

ABS. 1.75.198



122

T H E
R E V O L U T I O N
O F
A M E R I C A,

B Y

THE ABBÉ RAYNAL,

AUTHOR OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
HISTORY OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS AND COM-
MERCE OF THE EUROPEANS IN BOTH THE INDIES.

E D I N B U R G H,

Printed for the Translator, J. JOHNSTON, Teacher of
Mathematics, Niddery's Wynd; and sold by the
Booksellers in Town and Country.

M,DCC,LXXXII.

1782

THE

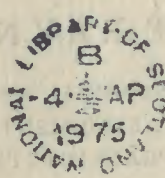
REVOLUTION

OF

AMERICA

BY

THE AUTHOR



ALBANY: THE PRESS OF THE
 UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
 1975

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

Printed for the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland
 by the Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh

Edinburgh

Advertisement

FROM

The ACADEMY of Sciences, Polite
Literature and Arts, at Lyons.

THE ABBE' RAYNAL, after having enlightened men by his writings, desired still to procure them new knowledge, by exciting emulation. Associated in the labours of the Academy of Lyons, he has proposed to this Society, to announce two Subjects for Prizes; for which he has made a fund, to be distributed by the Academy, to the Authors who shall be judged to have best answered the design of the edict.

The Academy has accepted of this offer with gratitude, and is earnest to publish the two Subjects.

THE *first* Subject proposed for the year 1782, relates exclusively to the manufactures and prosperity of Lyons; and, though dictated with the most judicious and patriotic views, we may be excused for not giving it here, its object being purely local and

confined, and not having, like that of the *second*, a direct and immediate relation to the interests of mankind.

For the year 1783, the Academy proposes the following Subject——

Has the discovery of America been useful, or hurtful, to mankind?

If advantages have resulted from it, what are the means to preserve and encrease them?

If it has been productive of disadvantages, what are the means to cure them?

The prize consists of fifty guineas and upwards, which will be remitted to the victorious Author, or his Proxy.

C O N D I T I O N S.

EVERY person, of every nation, may be a competitor for this prize, except tutelary and veteran Academicians. Associates shall be admitted. The Authors shall not make themselves known, directly, nor indirectly.

They shall put a device at the head of the work ; and shall annex to it a sealed note, containing the same device, their names, and places of abode.

Considering the importance of the Subject, the Academy sets no bounds to the length of the performances ; but desires the Authors to write them in French or Latin.

No work will be admitted after the 1st of February 1783. The Academy will proclaim the prize the same year, in its public assembly, after St Lewis's day, the 25th of August. The packets shall be directed to Lyons, free of postage,—to

M. LA TOURRETTE, *Secrétaire perpétuel pour la Classe des Sciences, Rue Boissac ; or, to*

M. DE BORY, *Secrétaire perpétuel pour la Classe des Belles Lettres, Rue Boissac ; or, to*

M. AIMÉ DE LA ROCHE, *Imprimeur Libraire de l'Académie, maison de halles de la Grenette.*

(Signed) LA TOURRETTE.
Perpetual Secretary.

LYONS, }
Sept. 5. 1780. }

	Page
(1.) <i>THE distressed state in which England was in 1763,</i>	1
(2.) <i>England calls her Colonies to her aid,</i>	3
(3.) <i>England exacts of her Colonies, what she should only have asked,</i>	13
(4.) <i>After having yielded, England would be obeyed by her Colonies. The measures which they take to resist her,</i>	18
(5.) <i>The Colonies had a right to separate from the Parent State, independent of all discontent,</i>	29
(6.) <i>What was the part England should have taken, when she saw the fermentation of her Colonies,</i>	54
(7.) <i>England determines to reduce her Colonies by force,</i>	69
(8.) <i>The Colonies break the ties which united them to England, and declare themselves independent of her,</i>	80
(9.) <i>War commences between England and the United States,</i>	91
(10.) <i>Why the English have not succeeded in bringing the Confederate Provinces to submission,</i>	99
(11.) <i>Why the Confederated Provinces have not succeeded in driving the English from the Continent of America,</i>	110
(12.) <i>France acknowledges the independence of the United States; which occasions war between this Crown, and that of England,</i>	121
(13.) <i>Spain, not having succeeded in reconciling England and France, declares for the latter Power,</i>	140
(14.) <i>What ought to be the politics of the House of Bourbon, if she is victorious,</i>	148
(15.) <i>What idea must be formed of the Thirteen United Provinces,</i>	154

T H E
R E V O L U T I O N
O F
A M E R I C A.

(1.) **E**NGLAND put an end to a long 1763.
and bloody war, in which her
fleets had displayed a victorious flag in every
part of the ocean; in which her dominion,
already too much extended, was increased
with a vast territory in the Two Indies. This
might add to her glory abroad; but, at home,
she was obliged to groan with her acqui-
sitions and triumphs. Crushed under the bur-
den of a debt of L. 148,000,000 Sterl. which
cost her an interest of L. 4,959,000, she
could scarcely defray the most necessary ex-
pences with about L. 5,777,778, which re-
mained of her revenue; and this revenue,

far from being susceptible of an increase, had no certain stability.

The lands remained under a heavier tax than they had ever been burdened with in time of peace. New taxes had been laid on houses and windows. The control of the Acts lay heavy on every fund. Wine, plate, cards, dice, every thing regarded as an object of luxury and amusement, paid more than could have been expected. To make amends to the Exchequer for the sacrifice it had made to the preservation of the subjects, in prohibiting spirituous liquors, a tax had been laid on malt, cyder, beer, and every drink used by the people. Every thing exported or imported was loaded with customs of entry and clearance. Materials and workmanship had risen to so high a price in Great Britain, that her traders saw themselves supplanted in foreign markets, where, till then, they had not even been rivalled. The profits of all her foreign trade did not annually exceed L. 2,488,889; and from that, about L. 1,555,556 were to be deducted, for the arrears of sums placed by strangers in the public funds.

The springs of the State were strained. The muscles of the body politic, having been violently stretched, had been put out of their place. It was a critical time: It was necessary to give the people respite; they could not lessen the expence, to give them comfort. The expences of Government were necessary, either to enhance the value of conquests, which had cost so much blood and treasure; or to restrain the House of Bourbon, incensed at the humiliating strokes of last war, and sacrifices made at last peace. For want of other means, to give present security, and future prosperity, they thought of calling the colonies to the aid of the mother country. This design was wise and just.

(2.) ALL the members of a confederacy, as far as it is in their power, should contribute to its defence and glory; since it is by the public force alone, that every class can preserve the full and peaceable enjoyment of what it possesses. The indigent person has undoubtedly less interest in it than the rich; but he is interested, first in the preservation of his tranquillity, next in that of the na-

tional riches, to a share of which he has a claim by his industry. There is no principle of society more evident; and yet no fault in Government more common, than the violation of this principle. Whence can this perpetual contradiction arise between the knowledge and conduct of Governments?

From the fault of the legislative power, in exaggerating the maintenance of the public force, and diverting to whimsical purposes a part of the fund appointed for that maintenance; the trader's and labourer's money, and the poor's subsistence, seized in town and country in the name of the State, and prostituted at Court to interest and vice, serve to increase the vain glory of a set of men, who flatter, hate, and corrupt their Master, and, in still baser hands, serve as pay for their scandalous and shameful pleasures. It is prodigally wasted on gorgeous apparel, the vain ornament of those who can have no real grandeur; and on feasts, the shift of impotent sloth, amidst the cares and toils which must attend the administration of an Empire. A part, indeed, is appropriated to the public wants; but distracted inca-

pacity applies it without judgment or œconomy. Deluded authority, making no condescending attempt to be undeceived, allows an unjust distribution of taxation, and a mode of collecting it, which is itself another oppression. Then every patriotic sentiment is extinguished. A war is made between the King and subjects. They who collect the revenues of State, are deemed enemies of the free-born subject, who defends his fortune from taxation, as he would from an invasion. Whatever cunning can purloin from strength, appears a lawful gain. Subjects, corrupted by Government, make reprisals on the master who plunders them. In this unequal conflict, they perceive not, that they themselves are the dupes and victims. The insatiable and violent Exchequer, less satisfied with what is given it, than provoked at what is refused, pursues, with an hundred hands, that which one had the boldness to carry off. It joins the activity of power to that of interest. Troubles are multiplied, under the sanction of punishment and justice; and this monster, which beggars all whom it torments, thanks Heaven for the number of

the guilty whom it punishes, and of the offences which make it thrive. Happy the Sovereign, who, to prevent so much abuse, would not scorn to give his people a faithful account, how the sums he would exact of them are to be employed. But that Sovereign has not yet appeared, and will certainly never be seen. However, the debt of the protected, to the State which protects, is no less necessary and sacred; and no people have been unmindful of it. The English colonies of North America had not denied it; the British Ministry had never applied to them, without obtaining the solicited aids.

But these were gifts, and not taxes, since they were granted only, after free and public deliberations, in the assembly of each settlement. The mother-country had been engaged in expensive and cruel wars. Her tranquillity had been disturbed by riotous and enterprising Parliaments. Her presumptuous and depraved Ministers had been unhappily disposed to erect the royal prerogative upon the ruin of all the rights and powers of the people. Revolutions had taken place, without their having thought of attacking a cus-

tom established by the happy experience of two ages.

The provinces of the New World were accustomed to look on this manner of furnishing their quota of men and money as a right. Allowing this claim to have been doubtful or erroneous, prudence would have forbidden it to be too openly attacked.—The art of maintaining authority, is a delicate art, which requires more circumspection than is imagined. Those who govern, are perhaps too much accustomed to hold men in contempt. They look upon them too often as slaves, prone by nature, while they are only so by habit. If you bend them farther by an additional weight, beware, lest, with elastic fury, they recover their primitive rectitude. Forget not, that the lever of power has no other fulcrum than opinion; that the strength of those who govern, is really nothing but the strength of those who allow themselves to be governed. Instruct not the people, diverted by their labours, or lulled asleep in their chains, to lift their eyes upon truths too formidable to you; and, when they obey, do not make

them remember that they have a right to command. As soon as the moment of that terrible awakening shall come; as soon as they shall have thought that they are not made for their rulers, but their rulers for them; as soon as they shall have been able to come together, to understand one another, and with one voice to pronounce, *We will not have this law; this custom displeases us*: there is no medium; you must, by an unavoidable alternative, either yield or punish, shew your weakness, or your power and disposition to be tyrants; and your authority, henceforth despised or disgraced, whatever resolution it may take, will have no other choice from the people, than open insolence, or concealed hatred.

The first duty of a wise administration, then, is to respect the predominant opinions of the country; for opinions are the dearest property of the people, a dearer property than even their fortune. If they tend to impair the strength of the State, the Ministry may undoubtedly labour to rectify them by instruction, or change them by persuasion; but, without necessity, he must not

contradict them. There never was any for rejecting the system adopted by North America.

Indeed, whether the different provinces of this New World had been authorised according to their wishes, to send Representatives to Parliament, there to deliberate with their fellow-citizens on the exigences of the whole British empire; or that they had continued to examine, in their own assemblies, what contribution it was proper for them to grant, the result could give no trouble to the Exchequer.—In the former case, the claims of their deputies would have been overpowered by a majority; and those provinces would have seen themselves legally charged with that part of the burden, which Government wanted to make them bear.—In the latter, the Minister, disposing of honours, offices, pensions, and even of elections, would not have met with more opposition in the other hemisphere, than in this.

However, the maxims sacred among the Americans, had another foundation than the opinions with which they were prepossessed. They grounded them on the nature of their

charters ; and, still more solidly, on the right which every English subject hath, not to be taxed without his own consent, or that of his Representative. This right, which ought to be the right of every people, since it is founded on the eternal law of reason, was traced back to its origin in the reign of Edward the First. From that time, the English never lost sight of it. In peace, in war ; under rigorous, as well as pusillanimous kings ; in the time of slavery, as well as in the time of anarchy, they continually laid claim to it. Under the Tudors, we saw them abandon their most precious rights, and, without resistance, give their heads to the axe of tyrants ; but never renounce the right of taxing themselves. In defence of this, torrents of blood were made to flow ; Kings were dethroned and punished. In short, at the Revolution 1688, this right was solemnly acknowledged, in the famous act, in which we saw Liberty, with the same hand by which she expelled a despotic King, draw the articles of a contract between a nation and the new Sovereign who had just been elected. This prerogative of the peo-

ple, undoubtedly much more sacred than so many imaginary rights which superstition would sanctify in tyrants, was at once both the instrument and bulwark of English liberty. England thought, she perceived that this was the only barrier which could ever put a stop to despotism ; that the moment a people are stripped of this privilege, they are condemned to oppression ; that the funds speciously raised for their safety, are sooner or later employed for their ruin. The English colonists had carried these principles to America, and handed them down to their posterity.

Ah ! if in these countries even of Europe, where slavery seems long ago to have been seated amidst vice, riches, and arts ; where the despotism of armies, supports the despotism of courts ; where man, in chains from his cradle, bound with the double ties of superstition and policy, hath never breathed the air of liberty : If in these countries, however, those who have reflected once in their life on the lot of States, cannot refrain from adopting these maxims, and envying the happy people who could make

them the base and principles of their constitution ; how much more ought their children in America to be attached to them, who have received this inheritance from their fathers ? They know at what price their ancestors purchased it. The very country which they inhabit, must nourish in them a sensation favourable to these ideas. Dispersed over a vast continent ; free as nature, which surrounds them, among rocks, mountains, and the extensive plains of their deserts ; on the borders of forests, where every thing is still wild, and where nothing calls to mind either the slavery or tyranny of man ; they seem to receive, from every natural object, lessons of liberty and independence. Besides, these people, almost all addicted to agriculture, trade, and useful labours, which, by giving simplicity of manners, exalt and corroborate the mind, and hitherto as remote from riches as poverty, can neither be corrupted yet, by excessive luxury, nor extreme want. It is in this state, especially, that the man who enjoys liberty can maintain it, and shew himself jealous, by defending a hereditary right, which seems to

be the greatest security to every other.—
Such was the resolution of the Americans.

(3.) WHETHER the British Ministry were ignorant of these dispositions, or that they expected their delegates would succeed in effecting a change, they seized the time of a glorious peace, to exact an involuntary contribution from their colonies. For it may well be observed, that war, successful or unsuccessful, serves always as a pretext to the usurpations of governments; as if the rulers of warlike nations aimed less at the conquest of their enemies, than the enslaving of their subjects. The year 1764 produced that famous Stamp Act, which prohibited every deed, not written on stamped paper, sold for the Exchequer, to be admitted into courts of judicature.

The English provinces of North America are all enraged at this usurpation of their most precious and most sacred rights. They unanimously renounce the consumption of the articles furnished by the mother-country, till this unlawful and oppressive act should be repealed. The women, whose weakness

might have been feared, are most forward in making a sacrifice of what they used in dress; the men, by their example, are encouraged to renounce other enjoyments.— Many husbandmen leave the plough, to be bred to arts and manufactures. The coarse woollen, linen, and cotton cloths of their own workmanship, are purchased at the prices which formerly had been the cost of the finest cloths and best stuffs.

This sort of conspiracy astonishes Government. The outcries of the merchants, whose goods are unopened, encrease their uneasiness. The enemies of the Ministry keep up these discontents; and the Stamp-Act is repealed, after two years violent commotion, which, at another time, might have kindled a civil war.

But the triumph of the colonies is of short duration. The Parliament, who had yielded with extreme reluctance, resolved, in 1767, that what they could not obtain by means of the Stamp Act, should be raised by the glass, lead, pasteboard, colours, painted paper, and tea, which are carried from England to America. The people of

the Northern Continent, revolt against this innovation, no less than the former. In vain are they told that nobody can contest with Great Britain, the power of laying such duties on her exports, as best suit her interests ; since she takes not from her settlements beyond the sea, the liberty of fabricating these articles, which are liable to the new duties. This evasion seems ridiculous to men, who, being bred to nothing but agriculture, and obliged to trade with none but the Parent State, can neither procure, by their industry at home, nor their connections abroad, the commodities that had been taxed. Whether this tribute be paid in the old or new world, they know that the name makes no change upon the thing ; and that their liberty would be attacked this way, no less than in that, which had been successfully repulsed. The colonists see clearly, that Government means to deceive them, and they will not be deceived. This political sophistry appears to them, what it is, the mask of tyranny.

Nations, in general, are made more for feeling than thinking. Most of them never

think of searching into the nature of the power by which they are governed. From a habit of obeying, they obey without reflection. The origin and object of the first national societies being unknown, all opposition to their will appears criminal. It is chiefly in States where the principles of legislation are confounded with those of religion, that this blindness is ordinary. The habit of believing favours the habit of suffering. Man abandons no natural possession with impunity. Nature seems to be revenged of him who dares thus degrade her. This servile disposition of mind extends itself to every thing. It makes a duty of submission as well as humility, and, kissing every chain with respect, trembles to examine laws as well as doctrines. As one extravagance, in religious opinions, is sufficient, in minds once deceived, to make them be adopted without number, so the first usurpation of Government opens the door to every other. Who believes most, believes least; who can do most, can do least. It is by this double abuse of credulity and authority, that every absurdity in

matter of worship and government has been introduced into the world, in order to ruin men. Thus the first sign of liberty among nations, carried them to shake off these two yokes at once ; and the time in which the human mind began to enquire into the abuses of the Church and the Clergy, is that in which Reason at last discovered the rights of the people, and Courage first attempted to set bounds to despotism. The principles of toleration and liberty, established in the English, had made them a different people from others. There they knew what was the dignity of man. The British Ministry trespassing against it, it behoved a people, composed altogether of freemen, to revolt against the outrage.

