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Section I - Thomson

John Anderson Esq. 1809
AN ENQUIRY,

CONCERNING THE LIBERTY,

AND

LICENTIOUSNESS OF THE PRESS,

AND

THE UNCONTROULABLE NATURE

OF THE

HUMAN MIND.

CONTAINING

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE RIGHT WHICH GOVERN-
MENT HAVE TO CONTROUL THE FREE EXPRES-
SION OF PUBLIC OPINION,

ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE OF THE U. STATES.

By JOHN THOMSON.

*"I will sooner part with Life itself, than with that Liberty, without
which, Life is not worth the having;—I will sooner suffer
my eyes to be put out, than my understanding to be extin-
guished.*

MILTON's Speech on the unlicenced Liberty of the Press.

NEW-YORK:

Printed by JOHNSON & STRYKER, No. 29
Gold-Street, for the AUTHOR.

1801.

(COPY-RIGHT SECURED.)

Section I - Thomson

REB-Dec 18, 1928
157 Jan 3, 1929

ADDRESS,

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FOR your perusal the following sheets were written; therefore to you are they addressed. To such as may approve of the principles contended for, no defence is necessary. To such as disapprove, the case is the same. Leaving the work then, to stand or fall by its own merits, this address shall only state the reasons of publication at this time.

When the Alien and Sedition Laws were passed in the summer of 1798, it appeared to me, that they were the offspring of terror and party prejudice, founded upon injustice; and calculated to create more enemies than friends to the government. I conceived it the duty of every man to investigate the principles of the Sedition law in particular. At that time, therefore, I wrote a pamphlet of about half the size of the present. The Epidemic which raged so severely in the latter part of that summer, and during the fall, prevented the publication at the period intended.

From that time until the last meeting of Congress, the manuscript has lain past, without the design of publication being again thought of. Upon the Committee of unfinished business reporting their opinion of the expedience of renewing the Sedition Law, I determined upon this publication. The substance, and the principal part of the reasonings are the same with the unpublished work just mentioned; but the ar-

Section I - Thomson

(83)

general charges are exhibited against an individual, or individuals; the persons name ought to be affixed to the publication. In this case, wilful calumny and abuse would never dare to make their appearance. He who had been once convicted of publishing a malicious falsehood, would forever after be deprived of the means of giving currency to his calumnies. Let not Government interfere. The laws of society, as before observed, are fully sufficient to the purpose.

If newspapers, and other publications, have lately teemed with misrepresentation, or with undeserved abuse of private or public character: If calumnies and invective dressed up in the language of billingsgate have been profusely dealt abroad instead of argument; what is to be done? Does it follow that we ought to be deprived of LIBERTY because it may be, or has been abused? Will justice not rather say, let misrepresentation be exposed by the force of truth. Let characters who have been unjustly accused, vindicate themselves by pointing out the falsehood of the charges; and let foul language be treated with that contempt it so justly merits. *In no case whatever use coercive measures.* Truth is at all times sufficiently powerful. Coercion may *silence*, but it never can *convince*.

It is the duty of both Government and people to act justly. Openness, sincerity, and candour, should characterise all their transactions. As men are so liable to error and mistake, they should be alike open to reason and conviction. Mankind being in a state of progressional improvement; they should avoid throwing any obstacles in its way. In a free and unrestrained Liberty of Speech and Press, many errors will undoubtedly be brought before the public eye; but, even these will not be without their use. When detected by accurate reasoning, the truth will appear with increased

THE
Common-Wealth
OF
OCEANA. *Section
I,
division I
Haring*

*Tantalus a labris sitiens, fugientia captat
Flumina : quid rides? mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur. — Hor.*

LONDON,

Printed by *J. Streater*, for *Livewell Chapman*, and are to be sold at his Shop at
the *Crown* in *Popes-Head-Alley*,

1656.

man unto no other end, (or they may thank themselves) then to protect the liberty of every private man, which by that means comes to be the liberty of the Common-wealth.

But seeing they that make the Lawes in *Common-wealths* are but men, the main question seems to be, how a *Common-wealth* comes to be an Empire of Lawes, and not of Men? or how the debate or result of a *Common-wealth* is so sure to be according unto reason; seeing they who debate, and they who resolve be but men. And as often as reason is against a man, so often will a man be against reason.

This is thought to be a shrewd saying, but will do no harm; for be it so, that reason is nothing but interest, there be divers interests, and so divers reasons.

