bill, ſomething ſo injurious to the king and peers, that they would not aſſent to it, and yet the commons ſhould obſtinately inſiſt on it; the whole kingdom would be expoſed to ruin by them, *under the appearance of maintaining a valuable privilege.*

IN theſe caſes it might be difficult for a while to determine, whether the king intended to exerciſe his prerogative in a conſtitutional manner or not; or whether the commons inſiſted on their demand factiouſly, or for the public good: But ſurely the conduct of the crown, or of the houſe, would in time ſufficiently explain itſelf.

OUGHT not the PEOPLE therefore to watch? to obſerve facts? to ſearch into cauſes? to inveſtigate deſigns? And have they not a right

† TACITUS. ‡ 2 COR. iii. 6.

right of JUDGING from the evidence before them, on no ſlighter points than their *liberty* and *happineſs?* It would be leſs than trifling, wherever a *Britiſh* government is eſtabliſhed, to make uſe of any arguments to prove ſuch a right. It is ſufficient to remind the reader of the day, on the anniverſary of which the firſt of theſe letters is dated.

I WILL now apply what has been ſaid to the preſent queſtion.

THE *nature* of any impoſitions laid by parliament on theſe colonies, muſt determine the *deſign* in laying them. It may not be eaſy in every inſtance to diſcover that deſign. Wherever it is doubtful, I think ſubmiſſion cannot be dangerous; nay, it muſt be right; for, in my opinion, there is no privilege theſe colonies claim, which they ought in *duty* and *prudence* more earneſtly to maintain and defend, than the authority of the *Britiſh* parliament to regulate the trade of all her dominions. Without this authority, the benefits ſhe enjoys from our commerce, muſt be loſt to her: The bleſſings we enjoy from our dependence upon her, muſt be loſt to us. Her ſtrength muſt decay; her glory vaniſh; and ſhe cannot ſuffer without our partaking in her misfortune. *Let us therefore cheriſh her intereſts as our own, and give her every thing, that it becomes* FREEMEN *to give or to receive.*

THE *nature* of any impoſitions ſhe may lay upon us may, in general, be known, by conſidering how far they relate to the preſerving, in due order, the connection between the ſeveral parts of the *Britiſh* empire. One thing we may be aſſured of, which is this----Whenever ſhe impoſes duties on commodities, to be paid only upon their exportation from *Great-Britain* to theſe colonies, it is not a regulation of trade, but a deſign to raiſe a revenue upon us. Other inſtances may happen, which it may not be neceſſary at preſent to dwell on. I hope theſe colonies will never, to their lateſt exiſtence, want underſtanding ſufficient to diſcover the intentions of thoſe who rule over them, nor the reſolution neceſſary for aſſerting their intereſts. They will always have the ſame rights, that all free ſtates have, of judging when their privileges are invaded, and of uſing all prudent meaſures for preſerving them.

Quocirca vivite fortes
Fortiaque adverſis opponite pectora rebus.

Wherefore keep up your ſpirits, and gallantly oppoſe this adverſe courſe of affairs.

A FARMER.

LET-

LETTER VII.

My dear COUNTRYMEN,

THIS letter is intended more particularly for ſuch of you, whoſe employments in life may have prevented your attending to the conſideration of ſome points that are of great and public importance: For many ſuch perſons there muſt be even in theſe colonies, where the inhabitants in general are more intelligent than any other people whatever, as has been remarked by ſtrangers, and it ſeems with reaſon.

SOME of you, perhaps, filled, as I know your breaſts are, with loyalty to our moſt excellent Prince, and with love to our dear mother country, may feel yourſelves inclined, by the affections of your hearts, to approve every action of thoſe whom you ſo much venerate and eſteem. A prejudice thus flowing from goodneſs of diſpoſition, is amiable indeed. I wiſh it could be indulged without danger. Did I think this poſſible, the error ſhould have been adopted, and not oppoſed by me. But in truth, all men are ſubject to the frailties of nature; and therefore whatever regard we entertain for the *perſons* of thoſe who govern us, we ſhould always remember that their conduct, as *rulers*, may be influenced by human infirmities.

WHEN any laws, injurious to theſe colonies, are paſſed, we cannot ſuppoſe, that any injury was intended us by his Majeſty, or the Lords. For the aſſent of the crown and peers to laws, ſeems, as far as I am able to judge, to have been veſted in them, more for their own ſecurity, than for any other purpoſe. On the other hand, it is the particular buſineſs of the people, to enquire and diſcover what regulations are uſeful for themſelves, and to digeſt and preſent them in the form of bills, to the other orders, to have them enacted into laws. Where theſe laws are to bind *themſelves*, it may be expected, that the houſe of commons will very carefully conſider them: But when they are making laws that are not deſigned to bind *themſelves*, we cannot imagine that their deliberations will be as * cautious and ſcrupulous, as in their own caſe.

* Many remarkable inſtances might be produced of the extraordinary inattention with which bills of great importance, concerning theſe colonies, have paſſed in parliament; which is owing, as it is ſuppoſed, to the bills being brought in by the perſons who have points to carry, ſo artfully framed, that it is not eaſy for the members in general, in the haſte of buſineſs, to diſcover their tendency.

The following inſtances ſhew the truth of this remark. When Mr. *Greenville*, in the violence of reformation, formed the 4th *Geo.* III. Chap. 15th, for regulating the *American* trade, the word "*Ireland*" was dropt in the clauſe relating

I AM told, that there is a wonderful addreſs frequently uſed in carrying points in the houſe of commons, by perſons experienced in theſe affairs.----That opportunities are watched---and ſometimes votes are paſſed, that if all the members had been preſent, would have been rejected by a great majority. Certain it is, that when a powerful and artful man has determined on any meaſure againſt theſe colonies, he has always ſucceeded in his attempt. Perhaps therefore it will be proper for us, whenever any oppreſſive act affecting us is paſſed, to attribute it to the inattention of the members of the houſe of commons, and to the malevolence or ambition of ſome factious great man, rather than to any other cauſe.

Now I do verily believe, that the late act of parliament, impoſing duties on paper, *&c.* was formed by Mr. *Greenville*, and his party, becauſe it is evidently a part of that plan, by which he endeavoured to render himſelf POPULAR at home; and I do alſo believe, that not one half of the members of the houſe of commons, even of thoſe who heard it read, did perceive how deſtructive it was to *American* freedom. For this reaſon, as it is uſual in *Great-Britain*, to conſider the King's ſpeech as the ſpeech of the miniſtry, it may be right here to conſider this act as the act of a *party*----perhaps I ſhould ſpeak more properly, if I was to uſe another term.

THERE

lating to our iron and lumber, ſo that we could ſend theſe articles to no part of *Europe*, but to *Great-Britain*. This was ſo unreaſonable a reſtriction, and ſo contrary to the ſentiments of the legiſlature for many years before, that it is ſurprizing it ſhould not have been taken notice of in the houſe. However the bill paſſed into a law. But when the matter was explained, this reſtriction was taken off by a ſubſequent act. I cannot poſitively ſay how long after the taking off this reſtriction, as I have not the act, but I think, in leſs than 18 months, another act of parliament paſſed, in which the word "*Ireland*" was left out, juſt as it had been before. The matter being a ſecond time explained, was a ſecond time regulated.

Now if it be conſidered, that the omiſſion mentioned ſtruck off with ONE word SO VERY GREAT A PART OF OUR TRADE, it muſt appear *remarkable*; and equally ſo is the method, by which *Rice* became an enumerated commodity.

"The enumeration was obtained (ſays Mr. [*a*] *Gee*) by one *Cole*, a Captain of a ſhip, employed by a company then trading to *Carolina*, for ſeveral ſhips going from *England* thither, and purchaſing rice for *Portugal*, prevented *the aforeſaid Captain* of a loading. Upon his coming home, he poſſeſſed one Mr. *Lowndes*, a member of parliament *(who was very frequently employed to prepare bills)* with an opinion, that carrying rice directly to *Portugal*, was a prejudice to the trade of *England*, and PRIVATELY got a clauſe into an act, to make it an enumerated commodity; *by which means he ſecured a freight to himſelf*. BUT THE CONSEQUENCE PROVED A VAST LOSS TO THE NATION."

I find that this clauſe, "PRIVATELY got into an act," FOR THE BENEFIT OF CAPTAIN COLE, to the "VAST LOSS OF THE NATION," is foiſted into the 3d and 4th *Ann*, Chap. 5th, intituled, "An act for granting to her Majeſty a further ſubſidy on wines and merchandizes imported," with which it has no more connection, than with 34th *Edward* I. the 34th and 35th of *Henry* VIII. and the 25th of *Charles* II. WHICH PROVIDE, THAT NO PERSON SHALL BE TAXED BUT BY HIMSELF OR HIS REPRESENTATIVE.

[*a*] *Gee* on Trade, page 32.

THERE are two ways of laying taxes. One is, by impoſing a certain ſum on particular kinds of property, to be paid by the *uſer* or *conſumer*, or by rating the *perſon* at a certain ſum. The other is, by impoſing a certain ſum on particular kinds of property, to be paid by the *ſeller*.

WHEN a man pays the firſt ſort of tax, he *knows with certainty* that he pays ſo much money *for a tax*. The *conſideration* for which he pays it, is remote, and, it may be, does not occur to him. He is ſenſible too, that he is *commanded and obliged* to pay it *as a tax*; and therefore people are apt to be diſpleaſed with this ſort of tax.

THE other ſort of tax is ſubmitted to in a very different manner. The purchaſer of any article, very ſeldom reflects that the ſeller raiſes his price, ſo as to indemnify himſelf for the tax *he* has paid. He knows that the prices of things are continually fluctuating, and if he thinks about the tax, he thinks at the ſame time, in all probability, that he *might* have paid as much, if the article he buys had not been taxed. He gets ſomething *viſible* and *agreeable* for his money; and tax and price are ſo confounded together, that he cannot ſeparate, or does not chuſe to take the trouble of ſeparating them.

THIS mode of taxation therefore is the mode ſuited to arbitrary and oppreſſive governments. The love of liberty is ſo natural to the human heart, that unfeeling tyrants think themſelves obliged to accommodate their ſchemes as much as they can to the appearance of juſtice and reaſon, and to deceive thoſe whom they reſolve to deſtroy, or oppreſs, by preſenting to them a miſerable picture of freedom, when the ineſtimable original is loſt.

THIS policy did not eſcape the cruel and rapacious *NERO*. That monſter, apprehenſive that his crimes might endanger his authority and life, thought proper to do ſome popular acts, to ſecure the obedience of his ſubjects. Among other things, ſays *Tacitus*, "he remitted the twenty-fifth part of the price on the ſale of ſlaves, but rather in *ſhew* than *reality*; for the *ſeller* being ordered to pay it, it became part of the price to the *buyer* ‖."

THIS is the reflection of the judicious *Hiſtorian*; but the deluded *people* gave their infamous Emperor full credit for his falſe generoſity. Other nations have been treated in the ſame manner the *Romans* were. The honeſt, induſtrious *Germans*, who are ſettled in different parts of this continent, can inform us, that it was this ſort of tax that drove them from their native land to our woods, at that time the ſeats of perfect and undiſturbed freedom.

THEIR Princes, enflamed by the luſt of power, and the luſt of avarice, two furies that the more they are gorged, the more hungry they grow, tranſgreſſed the bounds they ought, in regard to themſelves, to have obſerved. To keep up the deception in the minds

‖ *Tacitus's Ann.* Book 13, §. 31.

of ſubjects, " there muſt be," ſays † a very learned author, " ſome proportion between the impoſt and the value of the commodity; wherefore there ought not to be an exceſſive duty upon merchandizes of little value. There are countries in which the duty exceeds ſeventeen or eighteen times the value of the commodity. In this caſe the Prince removes the illuſion. His ſubjects plainly ſee they are dealt with in an unreaſonable manner, which renders them moſt exquiſitely ſenſible of their ſlaviſh ſituation." From hence it appears, that ſubjects may be ground down into miſery by this ſort of taxation, as well as by the former. They will be as much impoveriſhed, if their money is taken from them in this way as in the other; and that it will be taken, may be more evident, by attending to a few more conſiderations.

THE merchant or importer, who pays the duty at firſt, will not conſent to be ſo much money out of pocket. He therefore proportionably raiſes the price of his goods. It may then be ſaid to be a conteſt between him and the perſon offering to buy, who ſhall loſe the duty. This muſt be decided by the nature of the commodities, and the purchaſer's demand for them. If they are mere luxuries, he is at liberty to do as he pleaſes, and if he buys, he does it voluntarily: But if they are abſolute *neceſſaries*, or *conveniences*, which uſe and cuſtom have made requiſite for the comfort of life, and which he is not permitted, by the power impoſing the duty, *to get elſewhere*, there the ſeller has a plain advantage, and the buyer *muſt* pay the duty. In fact, the ſeller is nothing leſs than a collector of the tax for the power that impoſed it. If theſe duties then are extended to the neceſſaries and conveniences of life in general, and enormouſly encreaſed, the people muſt at length become indeed " moſt exquiſitely ſenſible of their ſlaviſh ſituation." Their happineſs therefore entirely depends on the moderation of thoſe who have authority to impoſe the duties.

I SHALL now apply theſe obſervations to the late act of parliament. Certain duties are thereby impoſed on paper and glaſs, imported into theſe colonies. By the laws of *Great-Britain* we are prohibited to get theſe articles from any other part of the world. We cannot at preſent, nor for many years to come, tho' we ſhould apply ourſelves to theſe manufactures with the utmoſt induſtry, make enough ourſelves for our own uſe. That paper and glaſs are not only convenient, but abſolutely neceſſary for us, I imagine very few will contend. Some perhaps, who think mankind grew wicked and luxurious, as ſoon as they found out another way of communicating their ſentiments than by ſpeech, and another way of dwelling than in caves, may advance ſo whimſical an opinion. But I preſume no body will take the unneceſſary trouble of refuting them.

FROM

† *Monteſquieu's Spirit of Laws*, Book 13, Chap. 8.

FROM theſe remarks I think it evident, that we *muſt* uſe paper and glaſs; that what we uſe *muſt* be *Britiſh*; and that we *muſt* pay the duties impoſed, unleſs thoſe who ſell theſe articles, are ſo generous as to make us preſents of the duties they pay.