Three years elapsed without any of the taxes having been received, which had so much galled the Americans. That was something ; but it was not all that was proposed by men jealous of their prerogatives : They wanted a general and formal renunciation of what had been so illegally commanded ; and that satisfaction was granted them in 1770. The tea only was excepted.

This reserve had no other aim, than to cloak the shame of entirely giving up the superiority of the mother-country over her colonies; for this duty was exacted no more than the others had been.

The Ministry, deceived by their delegates, certainly believed the dispositions of the New World to be altered, when, in 1773, they ordered the receipt of the duty upon tea.

At this news, the indignation of North America becomes general. In some provinces, they vote thanks to the failors who had refused to take this produce on board. In others, the merchants, to whom it is consigned, refuse to receive it. Here they declare him an enemy to his country, who shall be so bold as to sell this commodity. There they brand with the same disgrace, those who shall keep it in their ware-houses. Many provinces solemnly renounce the use of this drink. A greater number burn what remains of this leaf, which, till then, was a pleasant object. The tea dispatched for this part of the globe, was valued at more than L. 200,000, and there was not so much as one chest of it landed. Boston was the chief

theatre of this insurrection. Its inhabitants destroyed, in the very harbour, three cargoes of tea which arrived from Europe. The people of this great town had always appeared more taken up with their rights, than the rest of America. The least blow fetched at their privileges, was rudely repulsed. This opposition, sometimes accompanied with tumults, had harassed Government for some years. The Ministry, who were to revenge it, seized too briskly the circumstance of a blameable excess, and asked of the Parliament a severe punishment.

Moderate people desired that the guilty city should only be sentenced to an indemnification, in proportion to what had been destroyed in their road; and to the fine which it deserved, for not having punished this act of violence. This punishment was thought too light; and, on the 13th of March 1774, a bill was passed, which shut up the port of Boston, and forbade any thing to be landed there, or received on board.

The Court of London was applauded for so rigorous a law; and it was not doubted, but that it would bring the Bostonians to

that fervile spirit, which, till then, they had laboured in vain to give them. If, against every appearance, these bold men should persevere in their claims, their neighbours would eagerly profit by the suspension laid on the principal part of the province. Supposing things to come to the worst, the other colonies, long since jealous of that of Massachusets, would abandon it with indifference to its sad lot, and reap the fruits of the vast trade which its misfortunes should restore to them. In this manner, the union of these different settlements should be broken, which, in the eyes of the mother-country, had some years ago been too firmly established.

The Ministry's hopes were generally disappointed. A rigorous act sometimes deceives them. The people, who have murmured while the storm was only roaring at a distance, often submit, when it is ready to fall upon them. It is then that they weigh the advantages and disadvantages of resistance; that they measure their own strength, and that of their oppressors; that a panic seizes them, who have every thing

to lose, and nothing to gain; that they cry aloud, terrify, and corrupt one another; that discord arises in their minds; that the society is divided between two factions, which give mutual provocation, come sometimes to blows, and murder one another in the fight of their tyrants, who are well pleased to see their blood shed. But tyrants find not many accomplices, except among people already corrupted. These are the vices which give them allies among those whom they oppress: Effeminacy, which is affrighted, and dares not exchange its tranquillity for honourable dangers: the vile ambition of ruling, which assists despotism, and consents to be a slave, in order to rule; to betray a people, in order to share their spoil; to renounce real honour, in order to obtain false honours, and empty titles: especially, indifferent and cold personality, the basest vice of a people, and crime of a Government; for it is always Government which gives birth to it. It is this vice, which, from principle, sacrifices a nation to one man, and the happiness of a century and posterity to the enjoyment of a day and a moment. None of these vices,

the fruits of an opulent and voluptuous society, of a society grown old, and arrived at its last stage, belong to a new people, who are chiefly employed in the cultivation of their lands. The Americans continued united. The execution of an act, which they called inhuman, barbarous, and murdering, only confirmed their resolution of maintaining their rights with more unity and constancy.

At Boston, their spirits are raised more and more. The cry of religion strengthens that of liberty. The churches resound with the most violent exhortations against England. It was, no doubt, an interesting spectacle for philosophy, to see, that, in the churches, at the foot of the altars, where superstition has so often blessed the chains of the people, where priests have so often flattered tyrants, Liberty raised her voice to defend the privileges of the people oppressed. If we believe that the Deity condescends to look down on the unhappy quarrels of men, he would certainly rather chuse to see his sanctuary devoted to that use, and hymns to Liberty become a part of the worship which his mi-

nisters directed to him. These discourses must have had a great effect ; and when a free people invoke Heaven against oppression, they do not hesitate to run to arms.

The other inhabitants of the Massachuset disdain even the idea of deriving the least advantage from the disaster of the capital. They think only of binding fast the ties which unite them with the Bostonians, disposed rather to be buried under the ruin of their common country, than that their rights, which they have learned to cherish more than life, should suffer the least injury.

All the provinces espouse the cause of Boston ; and their affection increases with the misfortune and sufferings of that unhappy town. Almost guilty of the same opposition which had been so severely punished, they see clearly that the vengeance of the Parent State against them is only delayed ; and that all the favour with which the most befriended can flatter themselves, will be, to be the last who shall feel the weight of the oppressor's arm.

This tendency to a general insurrection, is increased by the Act against Boston, which

is circulated over the whole Continent, on paper edged with black, an emblem of the mourning of Liberty. Soon uneasiness is communicated from house to house. The freemen meet, and converse in public places; pamphlets, full of eloquence and vigour, issue from every press.

“ The severities of the British Parliament against Boston,” say they in these pamphlets, “ must make every American province tremble. They have no other choice, but fire, sword, and the horrors of death, or the yoke of a dastardly and slavish obedience. Behold! the æra of an important Revolution is at last come; the event of which, happy or fatal, will for ever fix the regret or admiration of posterity.

“ Shall we be free, or shall we be slaves? On the solution of this great problem depend the lot of three millions of men at present, and the happiness or misery of their innumerable posterity for the future.

“ Awake, then, O Americans! Never was the country which you inhabit, covered with so gloomy clouds. They call

“ you Rebels, because you will only be
 “ taxed by your Representatives. Make
 “ good your claims by your courage, or
 “ seal the loss with all your blood.

“ There is no more time to deliberate.
 “ When the oppressor’s hand labours incessantly in forging chains for you, silence would be a crime, and inaction a disgrace.
 “ The preservation of the rights of the Republic, is your supreme law. He would be the most object of slaves, who, in the danger in which American liberty is, would not do his utmost to preserve it.”

This disposition was common: but it was important, it was difficult, in the midst of a general tumult, to procure a calm, by means of which an union of wills might be formed, which should give dignity, strength, and constancy to their resolutions. It is this union, which, of a multitude of separate parts, each easy to be broken, composes a whole, which cannot be so, unless, by force or policy, it be divided. The necessity of this great union was seen by the provinces of New Hampshire, Massachuset, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey,

the three counties of the Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the two Carolinas. These twelve colonies, to which Georgia is since joined, sent, in the month of September 1774, to Philadelphia, deputies charged with the defence of their rights and interests.

Now the quarrels of the mother-country with her colonies, assume an importance which they had not before. It is no more the stubborn resistance of a few individuals opposing their imperious masters : It is the struggle of one body with another, of the American Congress with the English Parliament, of one nation with another. From resolutions taken on both sides, their minds are heated more and more. Ill-will increases. All hope of reconciliation vanishes. Both sides whet the sword. Great Britain sends armies into the New World. The other hemisphere is busied in its defence. There the freemen become soldiers. Combustibles are amassed, and are soon to rise in flames.

Gage, commander of the King's forces, in the night of the 18th of April 1775, sends a detachment from Boston, with or-

ders to destroy a magazine of arms and ammunition, collected at Concord by the Americans. At Lexington, the soldiers of this detachment meet some militia, whom they easily disperse, march rapidly on, and execute their orders. Scarce have they taken their way again to the capital, when they see themselves assailed, for the space of fifteen miles, by a furious mob. Lives are lost on both sides. English blood, so many times shed in Europe by English hands, in its turn waters America, and the civil war is begun.

In the same field, the following months, more regular battles are fought. Warren becomes a victim in one of these murdering unnatural actions. The Congress honour his ashes.

“ He is not dead,” said the orator ;
 “ this excellent citizen shall not die.—He
 “ shall be perpetually present in our me-
 “ mory, perpetually dear to every honest
 “ man, to all those who shall love their
 “ country. In the short course of a life of
 “ thirty-three years, he had displayed the
 “ talents of a statesman, the virtues of a

“ senator, and the soul of a hero. Ap-
 “ proach the bloody body of Warren, all
 “ you whom the same interest animates.—
 “ Wash his honourable wounds with your
 “ tears; but stay not too long with the
 “ lifeless carcase. Return to your abodes,
 “ there to make the crime of tyranny be
 “ detested. Let this horrible picture make
 “ the hair of your children’s heads stand
 “ on end; let their eyes be inflamed; let
 “ their foreheads become threatening; let
 “ their mouths express indignation. Then,
 “ then you shall give them arms; and your
 “ last prayer shall be, that they may return
 “ victors, or end like Warren.”

The troubles, which disquieted Massachu-
 set, were the same in the other provinces.—
 The scenes there were not indeed bloody,
 because no British soldiers were there; but
 every-where the Americans seized on forts,
 arms, ammunition; every-where they expel-
 led their Governors, and other officers of the
 civil list; every-where they abused those inha-
 bitants, who appeared favourable to the cause
 of the mother-country. Some enterprising
 men carry their boldness so far as to seize

on the works formerly raised by the French on Lake Champlain, between New England and Canada, and to make an irruption into that extensive country.

Whilst individuals only, or separate districts, serve the common cause to so good purpose, the Congress are busied with the care of assembling an army. The command of it is given to George Washington, born in Virginia, and known by some happy actions in the former wars. Immediately the new General flies to Massachuset, pushes the King's forces from post to post, and obliges them to shut themselves up in Boston. Six thousand of these veterans, escaped from the sword, disease and every misery, and pressed by hunger or the enemy, embark the 24th of March 1776, with a precipitation which favours of flight. They go to seek refuge in Nova Scotia, which continued, as well as Florida, faithful to its old masters.

(5.) THIS success was the first step of English America towards a revolution. They began to wish for it openly. They published every-where the principles upon which they

justified it. These principles, brought forth in Europe, and particularly in England, had been, by philosophy, carried over to America. Against the Parent State, they made use of her own reasoning, and said—

We must take good care, not to confound Society and Government. To know them, let us enquire into their origin.

Man, thrown as it were by chance on this globe ; surrounded with all the evils of nature ; obliged continually to defend and protect his life, against the storms and tempests of the air, the inundations of the waters, the fires and flames of volcanoes, the intemperature of the torrid and frigid zones, the sterility of the earth which refuses him food, or her unhappy fruitfulness which makes poisons spring under his feet ; in short, against the teeth of wild beasts, which dispute with him his abode and his prey, and, fighting him, seem inclined to make themselves sovereigns of this globe, of which he thinks himself master : Man, in this state, left alone, could do nothing for his preservation. It was then necessary for the individuals of the species to unite and associate,

in order to turn their strength and skill to the good of the whole. It is by this union that he has triumphed over so many evils, that he has fashioned this globe to his use, confined rivers, subjected seas, secured his subsistence, conquered a part of the animals, obliging them to serve him, and driven the rest far from his empire, to the remotest parts of the deserts or woods, where their number decreases from age to age. What one man alone could not do, men in concert have done ; and, all together, they preserve their work.—Such is the origin, such the advantage and end of Society.

Government owes its birth to the necessity of preventing and suppressing the injuries which the associated had to fear from one another. It is the sentinel who watches to keep the common works from being disturbed.

Thus Society took its rise from the necessities of men ; Government, from their vices. Society tends always to good ; Government should always tend to suppress evil. Society is the first ; it is, in its origin, free and independent : Government was instituted for it, and is only its instrument. It is

the property of the one to command, and of the other to obey. Society formed the public strength ; Government, which received it from Society, should devote it wholly to its use. In short, Society is essentially good ; Government, as we know, may be, and is only too often bad.

It has been said, That we are all born equal : that is not the case—That we had all the same rights : I know not what the rights are, where there is an inequality of parts, or of strength ; and no security, no authority—That Nature offered us all the same abode, and same shifts : that is not so.—That, without distinction, we have the same means of defence given us : that is not so ; and I know not in what sense it can be true, that we enjoy the same qualities of mind and body.

There is among men, an original inequality, which nothing can remedy. It must continue for-ever ; and all that we can obtain from the best system of laws, is not to destroy it, but to hinder the abuse of it.

But, in endowing her children like a step-mother, in forming some strong, and

others weak, has not Nature herself formed the first shoot of tyranny? I believe it cannot be denied; especially if we go back to a time prior to all legislation, when man shewed himself as passionate and unreasonable as the brute.

What have the founders of nations, what have legislators then proposed? To prevent all the misfortunes of this shoot, that is discovered, by a sort of artificial equality, which submits the members of a society, without exception, to one impartial authority alone. That is a sword, which walks forth indiscriminately over all heads; but that sword was ideal. A hand was necessary, a real being, to hold it.

What has been the result of it? That the history of civilized men, is only the history of their misery. Every page of it is stained with blood; some with the blood of oppressors, others with the blood of the oppressed.

In this point of view, man shews himself more wicked, and more unhappy than the brute. One species of animals subsists at the expence only of a different; but human societies have not ceased to attack one an-

other. Even in one society, there is no rank which devours not, and is not devoured ; whatever may have been, or may be, the forms of Government, or artificial equality, which has been opposed to the primitive or natural inequality.

But these forms of Government, the choice, the free choice of our first fathers, whatever ratification they may have received, either from oath, unanimous consent, or from their continuation, are they binding upon posterity? They are not. And it is impossible that you English, who have undergone successively so many different revolutions in your political constitution, driven from monarchy to tyranny, from tyranny to aristocracy, from aristocracy to democracy, from democracy to anarchy; it is impossible that you can, without accusing yourselves of rebellion and perjury, think otherwise than I do.

We examine things like philosophers ; and it is well known, that it is not our speculations which bring on civil wars : no subjects more patient than we. I am going then to pursue my subject, without being afraid of the consequences.

If the people are happy under their form of Government, they will preserve it. If they are unhappy, it will be neither your opinions, nor mine: it will be the impossibility of suffering more, and longer, which will determine them to change it; a salutary impulse, which the oppressor will call a revolt, though it be only the lawful exercise of a natural and unalienable right of the man who is oppressed, and even of the man who is not oppressed.

A man wills and chuses for himself. He cannot will nor chuse for another; and he would be foolish to will and chuse for him who is not yet born, for him who is some ages from his existence. There is no individual, who, discontented with the form of his country's government, cannot go somewhere else to seek a better: no society which has not the same liberty of changing their government, which their ancestors had of adopting it. In this point, societies are as it were in the first moment of their civilization; without which, a great evil, nay I say the greatest of evils, would be remediless. Millions of men would have been condemned to endless misery. Conclude, then, with me,

That there is no form of Government, which has a right to be unchangeable :

No political authority, which, created yesterday, or a thousand years ago, cannot be abrogated in ten years, or to-morrow :

No power, so respectable, so sacred, that is authorised to regard the State as its property.

Whoever thinks otherwise, is a slave. He is an idolater of his own handywork.

Whoever thinks otherwise, is a fool, who devotes himself, his family, his children, his children's children, all to perpetual misery ; by granting his ancestors the right of stipulating for him, when he was not in being ; and in claiming the right of stipulating for his posterity, who are not yet in being.

All authority in this world, began either by the consent of subjects, or the violence of the master. In both cases, it may end lawfully : nothing gives tyranny a prescription against liberty.

The truth of these principles is so much the more essential, as, by its nature, every power tends to despotism, even in the most jealous nation—in yours, Englishmen, yes in yours.

I have heard it said by a whig, perhaps a fanatic ; but fools drop sometimes words of great sense : I have heard it said by him, that as long as they could not carry to Tyburn a bad King, or at least a wicked Minister, with as little formality, pomp, bustle, and astonishment, as they conduct thither the obscurest malefactor, the nation would neither have that just idea, nor that full enjoyment of their rights, which became a people who durst think or call themselves free ; and yet an administration, by your own confession, ignorant, corrupted, and presumptuous, hurries you imperiously, and with impunity, into the deepest distress.

The quantity of specie, circulating among you, is inconsiderable. You are oppressed with paper-currency : you have it of all denominations. All the gold of Europe, collected into your treasury, would scarce suffice for the discharge of your national debt. We know not by what incredible delusion this fictitious money is supported. The most frivolous event may, in the course of a day, throw it into discredit. An alarm only is necessary to cause a sudden bankruptcy. The

frightful consequences, which this want of credit would have, are above our conception. And this is the time, which is designed to make you declare against your colonies, that is, to raise against yourselves, an unjust, foolish, and ruinous war. What will become of you, when an important branch of your trade shall be destroyed; when you shall have lost a third of your possessions; when you shall have massacred one or two millions of your countrymen; when your strength shall be exhausted, your merchants ruined, your manufacturers reduced to starve; when your debt shall be increased, and your revenues diminished?—Take care of it, the blood of the Americans will sooner or later fall on your heads. Its effusion will be revenged by your own hands; and the time approaches.