As first, there is *Private Reason*, which is the interest of a private man.

Secondly, there is *Reason of State*, which is the interest (or errour as was said by Solomon) of the Ruler or Rulers, that is to say, of the Prince, of the Nobility, or of the People.

Hooker.B.I. Thirdly, there is that Reason which is the interest of mankind, or of the whole. Now if we see even in those natural agents that want sense, that as in themselves they have a Law which directeth them, in the means whereby they tend to their own perfection, so likewise that another Law there is, which toucheth them as they are sociable parts united into one body, a Law which bindeth them each to serve unto others good, and all to prefer the good of the whole, before whatsoever their own particular; as when stones or heavy things forsake their ordinary wont or center, and fly upwards, as if they heard themselves commanded to let go the good they privately wish, and to relieve the present distress of Nature in common.

Grot. There is a common right, Law of Nature, or interest of the whole; which is more excellent, and so acknowledged to be by the agents themselves, then the right or interest of the parts onely. wherefore though it may be truly said, that the creatures are naturally carried forth, unto their proper utility or profit: that ought not to be taken in too general a sense; seeing divers of them abstain from their own profit, either in regard of those of the same kind, or at the least of their young.

Mankind then must either be lesse just then the creature, or acknowledge also his common interest to be common right. And if reason be nothing else but interest, and the interest of mankind be the right interest, then the reason of mankind must be right reason. Now compute well, for if the interest of popular Government come the nearest unto the interest of mankind, then the reason of popular Government must come the nearest unto right reason.

But it may be said, that the difficulty remains yet; for be the interest of popular Government right reason, a man doth not look

Settm I - Defoe

A BRIEF

REPLY

TO THE

HISTORY

OF

Standing Armies

In ENGLAND.

With some Account of the Authors.

L O N D O N :

Printed in the Year 1698.

been so good, and *Lewis* the 14th would not have parted with so many Vast Countries, Impregnable Fortifications, and Sovereign Titles; our Army in Conjunction with our Allies have under God's Providence obtained this. Now, whether it be proper to let go this Lyon upon Parole, and tying the *French* King by his Honour only, which he has not formerly valued at much in such Cases; Disband our Forces, and rely upon the League? This is the direct Question.

If the King of *France* were so much to be depended upon, the *Spaniard* and the *Emperor* need not have strain'd so hard for the strong Towns of *Brisac*, *Friburg*, *Philipsburgh*, *Mons*, *Aeth*, *Luxembourg*, and *Charleroy*, which are very chargeable to keep, and no real Profit to them; and the King of *France* would readily have given up *Franche-Compte*, *Burgundy*, and vast Territories of Land instead of them, with large Revenues and Advantages; but these are given as Pledges of the Peace, and are maintain'd by the Confederates at a vast Charge, that they might have a sufficient Strength to oblige the *French* King to perform the Stipulation of the League.

Now I do not know what vast Securities these Gentlemen may flatter themselves with; but to me it seems one of the most ridiculous things in the World to be wholly Disarm'd at such a time, when all the Nations in the World have Forces in Pay.

I am willing to give the Gentlemen of the Club all the Latitude in Argument they can desire, and therefore I'll grant that the *French* King has surrendered all the Towns

Towns and Countries he was to surrender, though he really has not. That King *James* is neither in Power nor Person at all formidable, nor indeed worth mentioning in the Case. That the King of *Spain* is not Dead, nor like to be so. That these are not, nor ever were Arguments for a Standing Force, at least not singly considered.

But notwithstanding all this, I cannot but say that some competent Standing Force is absolutely necessary to preserve that Peace which has cost the Nation so dear; and it would seem a most unaccountable Weakness to run the hazard of it, and expose us to the uncertainty of it: We say, *Temptation makes a Thief*. There is nothing in the World will be so likely to make the Peace precarious, and allure the *French* to break it, as to find us Naked and Defenceless.

If it be true, that an Army may be dangerous at Home, 'tis as true, that having no Army must be fatal Abroad: The danger of an Army is uncertain, and may be none; the damage of the contrary is infallible. 'Tis not saying we have formerly Conquer'd *France*, and therefore ought not to be so frighted with Apprehensions of it now all the *French* Fools they say are Dead. *France* now, without Reflection upon *England*, is much too strong a Match for any single Nation in *Europe*, and the only means to keep her within bounds, is by Confederacies, and *Leagues Offensives*; how these can be maintain'd without *Quotas* of Forces ready to unite, is a Mystery too dark for my Understanding. Indeed the King may say to his Confederates, "Truly my Subjects won't

Section I - Bolingbroke

LETTERS,

ON THE

Spirit of PATRIOTISM:

ON THE

Idea of a PATRIOT KING:

AND

On the STATE of PARTIES,

At the Accession of

KING GEORGE the First.

by -- BOLINGBROKE.