SOME perſons may think this act of no conſequence, becauſe the duties are ſo *ſmall*. A fatal error. *That* is the very circumſtance moſt alarming to me. For I am convinced, that the authors of this law would never have obtained an act to raiſe ſo trifling a ſum as it muſt do, had they not intended by *it* to eſtabliſh a *precedent* for future uſe. To conſole ourſelves with the *ſmallneſs* of the duties, is to walk deliberately into the ſnare that is ſet for us, praiſing the *neatneſs* of the workmanſhip. Suppoſe the duties impoſed by the late act could be paid by theſe diſtreſſed colonies with the utmoſt eaſe, and that the purpoſes to which they are to be applied, were the moſt reaſonable and equitable that can be conceived, the contrary of which I hope to demonſtrate before theſe letters are concluded; yet even in ſuch a ſuppoſed caſe, theſe colonies ought to regard the act with abhorrence. For WHO ARE A FREE PEOPLE? Not *thoſe*, over whom government is reaſonably and equitably exerciſed, but *thoſe*, who live under a government ſo *conſtitutionally checked and controuled*, that proper proviſion is made againſt its being otherwiſe exerciſed.

THE late act is founded on the deſtruction of this conſtitutional ſecurity. If the parliament have a right to lay a duty of Four Shillings and Eight-pence on a hundred weight of glaſs, or a ream of paper, they have a right to lay a duty of any other ſum on either. They may raiſe the duty, as the author before quoted ſays has been done in ſome countries, till it "exceeds ſeventeen or eighteen times the value of the commodity." In ſhort, if they have a right *to* levy a tax of *one penny* upon us, they have a right to levy a *million* upon us: For where does their right ſtop? At any given number of Pence, Shillings or Pounds? To attempt to limit their right, after granting it to exiſt at all, is as contrary to reaſon----as granting it to exiſt at all, is contrary to juſtice. If *they* have any right to tax *us*----then, whether *our own money* ſhall continue in *our own pockets* or not, depends no longer on *us*, but on *them*. ‡ "There is nothing which" we "can call our own; or, to uſe the words of Mr. *Locke*----WHAT PROPERTY HAVE" WE "IN THAT, WHICH ANOTHER MAY, BY RIGHT, TAKE, WHEN HE PLEASES, TO HIMSELF?"

THESE duties, which will inevitably be levied upon us---which are now levying upon us---are *expreſly* laid FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF TAKING MONEY. This is the true definition of "*taxes*." They are therefore *taxes*. This money is to be taken from *us*.

We

‡ Lord *Cambden*'s ſpeech.

We are therefore *taxed*. *Thoſe* who are *taxed* without their own conſent, expreſſed by themſelves or their repreſentatives, are *ſlaves*. *We are taxed* without our own conſent, expreſſed by ourſelves or our repreſentatives. *We* are therefore-----§ SLAVES.

Miſerabile vulgus.
A miſerable tribe.

A FARMER.

§ "It is my opinion, that this kingdom has no right to lay A TAX upon the colonies."----"The *Americans* are the SONS, not the BASTARDS of *England*."---"The diſtinction between LEGISLATION and TAXATION is eſſentially neceſſary to liberty."---"The COMMONS of *America*, repreſented in their ſeveral aſſemblies, have ever been in poſſeſſion of this their conſtitutional right, of GIVING AND GRANTING THEIR OWN MONEY. They would have been *SLAVES*, if they had not enjoyed it." "The idea of a *virtual repreſentation* of *America* in this houſe, is the moſt contemptible idea, that ever entered into the head of man.----It does not deſerve a ſerious refutation."

Mr. Pitt's *ſpeech on the* Stamp-Act.

That great and excellent man Lord *Cambden*, maintains the ſame opinion. His ſpeech in the houſe of peers, on the declaratory bill of the ſovereignty of *Great-Britain* over the colonies, has lately appeared in our papers. The following extracts ſo perfectly agree with, and confirm the ſentiments avowed in theſe letters, that it is hoped the inſerting them in this note will be excuſed.

"As the Affair is of the *utmoſt importance*, and in its conſequences may involve the *fate of kingdoms*, I took the ſtricteſt review of my arguments; I reexamined all my authorities; fully determined, if I found myſelf miſtaken, publickly to own my miſtake, and give up my opinion: But my ſearches have more and more convinced me, that the *Britiſh* parliament have *NO RIGHT TO TAX* the *Americans*."----"Nor is the doctrine new; it is as old as the conſtitution; it grew up with it; indeed it is its ſupport."----"TAXATION and REPRESENTATION are inſeparably united. *GOD* hath joined them: No *Britiſh* parliament can ſeparate them: To endeavour to do it, is to ſtab our vitals."

"My poſition is this----I repeat it----I will maintain it to my laſt hour----TAXATION and REPRESENTATION are inſeparable----this poſition is founded on the laws of nature; it is more, it is itſelf AN ETERNAL LAW OF NATURE; for whatever is a man's own, is abſolutely his own; NO MAN HATH A RIGHT TO TAKE IT FROM HIM WITHOUT HIS CONSENT, either expreſſed by himſelf or repreſentative; *whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury*; WHOEVER DOES IT, *COMMITS A ROBBERY*; HE THROWS DOWN THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN LIBERTY AND SLAVERY."---"There is not a *blade of graſs*, in the moſt obſcure corner of the kingdom, which is not, which was not ever *repreſented*, ſince the conſtitution began: There is not a *blade of graſs*, which, when taxed, *was not taxed by the conſent of the proprietor*."

"The forefathers of the *Americans* did not leave their native country, and ſubject themſelves to every danger and diſtreſs, TO BE REDUCED TO A STATE OF SLAVERY. They did not give up their rights: They looked for protection, and *not for* CHAINS, from their mother country. By her they expected to be defended in the poſſeſſion of their property, and not to be deprived of it: For ſhould the preſent power continue, THERE IS NOTHING WHICH THEY CAN CALL THEIR OWN; or, to uſe the words of Mr. *Locke*, "*WHAT PROPERTY HAVE THEY IN THAT, WHICH ANOTHER MAY, BY RIGHT, TAKE, WHEN HE PLEASES, TO HIMSELF?*"

It

LETTRR VIII.

My dear COUNTRYMEN,

IN my opinion, a dangerous example is ſet in the laſt act relating to theſe colonies. The power of parliament to levy money upon us for raiſing a revenue, is therein *avowed* and *exerted*. Regarding the act on this ſingle principle, I muſt again repeat, and I think it my duty to repeat, that to me it appears to be *unconſtitutional*.

No man, who conſiders the conduct of the parliament ſince the repeal of the *Stamp-Act*, and the diſpoſition of many people at home, can doubt, that the chief object of attention there, is, to uſe Mr. *Greenville*'s expreſſion, "providing that the DEPENDENCE and OBEDIENCE of the colonies be aſſerted and maintained."

UNDER the influence of this notion, inſtantly on repealing the *Stamp-Act*, an act paſſed, declaring the power of parliament to bind theſe colonies *in all caſes whatever*. This however was only planting a barren tree, that caſt a *ſhade* indeed over the colonies, but yielded no *fruit*. It being determined to enforce the authority on which the *Stamp-Act* was founded, the parliament having never renounced the right, as Mr. *Pitt* adviſed them to do; and it being thought proper to diſguiſe that authority in ſuch a manner, as not again to alarm the colonies; ſome little time was required to find a method, by which both theſe points ſhould be united. At laſt the ingenuity of Mr. *Greenville* and his party accompliſhed the matter, as it was thought, in "an act for granting certain duties in the *Britiſh* colonies and plantations in *America*, for allowing drawbacks," *&c.* which is the title of the act laying duties on paper, *&c.*

THE parliament having ſeveral times before impoſed duties to be paid in *America*, IT WAS EXPECTED, NO DOUBT, THAT THE REPETITION OF SUCH A MEASURE WOULD BE PASSED OVER, AS AN USUAL THING. But to have done this, without expreſſly "aſſerting and maintaining" the power of parliament to take our money without our conſent, and to apply it as they pleaſe, would not

It is impoſſible to read this ſpeech, and Mr. *Pitt*'s, and not be charmed with the generous zeal for the rights of mankind that glows in every ſentence. Theſe great and good men, animated by the ſubject they ſpeak upon, ſeem to riſe above all the former glorious exertions of their abilities. A foreigner might be tempted to think they are *Americans*, aſſerting with all the ardor of patriotiſm, and all the anxiety of apprehenſion, the cauſe of their native land---and not *Britons*, ſtriving to ſtop their miſtaken countrymen from oppreſſing others. Their reaſoning is not only juſt---it is, as Mr. *Hume* ſays of the eloquence of *Demoſthenes*, "vehement." It is diſdain, anger, boldneſs, freedom, involved in a continual ſtream of argument.

not have been, in Mr. *Greenville's* opinion, ſufficiently declarative of its ſupremacy, nor ſufficiently depreſſive of *American* freedom.

THEREFORE it is, that in this memorable act we find it *expreſly* "provided," that money ſhall be levied upon us without our conſent, for PURPOSES, that render it, *if poſſible*, more dreadful than the *Stamp-Act*.

THAT act, alarming as it was, declared, the money thereby to be raiſed, ſhould be applied "towards defraying the expences of defending, protecting and ſecuring the *Britiſh* colonies and plantations in *America:*" And it is evident from the whole act, that by the word "*Britiſh*," were intended colonies and plantations *ſettled by* Britiſh *people*, and not generally, *thoſe ſubject to the* Britiſh *crown*. That act therefore ſeemed to have ſomething gentle and kind in its intention, and to aim only at *our own welfare:* But the act now objected to, impoſes duties upon the *Britiſh* colonies, "to defray the expences of defending, protecting and ſecuring *his Majeſty's* DOMINIONS *in* America."

WHAT a *change* of words! What an *incomputable addition* to the expences intended by the *Stamp-Act!* "*His Majeſty's* DOMINIONS" comprehend not only *the* Britiſh *colonies*, but alſo *the conquered provinces of* Canada *and* Florida, *and the* Britiſh *garriſons of* Nova-Scotia; for *theſe* do not deſerve the name of *colonies*.

WHAT juſtice is there in making US pay for "defending, protecting and ſecuring" THESE PLACES? What benefit *can* WE, or *have* WE ever derived *from them?* None of them was conquered *for* US; nor will "be defended, protected or ſecured" *for* US.

IN fact, however advantageous the ſubduing or keeping any of theſe countries may be to *Great-Britain*, the acquiſition is greatly injurious to theſe colonies. Our chief property conſiſts in *lands*. Theſe would have been of much greater value, if ſuch prodigious additions had not been made to the *Britiſh* territories on this continent. The natural increaſe of our own people, if confined within the colonies, would have raiſed the value ſtill higher and higher every fifteen or twenty years: Beſides, we ſhould have lived more compactly together, and have been therefore more able to reſiſt any enemy. But now the inhabitants will be thinly ſcattered over an immenſe region, as thoſe who want ſettlements, will chuſe to make new ones, rather than pay great prices for old ones.

THESE are the conſequences to the colonies, of the hearty aſſiſtance they gave to *Great-Britain* in the late war-----a war *undertaken ſolely for her own benefit*. The objects of it were, the ſecuring to herſelf the rich tracts of land on the back of theſe colonies, with the *Indian* trade; and *Nova-Scotia*, with the fiſhery. *Theſe, and much more, has that kingdom gained*; but the *inferior animals*, that hunted with the *lion*, have been amply rewarded for all the ſweat and blood their loyalty coſt them, by the honor of having ſweated and bled in ſuch company.

I WILL

I WILL not go ſo far as to ſay, that *Canada* and *Nova-Scotia* are curbs on *New-England*; the *chain of forts* through the back woods, on the *Middle Provinces*; and *Florida*, on the *reſt*: But I will venture to ſay, that if the products of *Canada*, *Nova-Scotia*, and *Florida*, deſerve any conſideration, the two firſt of them are only rivals of our Northern Colonies, and the other of our Southern.

IT has been ſaid, that without the conqueſt of theſe countries, the colonies could not have been "protected, defended and ſecured." If that is true, it may with as much propriety be ſaid, that *Great-Britain* could not have been "defended, protected and ſecured," without that conqueſt: For the colonies are parts of her empire, which it *as much* concerns *her* as *them* to keep out of the hands of any other power.

BUT theſe colonies, when they were much weaker, defended themſelves, before this Conqueſt was made; and could again do it, againſt any that might properly be called *their* Enemies. If *France* and *Spain* indeed ſhould attack them, *as members of the* Britiſh *empire*, perhaps they might be diſtreſſed; but it would be in a *Britiſh* quarrel.

THE largeſt account I have ſeen of the number of people in *Canada*, does not make them exceed 90,000. *Florida* can hardly be ſaid to have any inhabitants. It is computed that there are in our colonies 3,000,000. *Our* force therefore muſt increaſe with a diſproportion to the growth of *their* ſtrength, that would render us very ſafe.

THIS being the ſtate of the caſe, I cannot think it juſt that theſe colonies, labouring under ſo many misfortunes, ſhould be loaded with *taxes*, to maintain countries, not only not uſeful, but hurtful to them. The ſupport of *Canada* and *Florida* coſt yearly, it is ſaid, half a million ſterling. From hence, we may make ſome gueſs of the load that is to be laid *upon* US; for WE are not only to "defend, protect and ſecure" *them*, but alſo to make "an adequate proviſion for defraying the charge of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the ſupport of civil government, in ſuch provinces where it ſhall be found neceſſary."

NOT one of the provinces of *Canada*, *Nova-Scotia*, or *Florida*, has ever defrayed *theſe expences within itſelf*: And if the duties impoſed by the laſt ſtatute are collected, *all of them together*, according to the beſt information I can get, will not pay *one quarter as much as* Pennſylvania *alone*. So that the *Britiſh colonies* are to be drained of the rewards of their labor, to cheriſh the ſcorching ſands of *Florida*, and the icy rocks of *Canada* and *Nova-Scotia*, which never will return to us one farthing that we ſend to them.

GREAT-BRITAIN----I mean, the miniſtry in *Great-Britain*, has cantoned *Canada* and *Florida* out into *five* or *ſix* governments, and may form *as many more*. There now are *fourteen* or *fifteen* regiments on this continent; and there ſoon may be as *many more*. To

make " an adequate proviſion" FOR ALL THESE EXPENCES, is, no doubt, to be the *inheritance* of the colonies.

CAN any man believe that the duties upon paper, *&c.* are the *laſt* that will be laid for theſe purpoſes? It is in vain to hope, that becauſe it is imprudent to lay duties on the exportation of manufactures from a mother country to colonies, as it may promote manufactures among them, that this conſideration will prevent ſuch a meaſure.