But, you say, they are Rebels— Rebels! why? because they are unwilling to be your slaves. A people, subjected to the will of another people, who may dispose, at pleasure, of their government, laws, and trade; tax them as they please; limit their industry, and tie them down by arbitrary prohibitions;

are slaves ; yes, they are slaves, and their slavery is worse than what they would suffer under a tyrant. Men deliver themselves from the oppression of a tyrant, either by expulsion or death. You have done both : but a nation is neither killed, nor expelled. Liberty can only be expected from a rupture, the consequence of which is the ruin of either nation, and sometimes of both. A tyrant is a monster with one head, which may be brought down at one stroke. A despotic nation is a hydra with a thousand heads, which can only be cut off by a thousand swords raised at once. The crime of oppression committed by a tyrant, brings all the indignation on his own head. The same crime perpetrated by a numerous society, scatters the horror and shame of it upon a multitude, who never blush. It is every body's fault ; it is nobody's fault : and the sense, wandering in despair, knows not where to go.

But they are our subjects Your subjects ! no more than the inhabitants of Wales are the subjects of the people of Lancashire. The authority of one nation over another, can only be founded on conquest,

general consent, or conditions proposed and accepted. Conquest is not more binding than robbery. The consent of ancestors cannot oblige posterity; and there is no condition which does not exclude the sacrifice of Liberty. Liberty is exchanged for nothing; because nothing is comparable to it in value. That is the reasoning that you used with your tyrants; and I use it with you, for your colonies.

The land which they possess is ours
 Yours! so you call it, because you took it by force. But, be it so.—Does not the charter you granted, oblige you to treat the Americans as countrymen? Do you do so? But charters come well to be considered here, by which men grant that of which they are not masters; which consequently they have no right to grant to a handful of weak men, obliged, by circumstances, to receive as a gratuity, what belongs to them by natural right. And then, have their children, who live at this time, been called to the compact signed by their forefathers? Either confess the truth of this argument, or recall the offspring of James. What right

had you to banish him, which we have not to separate ourselves from you? say the Americans to you; and what have you to answer them?

They are ungrateful; we are their founders; we have been their defenders; we have contracted debt on their account.—Say, on your own account, as much, and more than on theirs. If you have engaged in their defence, it is as you would have engaged in that of the Sultan of Constantinople, if your ambition or interest had required it. But, have they not acquitted themselves, by giving up their products to you; by the exclusive receipt of your merchandise, at the exorbitant price which you have been pleased to put upon it; by submitting to prohibitions, which clog their industry, and restrictions with which you have injured their properties? Have they not aided you? Have they not contracted debts on your account? Have they not taken up arms, and fought for you?—When you addressed your requests to them, in such a way as it is requisite to deal with freemen, did they not grant them? When did you receive a

denial from them, but when, clapping your bayonets to their breasts, you said to them, *Your treasures, or lives: Die, or be our slaves?* What! because you have been benefactors, have you a right to be oppressors? What! will nations also, from gratitude, get a right to disgrace, and trample upon, those who have had the misfortune to receive their benefits? Ah! individuals perhaps, though it be no duty, may support tyranny in their benefactors. For them, it is great, it is magnanimous, undoubtedly, to consent to be unhappy, not to be ungrateful. But the morality of nations is different. Public happiness is the first law, as well as the first duty. The first obligation of these great bodies is to themselves. Above all, they owe liberty and justice to the individuals, of which they are composed. Every child born in the State, every new citizen, who comes to breathe the air of the country, which he has gotten, or which Nature has given him, has a right to the greatest happiness which he can enjoy. Every obligation, which cannot be reconciled to that, is dissolved. Every contrary claim is an at-

tempt upon his rights. And what does it signify to him, that they have done a good office to his forefathers, if he is destined to be a victim? What right have they to demand from him, with usury, the payment of this debt of benefits, which he has not even experienced? No, no. To desire to arm themselves with such a title, against a numerous people, and their posterity, is to overthrow every idea of order and government; to act contrary to all the laws of Morality, while they invoke its name. What have you not done for Hanover? Do you command Hanover? All the Republics of Greece were bound by mutual services: Did any of them require, in gratitude, from the obliged Republic, the right of disposing of its Government?

Our honour is engaged Say, that of your wicked Ministers, and not yours.—Wherein consists the true honour of him who has mistaken? Is it in persisting in his error, or in acknowledging it? Has he reason to blush, who returns to a sense of justice?—Englishmen, you have been in too great haste. Why did you not wait till the

Americans should be corrupted by riches, as you are? Then, they would not have valued their liberty more, than you do yours. Then, subdued by wealth, your arms would have become unnecessary. But, what time have you taken to attack them? That, in which, what they had to lose, Liberty, could not be balanced by what they had to preserve.

But, later, they would have become more numerous I grant it. What then have you attempted? the enslaving of a people, whom time will set at liberty in spite of you. In twenty or thirty years, the memory of your cruelties will be fresh; and the benefits, you expect from them, will be snatched from you. Then, there will only remain to you shame and remorse. It is a decree of Nature, which you shall not change, that great bodies give law to less ones. But, answer me, if the Americans should then attempt upon Great Britain, what you now attempt upon them, what would you say? Precisely what they say to you at this time. Why should the motives, which, in their mouths, affect you so little, appear to you more substantial in your own?

They will neither obey our Parliament, nor adopt our Laws Have they made them? Can they change them?

We obey them willingly, without having, for the time past, or present, any influence over them That is to say, that you are slaves, and that you cannot suffer freemen. However, do not confound the situation of the Americans with yours. You have representatives, and they have none. You have voices to speak for you, and nobody stipulates for them. If votes are bought and sold, that is an excellent reason for their disdaining this frivolous advantage.

They want to be independent of us Are you not so of them?

They never can support themselves without us If that is the case, remain quiet. Necessity will bring them back to you.

And if we could not subsist without them . . . that would be a great misfortune; but, to kill them, in order to extricate you from that, is an odd expedient.

It is for their interest, their welfare, that we treat them roughly, as foolish children are treated Their interest! their wel-

fare! And who hath constituted you judges of these two objects, which so nearly concern them, and which they ought to know better than you? If one citizen happen to intrude into the house of another, because he himself is a man of great sense, and there is nobody better qualified to maintain peace and good order in his neighbour's, would they not be in the right to desire him to retire, and busy himself with his own affairs? And if the affairs of this officious hypocrite were in very ill order? If he were only an ambitious man, who, under pretext of ordering aright, wanted to usurp? If he hid, under the mask of benevolence, views full of injustice, such, for example, as to slip his own neck out of the collar, at his neighbour's expence?

We are the Mother Country What! always the most sacred names to serve as a veil to ambition and interest. The Mother Country! then discharge the duties of a mother. Besides, the colonies are formed of different nations, of whom some will grant, others refuse you this appellation; and all will tell you, at once; there is a time when

parental authority ceases ; and that is when children are able to provide for themselves. What time have you appointed for setting us free ? Be candid, and you will confess that you promised yourselves to keep us in an endless minority. At least, if this guardianship were not changed into an insupportable constraint to us ; if our advantage were not continually sacrificed to yours ; if we had not to suffer a multitude of particular oppressions from the Governors, Judges, Revenue, and Military Officers whom you send us ; if most of them, arriving in our climate, did not bring blasted characters, ruined fortunes, rapacious hands, and the insolence of subaltern tyrants, who, wearied in their own country with obeying laws, come to make themselves amends in a new world, by exercising a power too often arbitrary. You are the Parent State : but, far from encouraging our progress, you are afraid of it ; you tie our hands, and suppress our growing strength. Nature, favouring us, deceives your secret wishes ; or rather you would wish us to remain in a perpetual infancy, for every thing that may be useful to us ; and yet to be ro-

bust slaves, in order to serve you, and continually furnish your covetousness with new sources of riches. Is that then a mother? Is that a native country? Ah! in the forests which surround us, Nature has given a gentler instinct to the wild beast, which, when a mother, devours not at least those which she has brought forth.

By granting all their claims, they would soon be happier than we And why not? If you are corrupted, must they be corrupted? If you are declining towards slavery, must they also imitate you? If they had you for masters, why should you not confer the property of their country upon another power, upon your Sovereign? Why should you not make him their absolute ruler, as, by a solemn act, you have declared him the absolute ruler of Canada? Would it then be necessary for them to ratify this extravagant grant? And, though they should have ratified it, would it be necessary for them to obey the Sovereign, whom you should have given them, and to take up arms against you, if he ordered it? The King of England has a negative power. They could not publish a

law there without his consent. Why should the Americans grant him this power among them, of which you every day find the inconvenience? Should it be to strip him of it one day, by force of arms, as will happen to you, if your government become more perfect? What advantage do you find in subjecting them to a faulty constitution?

Faulty, or not, we have this constitution; and it ought to be generally acknowledged and received by all who bear the name of English; without which, each of our provinces governing itself after its own manner, having its own laws, and claiming independence, we cease to form a national body, and we are no more but a heap of little detached republics, divided, continually rising one against another, and easy to be invaded by a common enemy. We have the crafty and powerful Philip, capable of attempting this enterprise, at our door.

If he is at your door, he is far from the Americans. An advantage which may have some inconvenience for you, is no less an advantage to them. But, separated from Great Britain by a vast ocean, of what importance is it to you, that your colonies receive or

reject your constitution? What does that make for or against your strength, for or against your safety? This unity, the advantages of which you exaggerate, is still but a vain pretext. You reproach them with your laws, when they are oppressed by them: you trample upon these laws, when they declare in their favour. You tax yourselves, and you want to tax them. When the least blow is aimed at this privilege, you make a furious outcry, take arms, and are ready to murder one another; and you hold the dagger to the breast of your fellow-citizen, to oblige him to renounce it. Your ports are open to all nations, and your colonies' ports are shut to them. Your merchandise goes wherever you please, and theirs is forced to come to you. You manufacture, and you are unwilling that they should manufacture. They have skins and iron, which they must deliver to you undressed and unwrought. What you acquire at a low price, they must purchase from you at the price, which your rapacity sets upon it. You sacrifice them to your traders; and, because your India Company was in danger, the A-

mericans must repair their losses ; and you call them your fellow-citizens ; and thus you invite them to receive your constitution. Go, go. This unity, this confederacy, which seems so necessary to you, is only that of the weak animals in the fable, among which you have kept to yourselves the character of the lion.

Perhaps you have suffered yourselves to be hurried away only by a false point of honour, to fill the new world with blood and ruin. We are inclined to be persuaded, that so many transgressions have not been the consequences of a project coolly concerted. You had been told that the Americans were only a vile herd of cowards, whom the least menace would bring trembling, and dismayed to whatever you would be pleased to exact. Instead of the pusillanimous men, whom they described and promised you, you met brave men, true Englishmen, fellow-citizens, worthy of yourselves. Was that a reason for your provocation ? What ! Your forefathers admired the Dutch for throwing off the Spanish yoke ; and should you be astonished, you their descendants, that your countrymen,

your brothers, those who felt your blood circulate in their veins, would rather water the earth with it, and die, than live like slaves? A stranger on whom you had made the same claims, would have disarmed you, if, shewing you his breast naked, he had said to you, *Plunge the dart, or leave me free*; and you kill your brother, and you do it without remorse, because he is your brother. Englishmen! what more ignominious than the barbarity of a man, proud of his liberty, and encroaching on the liberty of others? Do you wish us to believe, that the greatest enemy of liberty, is the freeman? Alas! we are only too much disposed to it. Enemies of kings, you have their haughtiness. Enemies of the royal prerogative, you carry it every-where. Every-where you shew yourselves tyrants. Well, tyrants of nations, and of your colonies, if you be the strongest, it is because Heaven has not heard the prayers which rise from all the countries of the earth.

Since the seas have not swallowed up your guards, tell me what will become of them, if there arise in the New World, an

eloquent man, to promise eternal salvation to those who die sword in hand, the martyrs of liberty. Americans! let your clergy be continually seen in their pulpits, holding crowns in their hands, and shewing heaven open. Clergymen of the New World, it is now the time; atone for the old fanaticism, which desolated America, by a happier fanaticism, sprung from policy and liberty. No, you will not deceive your countrymen. God, who is the principle of justice and order, hates tyrants. God has imprinted on the heart of man this sacred love of liberty; he is unwilling that slavery should disgrace and disfigure his fairest work. If deification be due to any man, it is to him undoubtedly, who fights and dies for his country. Place his image in your churches, bring it near your altars. It shall be the worship of the country. Form a political and religious calendar, in which let every day be marked with the name of some of these heroes, who shall shed his blood for your liberty. Your posterity will read them one day with holy reverence. They will say, Behold those who have freed the half of the world, and who, labour-

ing for our happiness before we had a being, have prevented us, at our birth, from hearing the clank of chains over our cradle.

(6.) WHEN the cause of your colonies was debated in your Houses of Parliament, we heard some excellent pleas in their favour. But this is perhaps what they should have directed to you—

“ I will not speak to you, Gentlemen,
 “ of the justice or injustice of your claims.
 “ I am not so much a stranger to public
 “ affairs as to be ignorant, that this preliminary examination, sacred in every other circumstance of life, would be misplaced and ridiculous in this. I will not
 “ enquire into your hope of success, and
 “ whether you shall be strongest, though
 “ this subject would perhaps appear to you
 “ of some importance, and I might probably promise myself your attention upon
 “ it. I will do more. I will not compare
 “ the advantages of your situation, if you
 “ succeed, with the consequences which it
 “ may have, if you fail of success. I will
 “ not ask you how long you are resolved to

“ serve your enemies. But I will suppose
“ at once, that you have reduced your
“ colonies to the degree of slavery, which
“ you require. Tell me only how you will
“ keep them in it. By a standing army?
“ But will this army, which will drain you
“ of men and money, go along with the
“ increase of population, or not? You have
“ only two answers to my question, and of
“ these two one seems to me absurd, and
“ the other brings you to where you are.
“ I have reflected on it a great deal; and,
“ if I am not deceived, I have discovered
“ the only reasonable and certain resolution
“ which you have to take; that is, as soon
“ as you shall have made yourselves ma-
“ sters, to stop the progress of population,
“ since it appears to you more advanta-
“ geous, honourable, and decent, to rule
“ over a small number of slaves, than to
“ have a nation of freemen for equals and
“ friends.

“ But you will ask me, how is the pro-
“ gress of population to be stopped? The
“ expedient might make weak and pusilla-
“ nimous souls revolt; but happily there

“ are none of these in this august assembly.
 “ It is to kill, without mercy, the greatest
 “ part of these unworthy rebels, and re-
 “ duce the rest to the condition of negroes.
 “ These brave and generous Spartans, so
 “ much extolled in ancient and modern
 “ history, have set you the example. Like
 “ them, having their heads covered with
 “ their cloaks, our fellow-citizens and guards
 “ shall go secretly in the night, and murder
 “ the children of our Helots by their fa-
 “ thers’ side, and on their mothers’ breast,
 “ and shall suffer such a number only to
 “ live, as may be sufficient for their la-
 “ bours, and consistent with our safety.”

Englishmen ! you tremble at this dread-
 ful proposal, and you ask what resolution is
 to be taken. Conquerors, or conquered ;
 this is what is requisite for you. If the re-
 sentment, excited by your barbarities, can
 be quieted ; if the Americans can shut their
 eyes against the havock, which surrounds
 them ; if walking over the ruins of their
 burnt towns and wasted habitations, over
 the bones of their fellow-citizens scattered
 in the fields ; if, breathing the odour of the

blood shed every-where by your hands, they can forget the wicked attempts of your despotism; if they can have the least confidence in what you say, and be persuaded that you have sincerely renounced the injustice of your pretences, begin with recalling your hireling murderers. Restore liberty to their ports, which you keep shut; withdraw your ships from their coasts; and if there is a wise citizen among you, let him take an olive-branch in his hand, and let him present himself, and say—

“ O! our fellow-citizens and ancient
 “ friends, allow us this title: we have pro-
 “ faned it; but our repentance makes us
 “ worthy of resuming it, and we aspire
 “ henceforth to the glory of preserving it.
 “ We confess, before heaven and earth,
 “ which have been witnesses; we confess,
 “ that our claims have been unjust, and
 “ our proceedings barbarous. Forget them,
 “ as we do. Raise your ramparts and for-
 “ tresses again. Assemble again in your
 “ peaceable habitations. Let us blot out
 “ even the least drop of blood that has been
 “ shed. We admire the generous spirit

“ that has directed you. It is the same with
 “ that, to which, in like circumstances, we
 “ owed our safety. Yes, it is by these
 “ marks chiefly, that we know you again
 “ to be our fellow-citizens and brothers.

“ You desire to be free : be free. Be
 “ so, in all the extent which we ourselves
 “ have affixed to this sacred name. It is
 “ not from us that you have this right.—
 “ We can neither give it you, nor take it
 “ from you. You have received it, like
 “ us, from Nature, which guilt, and the
 “ sword of tyrants, may combat, but can-
 “ not destroy. We pretend to no superi-
 “ ority over you. We aspire only to the
 “ honour of equality. This glory is suf-
 “ ficient for us. We know too well the
 “ inestimable value of being governed by
 “ ourselves, to want henceforth to deprive
 “ you of it.