LONDON.

Printed for A. MILLAR, opposite to Catherine's
street, in the Strand.

MDCCLXIX.

1749.

The I D E A of
A PATRIOT KING.

INTRODUCTION.

Dec. 1. 1738.

Revising some letters I writ to my Lord * * *, I found in one of them a great deal said concerning the *du-ties* which men owe to their *country*, those men particularly who live under a *free constitution* of government; with a strong application of these general doctrines to the *present state* of *Great Britain*, and to the *characters* of the present actors on this stage.

I saw no reason to alter, none even to lessen, any thing that is there advanced.

On

THE IDEA OF

end of government, and which admits this *form* of government as the proper mean of arriving at it. Now the greatest good of a people is their liberty: and in the case here referred to, the people has judged it so, and provided for it accordingly. *Liberty* is to the collective body, what *health* is to every individual body. Without *health* no pleasure can be tasted by man: without *liberty* no happiness can be enjoyed by *society*. The obligation, therefore, to defend and maintain the freedom of such constitutions, will appear most sacred to a patriot king.

Kings who have weak understandings, bad hearts, and strong prejudices, and all these, as it often happens, inflamed by their passions, and rendered incurable by their self-conceit and presumption; such kings are apt to imagine, and they conduct themselves so as to make many of their subjects imagine, that the king and the people in free governments are *riues* powers, who stand in *competition* with one another, who have *different interests*, and must of course have *different views*: that

the

A PATRIOT KING. 121

the *rights* and *privileges* of the people are so many *spoils* taken from the *right* and *prerogative* of the crown; and that the rules and laws, made for the exercise and security of the former, are so many *diminutions* of their dignity, and *restraints* on their power.

A patriot king will see all this in a far different and much truer light. The constitution will be considered by him as *one law*, consisting of *two tables*, containing the rule of his government, and the measure of his subjects obedience; or as *one system*, composed of *different parts* and *powers*, but all duly proportioned to one another, and conspiring by their harmony to the perfection of the whole. He will make one, and *but one* distinction between his rights, and those of his people: he will look on his to be a *trust*, and theirs a *property*. He will discern, that he can have a right to no more than is trusted to him by the constitution: and that his people, who had an original right to the *whole* by the law of nature, can have the sole indefeazable right to *any* part;

I

part;

A P P E N D I X.

I Have, in the foregoing Chapter, shewn that the Patriarchal Scheme links the Titles of all Princes into Mere Possession; pretending that there can be no Wrong, or Usurpation, where no other particular Person can make out a juster Title to a Crown, than that of Possession: And I have made it evident that this Possession can give no Right, properly so called; that is, no Right, sufficient to justify the Possessor. That there was a time, when the true Heirs of Noah's Grandsons became unknown, cannot be denied. At

~~or Possession: And I have made it evident that this Possession can give no Right, properly so called; that is, no Right, sufficient to justify the Possessor. That there was a time, when the true Heirs of Noah's Grandsons became unknown, cannot be denied. At~~
 that time there was no one particular Person who had more Right to Government than another. And where there is no one, who hath any more Right than another; there a People are equal, with respect to Right, because no one Person hath any at all. Nothing therefore, can be rightfully done in such a State; but by their entering (all, or part, of them,) into Consultation, upon equal Terms. And that Possession, which by Force, or Fraud, hinder'd this, can be nothing but Usurpation: not indeed an Usurpation of a Government which belongs, by right, to any particular Person: but an Usurpation of what belongs not to the Possessor, or any one else; and an Usurpation upon the Community, by hindring the Exercise of that Right of Free Deliberation, and Consent, which belongs to the whole Body. The Argument

Section I - Blackstone

COMMENTARIES

ON THE

L A W S

OF

E N G L A N D.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

BY

WILLIAM BLACKSTONE, Esq,

SOLICITOR GENERAL TO HER MAJESTY.