AMBITIOUS, artful men have made it popular, and whatever injuſtice or deſtruction will attend it in the opinion of the coloniſts, at home it will be thought juſt and ſalutary *.

THE people of *Great-Britain* will be told, and have been told, that *they* are ſinking under an immenſe debt----that great part of this debt has been contracted in defending the colonies---that *theſe* are ſo ungrateful and undutiful, that they will not contribute one mite to its payment---nor even to the ſupport of the army now kept up for their " defence and ſecurity"---that they are rolling in wealth, and are of ſo bold and republican a ſpirit, that they are aiming at independence---that the only way to retain them in " obedience," is to keep a ſtrict watch over them, and to draw off part of their riches in *taxes*---and that every burden laid upon *them*, is taking off ſo much from *Great-Britain*.---Theſe aſſertions will be generally believed, and the people will be perſuaded that they cannot be too angry with their colonies, as that anger will be profitable to themſelves.

IN truth, *Great-Britain* alone receives any benefit from *Canada*, *Nova-Scotia* and *Florida*; and therefore ſhe alone ought to maintain them. The old maxim of the law is drawn from reaſon and juſtice, and never could be more properly applied, than in this caſe.

Qui ſentit commodum, ſentire debet et onus.

They who feel the benefit, ought to feel the burden.

A FARMER.

* " So *credulous*, as well as *obſtinate*, are the people in believing *every thing*, which flatters their *prevailing paſſion*. *Hume's Hiſt. of England.*

LET-

LETTER IX.

My dear COUNTRYMEN,

I HAVE made ſome obſervations on the PURPOSES for which money is to be levied upon us by the late act of parliament. I ſhall now offer to your conſideration ſome further reflections on that ſubject: And, unleſs I am greatly miſtaken, if theſe purpoſes are accompliſhed according to the *expreſſed* intention of the act, they will be found effectually to *ſuperſede* that authority in our reſpective aſſemblies, which is eſſential to liberty. The queſtion is not, whether ſome branches ſhall be lopt off----The axe is laid to the root of the tree; and the whole body muſt infallibly periſh, if we remain idle ſpectators of the work.

No free people ever exiſted, or can ever exiſt, without keeping, to uſe a common, but ſtrong expreſſion, "the purſe ſtrings," in their own hands. Where this is the caſe, *they* have a *conſtitutional check* upon the adminiſtration, which may thereby be brought into order *without violence:* But where ſuch a power is not lodged in the *people*, oppreſſion proceeds uncontrouled in its career, till the governed, tranſported into rage, ſeek redreſs in the midſt of blood and confuſion.

THE elegant and ingenious Mr. *Hume*, ſpeaking of the *Anglo Norman* government, ſays----"Princes and Miniſters were too ignorant, to be themſelves ſenſible of the advantage attending an equitable adminiſtration, and there was no eſtabliſhed council or *aſſembly*, WHICH COULD PROTECT THE PEOPLE, and BY WITHDRAWING SUPPLIES, regularly and PEACEABLY admoniſh the king of his duty, and ENSURE THE EXECUTION OF THE LAWS."

THUS this great man, whoſe political reflections are ſo much admired, makes *this power* one of the foundations of liberty.

THE *Engliſh* hiſtory abounds with inſtances, proving that *this* is the proper and ſucceſsful way to obtain redreſs of grievances. How often have kings and miniſters endeavored to throw off this legal curb upon them, by attempting to raiſe money by a variety of inventions, under pretence of law, without having recourſe to parliament? And how often have they been brought to reaſon, and peaceably obliged to do juſtice, by the exertion of this conſtitutional authority of the people, veſted in their repreſentatives?

THE inhabitants of theſe colonies have, on numberleſs occaſions, reaped the benefit of this authority *lodged in their aſſemblies.*

IT has been for a long time, and now is, a conſtant inſtruction to all governors, *to obtain a* PERMANENT *ſupport for the offices of government.* But as the author of "the adminiſtration of the colonies" ſays, "this order of the crown is generally, if not univerſally, rejected by the legiſlatures of the colonies."

THEY perfectly know *how much* their grievances would be regarded, if they had *no other* method of engaging attention, than by *complaining*. Thoſe who rule, are extremely apt to think well of the conſtructions made by themſelves in ſupport of their own power. *Theſe* are frequently erroneous, and pernicious to thoſe they govern. Dry remonſtrances, to ſhew that ſuch conſtructions are wrong and oppreſſive, carry very little weight with them, in the opinion of perſons who gratify their own inclinations in making theſe conſtructions. *They* CANNOT underſtand the reaſoning that oppoſes *their* power and deſires. But let it be made *their intereſt* to underſtand ſuch reaſoning----and a *wonderful light* is inſtantly thrown upon the matter; and then, rejected remonſtrances become as clear as * "proofs of holy writ."

THE three moſt important articles that our aſſemblies, or any legiſlatures can provide for, are, Firſt---the defence of the ſociety: Secondly---the adminiſtration of juſtice: And thirdly---the ſupport of civil government.

NOTHING can properly regulate the expence of making proviſion for theſe occaſions, but the *neceſſities* of the ſociety; its *abilities*; the *conveniency* of the modes of levying money in it; the *manner* in which the laws have been executed; and the *conduct* of the officers of government: *All which* are circumſtances, that *cannot* poſſibly be properly *known*, but by the ſociety itſelf; or if they ſhould be known, *will not* probably be properly *conſidered* but by that ſociety.

IF money be raiſed upon us by *others*, without our conſent, for our "defence," thoſe who are the judges in *levying* it, muſt alſo be the judges in *applying* it. Of conſequence the money *ſaid* to be taken from us for our defence, *may be employed* to our injury. We may be chained in by a line of fortifications----obliged to pay for the building and maintaining them----and be told, that they are for our defence. With what face can we diſpute the fact, after having granted that thoſe who *apply* the money, had a right to *levy* it? For ſurely, it is much eaſier for their wiſdom to underſtand how to apply it in the beſt manner, than how to levy it in the beſt manner. Beſides, the *right of levying* is of infinitely more conſequence, than *that of applying*. The people of *England*, who would burſt out into fury, if the crown ſhould attempt to *levy* money by its own authority, have always aſſigned to the crown the *application* of money.

AS to "the adminiſtration of juſtice"----the judges ought, in a well regulated ſtate, to be equally independent of the executive and legiſlative powers. Thus in *England*, judges hold their commiſſions from the crown "*during good behavior*," and have ſalaries, ſuitable to their dignity, *ſettled* on them by parliament. The purity

* SHAKESPEARE.

purity of the courts of law ſince this eſtabliſtment, is a proof of the wiſdom with which it was made.

BUT in theſe colonies, how fruitleſs has been every attempt to have the judges appointed "*during good behavior?*" Yet whoever conſiders the matter will ſoon perceive, that *ſuch commiſſions* are beyond all compariſon more neceſſary in theſe colonies, than they were in *England*.

THE chief danger to the ſubject *there*, aroſe from the arbitrary *deſigns of the crown*; but *here*, the time may come, when we may have to contend with the *deſigns of the crown, and of a mighty kingdom*. What then muſt be our chance, when the laws of life and death are to be ſpoken by judges totally dependent on *that crown*, and *that kingdom*----ſent over perhaps *from thence*----filled with *Britiſh prejudices*---and *backed by a* STANDING *army*---ſupported out of OUR OWN pockets, to "aſſert and maintain" OUR OWN "dependence and obedience."

BUT ſuppoſing that through the extreme lenity that will prevail in the government *through all future ages*, theſe colonies will never behold any thing like the campaign of chief juſtice *Jeffereys*, yet what innumerable acts of injuſtice may be committed, and how fatally may the principles of liberty be ſapped, by a ſucceſſion of judges *utterly independent of the people?* Before ſuch judges the ſupple wretches, who chearfully join in avowing ſentiments inconſiſtent with freedom, will always meet with ſmiles; while the honeſt and brave men, who diſdain to ſacrifice their native land to their own advantage, but on every occaſion boldly vindicate her cauſe, will conſtantly be regarded with frowns.

THERE are two other conſiderations relating to this head, that deſerve the moſt ſerious attention.

BY the late act, the officers of the cuſtoms are "impowered to enter into any HOUSE, warehouſe, ſhop, cellar, or other place, in the *Britiſh* colonies or plantations in *America*, to ſearch for or ſeize prohibited or unaccuſtomed goods," *&c.* on "writs granted by the ſuperior or ſupreme court of juſtice, having juriſdiction within ſuch colony or plantation reſpectively."

IF we only reflect, that the judges of theſe courts are to be *during pleaſure*----that they are to have "*adequate proviſion*" made for them, which is to continue *during their complaiſant behavior*---that they may be *ſtrangers* to theſe colonies---what an engine of oppreſſion may this authority be in ſuch hands?

I AM well aware, that writs of this kind may be granted at home, under the ſeal of the court of exchequer: But I know alſo, that the greateſt aſſerters of the rights of *Engliſhmen* have always ſtrenuouſly contended, that *ſuch a power* was dangerous to freedom, and expreſly contrary to the common law, which ever regarded a man's *houſe* as his caſtle, or a place of perfect ſecurity.

IF

If ſuch power was in the leaſt degree dangerous *there*, it muſt be utterly deſtructive to liberty *here*. For the people there have two ſecurities againſt the undue exerciſe of this power by the crown, which are wanting with us, if the late act takes place. In the firſt place, if any injuſtice is done *there*, the perſon injured may bring his action againſt the offender, and have it tried before INDEPENDENT JUDGES, who are * NO PARTIES IN COMMITTING THE INJURY. *Here* he muſt have it tried before DEPENDENT JUDGES, being the men WHO GRANTED THE WRIT.

To ſay, that the cauſe is to be tried by a jury, can never reconcile men who have any idea of freedom, to *ſuch a power*. For we know that ſheriffs in almoſt every colony on this continent, are totally dependent on the crown; and packing of juries has been frequently practiſed even in the capital of the *Britiſh* empire. Even if juries are well inclined, we have too many inſtances of the influence of over-bearing unjuſt judges upon them. The brave and wiſe men who accompliſhed the revolution, thought the *independency of judges* eſſential to freedom.

THE other ſecurity which the people have at home, but which we ſhall want here, is this.

If this power is abuſed *there*, the parliament, the grand reſource of the oppreſſed people, is ready to afford relief. Redreſs of grievances muſt precede grants of money. But what regard can *we* expect to have paid to our aſſemblies, when they will not hold even the puny privilege of *French* parliaments---that of regiſtering, before they are put in execution, the edicts that take away our money.

The ſecond conſideration above hinted at, is this. There is a *confuſion* in our laws, that is quite unknown in *Great-Britain*. As this cannot be deſcribed in a more clear or exact manner, than has been done by the ingenious author of the hiſtory of *New-York*, I beg leave to uſe his words. "The ſtate of our laws opens a door to much controverſy. The *uncertainty*, with reſpect to them, RENDERS PROPERTY PRECARIOUS, and GREATLY EXPOSES US TO THE ARBITRARY DECISION OF BAD JUDGES. The common law of *England* is generally received, together with ſuch ſtatutes as were enacted before we had a legiſlature of our own; but our courts EXERCISE A SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY, in determining *what parts of the common and ſtatute law* ought to be extended: For it muſt be admitted, that the *difference of circumſtances* neceſſarily requires us, in ſome caſes, *to* REJECT *the determination of both*. In many inſtances, they have alſo extended even acts of parliament, paſſed ſince we had a diſtinct legiſlature, *which is greatly adding*

* The writs for ſearching houſes in *England*, are to be granted "under the ſeal of the court of exchequer," according to the ſtatute---and that ſeal is kept by the chancellor of the exchequer. 4*th Inſt. p.* 104.

adding to our confuſion. The practice of our courts is no leſs *uncertain* than the law. Some of the *Engliſh* rules are adopted, others rejected. Two things therefore ſeem to be ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY for the PUBLIC SECURITY. Firſt, the paſſing an act for ſettling the extent of the *Engliſh* laws. Secondly, that the courts ordain a general ſett of rules for the regulation of the practice."

How eaſy it will be, under this "ſtate of our laws," for an artful judge, to act in the moſt arbitrary manner, and yet cover his conduct under ſpecious pretences; and how difficult it will be for the injured people to obtain relief, may be readily perceived. We may take a voyage of 3000 miles to complain; and after the trouble and hazard we have undergone, we may be told, that the collection of the revenue, and maintenance of the prerogative, muſt not be diſcouraged----and if the miſbehavior is ſo groſs as to admit of no juſtification, it may be ſaid, that it was an error in judgment only, ariſing from the confuſion of our laws, and the zeal of the King's ſervants to do their duty.

IF the commiſſions of judges are *during the pleaſure of the crown*, yet if their ſalaries are *during the pleaſure of the people*, there will be *ſome check* upon their conduct. Few men will conſent to draw on themſelves the hatred and contempt of thoſe among whom they live, for the empty honor of being judges. It is the ſordid love of gain, that tempts men to turn their backs on virtue, and pay their homage where they ought not.

As to the third particular, "the ſupport of civil government," ----few words will be ſufficient. Every man of the leaſt underſtanding muſt know, that the *executive* power may be exerciſed in a manner ſo diſagreeable and harraſſing to the people, that it is abſolutely requiſite, that *they* ſhould be enabled by the gentleſt method which human policy has yet been ingenious enough to invent, that is, *by ſhutting their hands*, to "ADMONISH" (as Mr. *Hume* ſays) certain perſons "OF THEIR DUTY."

WHAT ſhall we now think when, upon looking into the late act, we find the aſſemblies of theſe provinces thereby ſtript of their authority *on theſe ſeveral heads?* The *declared* intention of the act is, "that a revenue ſhould be raiſed IN HIS MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS IN AMERICA, for making a more certain and adequate proviſion *for defraying the charge of* THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, and *the ſupport of* CIVIL GOVERNMENT in ſuch provinces where it ſhall be found neceſſary, and *towards further defraying the expences of* DEFENDING, PROTECTING AND SECURING THE SAID DOMINIONS."

LET the reader pauſe here one moment---and reflect---whether the colony in which *he* lives, has not made ſuch "certain and adequate proviſion" *for theſe purpoſes*, as is *by the colony judged ſuitable to its abilities, and all other circumſtances.* Then let him reflect---- whether if this act takes place, money is not to be raiſed on *that* colony

colony *without its conſent*, to make " proviſion" *for theſe purpoſes*, which *it does not judge to be ſuitable to its abilities, and all other circumſtances*. Laſtly, let him reflect----whether the people of that country are not in a ſtate of the moſt abject ſlavery, *whoſe property may be taken from them* under the notion of right, *when they have refuſed to give it*.