“ Now the masters and supreme arbiters
 “ of your Legislation, if you can in your
 “ States create a better Government than
 “ ours, we congratulate you on it before-
 “ hand. Your happiness shall inspire us
 “ with no other sentiment than the desire

“ of imitating you. Form to yourselves
“ constitutions fitted to your climate, your
“ soil, and that New World which you ci-
“ vilize. Who can know your wants bet-
“ ter than yourselves? Noble and virtuous
“ souls like yours, should obey no other
“ laws than those which they make to them-
“ selves. Every other yoke would be un-
“ worthy of them. Regulate your taxes
“ yourselves. We only ask of you to con-
“ form to our custom in the assessment of
“ the duties. We will present to you the
“ state of our needs; and you yourselves
“ will assign the just proportion between
“ your aids and your riches.

“ Moreover, exercise your industry, as
“ we do ours; exercise it without limita-
“ tion. Make the best of the benefits of
“ Nature, and the fruitful country which
“ you inhabit. Let the iron of your mines,
“ the wool of your flocks, the skins of the
“ wild beasts wandering in your woods,
“ improved in your manufactories, take
“ under your hands a new value. Let
“ your ports be free. Go and expose to
“ sale the products of your lands, and your

“ arts, in every part of the world. Go
 “ and seek these, of which you have need.
 “ That is one of our privileges ; let it be
 “ also yours. The empire of the ocean,
 “ which we have gotten by two ages of
 “ grandeur and glory, belongs to you
 “ as well as to us. We shall be united
 “ by commercial ties. You will bring us
 “ your productions, which we will receive
 “ in preference to those of every other
 “ people ; and we will expect, that you will
 “ prefer ours to those of strangers, without
 “ your being bound to it by any other law,
 “ than that of the common interest, and
 “ the title of fellow-citizens and friends.

“ Let your vessels and ours, adorned
 “ with the same flag, cover the seas ; and
 “ let shouts of joy arise on both sides, when
 “ these friendly vessels meet in the solitary
 “ ocean. Let peace again be established
 “ between us, and let concord last for ever.
 “ We perceive at last that the chain of mu-
 “ tual benevolence is the only one which
 “ can unite empires so remote, and that e-
 “ very other principle of unity would be
 “ unjust and precarious.

“ Upon this new plan of an eternal
 “ friendship, let agriculture, industry, laws,
 “ arts, and the first of all sciences, that of
 “ procuring the greatest happiness to States
 “ and men, be perfected among you. Let
 “ the recital of your happiness call around
 “ your habitations, all the unfortunate of
 “ the earth. Let the tyrants of every
 “ country, let every oppressor, political or
 “ sacred, know that there exists a place in
 “ the world, where one may escape from
 “ their chains; where disgraced humanity
 “ hath raised her head; where crops grow
 “ for the poor; where the laws are no more
 “ than a security for happiness; where re-
 “ ligion is free, and conscience hath ceased
 “ to be a slave; where Nature seems at last
 “ desirous of justifying herself in the crea-
 “ tion of man; and Government, so long
 “ guilty over the whole earth, at last makes
 “ amends for her crimes. Let the idea of
 “ such an asylum affright and restrain abso-
 “ lute rulers; for, if the happiness of men
 “ is indifferent to them, they are at least
 “ ambitious and covetous, and want to pre-
 “ serve both their power and riches.

“ We, O our fellow-citizens! O our friends!
 “ we ourselves will profit by your example.
 “ If our constitution should be changed; if
 “ public riches should corrupt the Court,
 “ and the Court the nation; if our Kings,
 “ to whom we have given so many terrible
 “ examples, should at last forget them; if
 “ we, who had been a venerable people,
 “ were threatened to become only the most
 “ dastardly and basest of herds, by selling
 “ ourselves; the sight of your virtues, and
 “ of your laws, might again give us courage.
 “ It would recall to our depraved minds,
 “ both the value and grandeur of liberty:
 “ and if this example should become inef-
 “ fectual; if slavery, the consequence of ve-
 “ nial corruption, should be settled one day
 “ in this very country, which hath been
 “ deluged with blood for the cause of Li-
 “ berty, and where our fathers have seen
 “ scaffolds erected for tyrants; then we shall
 “ abandon, in a croud, this ungrateful
 “ land, surrendered to despotism, and leave
 “ the monster to reign over a desert. You
 “ will then receive us as friends and bro-
 “ thers. You will share with us that soil,

“ that air, free as the souls of their generous
 “ inhabitants ; and, thanks to your virtues !
 “ we shall find again an England, and a
 “ native country.

“ Brave fellow-citizens ! these are our
 “ hopes and wishes. Receive then our oaths,
 “ the pledges of so sacred an alliance. Let
 “ us invoke, in order to render this treaty
 “ more solemn, let us invoke our common
 “ ancestors, who, like you, were all animated
 “ with the spirit of Liberty, and not afraid
 “ of death in its defence. Let us call to
 “ witness the memory of the illustrious
 “ founders of your colonies, that of your
 “ august legislators ; of the philosophic Locke,
 “ the first on earth who made a code of to-
 “ leration ; of the venerable Penn, who first
 “ founded a city of brothers. The souls
 “ of these great men, who, at this time,
 “ undoubtedly have their eyes fixed on us,
 “ are worthy of presiding at a treaty which
 “ ought to secure the peace of both worlds.
 “ Let us swear in their presence, let us
 “ swear over these very arms with which
 “ you have fought us, to remain for-ever
 “ united and faithful ; and, when we shall

“ have all pronounced an oath of peace,
 “ take you then these very arms, carry
 “ them and deposit them in a sacred place
 “ of trust, where fathers shall shew them
 “ to every new generation ; and there keep
 “ them faithfully from age to age, to turn
 “ them one day against the first English-
 “ man or American who shall dare to pro-
 “ pose the breach of this alliance, equally
 “ useful and honourable to both nations.”

At this discourse, I hear towns, villages,
 fields, all the shores of North America, re-
 echo with the most lively acclamations, and
 repeat with feeling the names *English Brothers,*
Mother Country. Bonfires and rejoicings
 succeed the flames of discord ; and, mean-
 while, the nations, jealous of your power, re-
 main in silence, astonishment, and despair.

Your Parliament is going to be assembled.
 What must be expected from it ? Will it
 give ear to Reason, or will it persist in its
 folly ? Will it be the defender of the people,
 or the instrument of ministerial tyranny ?
 Will its acts be the decrees of a free nation,
 or edicts dictated by the Court ? I hear the
 deliberations of your Houses of Parliament.

These respectable places echo with harangues full of moderation and wisdom. There, gentle persuasion appears to flow from the lips of the most distinguished orators. They force tears from their hearers. My heart is filled with hope. All of a sudden, a voice, the organ of despotism and war, suspends this agreeable emotion——

“ Englishmen ! (cries a furious declaimer)
 “ can you hesitate one moment ? It is your
 “ rights, your most important interests ; it is
 “ the glory of your name, that must be de-
 “ fended. These great goods are not at-
 “ tacked by a foreign power. A domestic
 “ enemy threatens them. The danger is
 “ greater ; the injury more grievous.

“ Between two rival nations, armed for
 “ mutual claims, policy may delay giving
 “ battle. Against rebellious subjects, the
 “ greatest fault is slowness ; all moderation
 “ is weakness. The standard of rebellion
 “ was erected by audacity ; let it be torn to
 “ pieces by force. Fall, fall, sword of ju-
 “ stice, upon the hands which have display-
 “ ed it. Let us make haste. The first
 “ moment must be seized to suppress revo-

“ lutions. Let us not give astonished
 “ minds time to be accustomed to their
 “ crime ; rulers, time to confirm their pow-
 “ er ; and the people, that of learning to
 “ obey new masters. The people, in a re-
 “ bellion, are almost all hurried away by a
 “ strange impulse. Neither their fury, their
 “ love, nor their hatred, belong to it. Their
 “ passions, as well as their arms, are given
 “ them. Let us display to their eyes, the
 “ strength and majesty of the British em-
 “ pire. They will come and fall at our
 “ feet ; they will pass in a moment from
 “ terror to remorse ; from remorse to obe-
 “ dience. If we must use the severity of
 “ arms, let us have no complaisance. In
 “ civil war, compassion is the falsest of vir-
 “ tues. The sword, once drawn, ought to
 “ be sheathed by submission only. It is
 “ theirs, henceforth, to answer to heaven
 “ and earth for their own misfortunes.—
 “ Consider, that a little severity, in these
 “ rebellious provinces, must secure us obe-
 “ dience and peace for ages.

“ To suspend our blows, to disarm us,
 “ they tell us, they repeat to us, that that

“ country is peopled with our fellow-citizens,
 “ our friends, our brethren. What ! invoke
 “ in their favour, names which they have
 “ injured, ties which they have broken !
 “ These names, these sacred ties, are what
 “ accuses them, and renders them guilty.
 “ How long do these so revered titles im-
 “ pose duties on us only ? How long have
 “ rebellious children the right of arming
 “ themselves against their mother, of wrest-
 “ ing her inheritance from her, and of tearing
 “ her heart to pieces ? They speak of liber-
 “ ty. I respect that name as much as they :
 “ but, is it the liberty of independence ? Is
 “ it the right of overturning an established
 “ legislature, founded two ages ago ? Is it
 “ the right of usurping all ours ? They speak
 “ of liberty ; and I speak of the supremacy
 “ and sovereign power of England.

“ What ! if they had some complaints
 “ to make ; if they refused to bear with
 “ us a small part of the burden which op-
 “ presses us, and to join in our charges,
 “ as we made them partners in our gran-
 “ deur, had they no other way but that of
 “ rebellion and arms ? They are called our

“ fellow-citizens, and our friends ; but, I
 “ look upon them as persecutors only, and
 “ the most cruel enemies of our country.
 “ We have common ancestors ; yes, un-
 “ doubtedly : but these respectable forefa-
 “ thers, I call them up myself with confi-
 “ dence. If their spirits could here resume
 “ their place, their indignation would equal
 “ ours. With what wrath would these vir-
 “ tuous citizens hear, that those of their
 “ descendants, who are settled beyond the
 “ seas, no sooner felt their strength, than
 “ they made a guilty attempt with it against
 “ their Mother Country ; that they armed
 “ themselves against her, with her very fa-
 “ vours ? Yes, all ; even that pacific sect,
 “ whose founder inspired them with the duty
 “ of never staining their hands with blood ;
 “ those who respected the lives and rights
 “ of savages ; those who, by an enthusiasm
 “ of humanity, broke the chains of their
 “ slaves ; to-day, equally unfaithful to their
 “ country, and their religion, they arm
 “ themselves for slaughter, and it is against
 “ you. They treat all men as brethren ;
 “ and you, you alone of all nations, are ex-

“ cluded from this title. They have told
 “ the world, that the American savages, and
 “ African negroes, are to them henceforth
 “ less foreign than English citizens.

“ Arm yourselves. Revenge your in-
 “ jured rights. Revenge your betrayed
 “ grandeur. Display that power which makes
 “ itself formidable in Europe, Africa, and
 “ India; which has so often astonished A-
 “ merica herself; and, since, between a so-
 “ vereign people, and the revolted subjects,
 “ there is henceforth no other treaty but
 “ force, let force decide. Resume, and de-
 “ fend that world, which belongs to you,
 “ and which ingratitude and audacity wish
 “ to snatch from you.”

(7.) THE sophistry of a vehement orator, supported by the influence of the throne, and national pride, suppresses in the majority of the people's representatives, the desire of a pacific plan. The new resolutions resemble the old. Every thing in them bears, in a more decisive manner, the stamp of barbarity and despotism. They levy armies; they equip fleets. Generals and Admirals set sail towards

the New World, with orders for bloody and destructive projects. Nothing but an unlimited submission can prevent or stop the devastation ordered against the colonies.

Till this memorable time, the Americans had confined themselves to a resistance, which even the English laws authorised. No ambition had been discovered in them; but that of being maintained in the very limited rights, which they had always enjoyed. Even the leading men, in whom one might suppose more extended ideas, had yet dared to speak to the people of an advantageous accommodation only. In going further, they would have been afraid of losing the confidence of people, attached by habit to an empire, under the wings of which they had prospered. The noise of the great preparations, which were made in the old hemisphere, to enslave or set fire to the new, stifled their remaining affection to the former Government. There was no more to do, but to give vigour to their minds. This was effected by a work, intitled *Common Sense*. We are going to give the main part of its doctrine here, without tying ourselves down precisely to the method which it has followed.

Never, said the author of this famous publication, never did a greater concern employ nations. It is not that of a city, or a province; it is that of a vast continent, of a great part of the globe. It is not the concern of a day; it is that of ages. The present is going to decide of a long futurity; and many hundreds of years after we shall be no more, the sun, in enlightening this hemisphere, will show our shame or our glory. We have spoken long of reconciliation and peace: every thing is changed. As soon as they took arms, as soon as the first drop of blood was shed, the time of examination was no more. One day has given rise to a revolution. One day has transported us into a new age.

Timid souls, souls who measure the future by the past, think that we have need of the protection of England. It may be useful to a rising colony; it is become dangerous for a nation already formed. Infancy hath need of being supported; youth must walk free, and with a becoming boldness. It is with nations, as it is with men; whoever may have the power and right of protecting

me, may have the power and inclination to hurt me. I renounce a protector, that I may have no master to fear.

In Europe, the people are too much crowded, to let this part of the globe enjoy a constant peace. There, the interests of courts and nations continually clash. While friends of England, we are obliged to have all her enemies. This alliance will bring America, for her portion, a perpetual war. Let us separate; let us separate. Neutrality, trade, and peace, are the foundations of our grandeur.

The authority of Great Britain over America, must sooner or later have an end. So nature, necessity, and time, will have it. The English Government, then, can only give us a transient constitution; and we will only bequeath to our posterity, an unsettled state of dissensions and debts. If we want to secure their happiness, let us separate. If we are fathers, if we love our children, let us separate. Laws and liberty are the inheritance which we owe them.

England is too far from us, to govern us. What! always to cross two thousand leagues,

to ask laws, to sue for justice ; to be acquitted of imaginary crimes, and solicit, with meanness, the Court and Ministers of a foreign climate ! What ! to wait years for every answer ; and yet too often still that it should be injustice, which it was thus necessary to seek across the ocean ! No, for a great State, the centre and seat of power must be in the State itself. Nothing, but the despotism of the East, could have accustomed people thus to receive their laws from distant masters, or bashaws, who represent invisible tyrants. But, do not forget it : the more the distance increases, the heavier despotism becomes ; and the people, then, deprived of almost all the advantages of Government, have nothing more than its mischiefs and vices.

Nature did not create a world, to subject it to the inhabitants of an island in another universe. She has established laws of equilibrium, which she follows every-where, in the heavens as well as upon earth. By the law of bulks and distances, America can belong to herself only.

There is no Government, without a mutual confidence between him who commands,

and him who obeys. This is all over: this intercourse is broken off; it cannot be renewed. England hath too often shewn, that she wanted to command us like slaves; America, that she was equally sensible of her rights and her strength. Each has betrayed her secret. After this, no more treaties. They would be signed by hatred and diffidence; hatred, which does not pardon; and diffidence, which, from its nature, is irreconcilable.

Do you desire to know what would be the consequence of an accommodation? Your ruin. You need laws; you will not obtain them. Who would give you them? The English people? They are jealous of your growth. The ——? He is your enemy. Yourselves in your assemblies? Do you no more remember, that every law is submitted to the negative right of the monarch, who desires to subjugate you? This would be a terrible right, continually armed against you. Make demands; they will be evaded. Form plans of grandeur and commerce; they will become an object of terror to the Mother Country. Your Government will be no more than a secret war; that of an enemy

who means to destroy without fighting : it will be a slow and hidden murder of the political kind, which produces languor, prolongs and nourishes weakness, and, by a sanguinary and torturing art, equally hinders life and death. Submit yourselves to England ; and that is your lot.

We have a right to take arms. Our rights are necessity, a just defence, our own misfortunes, those of our children, and the excesses committed against us. Our rights are our august title of Nation. It is the sword that is to judge us. The tribunal of war is, henceforth, the only tribunal which exists for us. Well, since we must fight, let it be at least for a worthy cause, which may pay us both for our treasures and our blood. What ! shall we expose ourselves, to see our towns destroyed, our fields laid waste, our families falling under the sword, in order to attain the conclusion of a treaty ; that is to say, to beg for new chains, to cement the edifice of our slavery ourselves ? What ! shall it be by the light of fires ; upon the tomb of our fathers, our children, and our wives, that we shall sign a treaty with our oppressors ?

and, all covered with our blood, they will deign to pardon us. Ah! we should then be no more but a vile object of astonishment to Europe, indignation to America, and contempt even to our enemies. If we could obey them, we have no right to fight them. Liberty alone can absolve us. Liberty, an entire liberty, is the only end worthy of our toils and dangers. What do I say? From this moment it belongs to us. Our titles are written in the bloody plains of Lexington: there, England tore to pieces, with her own hand, the contract which united us to her. Yes, the moment England fired the first shot at us, Nature herself proclaimed us free and independent.