O X F O R D,

PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

M. DCC. LXIX.

Section I - Blackstone

p. 151

Xo 151

punishment of such libellers, for either making, repeating, printing, or publishing the libel, is fine, and such corporal punishment as the court in their discretion shall inflict; regarding the quantity of the offence, and the quality of the offender*. By the law of the twelve tables at Rome, libels, which affected the reputation of another, were made a capital offence: but, before the reign of Augustus, the punishment became corporal only². Under the emperor Valentinian² it was again made capital, not only to write, but to publish, or even to omit destroying them. Our law, in this and many other respects, corresponds rather with the middle age of Roman jurisprudence, when liberty, learning, and humanity, were in their full vigour, than with the cruel edicts that were established in the dark and tyrannical ages of the antient *decemviri*, or the later emperors.

IN this, and the other instances which we have lately considered, where blasphemous, immoral, treasonable, schismatical, seditious, or scandalous libels are punished by the English law, some with a greater, others with a less degree of severity; the *liberty of the press*, properly understood, is by no means infringed or violated. The liberty of the press is indeed essential to the nature of a free state: but this consists in laying no *previous* restraints upon publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published. Every freeman has an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public: to forbid this, is to destroy the freedom of the

* 1 Hawk. P. C. 196.

† *Quinctiam lex Pecunae lata, malo quae nollit carmine quinquam Describi: — vertere modum forniculæ fustis.* Hor. ad Aug. 152.
² Cod. 9. 36.

press:

allenges are *libels*, *libelli*, and most extensive sense, like, of an immoral or er which we are now to is of any person, and either printing, writing, him to wrath, or expose ridicule*. The direct of the public peace, by re, and perhaps to blood- to any one person is a id therefore the sending is much a libel as if it nds to a breach of the (erial with respect to the of it be true or false"; lity, is the thing to be is, the falsehood of it may inishment. In a civil ac- appear to be false, as well re true, the plaintiff has ground to demand a com- ce it may be against the civil action, the truth of r of the suit. But, in a which all libels have to public peace, is the sole ore, in such prosecutions,

30. 1 Hawk. P. C. 195.
48. 627. 5 Rep. 125. 11 Mod. 99.
1 Vol. III. pag. 125.

the

press: but if he publishes what is improper, mischievous, or illegal, he must take the consequence of his own temerity. To subject the press to the restrictive power of a licenser, as was formerly done, both before and since the revolution^a, is to subject all freedom of sentiment to the prejudices of one man, and make him the arbitrary and infallible judge of all controverted points in learning, religion, and government. But to punish (as the law does at present) any dangerous or offensive writings, which, when published, shall on a fair and impartial trial be adjudged of a pernicious tendency, is necessary for the preservation of peace and good order, of government and religion, the only solid foundations of civil liberty. Thus the will of individuals is still left free; the abuse only of that free will is the object of legal punishment. Neither is any restraint hereby laid upon freedom of thought or enquiry: liberty of private sentiment is still left; the disseminating, or making public, of bad sentiments, destructive of the ends of society, is the crime which society corrects. A man (says a fine writer on this subject) may be allowed to keep poisons in his closet, but not publicly to vend them as cordials. And to this we may

^a The art of printing, soon after it's introduction, was looked upon (as well in England as in other countries) as merely a matter of state, and subject to the coercion of the crown. It was therefore regulated with us by the king's proclamations, prohibitions, charters of privilege and of licence, and finally by the decrees of the court of starchamber; which limited the number of printers, and of presses which each should employ, and prohibited new publications unless previously approved by proper licensers. On the demolition of this odious jurisdiction in 1641, the long parliament of Charles I, after their rupture with that prince, assumed the same powers as the starchamber exercised with respect to the licensing of books; and in 1643, 1647, 1649, and 1652, (Scobell. i. 44, 134. ii. 88,

230.) issued their ordinances for that purpose, founded principally on the starchamber decree of 1637. In 1662 was passed the statute 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 33. which (with some few alterations) was copied from the parliamentary ordinances. This act expired in 1679, but was revived by statute 1 Jac. II. c. 17. and continued till 1692. It was then continued for two years longer by statute 4 W. & M. c. 24. but, though frequent attempts were made by the government to revive it, in the subsequent part of that reign, (Com. Journ. 11 Feb. 1694. 26 Nov. 1695. 22 Oct. 1696. 9 Feb. 1697. 31 Jan. 1698.) yet the parliament resisted it so strongly, that it finally expired, and the press became properly free, in 1694; and has ever since so continued.