For my part, I think I have good reaſon for vindicating the honor of the aſſemblies on this continent, by publicly aſſerting, that THEY *have made as* " *certain and adequate proviſion*" *for the purpoſes abovementioned, as they ought to have made*, and that it ſhould not be preſumed, that they will not do it hereafter. Why then ſhould *theſe moſt important truſts* be wreſted out of their hands? Why ſhould they not now be permitted to enjoy that authority, which they have exerciſed from the firſt ſettlement of theſe colonies? Why ſhould they be ſcandalized by this innovation, when their reſpective provinces are now, and will be, for ſeveral years, laboring under loads of debt, impoſed on them for the very purpoſe now ſpoken of? Why ſhould all the inhabitants of theſe colonies be, with the utmoſt indignity, treated as a herd of deſpicable ſtupid wretches, ſo utterly void of common ſenſe, that they will not even make " adequate proviſion" for the " adminiſtration of juſtice, and the ſupport of civil government" among them, or for their own " defence"----though without ſuch " proviſion" every people muſt inevitably be overwhelmed with anarchy and deſtruction? Is it poſſible to form an idea of a ſlavery more *compleat*, more *miſerable*, more *diſgraceful*, than that of a people, where *juſtice is adminiſtered, government exerciſed*, and a *ſtanding army maintained*, AT THE EXPENCE OF THE PEOPLE, and yet WITHOUT THE LEAST DEPENDENCE UPON THEM? If we can find no relief from this infamous ſituation, it will be fortunate for us, if Mr. *Greenville*, ſetting his fertile fancy again at work, can, as by one exertion of it he has ſtript us of our *property* and *liberty*, by another deprive us of ſo much of our *underſtanding*; that, unconſcious of what we *have been* or *are*, and ungoaded by tormenting reflections, we may bow down our necks, with all the ſtupid ſerenity of ſervitude, to any drudgery, which our lords and maſters ſhall pleaſe to command.

When the charges of the " adminiſtration of juſtice," the " ſupport of civil government," and the expences of " defending, protecting and ſecuring" us, are provided for, I ſhould be glad to know, upon *what occaſions* the crown will ever call our aſſemblies together. Some few of them may meet of their own accord, by virtue of their charters. But what will they have to do, when they are met? To what ſhadows will they be reduced? The men, whoſe deliberations heretofore had an influence on every matter relating to the *liberty* and *happineſs* of themſelves and their conſtituents, and whoſe authority in domeſtic affairs at leaſt, might well

well be compared to that of *Roman* ſenators, will *now* find their deliberations of no more conſequence, than thoſe of *conſtables*. They may *perhaps* be allowed to make laws *for the yoking of hogs*, or *pounding of ſtray cattle*. Their influence will hardly be permitted to extend *ſo high*, as the *keeping roads in repair*, as *that buſineſs* may more properly be executed by thoſe who receive the public caſh.

ONE moſt memorable example in hiſtory is ſo applicable to the point now inſiſted on, that it will form a juſt concluſion of the obſervations that have been made.

SPAIN was once *free*. Their *Cortes* reſembled our parliaments. No *money* could be raiſed on the ſubject, *without their conſent*. One of their Kings having received a grant from them, to maintain a war againſt the *Moors*, deſired, that if the ſum which they had given, ſhould not be ſufficient, he might be allowed, *for that emergency only*, to raiſe more money *without aſſembling the Cortes*. The requeſt was violently oppoſed by the beſt and wiſeſt men in the aſſembly. It was, however, complied with by the votes of a majority; and this ſingle conceſſion was a PRECEDENT for other conceſſions of the like kind, until at laſt the crown obtained a general power of raiſing money, in caſes of neceſſity. From that period the *Cortes* ceaſed to be *uſeful*,---the *people* ceaſed to be *free*.

Venienti occurrite morbo.

Oppoſe a diſeaſe at its beginning.

A FARMER.

LETTER X.

My dear COUNTRYMEN,

THE conſequences, mentioned in the laſt letter, will not be the utmoſt limits of our *miſery* and *infamy*, if the late act is acknowledged to be binding upon us. We feel too ſenſibly, that *any miniſterial meaſures* * relating to theſe colonies, are ſoon carried ſucceſsfully through the parliament. Certain pre-

judices

* "The gentleman muſt not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as *miniſter*, he aſſerted the right of parliament to tax *America*. I know not how it is, but there is a MODESTY in this houſe, *which does not chuſe to contradict a miniſter*. I wiſh gentlemen would get the better of this *moſteſty*. IF THEY DO NOT, PERHAPS THE COLLECTIVE BODY MAY BEGIN TO ABATE OF ITS RESPECT FOR THE REPRESENTATIVE." *Mr.* Pitt's *Speech*.

judices operate there ſo ſtrongly againſt us, that it may be juſtly queſtioned, whether *all* the provinces united, will ever be able effectually to call to an account before the parliament, any miniſter who ſhall abuſe the power by the late act given to the crown in *America*. He may divide the ſpoils torn from us in what manner he pleaſes, *and we ſhall have no way of making him reſponſible*. If he ſhould order, that every *governor* ſhall have a yearly ſalary of 5000 l. ſterling; every *chief juſtice* of 3000 l; every inferior officer in proportion; and ſhould then reward the moſt profligate, ignorant, or needy dependents on himſelf or his friends, with places of the greateſt truſt, becauſe they were of the greateſt profit, this would be called an arrangement in conſequence of the "adequate proviſion for defraying the charge of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the ſupport of the civil government:" And if the taxes ſhould prove at any time inſufficient to anſwer all the expences of the numberleſs offices, which miniſters may pleaſe to create, ſurely the members of the houſe of commons will be ſo "*modeſt*," as not to "contradict a miniſter" who ſhall tell them, it is become neceſſary to lay a new tax upon the colonies, for the laudable purpoſes of defraying the charges of the "adminiſtration of juſtice, and ſupport of civil government," among them. Thus, in fact, we ſhall be † taxed by miniſters. In ſhort, it will be in their power to ſettle upon us any CIVIL, ECCLESIASTICAL, or MILITARY eſtabliſhment, which they chooſe.

WE may perceive, by the example of *Ireland*, how eager miniſters are to ſeize upon any ſettled revenue, and apply it in ſupporting their own power. Happy are the men, and *happy the people, who grow wiſe by the misfortunes of others*. Earneſtly, my dear countrymen, do I beſeech the author of all good gifts, that you may grow wiſe in this manner; and if I may be allowed to take ſuch a liberty, I beg leave to recommend to you in general, as the beſt method of attaining this wiſdom, diligently to ſtudy the hiſtories of other countries. You will there find all the arts, that can poſſibly be practiſed by cunning rulers, or falſe patriots among yourſelves, ſo fully delineated, that, changing names, the account would ſerve for your own times.

IT is pretty well known on this continent, that *Ireland* has, with a regular conſiſtency of injuſtice, been cruelly treated by miniſters in the article of *penſions*; but there are ſome alarming circumſtances

† "Within this act *(ſtatute de tallagio non concedendo)* are all *new* offices erected, with *new* fees, or *old* offices, with *new* fees, for that is a tallage put upon the ſubject, which cannot be done without common aſſent by act of parliament. And this doth notably appear by a petition in parliament in anno 13 *H.* IV. where the commons complain, that an office was erected for meaſurage of cloths and canvas, with a new fee for the ſame, by colour of the king's letters patents, and pray that theſe letters patents may be revoked, for that the king could erect no offices with new fees to be taken of the people, who may not ſo be charged but by parliament." *2d Inſt. p.* 533.

circumſtances relating to that ſubject, which I wiſh to have better known among us.

‡ The revenue of the crown there ariſes principally from the Exciſe granted "*for pay of the army, and defraying other* PUBLIC *charges, in defence and preſervation of the kingdom*"----from the tonnage and additional poundage granted "*for protecting the trade of the kingdom at ſea, and augmenting the* PUBLIC *revenue*"---from the hearth money granted---as a "PUBLIC *revenue, for* PUBLIC *charges and expences.*" There are ſome other branches of the revenue, concerning which there is not any *expreſs* appropriation of them for PUBLIC *ſervice*, but which were plainly *ſo intended.*

OF *theſe* branches of the revenue the crown is only *truſtee* for the public. They are unalienable. They are inapplicable to any other purpoſes, but thoſe for which they were eſtabliſhed; and therefore are not *legally* chargeable with penſions.

THERE is another kind of revenue, which is a private revenue. This is not limited to any public uſes; but the crown has the ſame property in it, that any perſon has in his eſtate. This does not amount, at the moſt, to *Fifteen Thouſand Pounds* a year, probably not to *Seven*, and is the only revenue, that can be *legally* charged with penſions.

IF miniſters were accuſtomed to regard the rights or happineſs of the people, the penſions in *Ireland* would not exceed the ſum juſt mentioned: But long ſince have they exceeded that limit; and in *December* 1765, a motion was made in the houſe of commons

‡ An enquiry into the legality of penſions on the *Iriſh* eſtabliſhment, by *Alexander M'Aulay*, Eſq; one of the King's council, *&c.*

Mr. *M'Aulay* concludes his piece in the following beautiful manner. "If any *penſions* have been obtained on that eſtabliſhment, to SERVE THE CORRUPT PURPOSES OF AMBITIOUS MEN.----If his Majeſty's revenues of *Ireland* have been employed in penſions, TO DEBAUCH HIS MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS of both kingdoms.----If the treaſure of *Ireland* has been expended in penſions, FOR CORRUPTING MEN OF THAT KINGDOM TO BETRAY THEIR COUNTRY; and men of the neighbouring kingdom to betray both.---If *Iriſh* penſions have been procured, TO SUPPORT GAMESTERS AND GAMING-HOUSES; promoting a vice which threatens national ruin.---If penſions have been purloined out of the national treaſure of *Ireland*, under the MASK OF SALARIES ANNEXED TO PUBLIC OFFICES, USELESS TO THE NATION; newly invented, FOR THE PURPOSES OF CORRUPTION.---If *Ireland*, juſt beginning to recover from the devaſtations of maſſacre and rebellion, be obſtructed in the progreſs of her cure, BY SWARMS OF PENSIONARY VULTURES PREYING ON HER VITALS.---If, by ſquandering the national ſubſtance of *Ireland*, in a LICENTIOUS, UNBOUNDED PROFUSION OF PENSIONS, inſtead of employing it in nouriſhing and improving her infant *agriculture, trade* and *manufactures*, or in *enlightening* and *reforming* her *poor, ignorant, deluded, miſerable natives* (by nature moſt amiable, moſt valuable, moſt worthy of public attention)-----if *by ſuch abuſe of the national ſubſtance, ſloth* and *naſtineſs, cold* and *hunger, nakedneſs* and *wretchedneſs, popery, depopulation* and *barbariſm*, ſtill maintain their ground; *ſtill deform a country abounding with all the riches of nature*, yet hitherto deſtined to beggary.---If SUCH PENSIONS be found on the *Iriſh* eſtabliſhment; let ſuch be cut off: And let the perfidious adviſers be branded with indelible characters of public infamy; adequate, if poſſible, to the diſhonour of their crime."

in that kingdom, to addreſs his Majeſty on the great increaſe of penſions on the *Iriſh* eſtabliſhment, amounting to the ſum of 158,685l.----in the laſt two years.

ATTEMPTS have been made to gloſs over theſe groſs encroachments, by this ſpecious argument----" That expending a competent part of the PUBLIC REVENUE in penſions, from a principle of charity or generoſity, adds to the dignity of the crown; and is *therefore* uſeful to the PUBLIC." To give this argument any weight, it muſt appear, that the penſions proceed from " *charity* or *generoſity* only"----and that it " adds to the dignity of the crown," *to act directly contrary to law.*----

FROM this conduct towards *Ireland*, in open violation of law, we may eaſily foreſee what *we* may expect, when a miniſter will have the *whole revenue* of *America* in his own hands, to be diſpoſed of at his own pleaſure: For *all* the monies raiſed by the late act are to be " *applied* by virtue of warrants under the ſign manual, counterſigned by the high treaſurer, or any three of the commiſſioners of the treaſury." The " RESIDUE " indeed is to be " paid into the receipt of the exchequer, and to be diſpoſed of by parliament." So that a miniſter will have nothing to do, but to take care, that there ſhall be no " reſidue," and he is ſuperior to all controul.

BESIDES the burden of *penſions* in *Ireland*, which have enormouſly encreaſed within theſe few years, almoſt all the *offices* in that poor kingdom, have been, ſince the commencement of the preſent century, and now are beſtowed upon *ſtrangers*. For tho' the merit of perſons born there, juſtly raiſes them to places of high truſt when they go abroad, as all *Europe* can witneſs, yet he is an uncommonly lucky *Iriſhman*, who can get a good poſt *in his* NATIVE *country*.

WHEN I conſider the * manner in which that iſland has been uniformly depreſſed for ſo many years paſt, with this pernicious particularity

* In *Charles* the Second's time, the houſe of commons, influenced by ſome factious demagogues, were reſolved to prohibit the importation of *Iriſh* cattle into *England*. Among other arguments in favor of *Ireland* it was inſiſted---- " That by cutting off almoſt entirely the trade between the kingdoms, ALL THE NATURAL BANDS OF UNION WERE DISSOLVED, and nothing remained to keep the *Iriſh* in their duty, but *force* and *violence*."

" The king (ſays Mr. *Hume*, in his hiſtory of *England*) was ſo convinced of the juſtneſs of theſe reaſons, that he uſed all his intereſt to oppoſe the bill, and he openly declared, that he could not give his aſſent to it with a ſafe conſcience. But the commons were reſolute in their purpoſe."----" And the ſpirit of *TYRANNY*, *of which* NATIONS *are as ſuſceptible as* INDIVIDUALS, had animated the *Engliſh* extremely TO EXERT THEIR SUPERIORITY *over their dependent ſtate*. No affair could be conducted with greater violence than this by the commons. They even went ſo far in the preamble of the bill, as to declare the importation of *Iriſh* cattle to be a NUSANCE. By this expreſſion they gave ſcope to their *paſſion*, and at the ſame time *barred the king's prerogative*, by which he might think himſelf intitled to diſpenſe with a law, SO FULL

OF

particularity *of their* † *parliament continuing as long as the crown pleaſes*, I am aſtoniſhed to obſerve *ſuch a love of liberty* ſtill animating that LOYAL and GENEROUS nation; and nothing can raiſe higher my idea of the INTEGRITY and ‡ PUBLIC SPIRIT of a people

OF INJUSTICE AND BAD POLICY. The lords expunged the word, but as the king was ſenſible that no ſupply would be given by the commons, unleſs they were gratified in all their PREJUDICES, he was obliged both to employ his intereſt with the peers, to make the bill paſs, and to give the royal aſſent to it. He could not, however, forbear expreſſing his diſpleaſure, at the jealouſy entertained againſt him, and at the intention which the commons diſcovered, of retrenching his prerogative.