Let us profit by the kindness of our enemies. The youth of nations is the time most favourable for their independence. It is the time of efficacy and vigour. Our souls are not yet encompassed with that luxurious furniture which serves for a hostage to tyranny. Our arms are not enervated in the arts of effeminacy. We are not under the sway of those Nobles, who, by their very constitution, are the necessary allies of Kings;

who love liberty only when it may be made a mean of oppression; those Nobles, covetous of rights and titles, to whom, in revolutions, and other critical times, the people are only tools; to whom the supreme power is a very ready corrupter.

Your colonies are formed of plain, stout, laborious, and bold men, at once proprietors and improvers of their lands. Liberty is their first want. Rural toils have before-hand hardened them for war. Public enthusiasm will make unknown talents break forth. It is in revolutions that great souls are raised, that heroes shew themselves, and take their place. Call to mind Holland, and the multitude of extraordinary men, whom the quarrel of liberty gave rise to: that is an example for you. Call to mind their success: that is an omen for you.

Let our first step be to form ourselves a constitution which may unite us. The time is come. Later, it would be abandoned to an uncertain futurity, to the caprice of chance. The more men and riches we shall acquire; the more barriers it will raise between us. How then shall we reconcile so many inter-

rests and provinces? In order to such a union, every settlement must perceive, at once, both its own weakness, and the strength of the whole. Great calamities, or great fears, are necessary. It is then among societies, as among individuals, that these vigorous and profound friendships arise, which associate souls with souls, and interests with interests. It is then that one mind coming from every side, forms the genius of States, and that all the scattered forces, on being brought together, become one terrible force. Thanks to our persecutors, we are at this period. If we have courage, it is, to us, that of happiness. Few nations have seized the favourable moment, to model their Government. Once escaped, this moment returns no more; and we are punished for it by ages of anarchy or slavery. Let us not, by such a fault, prepare for ourselves such sorrows. They would be fruitless.

Let us lay hold on the only moment for us. It is in our power to form the finest constitution that ever was formed among men. You have read, in the books of sacred history, of mankind being buried un-

der a general deluge of this globe. One family only survived, and was charged by the Supreme Being to renew the earth. We are that family. Despotism has deluged the whole; and we can renew the world a second time.

We are going to decide, at this time, the lot of a race of men, more numerous perhaps than all the people of Europe together. Shall we wait till we be the prey of a conqueror, and the hope of the universe be destroyed? Let us imagine, that all the generations of future ages have at this time their eyes fixed on us, and demand liberty from us. We are going to settle their fate. If we betray them, they will one day walk forth with their chains over our tombs, and load them perhaps with curses.

Do you remember a writ which appeared among you, and which had for its motto these words, *Unite, or die?*

Let us unite, and begin by declaring our independence. It alone can wipe off the ignominious title of rebellious subjects, which our insolent oppressors dare give us. It alone can make us recover the dignity which

is due to us, secure us allies among foreign powers, impress respect even on our enemies, and, if we treat with them, give us a right to treat with the force and majesty which becomes a nation.

But, I repeat it, let us make haste ; our uncertainty makes our weakness. Let us dare to be free, and we are so. Ready to step forward, we fall back. We observe one another with an uneasy curiosity. We seem astonished at our boldness, and affrighted at our courage. But there is no more time for calculation. In great affairs, there is only a great resolution to be taken ; too much circumspection ceases to be prudence. Every thing extreme, requires an extreme resolution. Then the boldest steps are the wisest ; and excess of boldness even becomes the mean and warrant of success.

(8.) SUCH was the ground of the sentiments and ideas diffused in this work. They confirmed bold men in their principles, who long since requested them to separate from the Mother Country. Timid citizens, who, till then, were wavering, were at last de-

terminated on this great separation. The vow for independence had sticklers enow to make the General Congress, on the 4th of July 1776, determine to declare for it.

Why have I not received the genius and eloquence of the famous orators of Athens and Rome? With what sublimity, with what raptures, would I not speak of the generous men, who, by their patience, wisdom, and courage, raised this great edifice! Hancock, Franklin, the two Adamses, were the greatest actors in this interesting scene: but they were not the only ones. Posterity will know them all. Their famous names will be transmitted to them by a happier pen than mine. Marble and brass will shew them to the latest ages. The friend of liberty, on seeing them, will feel his eyes filled with delicious tears, his heart leap with joy. They have written under the bust of one of them: *He snatched thunder from heaven, and the sceptre from tyrants.* All will share with him, in the last words of this eulogium.

Heroical country! my advanced age does not permit me to visit thee. Never shall I

see myself among the respectable characters of thy Areopagus : never shall I stand by to hear the deliberations of the Congress. I shall die without having seen the abode of toleration, morals, laws, virtue, and liberty. A free and hallowed earth shall not cover my ashes : but I shall have desired it ; and my last words shall be vows addressed to Heaven for thy prosperity.

Though America was sure of universal approbation, she thought it her duty to lay open to the eyes of nations, the motives of her conduct. She published her manifesto, and in it we read, That the history of the English nation, and of their King, as far as it shall discourse of them and us, will henceforth offer only a series of injuries and usurpations, which equally tended to the establishment of an absolutetyranny in these provinces.

It will say, That their Monarch refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good :

That he transferred the assemblies to inconvenient places, far from the depositary of their public records, in order to bring the deputies more easily to his views :

That he has repeatedly dissolved the Representatives' houses ; because, there, they defended, with firmness, the rights of the people :

That, after these dissolutions, he left the States too long without Representatives, and consequently exposed to the inconveniences resulting from the want of an Assembly :

That he has endeavoured to put a stop to population, by rendering the naturalization of strangers difficult, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands :-

That he has made Judges too much dependent on him, decreeing that they should hold their offices and salaries of him only :

That he has created new places, and filled these countries with swarms of officers, who devour our subsistence, and disturb our repose :

That he has maintained among us, in time of peace, considerable forces, without the consent of our Legislatures :

That he has rendered the military independent of, and even superior to the civil power :

That he has combined with wicked men, to quarter armed troops among us, and to protect them from the punishments due for the murders which they should commit in America ; to destroy our trade in every part of the globe ; to impose taxes on us, without our consent ; to deprive us, in many cases, of the benefit of trial by juries ; to transport us, and make us be judged beyond the seas ; to take away our charters, abolish our best laws, and alter fundamentally the forms of our Government ; to suspend our own Legislatures, and to declare their power of giving us other laws :

That he himself has abdicated his Government in the American provinces, by declaring us to have forfeited his protection, and waging war against us :

That he has ravaged our coasts, destroyed our ports, burnt our towns, and massacred our people :

That he has obliged our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to carry arms against their country, to become executioners of their friends and brethren, or to perish themselves by their hands :

That he has excited among us intestine divisions ; that he has endeavoured to raise against our peaceable inhabitants, the merciless Indian savages, accustomed to massacre all, without distinction of rank, sex, or age :

That, at the same time, there arrived on our shores, foreign and mercenary armies, intrusted with completing the work of desolation and death : And,

That a Prince, whose character was thus marked with all the features of tyranny, was not made for governing a free people.

A step which broke ties formed by blood, religion and habit, was to be supported by a great concert of wills, by wise and vigorous measures. The United States of America gave themselves a fœderal constitution, which added to the internal advantages of the republican Government, all the external strength of monarchy.

Every province had an assembly formed by the representatives of the different districts, and in which the legislative power resided.—Their President had the executive power. His rights and obligations were to hear all the citizens ; to call them toge-

ther when circumstances should require it ; to provide the troops with arms and subsistence, and plan their operations with their commanders. He was put at the head of a Secret Committee, which was to keep up a continual correspondence with the General Congress. The time of his administration was limited to two years ; but the laws allowed it to be prolonged.

The provinces owed no account of their administration to the Great Council of the nation, though composed of the deputies of all the colonies. The superiority of the General Congress over the particular Congresses, was confined to what was within the verge of politics and war.

But some persons have judged, that the institution of this body was not so well planned as the legislatures of the provinces.— It seems, indeed, that fœderal States, which, from the rank of subjects, rise to independence, cannot, without danger, intrust their delegates with the unlimited power of making war and peace : For, if these were either unfaithful, or uninstructed, they might put the whole State again into the slavery from

which they seek to escape. It seems, that, in these moments of a revolution, the public will cannot be too well known, too literally expressed. Undoubtedly it is necessary, say they, that every step, every operation which concurs to their common attack and defence, be decided by the common representatives of the body of the State : but the continuation of war, the conditions of peace, ought to be deliberated upon in every province ; and the deliberations transmitted to the Congress by the deputies, who would submit the opinion of their provinces to the plurality. They add, in short, that if, in established Governments, it is fit that the people should rely with confidence on the wisdom of their Senate, in an estate where the constitution is forming, where the people, still uncertain of their lot, demand their liberty again, sword in hand, all the citizens must be continually in the Council, in the army, in the public places, and have their eyes always open upon the representatives, to whom they have confided their fates.

Though these principles are true in general, we may however reply, That it was

perhaps difficult to apply them to the new republic formed by the Americans. It is not with it, as with the fœderal republics, which we see in Europe, I mean Holland and Switzerland, which possess only a small extent of land, and where it is easy to settle a rapid communication between all the provinces. We may say the same thing of the confederacies of ancient Greece. These States were situated at little distance from one another, contracted almost within the bounds of the Pelopponesus, or within the compass of the Archipelago. But the United States of America, scattered over a vast continent; occupying in the New World, a space of near 15 degrees; separated by deserts, mountains, gulphs, and a great extent of coast, cannot enjoy this ready communication. If the Congress could give no decision upon political interests, without the particular deliberations of every province; if, on every occasion of a little importance, on every unforeseen event, new orders were necessary, and as it were a new power to the representatives, this body would remain inactive. The distances to get over, the

length and multitude of the debates, might too often hurt the general good.

Besides, it is never in the birth of a constitution, and in the midst of great fermentations for liberty, that it is to be feared, that a body of Representatives would, through bribery or weakness, betray the interests which are intrusted to them. It is rather in such a body, that the general spirit is raised and inflamed. It is there that the genius of the nation resides in its vigour. Chosen by the esteem of their fellow-citizens, at a time when every public office is a danger, every vote an honour; placed at the head of those, who shall for ever compose that famous Areopagus, and thereby even naturally carried to regard the public liberty as their own work, they must have the enthusiasm of founders, who pride themselves in engraving their name, to be seen for ages, upon the frontispiece of an august monument which they raise. The fears, which the favourers of the contrary system might have on this subject, appear then ill founded.

I will say more—It is possible that a people, who fight for their liberty, wearied with a long and painful struggle, and more struck with the dangers of the present, than the happiness of the future, might feel their courage fail, and be tempted, perhaps, one day, to prefer dependence and peace, to a troublesome independence, which may cost danger and blood. It is then that it would be advantageous to this people, to have abdicated the power of making peace with their oppressors, to have deposed that right in the hands of the Senate, which they had chosen for the organ of their will, when this will was free, bold and resolute. They seem to have said to the Senate, when it was instituted—I raise the standard of war against my tyrants. If my arm should be wearied with fighting, if I should disgrace myself so far as to beg for rest, support me against my weakness: give no ear to prayers unworthy of me, which I disown beforehand; and proclaim not peace, till my chains be broken.

Really, if we consult the history of republics, we shall see that the multitude have

almost always impetuosity and heat at first ; but that it is only among a small number of men, chosen and fit to serve as chiefs, that these constant and vigorous resolutions reside, which go on firmly and confidently towards the great end, never turn aside, but obstinately strive against calamities, fortune, and men.

(9.) HOWEVER it may be, and whatever side may be taken in this political discussion, the Americans had not yet created their system of Government, when, in the month of March, Hopkins carried off from the English Island of Providence, a very large train of artillery, and a great quantity of warlike stores ; when, in the beginning of May, Carleton drove from Canada the Provincials, who were busied in reducing Québec, to complete the conquest of this great possession ; when, in June, Clinton and Parker were so vigorously repulsed on the coast of the southern provinces. Greater scenes followed the declaration of independence.

Howe had succeeded the feeble Gage. It was even this new General who had eva-

cuated Boston. Received the 2d of April at Halifax, he had departed from it the 10th of June, to go to Staten-island. The reinforcements for the land and sea-service, which he expected, joined him there, one after another; and, on the 28th of August, he landed, without opposition, on Long-Island, under the protection of a fleet commanded by his brother the Admiral. The Americans shewed not much more vigour in the interior parts of the country, than on the shore: after a moderate resistance, and great enough losses, they fled for refuge into the continent, with an ease which a conqueror, who could have profited by his advantages, would not have given them.

The new republicans abandoned the town of New-York, much more easily still than they had evacuated Long-Island; and they turned towards King's-Bridge, where every thing had the appearance of being disposed for an obstinate resistance.

If the English had followed their first success with the briskness which circumstances required, the new levies, which were opposed to them, would have been infallibly

dispersed or reduced to lay down their arms. They allowed them six weeks to recover themselves; and left not their intrenchments till the night between the first and second of November, when the movements, which were made in their sight, convinced them, that their camp was at last going to be attacked.

Their Commander, Washington, had no mind to trust the fate of his country to an action, which might, and naturally must have been decisive against the great interests, which were intrusted to him. He knew that delays, always favourable to the inhabitant of a country, are always fatal to the stranger. Convinced of this, he determined to retreat to the Jerseys, with the design of protracting the war. Favoured by the Winter, the knowledge of the country, and the nature of the ground, which partly took away the advantages which the enemy had in discipline, he could flatter himself with covering the greatest part of that fertile province, and keeping the enemy at a distance from Pennsylvania. All of a sudden, he sees his colours deserted by soldiers, whose engagement was

only for six, or even three months; and, of an army of twenty-five thousand men, scarce did there remain with him two thousand five hundred, with which he is too happy to be able to make his retreat beyond the Delaware.

Without loss of time, the King's troops should have passed the river, in pursuit of this small number of fugitives, and have completely dispersed them. If the five thousand men destined for the conquest of Rhode-Island, had gone up the river in the vessels which carried them, the junction of the two bodies might have been made without opposition in Philadelphia itself; and the new republic would have been stifled in that famous and interested town which had served for its cradle.

Perhaps the English General was reproached at that time, for being timid, and too circumspect, in the operations of the campaign. What is certain, is, that he was rash in the distribution of his winter-quarters. He took them, as if there had not remained in America, an individual who had either will or power to molest them.

This presumption emboldened the militia of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, assembled and re-united for their common safety. The 25th of December, they cross the Delaware, and fall unexpectedly upon Trenton, possessed by fifteen hundred of the twelve thousand Hessians, so shamefully sold to Great Britain by their fordid master. This body is massacred, taken, or wholly dispersed. Eight days after, three English regiments are driven out from Prince-town, in the same manner; but after having better maintained their reputation than the foreign troops in their pay. These unexpected events reduced the enemies of America in the Jerseys, to the posts of Amboy and Brunswick; even there, they are much harrassed during the remains of the bad season.—It is often the effect of great passions, and great dangers, to astonish the soul, and throw it into a sort of languor, which deprives it of the use of its strength. By degrees, it comes to itself again, and knows where it is. All its faculties, suspended for a moment, open with more vigour. It bends all its springs, and its strength is put on a level with its situation. In a great

multitude, some experience this effect at first, and it is communicated rapidly to all. This revolution had been wrought in the Confederated States. Armed men came out from all sides.

The campaign of 1777 is opened very late. The English army, despairing of making a road through the Jerseys into Pennsylvania, embark at last on the 23d of July, and, through the Chesapeak-bay, land in a country which their Generals might be reproached for not having taken the preceding year. Their march is uninterrupted, as far as Brandywine. There they attack and defeat the Americans on the 11th of September; and arrive on the 30th at Philadelphia, which had been left by the Congress on the 25th, and, some days sooner or later, by the greatest number of the inhabitants.

This conquest is of no consequence. The conqueror sees, around him, nothing but ill-will and desolation. Pent up in a very narrow space, he meets insurmountable obstacles to his going over an uncultivated country. Even his gold finds him no resources

in the neighbouring districts : it is only across the sea, that his subsistence can come to him. The weariness of a confinement, which lasts for nine months, determines him to regain New-York, through the Jerseys; and, under the command of Clinton, the successor of Howe, this long and dangerous retreat is performed, with less loss than he might have suffered from a more experienced enemy.

Whilst the English are dwindling away in Pennsylvania, a great scene is opened in the more northern countries of America. In the month of May 1776, Carleton had driven out the Provincials from Canada; and, in October, destroyed the ships of war, which they had built on Lake Champlain. This success led Burgoyne to Ticonderago, in the month of July, the following year. At his approach, a garrison of four thousand men abandoned this important post, with the loss of their artillery, ammunition, and rear-guard.

The English General was naturally presumptuous. So distinguished a weakness increased his assurance. He had conceived the

design of joining the troops of Canada, to those of New-York, by the banks of Hudson's river. This project was great and bold. If he had succeeded, he cut North America in two, and perhaps terminated the war. But, in order to succeed, it would have been necessary, that, whilst one army should go down the river, the other should go up. This junction having failed, Burgoyne must have perceived, that, from the first steps, his enterprize was chimerical. At every march, it became more so. His communications were lengthened out, his provisions diminished; the Americans, resuming courage, gathered around him on all sides. At last, this unhappy little army was beset on the 13th of October, at Saratoga; and nations learned with astonishment, that six thousand of the best disciplined troops of the old hemisphere, had laid down their arms before the husbandmen of the new, conducted by the fortunate Gates. Those who called to mind, that the Swedes of Charles XII. till then invincible, had capitulated with the still barbarous Russians, accused not the English army: they only blamed their imprudent General.