Section I - Wortman

731
A
TREATISE,

CONCERNING

POLITICAL ENQUIRY,

AND THE

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

BY FENIS WORTMAN,

COUNSELLOR AT LAW,

POPELWISSE PALAIS DE JUSTICE
PARIS
HOLACE.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY GEORGE FOLMAN, NO. 64, WATER-STREET,
FOR THE AUTHOR.

1800.

And whereas the said late King *James* the Second having Abdicated the Government, and the Throne being thereby Vacant,

His Highness the Prince of *Orange*, (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the Glorious Instrument of Delivering this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power) did (by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers Principal Persons of the Commons) cause Letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants; and other Letters to the several Counties, Cities, Universities, Boroughs, and Cinque Ports, for the Chooing of such Persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at *Westminster*, upon the Two and twentieth day of *January*, in this Year One thousand six hundred eighty and eight, in order to such an Establishment, as that their Religion, Laws, and Liberties might not again be in danger of being Subverted: Upon which Letters Elections having been accordingly made,

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective Letters and Elections, being now Assembled

and Do in the full place (as their Ancestors in like Case have usually done) for the Vindicating and Asserting their ancient Rights and Liberties, Declare;

That the pretended Power of Suspending of Laws, or the Execution of Laws by Regal Authority, without Consent of Parliament, is Illegal.

That the pretended Power of Dispensing with Laws, or the Execution of Laws by Regal Authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is Illegal.

That the Commission for Erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other Commissions and Courts of like nature, are Illegal and Pernicious.

That Levying Money for or to the Use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner, than the same is or shall be granted is Illegal.

That it is the Right of the Subjects to Petition the King, and all Commitments and Prosecutions for such Petitioning, are Illegal.

That

p. 191

English Bill of Rights 1689

Seahan I, England

Section I - Wortman

Preface.

It is altogether unnecessary to apologize for the appearance of the following pages. If the sentiments they contain entitle them to public attention, the exertions of the Author should be regarded with approbation : but if the subject is trifling and unimportant, or if it is treated without ability, an apology would be entirely fruitless.

No topic can be more interesting than that which relates to the improvement of human society. Political institution is an object of universal concern, and calculated to excite the most ardent solicitude. The general happiness essentially requires, that the authority of civil Government and the rights of the people, should be equally established upon solid and rational principles.

Section I - Workland

iv

PREFACE.

Gratitude demands an acknowledgment of the numerous blessings we enjoy. It is our privilege to live under the influence of a system peculiarly excellent; a system that will stand the test of the most scrutinizing investigation. If we compare the political establishments of the United States with those of any other age or nation, without partiality, we may pronounce that our own institutions are entitled to decided preference.

Bound to our country by the most sacred ties and the most endearing relations, it is our perpetual duty to understand and promote its interests. Public Liberty is the greatest blessing of the social state: it is the most invaluable attribute of our civil Constitution.

The freedom of speech and opinion, is not only necessary to the happiness of Man, considered as a Moral and Intellectual Being, but indispensably requisite to the perpetuation of Civil Liberty. To enforce and advocate that inestimable right, is the principal object of the present Treatise.

His Author is far, very far from imagining, that he has rendered ample justice to a subject so important, extensive, and interesting. He is apprehensive that his performance abounds with many defects. Such as it is, he submits it

PREFACE.

with deference to the public eye. Its truths are undoubtedly worthy of attention, and perhaps even its errors are entitled to refutation.

In the present advanced state of learning, it would be unreasonable to expect a perfect originality of sentiment. The ideas of every man will partly be acquired from books, and partly from his own reflections. Very many of the opinions of the writer, have been derived from the volumes he has perused; but the language he employs is uniformly his own.

It is but justice to observe, that the following pages, have only occupied the leisure moments of less than four months, and been written amidst the constant interruption of business. This Circumstance, though it cannot excuse any errors in Sentiment, will nevertheless be an apology for the deficiency of arrangement.

NEW YORK,
January, 1800.

Section I - Thomson

(34)

ustre. The only danger to be apprehended, is from *investigation being fettered*, and error allowed to become rooted in the mind.

Let the whig and tory, the royalist and aristocrate, the republican and democrat, or by whatever other name the partizans of political parties are designated; let them, I say, be allowed to express their opinions, whether by speech or press, with the same unconstrained freedom with which men of science discuss their subjects of investigation. No more danger will result from the one discussion, than arises from the other.