THIS LAW BROUGHT GREAT DISTRESS FOR SOME TIME UPON IRELAND, BUT IT HAS OCCASIONED THEIR APPLYING WITH GREATER INDUSTRY TO MANUFACTURES, AND HAS PROVED IN THE ISSUE BENEFICIAL TO THAT KINGDOM."

Perhaps the *ſame reaſon* occaſioned the " barring the king's prerogative" in the late act ſuſpending the legiſlation of *New-York*.

This we may be aſſured of, that WE are as dear to his *Majeſty*, as the people of *Great-Britain* are. WE are his *ſubjects* as well as they, and *as faithful ſubjects*; and his Majeſty has given too many, too conſtant proofs of his piety and virtue, for any man to think it poſſible, that *ſuch a prince* can make any unjuſt diſtinction between *ſuch ſubjects*. It makes no difference to his Majeſty, whether ſupplies are raiſed in *Great-Britain*, or *America*; but it makes *ſome* difference to the commons of that kingdom.

To ſpeak plainly as becomes an honeſt man on ſuch important occaſions, all our misfortunes are owing to a LUST OF POWER in men of *abilities* and *influence*. This prompts them to ſeek POPULARITY by *expedients* profitable to themſelves, though ever ſo deſtructive to their country.

Such is the accurſed nature of lawleſs ambition, and yet----What heart but melts at the thought!----Such falſe, deteſtable PATRIOTS, in *every ſtate*, have led their blind, confiding country, ſhouting their applauſes, into the jaws of *ſhame* and *ruin*. May the wiſdom and goodneſs of the people of *Great-Britain*, ſave them from the uſual fate of nations.

" ----------MENTEM MORTALIA TANGUNT."

† The laſt *Iriſh* parliament continued 33 years, during all the late King's reign. The preſent parliament there has continued from the beginning of this reign, and probably will continue till this reign ends.

‡ I am informed, that within theſe few years, a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons, ſetting forth, " that herrings were imported into *Ireland* from ſome foreign parts of the north ſo cheap, as to diſcourage the *Britiſh* herring fiſhery, and therefore praying that ſome remedy might be applied in that behalf by parliament."

That upon this petition, the houſe came to a reſolution, to impoſe a duty of Two Shillings ſterling on every barrel of foreign herrings imported into *Ireland*; but afterwards dropt the affair, FOR FEAR OF ENGAGING IN A DISPUTE WITH IRELAND ABOUT THE RIGHT OF TAXING HER.

So much higher was the opinion, which the houſe entertained of the ſpirit of *Ireland*; than of that of theſe colonies.

I find, in the laſt *Engliſh* papers, that the reſolution and firmneſs with which the people of *Ireland* have lately aſſerted their freedom, have been ſo alarming in *Great-Britain*, that the Lord Lieutenant, in his ſpeech on the 20th of laſt *October*, " recommended to that parliament, that ſuch proviſion may be made for ſecuring the judges in the enjoyment of their *offices* and *appointments*, DURING THEIR GOOD BEHAVIOR, as ſhall be thought moſt expedient."

What an important conceſſion is thus obtained, by making demands becoming freemen, with a courage and perſeverance becoming Freemen!

people, who have preſerved the ſacred fire of freedom from being extinguiſhed, tho' the altar on which it burnt, has been overturned.

In the ſame manner ſhall we unqueſtionably be treated, as ſoon as the late taxes laid upon us, ſhall make poſts in the "government," and the "adminiſtration of juſtice" *here*, worth the attention of perſons of influence in *Great-Britain*. We know enough already to ſatisfy us of this truth. But this will not be the worſt part of our caſe.

The *principals*, in all great offices, will reſide in *England*, making ſome paltry allowance to deputies for doing the buſineſs *here*. Let any man conſider what an exhauſting drain this muſt be upon us, when miniſters are poſſeſſed of the power of creating what poſts they pleaſe, and of affixing to ſuch poſts what ſalaries they pleaſe, and he muſt be convinced how deſtructive the late act will be. The injured kingdom lately mentioned, can tell us the miſchiefs of absentees; and we may perceive already the ſame diſpoſition taking place with us. The government of *New-York* has been exerciſed by a deputy. That of *Virginia* is now held ſo; and we know of a number of ſecretaryſhips, collectorſhips, and other offices, held in the ſame manner.

True it is, that if the people of *Great-Britain* were not too much blinded by the paſſions, that have been artfully excited in their breaſts, againſt their dutiful children the coloniſts, theſe conſiderations would be nearly as alarming to them as to us. The influence of the crown was thought by wiſe men, many years ago, too great, by reaſon of the multitude of penſions and places beſtowed by it. Theſe have been vaſtly encreaſed ſince ‖, and perhaps

‖ One of the reaſons urged by that great and honeſt ſtateſman, Sir *William Temple*, to *Charles* the Second, in his famous remonſtrance, to diſſuade him from aiming at arbitrary power, was, that the King "had few offices to beſtow."
Hume's Hiſt. of *England*.

"Tho' the wings of prerogative have been clipt, the influence of the crown is greater than ever it was in any period of our hiſtory. For when we conſider in how many boroughs the government has the votes at command; when we conſider the vaſt body of perſons employed in the collection of the revenue, in every part of the kingdom, the inconceivable number of placemen, and candidates for places in the cuſtoms, in the exciſe, in the poſt-office, in the dock-yards, in the ordnance, in the ſalt-office, in the ſtamps, in the navy and victualling offices, and in a variety of other departments; when we conſider again the extenſive influence of the money corporations, ſubſcription jobbers and contractors, the endleſs dependencies created by the obligations conferred on the bulk of the gentlemens families throughout the kingdom, who have relations preferred in our navy and numerous ſtanding army; when I ſay, we conſider how wide, how binding a dependence on the crown is created by the above enumerated particulars, and the great, the enormous weight and influence which the crown derives from this extenſive dependence upon its favor and power, any lord in waiting, any lord of the bed-chamber, any man may be appointed miniſter."

A doctrine to this effect is ſaid to have been the advice of L--- H----.
Late News Paper.

haps it would be no difficult matter to prove that the people have decreaſed.

SURELY therefore, thoſe who wiſh the welfare of their country, ought ſeriouſly to reflect, what may be the conſequence of ſuch a new creation of offices, in the diſpoſal of the crown. The *army*, the *adminiſtration of juſtice*, and the *civil government* here, with ſuch ſalaries as the crown ſhall pleaſe to annex, will extend *miniſterial influence* as much beyond its former bounds, as the late war did the *Britiſh* dominions.

BUT whatever the people of *Great-Britain* may think on this occaſion, I hope the people of theſe colonies will unanimouſly join in this ſentiment, that the late act of parliament is injurious to their liberty, and that this ſentiment will unite them in a firm oppoſition to it, in the ſame manner as the dread of the *Stamp-Act* did.

SOME perſons may imagine the ſums to be raiſed by it, are but ſmall, and therefore may be inclined to acquieſce under it. A conduct more dangerous to freedom, as before has been obſerved, can never be adopted. Nothing is wanted at home but a * PRECEDENT, the force of which ſhall be eſtabliſhed, by the tacit ſubmiſſion of the colonies. With what zeal was the ſtatute erecting the poſt-office, and another relating to the recovery of debts in *America*, urged and tortured, as *precedents* in ſupport of the *Stamp-Act*, tho' wholly inapplicable. If the parliament ſucceeds in this attempt, other ſtatutes will impoſe other duties. Inſtead of taxing ourſelves, as we have been accuſtomed to do, from the firſt ſettlement of theſe provinces, all our uſual taxes will be converted into parliamentary taxes on our importations; and thus the parliament will levy upon us ſuch ſums of money as they chuſe to take, *without any other* LIMITATION, *than their* PLEASURE.

WE know how much labor and care have been beſtowed by theſe colonies, in laying taxes in ſuch a manner, that they ſhould be moſt *eaſy* to the people, by being laid on the proper articles; moſt *equal*, by being proportioned to every man's circumſtances; and *cheapeſt*, by the method directed for collecting them.

BUT *parliamentary taxes* will be laid on us, without any conſideration, whether there is any *eaſier* mode. The *only point* regarded will be, the *certainty of levying the taxes*, and not the *convenience* of the people on whom they are to be levied; and therefore all ſtatutes on this head will be ſuch as will be moſt likely, according to the favorite phraſe, "*to execute themſelves.*"

TAXES

* "Here may be obſerved, that when any ancient law or cuſtom of parliament is broken, and the crown poſſeſſed of a *precedent*, how *difficult a thing it is to reſtore the ſubject again to his* FORMER FREEDOM *and* SAFETY." *2d Coke's Inſt. p.* 529.

"It is not almoſt credible to *foreſee*, when any maxim or *fundamental law* of this realm is altered (as elſewhere hath been obſerved) what *dangerous inconveniencies* do follow." *4th Coke's Inſt. p.* 41.

TAXES in every free ſtate have been, and ought to be, as exactly *proportioned as is poſſible to the abilities of thoſe who are to pay them.* They cannot otherwiſe be *juſt*. Even a *Hottentot* would comprehend the *unreaſonableneſs* of making a poor man pay as much for "defending" the property of a rich man, as the rich man pays himſelf.

LET any perſon look into the late act of parliament, and he will immediately perceive, that the immenſe eſtates of Lord *Fairfax*, Lord † *Baltimore*, and our *Proprietaries*, which are amongſt his Majeſty's other "DOMINIONS" to be "defended, protected and ſecured" by the act, will not pay a *ſingle farthing* for the duties thereby impoſed, except Lord *Fairfax* wants ſome of his windows glazed; Lord *Baltimore* and our *Proprietaries* are quite ſecure, as they live in *England*.

I MENTION theſe particular caſes, as ſtriking inſtances how far the late act is a deviation from *that principle of juſtice*, which has ſo conſtantly diſtinguiſhed our own laws on this continent, and ought to be regarded in all laws.

THE third conſideration with our continental aſſemblies in laying taxes, has been the *method* of collecting them. This has been done by a few officers, with moderate allowances, under the inſpection of the reſpective aſſemblies. *No more was raiſed from the ſubject*, than was uſed for the intended purpoſes. But by the late act, a miniſter may appoint *as many officers as he pleaſes* for collecting the taxes; may aſſign them *what ſalaries he thinks* "adequate;" and they are ſubject to *no inſpection but his own*.

IN ſhort, if the late act of parliament takes effect, theſe cololonies muſt dwindle down into "COMMON CORPORATIONS," as their enemies, in the debates concerning the repeal of the *Stamp-Act*, *ſtrenuouſly inſiſted they were*; and it ſeems not improbable that ſome future hiſtorian may thus record our fall.

"THE eighth year of this reign was diſtinguiſhed by *a very memorable event*, the *American* colonies then ſubmitting, for the *FIRST* time, to be *taxed* by the *Britiſh* parliament. An attempt of this kind had been made about two years before, but was defeated by the vigorous exertions of the ſeveral provinces, in defence of their liberties. Their behavior on that occaſion rendered their name very celebrated *for a ſhort time* all over *Europe*; all ſtates being extremely attentive to a diſpute between *Great-Britain*, and ſo conſiderable a part of her dominions. For as ſhe was thought to be grown too powerful, by the ſucceſsful concluſion of the late war ſhe had been engaged in, it was hoped by many, that as it had happened before to other kingdoms, civil diſcords would afford

† *Maryland* and *Pennſylvania* have been engaged in the warmeſt diſputes, in order to obtain an equal and juſt taxation of their Proprietors eſtates: But this late act of parliament does more for thoſe Proprietors, than they themſelves would venture to demand. It *totally exempts* them from taxation-------- tho' their vaſt eſtates are to be "ſecured" by the taxes of other people.

afford opportunities of revenging all the injuries ſuppoſed to be received from her. However, the cauſe of diſſenſion was removed, by a repeal of the ſtatute that had given offence. This affair rendered the SUBMISSIVE CONDUCT of the colonies ſo ſoon after, the more extraordinary; there being *no difference* between the mode of taxation which they oppoſed, and that to which they ſubmitted, but this, that by the firſt, they were to be continually *reminded* that they *were taxed*, by certain marks *ſtamped* on every piece of paper or parchment they uſed. The authors of *that ſtatute* triumphed greatly on this conduct of the colonies, and inſiſted, that if the people of *Great-Britain* had perſiſted in enforcing it, the *Americans* would have been, in a few months, *ſo fatigued with the efforts of patriotiſm*, that they would have yielded obedience.

"CERTAIN it is, that tho' they had before their eyes *ſo many illuſtrious examples* in their mother country, of the *conſtant ſucceſs* attending *firmneſs* and *perſeverance*, in oppoſition to dangerous encroachments on liberty, yet they quietly gave up a point of the LAST IMPORTANCE. From thence the decline of their freedom began, and its decay was extremely rapid; for as *money* was always raiſed upon them by the parliament, their *aſſemblies* grew immediately *uſeleſs*, and in a ſhort time *contemptible:* And in leſs than one hundred years, the people ſunk down into that *tameneſs* and *ſupineneſs* of ſpirit, by which they ſtill continue to be diſtinguiſhed."

Et majores veſtros & poſteros cogitate.
Remember your anceſtors and your poſterity.

A FARMER.

LETTER XI.

My dear COUNTRYMEN,

I HAVE ſeveral times, in the courſe of theſe letters, mentioned the late act of parliament, as being the *foundation* of future meaſures injurious to theſe colonies; and the belief of this truth I wiſh to prevail, becauſe I think it neceſſary to our ſafety.