This event, so decisive in the judgment of our politicians, was of no more consequence to the Americans, than the actions less favourable to their arms had been. After three years battles, devastations, massacres, the state of things was but little different from what it had been a fortnight after the first hostilities. Let us endeavour to unfold the causes of this strange singularity.

(10.) AT first, Great Britain, accustomed to storms in her own country, saw not all the danger that was in the tempest, which rose over her distant possessions. Long since, her soldiers had been insulted in Boston; a power, independent of hers, had been formed in the province of Massachuset: the other colonies were disposed to follow that example, without the Ministry having been seriously employed with these great objects. When they were laid before the Parliament, the two Houses were filled with outcries; and the Speakers continued declaiming, one after another, for a long while. Both Houses of Parliament at last resolved, that the coun-

try which had rebelled against their acts, should be subjected to them by force; but this violent resolution was executed with the slowness too ordinary in free States.

England generally thought, that defenceless coasts, and countries wholly open, would not resist her fleets and armies. It did not appear to her, that this expedition would be tedious enough to let the peaceable peasants of America have time to be instructed in the art of war. They forgot to enter into the calculation, the climate, rivers, narrow passes, woods, marshes, want of subsistence in proportion as they should advance into the interior parts of the country, and a great many other natural obstacles which would be opposed to a rapid progress in a country, three fourths of which were uncultivated, and which it was necessary to look on as new.

The influence of moral causes hindered the success still more.

Great Britain is the seat of parties. Her Kings appeared generally enough convinced of the necessity of leaving the direction of affairs to the prevailing faction. That fac-

tion managed them commonly with understanding and vigour; because the chief agents who composed it, were animated by a common interest. Then, to the public spirit, which prevails in England more than any other Government in Europe, was also added, the strength of a faction, and that party-spirit, the chief spring perhaps of republics, which so powerfully moves souls, because it is always the effect of a passion. In order to get out of this long guardianship, George III. selected the Members of his Privy Council from different parties.—

—This innovation had no great inconvenience, as long as there was nothing extraordinary in the course of events. But as soon as the American war had rendered the business more complicated, which already was not too simple, it was perceived, that they had neither that constancy nor union so necessary to the execution of great business. The wheels, too much at variance, wanted, as it were, a common impulse, and centre of motion. Their going was alternately slow and quick. Administration too much resembled that of ordinary monarchy, when the prin-



principle of action comes not from the head of an active and skilful Monarch, who himself gathers all the springs under his hand. There was no more union in their undertakings ; no more in their execution of them.

A Ministry who were not harmonious, saw themselves continually exposed to the renewed attacks of a body of enemies, who were closely united. Their resolutions, whatever they were, were combated either by ridicule or reason. They were blamed for having used the distant citizens so roughly, and they would have been blamed for using them too gently. Even those, who rose in Parliament with the greatest vehemence against the usage given to the Americans, those who encouraged them most to resistance, those who perhaps sent them secret aid, were as much against their independence as the Ministry, whom they laboured without intermission to disgrace and make odious. If opposition had succeeded in disgusting the King at his confidants, or in obtaining the sacrifice of them by the cry of the nation, the plan of subduing America would have been followed ; but with more

dignity, constancy, and measures perhaps better concerted. The reduction of the revolted provinces not being to be their work, they rather choose that that vast part of the British empire should be separated from it, than that it should remain united by other hands than theirs.

The activity of the Generals made no reparation for the vice of disagreement or opposition, and the slow execution which was the consequence of it. They allowed the soldiers too long rest ; they employed the time of action in deliberation ; they approached the new-levied Americans, with the same precaution they would have taken before disciplined forces. The English, who have so much impetuosity in their factions, wear in every thing else a cool and quiet character. They must have violent passions, in order to be agitated. When they have not this Spring, they calculate all their motions. Then they are ruled by the temper of their minds, which, in general, if we except the arts of fancy and taste, is, in every thing else, methodical and wise. In war, their courage never loses sight of

the principles, and leaves little to chance. Seldom do they suffer on their flanks, or in their rear, any thing which can give them disturbance. This system has its advantages, especially in a narrow and confined country, a country set thick with forts and strong holds. But, in the present circumstances, and on the vast continent of America, against a people to whom no time should have been given either to fortify or discipline themselves, the perfection of the art would have perhaps been to forget it, in order to substitute in its place an impetuous and rapid march, and that boldness which astonishes, strikes, and overthrows at once. It was, at the very first, especially, that it was necessary to impress the Americans, not with the terror of devastation, which enrages more than it affrights a people armed for their liberty; but with that terror which arises from the superiority of talents and arms, and which a warlike people of the old world should naturally carry into the new. The confidence of victory would have soon been victory itself. But, by too much circumspection, by their too servile attachment to

principles and rules, unskilful Commanders failed in doing their country the service, which she expected of them, and which she had a right to expect.

On their side, the soldiers urged not their Officers to lead them to battle. They came from a country, where the cause of their crossing so wide a sea gave them no feeling. It was, in the sight of the people, a fermentation of no consequence. They confounded the debates which it occasioned in Parliament, with others often of very little importance. They spoke not of it; or, if it was the subject of discourse, they took no more interest in it, than in the news, which, in great towns, employ the idle every day.

The indifference of the people had been communicated to the defenders of their rights. Perhaps they would even have been afraid of getting too decisive advantages over fellow-citizens, who had taken arms only to keep themselves from slavery. In all the monarchies of Europe, the soldier is only an instrument of despotism, and he is sensible of it. He thinks he belongs to the King, and not to the country; and a hun-

dred thousand armed men, are only a hundred thousand disciplined and terrible slaves. The very habit of exercising the empire of force, that empire to which every thing yields, contributes to extinguish in them every idea of liberty. In short, the military command; and subordination, which, by the voice of one man only, moves thousands of arms, which neither allows them to see nor ask questions, and gives, at the first signal, a law to kill or die, completely changes their sentiments into principles, and makes them as it were the morality of their State.—It is not the same in England. The influence of the constitution is so strong, that it is extended to the army. There, a man is a citizen, before he is a foldier. Public opinion, in concert with the constitution, honours one of these titles, and puts little esteem on the other. Thus we see, by the history of the revolutions, which have happened in that island, so much disquieted with civil broils, that the English foldier, though engaged for life, preserves an affection for civil liberty, of which we could not easily form an idea in our countries of slavery.

How should the ardour, which was wanting in the British troops, have animated the Hessians, Brunswickers, and other Germans, ranged under the same banners, all equally discontented with the princes who had sold them, the Sovereign who had bought them, the nation who kept them in pay, and their comrades who despised them as mercenaries. These brave people had not in their hearts espoused a quarrel, to which they were absolute strangers. Besides, they had also, in the enemy's camp, brothers whom they were afraid of killing, and from whose hands they were unwilling to receive wounds.

The spirit of English armies had also changed in consequence of a revolution which had taken place fifteen or eighteen years ago in the manners of their nation. The success of the last war ; the extent to which trade had been carried on after the peace ; the great acquisitions made in the East Indies ; all these ways of making fortunes, had accumulated, without interruption, prodigious riches in Great Britain. These treasures had kindled the desire of new enjoyments. The great folks went to learn the art in foreign

countries, especially in France, and with it poisoned their own country. From the higher ranks, it was diffused over every class. To a character of boldness, simplicity and reserve, succeeded a taste for vain show, dissipation, and gallantry. Travellers, who had formerly visited that so renowned island, thought themselves in another climate.—The contagion had gotten among the soldiers. They had carried into the new world, the passion, which they had contracted in the old, for gaming, convenience, and good living. In removing from the coasts, it would have been necessary to renounce the superfluities to which they were inclined: that taste for luxury, that passion so much the more violent as it was new, gave no encouragement to pursue, into the heart of the country, an enemy always ready to flee into it. Ye new politicians, who advance with so much confidence, that manners have no influence on the lot of States; that, to them, the measure of greatness is that of riches; that the luxury of peace, and the pleasures of the citizen, cannot weaken the effect of these great machines, which are

called armies, of which the European discipline has, according to you, so much improved the sure and terrible game: You who, to support your opinion, turn your eyes from the ashes of Carthage, and ruins of Rome, upon the recital which I make you; suspend, at least, your judgment, and believe that perhaps there are opportunities of success, which luxury takes away.— Believe, that, even to brave troops, an exemption from wants was often the first cause of victory. It is perhaps too easy to brave death only. To nations corrupted by wealth, a more difficult trial is reserved; that of supporting the loss of their pleasures.

Add to all these reasons, That the implements of war seldom arrived, over so wide an ocean, in seasons convenient for action: That the Councils of George III. wanted to have too much influence in the military operations, which were to be executed so far from them; and you will know most of the obstacles, which hindered the success of Great Britain's ruinous efforts against the liberty of her colonies.

(11.) BUT, how did not America herself repulse from her coasts, these Europeans who where bringing her death or chains?

This new world was defended by regular troops, who at first were enlisted for three or six months only, and afterwards for three years, or even for the whole time that hostilities might last. It was defended by citizens, who appeared in the field only when their own province was invaded or threatened. Neither their standing army, nor their militia, occasionally assembled, had the military spirit. They were husbandmen, merchants, lawyers, only exercised in the arts of peace, and conducted to danger by guides as little versed as their subalterns in the very complicated science of battles. In this state of things, what hopes of contending with advantage against veterans in discipline, formed to evolutions, instructed in the marshalling of armies, and abundantly provided with all the instruments necessary to a brisk attack, or an obstinate defence?

Enthusiasm alone could have surmounted these difficulties; but, did it really exist more in the Colonies, than in the Parent

State? The general opinion in England was, that the Parliament had essentially the right of taxing all the countries which made part of the British empire. At the beginning of the troubles, a hundred individuals would perhaps not have been found there, who would call in question this authority.— Yet the refusal which the Americans made to acknowledge it, did not indispose their minds. They bore them no hatred, even after they had taken arms to support their claims. As labours did not decay in the heart of the kingdom, while the thunder grumbled only at a distance, every one was peaceably busied with his own affairs, or quietly gave himself up to his pleasures: All patiently waited the issue of a scene, of which, indeed, the unravelling of the plot appeared to them not doubtful.

The fermentation must have shewn itself, at first, greater in the new hemisphere, than in the old. Was ever the odious name Tyranny, or the so agreeable name Independence, named to nations without their being moved? But, was this heat kept up? If their fancies had been supported in the first mo-

tion, would not the need of suppressing the excess of them have busied the cares of a growing authority? But, far from having courage to restrain, it was cowardice that it had to prosecute. We saw it punish desertion with death, and sully the standard of liberty with murders. We saw it refuse the exchange of prisoners, for fear of increasing the inclination of the soldiers to surrender at the first summons. We saw it reduced to the necessity of erecting tribunals, empowered to prosecute the Generals, or their Lieutenants, who should too rashly abandon the posts entrusted to their vigilance. It is true, that an old man of fourscore, whom they wished to send home again, exclaimed, *My death may be useful, I will cover with my body a younger man than myself.* It is true that Putnam said to a Royalist, his prisoner, *Return to your Commander; and if he asks how many men I have, answer him that I have enow; that though he should happen to defeat them, I should still have enow; and that in the end he will find by experience, that I have too many for him, and the tyrants whom he serves.* These sentiments were he-

roic, but rare ; and every day they became less common.

The intoxication never was general ; and it could only be momentary. Of all the energetic causes, which have produced so many revolutions on the earth, none existed in North America. Neither religion, nor laws, had been violated there. The blood of martyrs, or of citizens, had not been shed on their scaffolds. Their morals had not been insulted. Their manners and customs, no objects dear to the people, had been given up to ridicule. Arbitrary power had taken no inhabitant from the bosom of his family, or his friends, to drag him into the horrors of a dungeon. There, the principles of administration had not been changed ; and, there, the maxims of Government had remained always the same. Every thing amounted to this, to know if the mother-country had, or had not, the right of laying directly or indirectly a light tax on the colonies ; for the accumulated grievances in the manifesto take their value from this only. This almost metaphysical question was but little fitted to raise a great

number, or at least to interest them strongly; in a quarrel for which they saw their country deprived of the hands destined to cultivate them, their crops spoiled, their fields covered with the carcases of their near relations, or stained with their own blood. To these calamities, the work of the royal army on the coasts, were soon added more insupportable ones in the heart of the country.

The troubles of the Courts of London and Versailles had never disturbed North America, without the two Powers having mingled in their bloody quarrels the wandering people of that part of the new hemisphere. Instructed by experience, what weight these hordes could bring into the scales, the English, and the Colonists, resolve equally to employ them in their mutual destruction.

Carleton first attempted to arm these barbarous hands in Canada. “ It is, (replied they to his solicitations) “ it is the quarrel “ of a father with his children; it is not “ becoming in us to enter into this domestic quarrel.” . . . “ But, if the rebels

“ came to attack these provinces, would you
 “ not help us to repulse them ?” . . . “ Since
 “ the proclamation of peace, the hatchet of
 “ war has been buried forty fathoms deep.”
 “ You would certainly find it, if you dig
 “ the earth.” . . . “ The handle is rotten,
 “ and we could make no use of it.”

The United States were not more successful. “ We have heard of the differences
 “ which have happened between Old and
 “ New England, (said the Tribe of the O-
 neidas to their deputies.) “ Never shall we
 “ take part in your odious divisions. War
 “ between brothers, is a thing strange, and
 “ new in these regions. Our traditions have
 “ left us no example of this nature. Sup-
 “ press your foolish hatred ; and let a fa-
 “ vourable climate scatter the gloomy cloud
 “ which involves you.”

The Mafphies alone appeared to be interested in the lot of the Americans. “ There
 “ is sixteen shillings, (said these good fa-
 “ vages to them). It is all we possess. We
 “ thought of buying rum with it ; we will
 “ drink water. We will go a hunting. If
 “ any beasts fall under our arrows, we will

“ sell the skins of them, and bring you the
“ money.”

But, through time, the very active agents of Great Britain succeeded in reconciling many of these Aborigines to her. Her interests were preferred to those of her enemies; and because the distance had not permitted her to do the savages such injuries, as they had received from their haughty neighbours, and because she could and would better pay the services, which they had in their power to do her. Under her banners, these allies, whose barbarity was unbridled, did a hundred times more ill to the colonists, settled near the mountains, than their fellow-citizens, whom a happier fate had fixed on the shores, had suffered from the royal troops.

These calamities attacked a number of Americans more or less considerable: but soon an internal vice afflicted them all.

The metals, which, upon the whole globe, represent every object of trade, were never plenty in this part of the New World. The little of them, which had been seen there, even disappeared on the first hostilities. To

these signs, universally agreed upon, were substituted signs peculiar to that country. Paper supplied the place of silver. To give some dignity to the new pledge, it was surrounded with emblems, which were continually to recall to the people's minds, the greatness of their enterprise, the invaluable price of liberty, and the necessity of a perseverance superior to every misfortune. The artifice did not succeed. These ideal riches were rejected. The more necessity obliged them to be multiplied, the more they are undervalued. The Congress is enraged at the affront given to its money; and declares traitors to their country, all those who would not receive it as they would have received gold.

Was this body ignorant, that it had no more command of men's judgments, than of their senses? Did it not perceive, in this present crisis, that every reasonable citizen would be afraid to expose his fortune? Did it not perceive, that, at the beginning of a republic, it allowed itself such acts of despotism, as are unknown in countries formed to slavery? Could it be dissembled, that it punished a

want of confidence with the same punishment, which rebellion and treason would scarcely have deserved? The Congress saw all that. But the choice of means was wanting to it. Its contemptible and despised paper-currency was really thirty times below its original value, when more was still made. The 13th of September 1779, there was paper circulating, to the amount of L. 35,544,155. The State owed, besides, L. 8,385,356, without reckoning the particular debts of every province.

The people were not indemnified, for a plague which may be called domestic, by an easy communication with every part of the globe. Great Britain had intercepted their navigation with Europe, with the West-Indies, with every latitude in which their ships sailed. Then they said to the world, “ It is the
 “ English name which hath made us odi-
 “ ous ; we solemnly renounce it. All men
 “ are our brethren. We are friends to
 “ every nation. Every flag may, without
 “ fearing to be insulted, appear on our
 “ coasts, resort to our ports.” They did not accept of an invitation, in appearance so

seducing. The truly commercial States, informed that North America had been reduced to contract debts, at the very time of her greatest prosperity, thought judiciously, that, in her actual distress, she could pay only very little for what should be carried to her.

The French alone, who dare venture on every thing, were bold enough to brave the inconveniences of this new connection. But, by the skilful care of the Admiral Lord Howe, most part of the ships, which they dispatched, were taken before they arrived at their destination, and others on the departure from the American shore. Of many hundreds of vessels, that went from France, only twenty-five or thirty of them returned, which even brought no profit, or but little to those who fitted them out.

A multitude of wants, added to so many other plagues, might make the Americans regret the loss of their former tranquillity, and dispose them to a reconciliation with England. In vain had they bound the people to the new Government, by the faith of oaths, and the authority of religion. In vain had they sought to convince them of the

impossibility of making a sure treaty with a country, in which one Parliament would repeal what another had enacted. In vain had they threatened them with the perpetual resentment of a violent and revengeful enemy. It was possible that these distant troubles would not balance the weight of the present evils.