An unlimited freedom in the exercise of religious opinions has been recognized in the United States. The good effects of this are sufficiently visible. We here see none of that superstitious enmity, and uncharitable fanaticism of one denomination against another, which is so prevalent in all European countries where *established religions* exist. This very circumstance, which we now see realized, was at no very remote period, deemed by many well informed men to be utterly impracticable. GIVE UNTO ALL OPINIONS THE SAME FREEDOM, AND THE SAME EFFECTS WILL FOLLOW:

FINIS.

E R R A T A.

Page 18 line 6 & 7 for Empyrean—read, Empyrium.

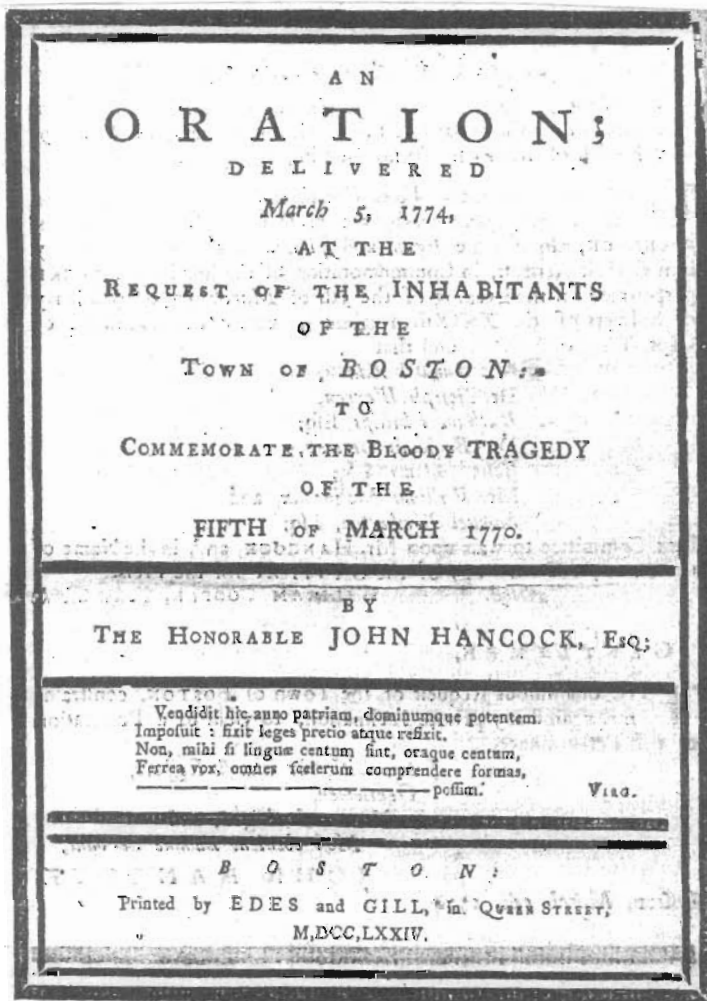
— 33 — 3 for Triennia—read, Triennial.

— 34 — 4 for Septiennial—read, Septennial.

— 34 — 9 (from the bottom) for held his hands—read, held up his hands.

— 35 — 8 for Grandenston—read, Gardenston.

— 37 — 12 for upon that Majesty's—read, his Majesty's; also in the following line, for his high—read, that high.



65, 1774
only
J

8

8 (BOSTON MASSACRE)

John Hancock. An Oration; Delivered March 5, 1774 ... To Commemorate the Bloody Tragedy of the Fifth of March 1770. Boston: Edes and Gill, 1774

4to (8 5/8 x 6 5/8 in.; 214 x 168 mm). Title-page within mourning rules; leaves unevenly trimmed all around, costing some text on p. 6. Printed wrappers, half-title set between a double set of mourning rules; browned, torn, and frayed, some sewing still present.

FIRST EDITION. In 1771 the people of Boston decided to "perpetuate the memory of that wanton and bloody massacre to all Generations" by holding an oration each year (British Library, *The American War of Independence*, 32). While Boston was under blockade in 1774, John Hancock exhorted his audience to take up arms against the British troops, recalling "the inhuman, unprovoked murders of the fifth of March" and that "the Troops of George the Third have cross'd the wide atlantick, not to engage an enemy, but to assist a band of TRAITORS in Trampling on the rights and liberties of his most loyal subjects in America."