A PERPETUAL *jealouſy*, reſpecting liberty, is abſolutely requiſite in all free ſtates. The very texture of their conſtitution, in *mixt* governments, demands it. For the *cautions* with which power is *diſtributed* among the ſeveral orders, *imply*, that *each* has that ſhare which is proper for the general welfare, and therefore that any

 further

further acquiſition muſt be pernicious. * *Machiavel* employs a whole chapter in his diſcourſes, to prove that a ſtate, to be long lived, muſt be frequently corrected, and reduced to its firſt principles. But of all ſtates that have exiſted, there never was any, in which this jealouſy could be more proper than in theſe colonies. For the government here is not only *mixt*, but *dependent*, which circumſtance occaſions *a peculiarity in its form*, of a very delicate nature.

Two reaſons induce me to deſire, that this ſpirit of apprehenſion may be always kept up among us, in its utmoſt vigilance. The firſt is this----that as the happineſs of theſe provinces indubitably conſiſts in their connection with *Great-Britain*, any ſeparation between them is leſs likely to be occaſioned by civil diſcords, if every diſguſting meaſure is oppoſed *ſingly*, and *while it is new*: For in this manner of proceeding, every ſuch meaſure is moſt likely to be rectified. On the other hand, oppreſſions and diſſatisfactions being permitted to accumulate---*if ever* the governed throw off the load, *they will do more*. A people does not reform with moderation. The rights of the ſubject therefore cannot be *too often* conſidered, explained or aſſerted: And whoever attempts to do this, ſhews himſelf, whatever may be the raſh and peeviſh reflections of pretended wiſdom, and pretended duty, a friend to *thoſe* who injudiciouſly exerciſe their power, as well as to *them*, over whom it is ſo exerciſed.

HAD all the points of prerogative claimed by *Charles* the Firſt, been ſeparately conteſted and ſettled in preceding reigns, his fate would in all probability have been very different; and the people would have been content with that liberty which is compatible with regal authority. But † he thought, it would be as dangerous for him to give up the powers which at any time had been by uſurpation exerciſed by the crown, as thoſe that were legally veſted in it. This produced an equal exceſs on the part of the people. For when their paſſions were excited by *multiplied* grievances, they thought it would be as dangerous for them to allow the powers that were legally veſted in the crown, as thoſe which at any time had been by uſurpation exerciſed by it. Acts, that might *by themſelves* have been upon many conſiderations excuſed or extenuated, derived a contagious malignancy and odium from other acts, with which they were connected. They were not regarded according to

* *Machiavel*'s *Diſcourſes*----*Boook* 3. *Chap.* 1.

† The author is ſenſible, that this is putting the gentleſt conſtruction on *Charles*'s conduct; and that is one reaſon why he chooſes it. Allowances ought to be made for the errors of thoſe men, who are acknowledged to have been poſſeſſed of many virtues. The education of this unhappy prince, and his confidence in men not ſo good or wiſe as himſelf, had probably *filled* him with miſtaken notions of his own authority, and of the conſequences that would attend conceſſions of any kind to a people, who were repreſented to him, as aiming at too much power.

to the ſimple force of each, but as parts of a ſyſtem of oppreſſion. Every one therefore, however ſmall in itſelf, became alarming, as an additional evidence of tyrannical deſigns. It was in vain for prudent and moderate men to inſiſt, that there was no neceſſity to aboliſh royalty. Nothing leſs than the utter deſtruction of monarchy, could ſatisfy thoſe who *had* ſuffered, and thought they had reaſon to believe, they always *ſhould* ſuffer under it.

THE conſequences of theſe mutual diſtruſts are well known: But there is no other people mentioned in hiſtory, that I recollect, who have been ſo conſtantly watchful of their liberty, and ſo ſucceſsful in their ſtruggles for it, as the *Engliſh*. This conſideration leads me to the ſecond reaſon, why I "deſire that the ſpirit of apprehenſion may be always kept up among us in its utmoſt vigilance."

THE firſt principles of government are to be looked for in human nature. Some of the beſt writers have aſſerted, and it ſeems with good reaſon, that "government is founded on ‡ *opinion*."

CUSTOM undoubtedly has a mighty force in producing *opinion*, and reigns in nothing more arbitrarily than in public affairs. It gradually reconciles us to objects even of dread and deteſtation; and I cannot but think theſe lines of Mr. *Pope* as applicable to vice in *politics*, as to vice in *ethics*.----

"Vice is a monſter of ſo horrid mien,
"As to be hated, needs but to be ſeen;
"Yet *ſeen too oft*, familiar with her face,
"We firſt *endure*, then *pity*, then *embrace*."

When an act injurious to freedom has been *once* done, and the people *bear* it, the *repetition* of it is moſt likely to meet with *ſubmiſſion*. For as the *miſchief* of the one was found to be tolerable, they will hope that of the ſecond will prove ſo too; and they will not regard the *infamy* of the laſt, becauſe they are ſtained with that of the firſt.

INDEED nations, in general, are not apt to *think* until they *feel*; and therefore nations in general have loſt their liberty: For as violations of the rights of the *governed*, are commonly not only

 ſpecious,

‡ "OPINION is of two kinds, *viz.* *opinion* of INTEREST, and *opinion* of RIGHT. By *opinion* of *intereſt*, I chiefly underſtand, *the ſenſe of the public advantage which is reaped from government*; together with the perſuaſion, that the particular government which is eſtabliſhed, is *equally advantageous* with any other, *that could be eaſily ſettled*."

"*Right* is of two kinds, *right* to *power*, and *right* to *property*. What prevalence *opinion* of the firſt kind has over mankind, may eaſily be underſtood, by obſerving the attachment which all nations have to their antient government, and even to thoſe names which have had the ſanction of antiquity. *Antiquity always begets the opinion of right*."----"It is ſufficiently underſtood, that the *opinion* of *right* to *property*, is of the greateſt moment in all matters of government." *Hume's Eſſays.*

* *ſpecious*, but *ſmall* at the beginning, they ſpread over the multitude in ſuch a manner, as to touch individuals but ſlightly. † Thus they are diſregarded. The power or profit that ariſes from theſe violations, *centering in few perſons*, is to them conſiderable. For this reaſon the *governors* having in view their particular purpoſes, ſucceſſively preſerve an uniformity of conduct for attaining them. They regularly encreaſe the firſt injuries, till at length the inattentive people are compelled to perceive the heavineſs of their burthens.----They begin to complain and enquire----but too late. They find their oppreſſors ſo ſtrengthened by ſucceſs, and themſelves ſo entangled in examples of expreſs authority on the part of their rulers, and of tacit recognition on their own part, that they are quite confounded: For millions entertain no other idea of the *legality* of power, than that it is founded on the *exerciſe* of power. They voluntarily faſten their chains, by adopting a puſillanimous *opinion*, "that there will be too much *danger* in attempting a remedy,"-----or another *opinion* no leſs fatal,-----"that the government has a *right* to treat them as it does." They then ſeek a wretched relief for their minds, by perſuading themſelves, that to yield their *obedience*, is to diſcharge their *duty*. The deplorable *poverty of ſpirit*, that proſtrates all the dignity beſtowed by divine providence on our nature---*of courſe ſucceeds*.

FROM theſe reflections I conclude, that every free ſtate ſhould inceſſantly watch, and inſtantly take alarm on any addition being made to the power exerciſed over them. Innumerable inſtances might be produced to ſhew, from what ſlight beginnings the moſt extenſive conſequences have flowed: But I ſhall ſelect two only from the hiſtory of *England*.

HENRY the Seventh was the *firſt* monarch of that kingdom, who eſtabliſhed a STANDING BODY OF ARMED MEN. This was a band of *fifty* archers, called yeomen of the guard: And this inſtitution, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of the number, was, to prevent diſcontent, || "diſguiſed under pretence of majeſty and grandeur." In 1684 the ſtanding forces were ſo much augmented, that

* Omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta ſunt.
SALLUST. *Bell. Cat. S.* 50.

† "The *republic* is always *attacked* with greater vigor, than it is *defended*: For the *audacious* and *profligate*, prompted by their natural enmity to it, are *eaſily impelled* to act by the *leaſt nod* of their *leaders*: Whereas the honeſt, I know not why, are generally *ſlow* and *unwilling* to ſtir; and *neglecting* always the *BEGINNINGS of things*, are *never rouſed* to exert themſelves, but by the *laſt neceſſity*: So that through IRRESOLUTION and DELAY, when they would be glad to compound at laſt for their QUIET, at the expence even of their HONOR, they *commonly loſe them* BOTH." CICERO's *Orat. for* SEXTIUS.
Such were the ſentiments of this great and excellent man, whoſe vaſt abilities, and the calamities of his country during his time, enabled him, by mournful experience, to form a juſt judgment on the conduct of the friends and enemies of liberty.

|| *Rapin*'s Hiſtoryof *England*.

that *Rapin* ſays---" The king, in order to make his people *fully ſenſible of their new ſlavery*, affected to muſter his troops, which amounted to 4000 well armed and diſciplined men." I think our army, at this time, conſiſts of more than *ſeventy* regiments.

THE method of taxing by EXCISE was firſt introduced amidſt the convulſions of the civil wars. Extreme neceſſity was pretended for it, and its ſhort continuance promiſed. After the reſtoration, an exciſe upon *beer*, *ale* and *other liquors*, was granted to the † king, one half in fee, the other for life, as an equivalent for the *court of wards*. Upon *James* the Second's acceſſion, the parliament § gave him the firſt *exciſe*, with an additional duty on *wine*, *tobacco*, and ſome *other* things. Since the revolution it has been extended to ſalt, candles, leather, hides, hops, ſoap, paper, paſteboards, mill-boards, ſcale-boards, vellum, parchment, ſtarch, ſilks, calicoes, linens, ſtuffs, printed, ſtained, *&c.* wire, wrought plate, coffee, tea, chocolate, *&c.*

THUS a *ſtanding army* and *exciſe* have, from their firſt ſlender origins, tho' always *hated*, always *feared*, always *oppoſed*, at length ſwelled up to their vaſt preſent bulk.

THESE facts are ſufficient to ſupport what I have ſaid. 'Tis true, that all the miſchiefs apprehended by our anceſtors from a *ſtanding army* and *exciſe*, have not *yet happened*: But it does not follow from thence, that they *will not happen*. The inſide of a houſe may catch fire, and the moſt valuable apartments be ruined, before the flames burſt out. The queſtion in theſe caſes is not, what evil *has actually attended* particular meaſures---but, what evil, in the nature of things, *is likely to attend* them. Certain circumſtances may for ſome time delay effects, that *were reaſonably expected*, and that *muſt enſue*. There was a long period, after the *Romans* had prorogued his command to * *Q. Publilius Philo*, before *that example* deſtroyed their liberty. All our kings, from the revolution to the preſent reign, have been *foreigners*. Their *miniſters* generally continued but a ſhort time in authority ‡; and they themſelves were *mild* and *virtuous* princes.

A BOLD

† 12 *Char.* II. Chap. 23 and 24.

§ 1 *James* II. Chap. 1 and 4.

* In the year of the city 428, " Duo ſingularia hæc ei viro primum contigere; prorogatio imperii non ante in ullo facta, et acto honore triumphus." *Liv. B.* 8. *Chap.* 23. 26.

" Had the reſt of the *Roman* citizens imitated the example of *L. Quintius*, who refuſed to have his conſulſhip continued to him, they had never admitted that cuſtom of proroguing of magiſtrates, and then the prolongation of their commands in the army had never been introduced, *which very thing was at length the ruin of that commonwealth.*" *Machiavel's Diſcourſes*, *B.* 3. *Chap.* 24.

‡ I dont know but it may be ſaid, with a good deal of reaſon, that a quick rotation of miniſters is very deſirable in *Great-Britain*. A miniſter there has a vaſt ſtore of materials to work with. *Long Adminiſtrations* are rather favorable to the *reputation* of a people abroad, than to their *liberty*.

A BOLD, *ambitious* prince, poſſeſſed of *great abilities*, firmly *fixed* in his throne *by deſcent*, ſerved by *miniſters like himſelf*, and rendered either *venerable* or *terrible* by the *glory of his ſucceſſes*, may execute what his predeceſſors did not dare to attempt. *Henry* the Fourth tottered in his ſeat during his whole reign. *Henry* the Fifth drew the ſtrength of that kingdom into *France*, to carry on his wars there, and left the *commons* at home, *proteſting*, " that the people were not bound to ſerve out of the realm."

IT is true, that a ſtrong ſpirit of liberty ſubſiſts at preſent in *Great-Britain*, but what reliance is to be placed in the *temper* of a people, when the prince is poſſeſſed of an unconſtitutional power, our own hiſtory can ſufficiently inform us. When *Charles* the Second had ſtrengthened himſelf by the return of the garriſon of *Tangier*, " *England* (ſays *Rapin*) ſaw on a ſudden an *amazing revolution*; ſaw herſelf *ſtripped of all her rights and privileges*, excepting ſuch as the king ſhould vouchſafe to grant her: And what is *more aſtoniſhing*, the *Engliſh* themſelves *delivered up* theſe very rights and privileges to *Charles* the Second, which they had ſo *paſſionately*, and, if I may ſay it, *furiouſly* defended againſt the deſigns of *Charles* the Firſt." This happened only *thirty-ſix* years after this laſt prince had been beheaded.

SOME perſons are of opinion, that liberty is not violated, but by ſuch *open* acts of force; but they ſeem to be greatly miſtaken. I could mention a period within theſe forty years, when almoſt as great a change of diſpoſition was produced by the SECRET meaſures of a *long* adminiſtration, as by *Charles*'s violence. Liberty, perhaps, is never expoſed to ſo much danger, as when the people believe there is the leaſt; for it may be ſubverted, and yet they not think ſo.

PUBLIC diſguſting acts are ſeldom practiſed by the ambitious, at the beginning of their deſigns. Such conduct *ſilences* and *diſcourages* the weak, and the wicked, who would otherwiſe have been their *advocates* or *accomplices*. It is of great conſequence, to allow thoſe who, upon any account, are inclined to favor them, ſomething ſpecious to *ſay* in their defence. Their power may be fully eſtabliſhed, tho' it would not be ſafe for them to do *whatever they pleaſe*. For there are things, which, at ſome times, even *ſlaves* will not bear. *Julius Cæſar*, and *Oliver Cromwell*, did not dare to aſſume the title of *king*. The *Grand Seignor* dares not lay a *new tax*. The king of *France* dares not be a *proteſtant*. Certain popular points may be left untouched, and yet freedom be extinguiſhed. The commonalty of *Venice* imagine themſelves free, becauſe they are permitted to do what they ought not. But I quit a ſubject, that would lead me too far from my purpoſe.