So the British Ministry thought, when they sent into the New World, public agents, authorised to offer every thing, independence excepted, to these very Americans, from whom, two years before, they required an unlimited obedience. It is not improbable, that, some months sooner, this plan of reconciliation would have produced an agreement.

But, at the time in which the Court of London caused propose it, it was rejected with haughtiness, because, in that step, they saw nothing but fear and weakness. The fears of the people had been removed. The Congress, the Generals, the troops, the skilful or bold, who in every province had usurped authority, all had recovered their first boldness. This was the effect of a treaty of friendship and commerce between the

United States and the Court of Versailles, signed the 6th of February 1778.

(12.) If the British Ministry had reflected upon it, they would have perceived, that the same delirium, which led them to attack their colonies, reduced them to the necessity of immediately declaring war against France. Then prevailed, in the councils of this Crown, the circumspection which a new reign must always inspire. At that time, the finances were in the confusion, into which twenty years' folly had plunged them. At that time, the bad state of the Navy filled every citizen with uneasiness. At that time, Spain, already fatigued with her extravagant expedition to Algiers, was in such perplexities, as would not have permitted her to give aid to her ally. Without rashness, England might have promised herself success against the most powerful of her enemies; and to strike terror into America, by victories gained, or conquests made in her neighbourhood. The importance it was of to that Crown, to take away from her rebellious subjects the only support which was

secured to them, would have lessened the indignation, which the violation of the most solemn treaties inspires.

George III. saw nothing of all that. The private aids, which the Court of Versailles sent to the provinces, armed for the defence of their rights, did not open his eyes. The dock-yards of France were filled with carpenters. Her arsenals were filled with artillery. There was no more room in the magazines for new naval stores. Her ports presented the most threatening preparations; and this strange blindness still continued. To draw the Court of St James's from its lethargy, it behoved Lewis the XVI. to cause declare to it, on the 14th of March, that he had acknowledged the independence of the United States.

This was a declaration of war. It was impossible that a nation, more accustomed to give than receive offence, could patiently suffer its subjects to be absolved from their oath of fidelity, or raised with splendor to the rank of sovereign powers. All Europe foresaw, that two nations, who had been rivals many ages ago, were about to colour

with blood the waters of the ocean, and play again that terrible game, in which public prosperity will never recompense private misfortunes. Those, in whom ambition had not stifled all benevolence to their fellow-creatures, deplored, before-hand, the calamities, which, in the two hemispheres, were ready to fall on mankind.

However, the bloody scene was not opened; and this delay made some credulous minds hope for the continuation of peace. They knew not, that a fleet, which went from Toulon, had orders to fight the English in North-America. They knew not, that orders were dispatched from London to drive the French from the East-Indies. Without being initiated in these mysteries of perfidy, which deceitful politicians regard as great strokes of State, men truly skilful judged hostilities inevitable, and even near upon our seas. The battle of two frigates, fought on the 17th of June 1778, brought forth this event, which had been foreseen.

Here our task becomes more and more difficult. Our only object is to be useful, and speak truth. Far from us be all party-

spirit, which blinds and debases those who lead men, and those who dare aspire to instruct them. Our wishes are to our native country; our homage to justice. In whatever place, under whatever form Virtue is presented, it is her whom we honour. The distinctions of Societies and States cannot make her foreign to us; the just and brave man is every-where our fellow-citizen. If, in the different events, which pass under our eyes, we blame with courage what appears our duty to blame, we seek not the full and vain pleasure of a foolish censure. But we speak to nations and posterity. We ought to transmit to them, faithfully, what may influence the public happiness. We owe to them the history of faults, to teach them how they may be avoided. If we durst betray so noble a duty, we would perhaps flatter the present generation, which passes away; but justice and truth, which are eternal, would inform future generations against us, who would read us with contempt, and only name us with disdain. In this long course, we will be just to those who still exist, as we have been to those who exist.

no more. If, among men of power, there are some who take offence at this liberty, we are not afraid to tell them, that we are only the organs of a supreme tribunal; which Reason raises, at last, upon a steady foundation. There is no longer a Government in Europe, which should be afraid of her judgments. Public opinion, which is more and more enlightened, and which nothing hinders or intimidates, has its eyes open on nations and courts. It penetrates into cabinets, where policy is shut up. There it judges the depositaries of power, their passions, and their weakness; and, by the empire of genius and understanding, rises every where above Ministers, to direct or restrain them. Woe to those who disdain or brave it! This appearance of boldness is nothing but impotence. Woe to those, who, by their talents, cannot resist its looks! Let them do justice to themselves, and lay down a burden too heavy for them to bear. They will at least cease to expose themselves and nations.

France began the war with invaluable advantages. She had chosen place, time, and circumstances: it was only after having

at leisure made her preparations, after having brought her strength to a proper height, that she appeared in the field of battle. She had only to fight an enemy humbled, weakened, and discouraged by her domestic dissensions. She had the favour and interest of other nations against these imperious masters, or, as they said, these tyrants of the ocean.

Events appeared to answer to the wishes of Europe. The French Officers, who had their old affronts to wipe off, performed illustrious actions, the remembrance of which will last long. A skilful theory, and undaunted courage, made up what might be wanting to them on the side of experience. Every particular engagement crowned them with glory, and most of them ended to their advantage. The British grand-fleet ran greater dangers still than her detached ships. It was so roughly treated, as to fear its total or partial destruction, if the fleet, which had reduced it to that almost desperate state off Ushant, had not been disposed, by timid orders, shameful intrigues, the weakness of Admirals, or by all these motives together, to quit the sea, and return first to port.

Intoxicated with these successes, perhaps unexpected, France appeared to lose sight of her dearest interests. Her principal object should have been to intercept her enemies' trade, to cut their double sinews of war, which they derived from their sailors and funds, and thus sap the two foundations of English grandeur. Nothing was more easy for a Power, so early prepared for hostilities, than to intercept a merchant fleet, wholly by surprise, and very weakly convoyed. It was not done. The immense riches which Great Britain expected from every part of the globe, entered peaceably into her roads, without any part of them having been taken.

On the contrary, the trade of France was harrassed in both hemispheres, and every-where intercepted. Her colonies saw carried off from their own coasts, the subsistence which they expected, with all the impatience of want; while she herself was deprived of four millions Sterling, arrived almost in sight. These misfortunes had a cause: Let us endeavour to discover it.

The French navy had been long since unfortunate. It was to the fault of its constitution, that so many misfortunes had been attributed. They attempted many times to modify or change its regulations; but these innovations, good or bad, were always repulsed with a disdain more or less remarkable. At length the Admirals themselves dictated, in 1776, an order, which, making them absolute masters of the roads, arsenals, dock-yards, and magazines, destroyed that mutual inspection, which Lewis XIV. had thought his duty to settle between the military officers and those of administration. From that time there was no more rule, responsibility and œconomy in the ports. Every thing there fell into confusion and disorder.

The new plan had still a more fatal influence. Till this time, it was the Ministry who had directed the naval operations to the end which suited their politics. This authority went, perhaps, without being perceived, to those who were to execute them. They took insensibly the complexion of their prejudices. These prejudices made them believe that it was not in dully and labori-

ously escorting the ships of the nation, in remaining in difficult cross-passages to surprise or destroy the enemy's ships, that they should get a name. This double duty was then entirely neglected, or ill discharged, from the opinion common at Brest, that such a service had nothing noble, and conducted to no sort of glory.

It must be granted, that this prejudice is very odd, and entirely contrary to all the laws of Society. What can have been the end of States, in instituting this warlike force, destined to run over the seas? Is it only to procure rank to those who command, or who serve? to give them an opportunity of exercising a courage useless to every body but themselves? to dye the sea with blood by battle and slaughter? Undoubtedly no. Fleets of men of war are, upon the ocean, what forts and ramparts are to the citizens of towns, what national armies are to provinces exposed to devastation from the enemy. There are some properties attached to the soil; there are others made, transported by commerce, and which are as it were wandering upon the ocean.—

These two sorts of properties have need of defenders. Warriors ! there is your duty. What would they say, if land-armies should refuse to protect the inhabitants of towns, and the labourers of the fields, against the enemy ; to protect the crop, when threatened to be burned ?—Sea-Officers ! you think yourselves disgraced in protecting and escorting the trade. But, if the trade has no more protectors, what will become of the riches of the State, of which you will undoubtedly ask a part as the reward of your services ? For your own parts, what will become of the revenues of your lands, when trade, and the circulation of riches, only can render them fruitful ? You think yourselves disgraced. What ! disgraced in rendering yourselves useful to your fellow-citizens ? And what are all the orders of State, to which Government has confided any portion of the public strength, but protectors and defenders of the citizen and his fortune ? Your post is on the sea, as that of a Magistrate is on the bench, that of the Land-Officer and Soldier in the field, and the Monarch himself upon the throne, where he

has a higher command only that he may see farther, and comprehend, at one view, all those who have need of his protection and defence. You aspire to glory. Learn, that glory is in every place where the nation can be served. Learn, that the glory of preservation is of more value than that of destruction. In old Rome, they also loved glory : yet, there, they preferred the honour of having saved one citizen only, to that of having killed a multitude of their enemies. What ! do you not see, that, in saving the trading vessels, you save the fortune of the State ? Yes, your valour is shining ; it is known in Europe, as well as in your native country : but, what matters it to your fellow-citizens, that it has appeared on a glorious occasion, that it has captivated an enemy's vessel, or covered with wreck and ruin the billows of the ocean, if, by your fault, you have suffered all the ships to perish, or be carried off, which carry the riches of your country ? if, in the same port to which you return victorious, a multitude of desolate families bewail their ruined fortunes ? At your landing, you will not hear the shouts of vic-

story ; all will be mute and dismayed : and your exploits will be destined to fill up the Court-gazette, and these public papers, which, made to amuse idleness, give glory only for a day, when that glory is not engraven on the hearts of the citizens, by the remembrance of a real utility to the country.

The maxims sacred at Portsmouth, were quite opposite. There they perceived, there they respected the dignity of commerce.— They reckoned it a duty, as well as an honour, to defend it ; and events have decided, which of the two navies had the justest ideas of their functions.

Great Britain had just experienced very humiliating misfortunes in the New World. A more powerful enemy threatened her with greater disasters in the Old. This alarming situation filled every mind with diffidence and doubt. The national riches arrive.— Those of the rival Power swell the enormous mass : and immediately public credit revives ; hope rises again ; and that people, whom they were pleased to look on as dejected, resume and maintain their usual stateliness.

On the other side, the harbours of France are filled with lamentations. There, a disgraceful and ruinous inaction succeeds, to an activity, which gave them splendor, and enriched them. The indignation of the merchants is communicated to the whole nation. The first moments of success, are always moments of intoxication, which seem to cover and justify faults. But misfortune gives more severity to judgments. The people then observe more nearly those who govern them, and, with a bold liberty, demand an account of the depositary of power and authority with which they are entrusted. The Councils of Lewis XVI. are reproached with having wounded the majesty of the first Power on earth, in disowning, in the face of the whole world, the aids which they ceased not to send privately to the Americans. They are reproached for having, by a ministerial intrigue, or by the ascendancy of some obscure agents, engaged the State in an unfortunate war, while they should have busied themselves in winding up the springs of Government, in curing the long wounds of a reign, the latter half of which had been

despicable and weak, divided between depredation and shame, between the meanness of vice, and convulsions of despotism. They are reproached with having excited war by deceitful policy, involving themselves in discourse unworthy of France, and having held with England the language of timorous presumption, which seems to belie the projects they have formed, and the sentiments of their hearts; a language which can only disgrace him who makes use of it, without being able to deceive him to whom it is addressed; and which dishonours, without that dishonour being either useful to Minister or State. How much more noble would it have been, to say, with all the frankness of dignity—"Englishmen! you have
 " abused victory. This is the time to be
 " just, or it shall be the time of revenge.
 " Europe is wearied with suffering tyrants.
 " She at last resumes her rights. Hence-
 " forth, either equality or war. Make your
 " choice."

It is thus that Richlieu would have spoken to them; he whom every citizen indeed should hate, because he was a bloody murderer,

and, in order to be absolute, assassinated every enemy with the executioner's ax; but whom the nation should honour as a minister, because he first made France know her dignity, and gave her, in Europe, that tone which became her power. It is thus that Lewis XIV. would have spoken to them, who, for forty years, knew how to be worthy of the age in which he lived; who blended always greatness with his very faults; and, even in his humiliation and misfortunes, never degraded himself, nor his people. Ah! to govern a great nation, a great character is necessary. Above all, there is no need for these souls who are indifferent and cold through levity, to whom absolute authority is only a great amusement, who let great interests float at random, and are more busied in preserving power, than in making use of it. Why, it is asked again, why have men, who have all the power of the State in their hands, and who, in order to be obeyed, have only to command, suffered themselves to be outstripped in every sea, by an enemy whose constitution is necessarily slow in its move-

ments? Why have they, by a foolish treaty, put themselves into the chains of the Congress, which they themselves might have held in dependence, by plentiful and regular aids? Why, in short, have they not confirmed the revolution, by keeping always upon the northern coasts of the new world, a squadron which might protect the colonies, and at the same time make our alliance be respected? But Europe, who has her eyes fixed upon us, sees a great design, and no concerted plan; sees in our arsenals and ports, vast preparations, and no execution; sees threatening fleets, and that preparation rendered almost useless; confidence and courage in the private men, faint-heartedness and irresolution in their commanders; all that announces, on one side, the strength and imposing power of a great people, and, on the other, the weakness and slowness, which depend on the character and views. It is by this striking contradiction between our projects and our measures, between our means, and the minds who employ them, that the English genius, astonished for a moment, has resumed its vigour: and, till now,

it has been a problem for Europe to solve, whether, in declaring for America, we ourselves have not raised the power of England?

Such are the complaints which resound on all sides, and which we are not afraid to collect here, and bring under the inspection of authority, if it will deign to hear or read them.

In short, Philosophy, whose first affection is the desire of seeing every Government just, and every people happy, in casting a glance upon this alliance of a monarchy with a people, who defend their liberty, searches for the motive of it. She sees too well that the happiness of human nature has no part in it. She thinks, that if the love of justice had determined the Court of Versailles, it would have settled, in the first article of its convention with America, that *every oppressed people had a right to rise against their oppressors*. But this maxim, which forms one of the laws of England; which a King of Hungary, when he ascended the throne, had the courage to make one of the regulations of the State; which Trajan, one of the greatest princes who has reigned in the world, adopted, when, in the presence

of the Roman people assembled, he said to the first Officer of the empire, *I put this sword into your hand, to defend me, if I am just ; to fight me, and punish me, if I become a tyrant.* This maxim is too much a stranger to our weak and corrupted Governments, where it is a duty to suffer, and where the oppressed must be afraid to perceive his misfortune, for fear of being punished for it as a crime.

But it is especially against Spain, that the bitterest complaints are directed. They blame her for her blindness, for her doubts, for her slowness, sometimes even for her infidelity ; accusations all ill-founded.

In seeing France engage herself unnecessarily in a naval war, some politicians imagined, that this Crown thought itself sufficiently powerful to separate the British dominions, without sharing with an ally the honour of that important revolution. We will not examine, whether the spirit which prevailed in the Cabinet of Versailles, gave authority for this conjecture. It is known, to-day, that this Crown, which, from the beginning of the troubles, had given secret aid to the Americans, watched the propitious

moment to declare herself openly in their favour. The event of Saratoga appeared to it the most favourable circumstance, to propose to his Catholic Majesty to make it a common cause.

Whether that Prince, then, judged the liberty of the United States contrary to his interests, or the resolution appeared to him rash; or, in short, whether other political objects required all his attention, he denied himself to this proposal. His character exempted him from new solicitations. From the first attempts they employed him so little about this great affair, that it was without prepossessing him in its favour, that the Court of Versailles caused declare at St James's, that they had acknowledged the independence of the Confederate Provinces.

However, the Land and Sea-Officers, which Spain employed in Brasil against the Portuguese, had returned. The rich fleet which she expected from Mexico, had entered her ports. The treasures which arrived to her from Peru, and her other possessions, were safe. She was free from every uneasiness, and mistress of her motions, when

she aspired to the glory of pacifying the two hemispheres. Her mediation was accepted ; both by France, whose boldness had not been attended with the happy consequences which she had promised herself from it ; and by England, who might be afraid of getting a new adversary to fight.

(13.) CHARLES III. supported with dignity the fair character which he had taken upon himself. His declaration was, that they should lay down arms ; that each of the parties at war, should be guaranteed in the lands which it should possess at the time of the Convention ; that they should form a Congress, wherein should be discussed the several claims ; and that they might not be attacked again, till after having been warned a year before-hand.

This Monarch did not conceal his opinion, that this measure gave Great Britain an easy way of being reconciled to her colonies, or at least of making them purchase, by great advantages to her trade, the sacrifice of the ports which she possessed among them. He did not conceal his mind, that it wounded

the dignity of the King his nephew, who had engaged himself to maintain the United States in the whole of their territory. But he wanted to be just ; and, without laying aside all respect of persons, one cannot be so.

Verfailles was displeas'd at this plan of reconciliation ; and the small, and only comfort of this Court, was the hope of its being rejected at London. That indeed happened. England could not resolve to acknowledge the Americans really independent, though they were not called to the conferences which were to be opened ; though France could not negotiate for them ; though their interests were to be supported by a mediator only, who was attached to them by no treaty, and who perhaps, at the bottom of his heart, did not desire their prosperity ; though her refusal threatened her with another enemy.

It is in such a circumstance ; it is when pride raises souls above terror, when they see nothing more to fear than the shame of receiving the command, and when they hesitate not to chuse between ruin and dishonour ; it is then that the grandeur of a nation is displayed. I confess, however, that

men accustomed to judge of things by the event, reckon great and dangerous resolutions, heroism or madness, according to the good or bad success, with which they have been attended. If I were asked, then, what name shall be given, some years hence, to the steadiness which the English have shown at this time? I would answer, that I do not know. But, as to what it deserves, I know. I know, that the annals of the world present us, but seldom, with the august and majestic spectacle of a nation, which chuses rather to renounce its duration than its glory.

The British Ministry had no sooner explained themselves, than the Court of Madrid espoused the quarrel of that of Versailles, and consequently that of the Americans. Spain had at that time sixty-three ships of the line, and six building. France had eighty, and eight upon the stocks. The United States had only twelve frigates, but a great number of privateers.

To so many united forces, England opposed only ninety-five ships of the line, and twenty-three building. Sixteen more were seen in her ports, which were out of ser-

vice : these were converted into prisons and hospitals. Inferior in warlike implements, she was still more so in means of every kind to employ them. Her domestic quarrels still weakened the remaining resources. It is natural for Governments, truly free, to be troubled in time of peace. It is by these intestine motions, that the spirits preserve their energy, and the ready remembrance of the nation's rights. But, in war, all fermentation should cease, all hatred be stifled, interests be blended with, and made subservient to one another. It happened quite otherwise in the British Isles. Troubles, there, were never more violent. In no circumstance were opposite claims shewn with less respect. The public good was insolently trodden under foot by both factions. Those Houses of Parliament, in which they had formerly examined the most important questions, with eloquence, resolution, and dignity, rung only with the clamour of rage, the grossest insults, and debates as hurtful as indecent. The few patriots who remained, called mightily for a new Pitt, a Minister who, like him, had neither *relations nor friends* :

but this extraordinary man did not appear. Thus it was generally enough thought, that this people would yield, in spite of the haughtiness of their character, the experience of their Admirals, the boldness of their seamen, the vigour which a free nation must acquire, in the shocks she suffers.

But the Empire of Chance is very extensive. Who knows for what side the elements may declare? A blast of wind takes away, or gives victory. A gun-shot disconcerts a whole fleet, by the death of an Admiral. Signals, either are not understood, or are not obeyed. Experience, courage, skill, are crossed by ignorance, jealousy, treachery, and a certainty of not being punished. A fog separates or confounds two enemies, whom it happens to cover. A calm, and a tempest, are equally favourable, or hurtful. Forces are divided by the unequal celerity of vessels. An opportunity is lost, either by faint-heartedness which delays, or rashness which is too precipitate. Plans may have been formed with wisdom; but may be unsuccessful, for want of harmony in the executive movements. A foolish order from

Court determines the misfortune of the day. The disgrace, or death of a Minister, changes measures. Is it possible that a strict union can long subsist between confederates of so opposite a character, as the hasty, scornful, and volatile Frenchman; the slow, haughty, jealous, and cool Spaniard; and the American, who secretly turns his eyes towards his Mother-Country, and would rejoice at the misfortunes of his allies, if they were consistent with his independence? Will these nations, whether they act separately, or conjunctly, be long of accusing, complaining of, and quarrelling with one another? Should not their greatest expectation be, that multiplied misfortunes could at most do nothing, but plunge them again into that humiliating state, from which they wished to get out, and confirm the sceptre of the ocean in the hand of Great Britain; while one or two considerable defeats would bring down forever those ambitious people from the rank of the first Power in this hemisphere.

Who, then, can decide, who can even foresee what will be the event? France and Spain, united, have, for their parts, powerful

means ; England, the art of directing hers. France and Spain have their treasures ; England, a great national credit. On the one side, a multitude of men, and a number of forces ; on the other, a superiority in the art of conducting the vessels, and of subduing the sea in battle. Here, impetuosity and courage ; there, courage and experience. On the one hand, the activity, which absolute Monarchy can give to its designs ; on the other, the vigour and spring which Liberty gives. Here, the resentment of losses, and long injuries, to revenge ; there, the remembrance of a recent glory, and the sovereignty of America, as well as of the ocean, to preserve. The allied nations have that advantage, which the union of two vast Powers must give ; but the inconvenience which results from that very union, by the difficulty of harmony either in the designs or employment of their forces. England is left to herself ; but, having only her own force to direct, she has the advantage of unity in the designs, of a surer and perhaps readier junction of ideas : she can more easily bring under one view, her plans of attack and defence.

To have an exact balance, we must still weigh the different force, which the rival nations may derive from a war; which, on one side, is only, in many respects, a war of Kings and Ministers; and, on the other, really a national war, in which England's greatest interests are at stake, a trade which makes her rich, an empire and glory which make her great.

In short, if we consider the spirit of the French nation, opposed to that of the nation which it fights, we will see that the French ardour is perhaps equally ready to be kindled and extinguished; that they hope for every thing at the beginning, that they despair of every thing as soon as they meet with any obstacle; that, by their character, they need the enthusiasm of success, to obtain new successes: That the English, on the contrary, less presumptuous at first, in spite of their natural boldness, know when they must struggle with courage, rise with danger, and become resolute by disgrace; like that robust oak, to which Horace compares the Romans, which, struck and mutilated by the ax, grows again under the

strokes which are fetched against it, and draws a new vigour from its very wounds.

History informs us, also, that few confederacies have shared the spoils of the nation, against which they have been formed. Athens victorious over Persia; Rome saved from Hannibal; in modern times, Venice escaped from the famous confederacy of Cambray; and even in our days, Prussia, which, by the genius of one man, could hold her head against Europe, have a right to suspend our judgment on the issue of the present war.

But, let us suppose that the House of Bourbon has the advantages, with which it may have been flattered, What ought to be its conduct?

(14.) FRANCE is, in every point of view, the strongest constituted empire, of which the remembrance has been preserved in the annals of the world. Without being able to be compared with her, Spain is also a State of great weight, and her means of prosperity increase every day. The most important care of the House of Bourbon, ought

to be, to get itself excused by its neighbours, for the advantages which it derives from nature, which it owes to art, or which events have given it. If it sought to increase its superiority, the alarm would be general, and they would think themselves threatened with universal slavery. It is perhaps a great deal, that other nations have not yet thwarted it in its projects against England. The resentment, which the injustice and haughtiness of that proud island have every-where inspired, must be the cause of this inaction. But, hatred is silent, when interest appears. It is possible that Europe may deem it contrary to her safety, that Great Britain should be weakened in the old or new hemisphere; and, after having enjoyed the humiliations and dangers of that arrogant and tyrannical Power, she may at last take arms to defend it. If it should be so, the Courts of Versailles and Madrid would see themselves disappointed in the hope, which they have conceived, of a decisive superiority upon the globe. These considerations ought to determine them to hasten the attacks, and not to allow a foreseeing, or even jealous policy, time

to make new combinations. Especially, let them stop in season; and let not an immoderate desire of humbling their common enemy blind them to their true interests.

The United States have openly shewn the project of drawing all North-America into their confederacy. Many steps, that in particular of inviting the people of Canada to rebellion, ought to have made us believe that this was also the wish of France. We may suspect Spain of having equally adopted this idea. The conduct of the provinces, which have shaken off the yoke of Great Britain, is simple, and such as it behoved us to expect. But, would not their allies want foresight, if they had really the same system?

The new hemisphere must one day be separated from the old. This great separation is prepared, in Europe, by the fermentation and clashing of opinions; by the subversion of our rights, which constituted our courage; by the luxury of our courts; and wretchedness of our countries; by the perpetual hatred between effeminate men, who possess every thing, and robust virtuous men, who have nothing to lose but their life.

It is prepared in America, by the increase of population, culture, industry and knowledge. Every thing forwards this separation, the progress of evil in one world, and the progress of good in the other.

But, can it be proper for Spain and France, whose possessions in the new hemisphere are an inexhaustible source of riches, to hurry on this separation?—Now, that is what would happen, if all the North of these countries were subjected to the same laws, or connected by a common interest.

Scarce would the liberty of this vast continent be secured, when it would become the asylum of all the intriguing, seditious, disgraced or ruined men among us. Culture, arts, commerce, would not be sought for by refugees of this character. A less laborious, and more troubled life, would be necessary for them. This cast of mind, equally remote from labour and rest, would be turned to conquests; and a passion which has so many attractions, would easily overcome the first colonists, diverted from their former toils by a long war. The new people would have completed their preparations

for invasion, before the report of it should have been brought to our climates. They would choose their enemies, the field, and opportunity of victory. Their thunder would always fall upon defenceless seas, or coasts taken unawares. In a little, the provinces of the South would become the prey of those of the North, and, by the riches of their productions, would supply the mediocrity of theirs. Perhaps, even the possessions of our absolute monarchies, would sue for admission into the confederacy of free people; or would break off from Europe, in order to be their own masters.

The resolution which the Courts of Madrid and Versailles ought to take, if they are free to choose, is to suffer two Powers to subsist in North America, who may watch, restrain, and balance each other. Then, ages may elapse, before England, and the republics formed at her expence, can come together. This mutual distrust will hinder them from undertaking any thing at a distance; and the settlements of other nations in the new world, will enjoy a tranquillity, which, till our days, has been often disturbed.

That is probably the very order of things, which would agree best with the Confederate Provinces. Their respective limits are not regulated. A great jealousy prevails between the countries of the North and those of the South. Political principles vary from one river to another. Great animosities are observed among the citizens of the same town, and the members of the same family. Every one would wish to remove from himself, the oppressive burden of public expences and debts. A thousand seeds of division lurk generally in the bosom of United States. When once dangers have disappeared, how is the explosion of so many discontents to be stopped? How are so many wandering minds, so many incensed hearts, to be kept attached to the same centre? Let the true friends of the Americans reflect upon it, and they will find, that the only mean of preventing troubles among those people, is to leave on their frontiers, a powerful rival, always disposed to profit by their dissensions.

Peace and security are necessary to monarchies; troubles, and a formidable enemy,

to republics. Rome stood in need of Carthage; and it was neither Sylla nor Cæsar, but the first Cato, when his rigid and wild policy took from Rome a rival, by kindling in the Senate the torches which laid Carthage in ashes. Even Venice, four hundred years ago, would have perhaps left her Government, and her laws, if she had not had at her door, and almost under her walls, powerful neighbours, who might become her enemies or masters.

(15.) BUT, in this combination, to what degree of happiness, splendor, and strength, may the Confederated Provinces in time be raised?

Here, in order to judge aright, let us begin, at first, by waving the interest, which all, slaves not excepted, have taken in the generous endeavours of a nation, which exposed itself to the most frightful calamities in order to be free. The name of Liberty is so agreeable, that all those who fight for it, are sure of interesting our secret wishes. Their cause is that of mankind in general; it becomes ours. We revenge ourselves of

our own oppressors, by breathing our hatred freely, at least, against strange oppressors.— At the noise of the chains which are breaking, it seems to us, that ours are going to become lighter ; and we think, some time, of breathing a purer air, in learning that the world puts less value on tyrants. Besides, these great revolutions of liberty are lessons to arbitrary princes. They warn them not to reckon on too long a patience of the people, and upon a perpetual impunity.— Thus, when Society, and the Laws, take vengeance for the crimes of individuals, the honest man expects that the chastisement of the guilty may prevent new crimes. Terror sometimes supplies the place of justice to the robber, and of conscience to the murderer. Such is the source of that lively interest, which every war for liberty produces in us. Such has been that with which the Americans have inspired us. Our imaginations have been inflamed for them. We have taken an interest in their victories and defeats. The spirit of justice, which is pleased to reward past misfortunes with a future happiness, is pleas'd to believe, that

this part of the new world cannot fail to become one of the most flourishing countries of the globe. We are even afraid, that Europe may one day find her masters among her children. Let us be bold enough to resist the torrent of public opinion, and that of public enthusiasm. Let us not suffer ourselves to be distracted by imagination, which embellishes every thing ; and passion, which loves to create illusions, and realize all its hopes.—Our duty is to combat every prejudice, even that which is most agreeable to our heart's wish. It concerns us, above all, to be true ; not to betray that peace and upright conscience, which presides in our writings, and dictates all our judgments to us. At this time, perhaps, we shall not be believed ; but, a bold conjecture, which is verified at the end of many ages, does more honour to the Historian, than a long train of facts, the recital of which cannot be contested : and I write not only for my contemporaries, who shall only survive me some years. Yet some revolutions of the sun ; and they and I shall be no more. But I give my ideas to posterity and time : It is theirs to judge me.

The space possessed by the Thirteen Republics, between the mountains and the sea, is only sixty-seven sea-leagues ; but, upon the coast, their extent is, in a right line, three hundred and forty-five from the river St Croix to that of Savannah.

In this country, the lands are almost generally of a bad or indifferent quality.

There grows only a little maize in the four most northern colonies. The only resource of their inhabitants, is fishing ; the annual produce of which amounts not to above L. 270,000.

Corn is the chief support of the provinces of New-York, Jersey, and Pennsylvania. But the soil there is so quickly run out, that the acre which formerly gave even sixty bushels of wheat, but very rarely produces more than twenty.

Though the countries of Maryland and Virginia are much superior to every other, they cannot be looked upon as very fertile. The old plantations only give the third of the tobacco, which was formerly gathered there. It is not possible to make many new

ones; and the planters have been obliged to turn their labours to other objects.

North Carolina produces some grains, but of so inferior a quality, that they are sold twenty-five or thirty *per cent.* less than others, in every market.

The land of South Carolina, and of Georgia, is perfectly level for about fifty miles from the sea. The excessive rains which fall there, finding no outlet, form a number of marshes, where rice is cultivated, to the great detriment of freemen and slaves employed in the labour. In the intervals, which these so multiplied masses of water leave, grows an inferior indigo, which must change its place every year. When the country rises from the level, there is no more but rebel sands, or frightful rocks, intercepted, at great distances, by pastures of the nature of rush.

England, not being able to conceal that North America would never enrich her by the produce peculiar to her, thought of the powerful motive of bounties, in order to raise, in that part of the new world, linen, vines, silk. The poverty of the soil repulsed the

first of these views ; the fault of the climate opposed the success of the second ; and the want of hands does not allow them to follow the third. The Society established at London for the encouragement of arts, was no happier than the ministry. Its bounties produced none of the objects, which it had proposed to the activity and industry of those countries. It behoved Great Britain to be contented to sell, every year, to the countries of which we treat, more than 2,000,000 l. in merchandise. Those who consumed it, delivered up to her, exclusively, their indigo, iron, tobacco, and furs.— They delivered up to her, what money and raw materials other people had given them, in exchange for their wood, grain, fish, rice, and salt provisions. However, the balance was always so unfavourable to them, that when the troubles began, the Colonists owed between 5 and 6 millions to the mother country ; and they had no coin in circulation.

In spite of these disadvantages, there had been successively formed in the heart of the thirteen provinces, a population of 2,981,678 persons, including 400,000 negroes. Op-

pression, and want of toleration, drove new inhabitants there every day. The war has shut up this refuge from the unfortunate; but peace will open it again to them, and they will repair to it in greater numbers than ever. Those who shall go thither with views of husbandry, will not have all the satisfaction which they have promised themselves; because they will find the good, and even the indifferent lands, all possessed; and they will have little in their offer, but barren sands, unhealthy swamps, or steep mountains. Emigration will be more favourable to the manufacturers and artists, unless perhaps they have nothing to gain by changing their country and climate.

We could not determine, without rashness, what might be one day the population of the United States. This calculation, in general difficult enough, becomes impracticable for a country, in which lands degenerate very rapidly, and where the proportion of labours and expence is not that of reproduction. If ten millions of men ever find a sure subsistence in these provinces, it will be a great deal. Even then, exporta-

tions will be reduced to nothing, or to very little; but internal industry will take place of foreign industry. The country will be nearly sufficient for itself, provided its inhabitants can be happy by oeconomy and moderation.

People of North America! let the example of all nations which have preceded you, and especially that of the Mother-Country, instruct you. Be afraid of the affluence of gold, which brings, with luxury, the corruption of manners, and contempt of laws: be afraid of too unequal a distribution of riches; which shews a small number of citizens in wealth, and a great number in misery; whence arises the insolence of the one, and disgrace of the other. Guard against the spirit of conquest. The tranquillity of empire decreases, as it is extended. Have arms to defend yourselves; and have none for attack. Seek ease and health, in labour; prosperity, in agriculture and manufactures; strength, in good manners and virtue. Make the sciences and arts prosper, which distinguish the civilized man from the savage. Especially watch over the education of your

children. It is from public schools, be assured, that skilful Magistrates, disciplined and couragious soldiers, good fathers, good husbands, good brothers, good friends, and honest men, come forth. Wherever we see the youth depraved, the nation is on the decline. Let liberty have an immoveable foundation in the wisdom of your constitutions; and let it be the cement, which unites your provinces, which cannot be destroyed. Establish no legal preference in your different modes of worship. Superstition is everywhere innocent, where it is neither protected, nor persecuted; and let your duration be, if possible, equal to that of the world.

F I N I S.

E R R A T U M.

P. 5. last line. *For tor-sents read tor-ments.*