BY the late act of parliament, taxes are to be levied upon us, for " defraying the charge of the *adminiſtration of juſtice*----the ſupport of *civil government*----and the expences of *defending* his Majeſty's dominions in *America*."

IF

If any man doubts what ought to be the conduct of these colonies on this occasion, I would ask him these questions.

Has not the parliament *expressly* AVOWED their INTENTION of raising money from us FOR CERTAIN PURPOSES? Is not this scheme *popular* in *Great-Britain?* Will the taxes, imposed by the late act, *answer those purposes?* If it will, must it not take an *immense sum* from us? If it will not, *is it to be expected*, that the parliament will not *fully execute* their INTENTION when it is *pleasing at home*, and *not opposed here?* Must not this be done by imposing NEW *taxes?* Will not every addition, thus made to our taxes, be an addition to the power of the *British* legislature, *by increasing the number of officers* employed in the collection? Will not every additional tax therefore render it *more difficult* to abrogate any of them? When a branch of revenue is once established, does it not appear to many people *invidious* and *undutiful*, to attempt to abolish it? If taxes, sufficient to *accomplish the* INTENTION of the parliament, are imposed by the parliament, *what taxes will remain* to be imposed by our assemblies? If *no material taxes remain* to be imposed by them, what must become of *them*, and the *people* they represent?

* "If any person considers these things, and yet thinks our liberties are in no danger, I wonder at that person's security."

One other argument is to be added, which, by itself, I hope, will be sufficient to convince the most incredulous man on this continent, that the late act of parliament is *only* designed to be a PRECEDENT, whereon the future vassalage of these colonies may be established.

Every duty thereby laid on articles of *British* manufacture, is laid on some commodity, upon the exportation of which from *Great-Britain*, a *drawback* is payable. Those *drawbacks*, in most of the articles, are *exactly double* to the *duties* given by the late act. The parliament therefore might, in *half a dozen lines*, have raised MUCH MORE MONEY, only by *stopping the drawbacks* in the hands of the officers at home, on exportation to these colonies, than by this solemn imposition of taxes upon us, to be collected here. Probably, the artful contrivers of this act formed it in this manner, in order to reserve to themselves, in case of any objections being made to it, this specious pretence----"that the drawbacks are gifts to the colonies, and that the late act only lessens those gifts." But the truth is, that the drawbacks are intended for the encouragement and promotion of *British* manufactures and commerce, and are allowed on exportation to *any foreign parts*, as well as on exportation to these provinces. Besides, care has been taken to slide into the act, some articles on which there are no drawbacks. However, the *whole duties* laid by the late act on *all* the articles therein specified are *so small*, that they will not amount to *as much* as the *drawbacks* which are allowed on *part* of them only. If therefore,

* Demosthenes's 2d Philippic.

therefore, *the ſum to be obtained by the late act*, had been the *ſole object* in forming it, there would not have been any occaſion for "the COMMONS of *Great-Britain*, to GIVE and GRANT to his Majeſty RATES and DUTIES for *raiſing a revenue* IN *his Majeſty's dominions in* America, for making a more certain and adequate proviſion for defraying the charges of the adminiſtration of juſtice, the ſupport of civil government, and the expence of defending the ſaid dominions;"---nor would there have been any occaſion for an † expenſive board of commiſſioners, and all the other new charges to which we are made liable.

UPON the whole, for my part, I regard the late act as an *experiment made of our diſpoſition*. It is a bird ſent out over the waters, to diſcover, whether the waves, that lately agitated this part of the world with ſuch violence, are yet *ſubſided*. If *this adventurer* gets footing here, we ſhall quickly find it to be of the ‡ kind deſcribed by the poet.------

"*Infelix vates.*"
A direful foreteller of future calamities.

A FARMER.

† The expence of this board, I am informed, is between Four and Five Thouſand Pounds Sterling a year. The eſtabliſhment of officers, for collecting the revenue in *America*, amounted before to Seven Thouſand Six Hundred Pounds *per annum*; and yet, ſays the author of "The regulation of the colonies," "the whole remittance from *all* the taxes in the colonies, at an average of *thirty years*, has not amounted to One Thouſand Nine Hundred Pounds a year, and in that ſum Seven or Eight Hundred Pounds *per annum* only, have been remitted from *North-America*."

The ſmallneſs of the revenue ariſing from the duties in *America*, demonſtrates that they were intended only as REGULATIONS OF TRADE: And can any perſon be ſo blind to truth, ſo dull of apprehenſion in a matter of unſpeakable importance to his country, as to imagine, that the board of commiſſioners lately eſtabliſhed at ſuch a charge, is inſtituted to aſſiſt in collecting One Thouſand Nine Hundred Pounds a year, or the trifling duties impoſed by the late act? Surely every man on this continent muſt perceive, that they are eſtabliſhed for the care of a NEW SYSTEM OF REVENUE, which is but now begun.

‡ "Dira cælæno," *&c. Virgil, Æneid* 3.

LET-

LETTER XII.

My dear COUNTRYMEN,

SOME ſtates have loſt their liberty by *particular accidents*: But this calamity is generally owing to the *decay of virtue*. A *people* is travelling faſt to deſtruction, when *individuals* conſider *their* intereſts as diſtinct from *thoſe of the public*. Such notions are fatal to their country, and to themſelves. Yet how many are there, ſo *weak* and *ſordid* as to *think* they perform *all the offices of life*, if they earneſtly endeavor to encreaſe their own *wealth*, *power*, and *credit*, without the leaſt regard for the ſociety, under the protection of which they live; who, if they can make an *immediate profit to themſelves*, by lending their aſſiſtance to thoſe, whoſe projects plainly tend to the injury of their country, rejoice in their *dexterity*, and believe themſelves entitled to the character of *able politicians*. Miſerable men! Of whom it is hard to ſay, whether they ought to be moſt the objects of *pity* or *contempt*: But whoſe opinions are certainly as *deteſtable*, as their practices are *deſtructive*.

THO' I always reflect, with a high pleaſure, on the integrity and underſtanding of my countrymen, which, joined with a pure and humble devotion to the great and gracious author of every bleſſing they enjoy, will, I hope, enſure to them, and their poſterity, all temporal and eternal happineſs; yet when I conſider, that in every age and country there have been bad men, my heart, at this threatening period, is ſo full of apprehenſion, as not to permit me to believe, but that there may be ſome on this continent, *againſt whom you ought to be upon your guard*----Men, who either *

I hold,

* It is not intended by theſe words, to throw any reflection upon gentlemen, becauſe they are poſſeſſed of offices: For many of them are certainly men of virtue, and lovers of their country. But ſuppoſed obligations of *gratitude*, and *honor*, may induce them to be ſilent. Whether theſe obligations *ought to be* regarded or not, is not ſo much to be conſidered by others, in the judgment they form of theſe gentlemen, as whether *they think* they ought to be regarded. Perhaps, therefore, we ſhall act in the propereſt manner towards them, if we neither *reproach* nor *imitate* them. The perſons meant in this letter, are the *baſe ſpirited wretches*, who may endeavor to *diſtinguiſh themſelves*, by their ſordid zeal in defending and promoting meaſures, which *they know*, *beyond all queſtion*, to be *deſtructive* to the *juſt rights* and *true intereſts* of their country. It is ſcarcely poſſible to ſpeak of *theſe men* with any degree of *patience*----It is ſcarcely poſſible to ſpeak of them with any degree of *propriety*----For no words can truly deſcribe their *guilt* and *meanneſs*----But every honeſt boſom, on their being mentioned, will *feel* what cannot be *expreſſed*.

If their wickedneſs did not blind them, they might perceive along the coaſt of theſe colonies, many men, remarkable inſtances of wrecked ambition, who after *diſtinguiſhing themſelves* in the ſupport of the *Stamp-Act*, by a courageous contempt of their country, and of juſtice, have been left to linger out their miſerable

hold, or expect to hold certain advantages, by ſetting examples of ſervility to their countrymen.----Men, who trained to the employment, or ſelf taught by a natural verſatility of genius, ſerve as decoys for drawing the innocent and unwary into ſnares. It is not to be doubted but that ſuch men will diligently beſtir themſelves on this and every like occaſion, to ſpread the infection of their meanneſs as far as they can. On the plans *they* have adopted, this is *their* courſe. *This* is the method to recommend themſelves to their *patrons*.

FROM *them* we ſhall learn, how *pleaſant* and *profitable* a thing it is, to be for our SUBMISSIVE behavior *well ſpoken of* at *St. James*'s, or *St. Stephen*'s; at *Guildhall*, or the *Royal Exchange*. Specious fallacies will be dreſt up with all the arts of deluſion, to perſuade one colony *to diſtinguiſh herſelf from another*, by unbecoming condeſcenſions, *which will ſerve the ambitious purpoſes of great men* at home, and therefore will be thought by them *to entitle their aſſiſtants in obtaining them* to conſiderable rewards.

OUR fears will be excited. Our hopes will be awakened. It will be inſinuated to us, with a plauſible affectation of *wiſdom* and *concern*, how *prudent* it is to pleaſe the *powerful*-------how *dangerous* to provoke them----and then comes in the perpetual incantation that freezes up every generous purpoſe of the ſoul in cold, inactive expectation---" that if there is any requeſt to be made, compliance will obtain a favorable attention."

OUR *vigilance* and our *union* are *ſucceſs* and *ſafety*. Our *negligence* and our *diviſion* are *diſtreſs* and *death*. They are *worſe*---- They are *ſhame* and *ſlavery*. Let us equally ſhun the benumbing ſtillneſs

miſerable exiſtence, without a government, collectorſhip, ſecretaryſhip, or any other commiſſion, to conſole them *as well as it could*, for loſs of virtue and reputation----while numberleſs offices have been beſtowed in theſe colonies on people from *Great-Britain*, and new ones are continually invented, to be thus beſtowed. As a *few great prizes* are put into a lottery to TEMPT *multitudes to loſe*, ſo *here* and *there* an *American* has been raiſed to a good poſt.-----

" *Apparent* rari nantes *in gurgite vaſto*."

Mr. *Greenville*, indeed, in order to recommend the *Stamp-Act*, had the *unequalled* generoſity, to pour down a golden ſhower of offices upon *Americans*; and yet theſe *ungrateful* colonies did not thank Mr. *Greenville* for ſhewing his kindneſs to their countrymen, nor *them* for accepting it. How muſt that great ſtateſman have been ſurprized, to find, that the unpoliſhed colonies could not be reconciled to *infamy* by *treachery*? Such a *bountiful* diſpoſition towards us never appeared in any miniſter before him, and probably never will appear again: For it is *evident*, that *ſuch a ſyſtem* of policy is to be eſtabliſhed on this continent, as, in a ſhort time, is to render it utterly unneceſſary to uſe the leaſt *art* in order to *conciliate* our approbation of any meaſures. Some of our countrymen may be employed to *fix* chains upon us, but *they* will never be permitted to *hold* them afterwards. So that the utmoſt, that any of them can expect, is only a *temporary proviſion*, that *may* expire in their own time; but which they may *be aſſured*, will preclude their children from having any conſideration paid to *them*. NATIVES of *America* muſt ſink into total NEGLECT and CONTEMPT, the moment that THEIR COUNTRY loſes the conſtitutional powers ſhe now poſſeſſes.

ſtillneſs of *overweening ſloth*, and the feveriſh activity of that *ill informed zeal*, which buſies itſelf in maintaining *little*, *mean* and *narrow* opinions. Let us, with a truly wiſe *generoſity* and *charity*, baniſh and diſcourage all *illiberal diſtinctions*, which may ariſe from differences in *ſituation*, forms of *government*, or modes of *religion*. Let us conſider ourſelves as MEN---FREEMEN---CHRISTIAN FREEMEN----*ſeparated from the reſt of the world*, and *firmly bound together* by the *ſame rights*, *intereſts* and *dangers*. Let *theſe* keep our attention inflexibly fixed on the GREAT OBJECTS, which we muſt CONTINUALLY REGARD, in order to *preſerve thoſe rights*, to *promote thoſe intereſts*, and to *avert thoſe dangers*.

LET theſe *truths* be indelibly impreſſed on our minds----*that we cannot be* HAPPY, *without being* FREE----that we cannot be free, *without being ſecure in our property*----that *we* cannot be ſecure in our property, *if*, *without our conſent*, *others may*, *as by right*, *take it away*----that *taxes impoſed on us by parliament*, do thus take it away----that *duties laid for the ſole purpoſe of raiſing money*, are taxes----that *attempts* to lay ſuch duties *ſhould be inſtantly and firmly oppoſed*----that this oppoſition can never be effectual, *unleſs it is the united effort of theſe provinces*----that therefore BENEVOLENCE *of temper towards each other*, and UNANIMITY *of counſels*, are eſſential to the welfare of the whole----and laſtly, that for this reaſon, every man amongſt us, who in any manner would encourage either *diſſenſion*, *diffidence*, or *indifference*, between theſe colonies, is an enemy to *himſelf*, and to *his country*.

THE belief of theſe truths, I verily think, my countrymen, is indiſpenſably neceſſary to your happineſs. I beſeech you, therefore, † " teach them diligently unto your children, and talk of them when you ſit in your houſes, and when you walk by the way, and when you lie down, and when you riſe up."

WHAT have theſe colonies to *aſk*, while they continue free? Or what have they to *dread*, but inſidious attempts to ſubvert their freedom? *Their proſperity* does not depend on *miniſterial favors doled* out to *particular* provinces. *They* form *one* political body, of which *each colony* is a *member*. *Their happineſs* is founded on *their conſtitution*; and is to be promoted, by preſerving that conſtitution in unabated vigor, *throughout every part*. A ſpot, a ſpeck of decay, however ſmall the limb on which it appears, and however remote it may ſeem from the vitals, ſhould be alarming. We have *all the rights* requiſite for our proſperity. The *legal authority* of *Great-Britain* may indeed lay hard reſtrictions upon us; but, like the ſpear of *Telephus*, it will cure as well as wound. Her unkindneſs will inſtruct and compel us, after ſome time, to diſcover, in our *induſtry* and *frugality*, ſurpriſing remedies----*if our rights continue unviolated*: For as long as the *products* of our *labor*, and

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† Deuteron. vi. 7.

the *rewards* of our *care*, can properly be called *our own*, ſo long it will be worth our while to be *induſtrious* and *frugal*. But if when we plow---ſow---reap---gather---and threſh---we find, that we plow ---ſow---reap---gather---and threſh *for others*, whoſe PLEASURE is to be the SOLE LIMITATION *how much* they ſhall *take*, and *how much* they ſhall *leave*, WHY ſhould we repeat the unprofitable toil? *Horſes* and *oxen* are content with *that portion of the fruits of their work*, which their *owners* aſſign them, in order to keep them ſtrong enough to raiſe ſucceſſive crops; but even *theſe beaſts* will not ſubmit to draw for their *maſters*, until they are *ſubdued* by *whips* and *goads*.

LET us take care of our *rights*, and we *therein* take care of *our proſperity*. * "SLAVERY IS EVER PRECEDED BY SLEEP." *Individuals* may be *dependent* on miniſters, if they pleaſe. STATES SHOULD SCORN IT;----and if *you* are not wanting *to yourſelves*, you will have a *proper regard* paid *you* by *thoſe*, to whom if you are not *reſpectable*, you will be *contemptible*. But----------if *we have already forgot* the *reaſons* that urged us, with unexampled unanimity, to exert ourſelves two years ago----if *our zeal* for the public good is *worn out* before the *homeſpun cloaths*, which it cauſed us to have made----if *our reſolutions* are *ſo faint*, as by our preſent conduct to *condemn* our own late *ſucceſsful* example---if *we are not affected* by any reverence for the memory of our anceſtors, who tranſmitted to us that freedom in which they had been bleſt-----if *we are not animated* by any regard for poſterity, to whom, by the moſt ſacred obligations, we are bound to deliver down the invaluable inheritance----THEN, indeed, any *miniſter*---- or any *tool* of a miniſter----or any *creature* of a tool of a miniſter ----or any *lower* † *inſtrument of* ‡ *adminiſtration*, if lower there be, is a *perſonage* whom it may be dangerous to offend.

I SHALL

* *Monteſquieu*'s Spirit of Laws, Book 14, Chap. 13.

† "Inſtrumenta regni." *Tacitus*'s Ann. *Book* 12, § 66.

‡ If any perſon ſhall imagine that he diſcovers, in theſe letters, the leaſt diſlike of the dependence of theſe colonies on *Great-Britain*, I beg that ſuch perſon will not form any judgment on *particular expreſſions*, but will conſider the *tenor of all the letters taken together*. In that caſe, I flatter myſelf, that every unprejudiced reader will be *convinced*, that the true intereſts of *Great-Britain* are as dear to me, as they ought to be to every good ſubject.

If I am an *Enthuſiaſt* in any thing, it is in my zeal for the *perpetual dependence* of theſe colonies on their mother country.---A dependence founded on *mutual benefits*, the continuance of which can be ſecured only by *mutual affections*. Therefore it is, that with extreme apprehenſion I view the ſmalleſt ſeeds of diſcontent, which are unwarily ſcattered abroad. *Fifty* or *Sixty* years will make aſtoniſhing alterations in theſe colonies; and this conſideration ſhould render it the buſineſs of *Great-Britain* more and more to cultivate our good diſpoſitions towards her: But the misfortune is, that thoſe *great men*, who are wreſtling for power at home, think themſelves very ſlightly intereſted in the proſperity of their country *Fifty* or *Sixty* years hence, but are deeply concerned in blowing up a popular clamor for ſuppoſed *immediate advantages*.

For

I SHALL be extremely ſorry, if any man miſtakes my meaning in any thing I have ſaid. Officers employed by the crown, are, while according to the laws they conduct themſelves, entitled to legal obedience, and ſincere reſpect. Theſe it is a duty to render them; and theſe no good or prudent perſon will withhold. But when theſe officers, thro' raſhneſs or deſign, deſire to enlarge their authority beyond its due limits, and expect improper conceſſions to be made to them, from regard for the employments they bear, their attempts ſhould be conſidered as equal injuries to the crown and people, and ſhould be courageouſly and conſtantly oppoſed. To ſuffer our ideas to be confounded by *names* on ſuch occaſions, would certainly be an *inexcuſable weakneſs*, and probably an *irremediable error*.

WE have reaſon to believe, that ſeveral of his Majeſty's preſent miniſters are good men, and friends to our country; and it ſeems not unlikely, that by a particular concurrence of events, we have been treated a little more ſeverely than they wiſhed we ſhould be. *They* might not think it prudent to ſtem a torrent. But what is the difference to *us*, whether arbitrary acts take their riſe from miniſters, or are permitted by them? Ought any point to be allowed to * a good miniſter, that ſhould be denied to a bad one? The mortality of miniſters, is a very frail mortality. A -------- may ſucceed a *Shelburne*----A -------- may ſucceed a *Conway*.

WE

For my part, I regard *Great-Britain* as a Bulwark, happily fixed between theſe colonies and the powerful nations of *Europe*. That kingdom remaining ſafe, we, under its protection, enjoying peace, may diffuſe the bleſſings of religion, ſcience, and liberty, thro' remote wilderneſſes. It is therefore inconteſtably our *duty*, and our *intereſt*, to ſupport the ſtrength of *Great-Britain*. When confiding in that ſtrength, ſhe begins to forget from whence it aroſe, it will be an eaſy thing to ſhew the ſource. She may readily be reminded of the loud alarm ſpread among her merchants and tradeſmen, by the univerſal aſſociation of theſe colonies, at the time of the *Stamp-Act*, not to import any of her MANUFACTURES.

In the year 1718, the *Ruſſians* and *Swedes* entered into an agreement, not to ſuffer *Great-Britain* to export any NAVAL STORES from their dominions but in *Ruſſian* or *Swediſh* ſhips, and at their own prices. *Great-Britain* was diſtreſſed. *Pitch* and *tar* roſe to *Three Pounds* a barrel. At length ſhe thought of getting theſe articles from the colonies; and the attempt ſucceeding, they fell down to *Fifteen Shillings*. In the year 1756, *Great-Britain* was threatened with an invaſion. An eaſterly wind blowing for ſix weeks, ſhe could not MAN her fleet, and the whole nation was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. The wind changed. The *American* ſhips arrived. The fleet ſailed in ten or fifteen days. There are ſome other reflections on this ſubject, worthy of the moſt deliberate attention of the *Britiſh* parliament; but they are of ſuch a nature, that I do not chuſe to mention them publicly. I thought it my duty, in the year 1765, while the *Stamp-Act* was in ſuſpence, to write my ſentiments to a gentleman of great influence at home, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by eſpouſing our cauſe, in the debates concerning the repeal of that act.

* Ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus bonos pervenit; *novum illud exemplum*, ab dignis & idoneis, ad indignos & non idoneos *transfertur*.

Sall. Bell. Cat. § 50.

WE find a new kind of miniſter lately ſpoken of at home----- "THE MINISTER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS." The term ſeems to have peculiar propriety when referred to theſe colonies, *with a different meaning annexed to it*, from that in which it is taken there. By the word "miniſter" we may underſtand not only a *ſervant of the crown*, but a *man of influence* among the commons, who regard themſelves as having a ſhare in the *ſovereignty* over us. The "miniſter OF the houſe" may, in a point reſpecting the colonies, be ſo ſtrong, that the miniſter of the crown *in* the houſe, if he is a diſtinct perſon, may not chooſe, even where his ſentiments are favorable to us, to come to a pitched battle upon our account. For tho' I have the higheſt opinion of the deference of the houſe for the King's miniſter, yet he may be ſo good natured, as not to put it to the teſt, except it be for the mere and immediate profit of his maſter or himſelf.

BUT whatever kind of *miniſter* he is, that attempts to innovate *a ſingle iota* in the privileges of theſe colonies, him I hope you will *undauntedly oppoſe*; and that you will never ſuffer yourſelves to be either *cheated* or *frightened* into any *unworthy obſequiouſneſs*. On ſuch emergencies you may ſurely, without preſumption, believe, that ALMIGHTY GOD himſelf will look down upon your righteous conteſt with gracious approbation. You will be a "*band of brothers*," cemented by the deareſt ties,----and ſtrengthened with inconceivable ſupplies of force and conſtancy, by that ſympathetic ardor, which animates good men, confederated in a good cauſe. Your *honor* and *welfare* will be, as they now are, moſt intimately concerned; and beſides----*you are aſſigned by divine providence*, in the appointed order of things, the *protectors of unborn ages*, whoſe *fate* depends upon your *virtue*. Whether *they* ſhall ariſe the *generous* and *indiſputable heirs* of the nobleſt patrimonies, or the *daſtardly* and *hereditary drudges* of imperious taſk-maſters, YOU MUST DETERMINE.

To diſcharge this double duty to *yourſelves*, and to your *poſterity*, you have nothing to do, but to call forth into uſe the *good ſenſe* and *ſpirit* of which you are poſſeſſed. You have nothing to do, but to conduct your affairs *peaceably----prudently----firmly----jointly*. By *theſe means* you will ſupport the character of *freemen*, without loſing that of *faithful ſubjects*----a good character in any government----one of the beſt under a *Britiſh* government----You will *prove*, that *Americans* have that true *magnanimity* of ſoul, that can reſent injuries, without falling into rage; and that tho' your devotion to *Great-Britain* is the moſt affectionate, yet you can make PROPER DISTINCTIONS, and know what you owe *to yourſelves*, as well as *to her*----You will, at the ſame time that you advance your *intereſts*, advance your *reputation*----You will convince the world of the *juſtice of your demands*, and the *purity of your intentions*.---While all mankind muſt, with unceaſing applauſes, confeſs,

feſs, that YOU indeed DESERVE liberty, who ſo *well underſtand* it, ſo *paſſionately love* it, ſo *temperately enjoy* it, and ſo *wiſely*, *bravely*, and *virtuouſly aſſert*, *maintain*, and *defend* it.

"*Certe ego libertatem, quæ mihi a parente meo tradita eſt, experiar: Verum id fruſtra an ob rem faciam, in veſtra manu ſitum eſt, quirites.*"

FOR my part, I am reſolved to contend for the liberty delivered down to me by my anceſtors; but whether I ſhall do it effectually or not, depends on you, my countrymen.

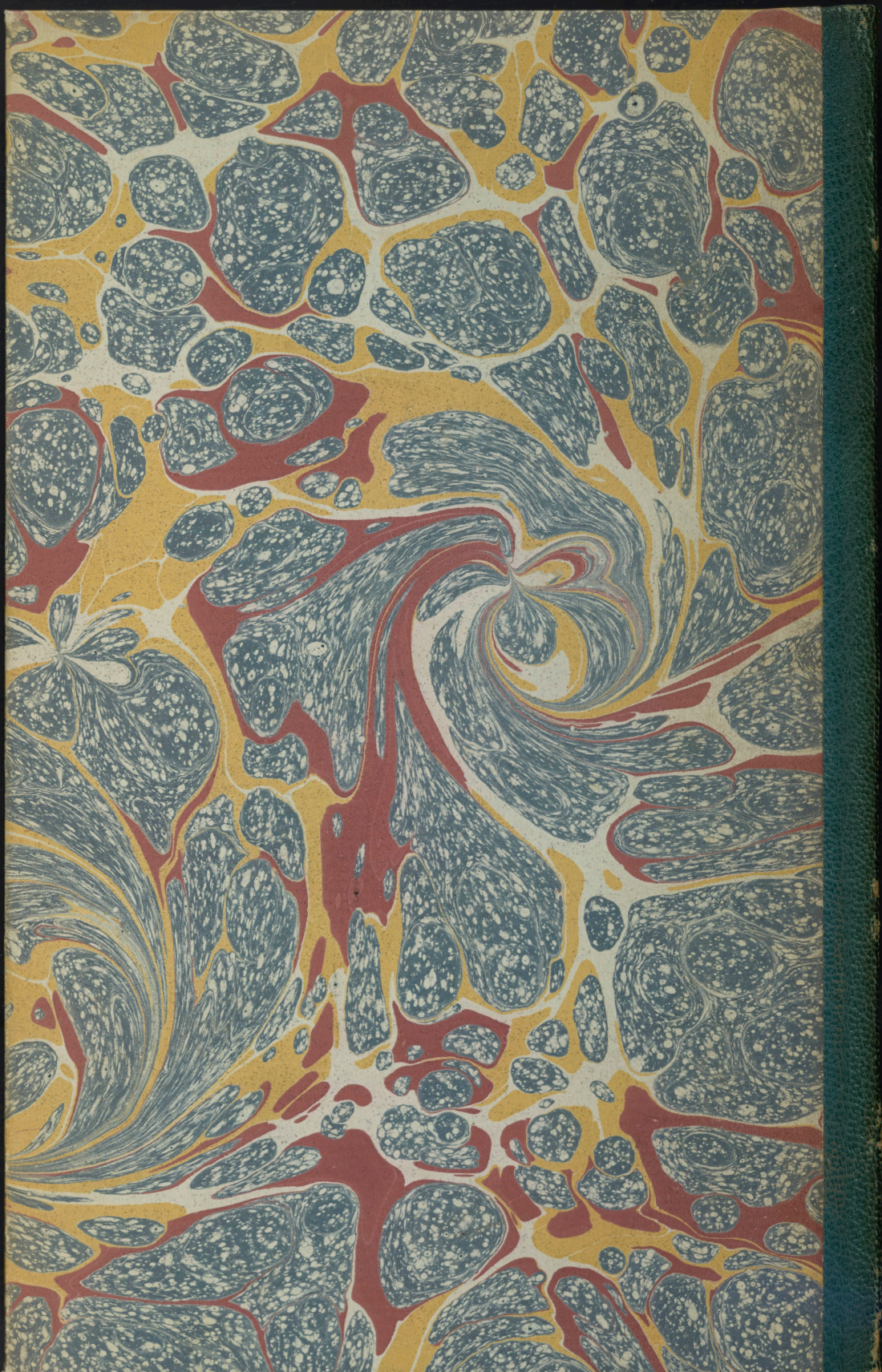
"How little ſoever one is able to write, yet when the liberties of one's country are threatened, it is ſtill more difficult to be ſilent."

A FARMER.

Is there not the ſtrongeſt probability, that if the univerſal ſenſe of theſe colonies is immediately expreſſed by RESOLVES of the aſſemblies, in ſupport of their rights, by INSTRUCTIONS to their agents on the ſubject, and by PETITIONS to the crown and parliament for redreſs, theſe meaſures will have the ſame ſucceſs now, that they had in the time of the *Stamp-Act*.

D.

The END.



DICKINSON . LETTERS FROM A FARMER IN PENNSYLVANIA . PHILA., 1768