Authorship of the oration has been variously attributed to Samuel Adams, to Benjamin Church and Joseph Warren, and to Samuel Cooper. In his autobiography, John Adams stated that Samuel Adams informed him in May 1776 that Benjamin Church and Dr. Joseph Warren composed about two-thirds of the work. T.R. Adams concludes: "In all probability a number of Boston radicals had a hand in the work."

REFERENCE: Adams, *American Independence* 117a; Evans 13314; Sabin 30177

\$8,000-12,000

6 (Princeton)

6-87150

A N O R A T I O N.

7

answer) What tenderness? What regard, respect or consideration has *Great-Britain* shewn in their late transactions for the security of the persons or properties of the inhabitants of the colonies? or rather, What have they omitted doing to destroy that security? They have declared that they have, ever had, and of right ought ever to have, full power to make laws of sufficient validity to bind the colonies in all cases whatever: They have exercised this pretended right by imposing a tax upon us without our consent; and lest we should shew some reluctance at parting with our property, her fleets and armies are sent to enforce their mad pretensions. The town of Boston, ever faithful to the British Crown, has been invested by a British fleet: The troops of George the Third have cross'd the wide atlantick, not to engage an enemy, but to assist a band of **TRAITORS** in trampling on the rights and liberties of his most loyal subjects in America,—those rights and liberties which as a father he ought ever to regard, and as a King he is bound in honour to defend from violations, even at the risque of his own life.

LET not the history of the illustrious house of Brunswick inform posterity, that a King descended from that glorious monarch George the second, once sent his British subjects to conquer and enslave his subjects in America; but be perpetual infamy entail'd upon that villain who dared to advise his Master to such execrable measures; for it was easy to foresee the consequences which so naturally followed upon sending troops into America, to enforce obedience to acts of the British parliament, which neither God nor man ever empowered them to make. It was reasonable to expect that troops
who

Section 2

Wilson

1774

Saved Wilson

19.
CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

S-4

N A T U R E

AND THE

E X T E N T

OF THE

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY

OF THE

B R I T I S H

P A R L I A M E N T.

P H I L A D E L P H I A.

Printed and Sold, by WILLIAM and THOMAS BRADFORD,
at the *London Coffee-House*.

M.DCC.LXXIV.

Section 2
Wilson

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following sheets were written during the late Non-Importation Agreement : But that Agreement being dissolved before they were ready for the Press, it was then judged unreasonable to publish them. Many will, perhaps, be surprised to see the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament over the Colonies denied in every instance. These the writer informs, that, when he began this piece, he would probably have been surprised at such an opinion himself ; for, that it was the result, and not the occasion, of his disquisitions. He entered upon them with a view and expectation of being able to trace some constitutional line between those cases, in which we ought, and those in which we ought not, to acknowledge the power of Parliament over us. In the prosecution of his enquiries, he became fully convinced, that such a line does not exist ; and that there can be no medium between acknowledging and denying that power in all cases. Which of these two alternatives is most consistent with Law, with the principles of Liberty, and with the happiness of the Colonies, let the public

Section 2
Wilson

(iv)

public determine. To them the writer submits his sentiments, with that respectful deference to their judgment, which, in all questions affecting them, every individual should pay.

AUGUST 17, 1774.



C O N.



CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

NO question can be more important to Great Britain, and to the Colonies, than this—*Does the legislative authority of the British Parliament extend over them?*

On the resolution of this question, and on the measures which a resolution of it will direct, will depend, whether the Parent Country, like a happy Mother, shall behold her Children flourishing around her, and receive the most grateful returns for her protection and love; or whether, like a step-dame, rendered miserable by her own unkind conduct, she shall see their affections alienated, and herself deprived of those advantages, which a milder treatment would have ensured to her.

THE British nation are generous: They love to enjoy freedom: They love to behold it: Slavery is their greatest abhorrence: Is it possible then, that they would with themselves the authors of it? No. Oppression is not a plant of the British soil; and the late severe proceedings against the Colonies must have arisen from the detestable schemes of interested Ministers, who have misinformed and misled the people. A regard for that nation, from whom we have sprung, and from whom we boast to have derived the spirit, which prompts us to oppose their unfriendly measures, must lead us to put this construction on what we have lately seen and experienced. When therefore, they shall know and consider the justice of our claim—that we insist only upon being treated as Freemen, and as the Descendants of those British ancestors,

Sect. 2 Burke *manuscript*

S P E E C H

OF

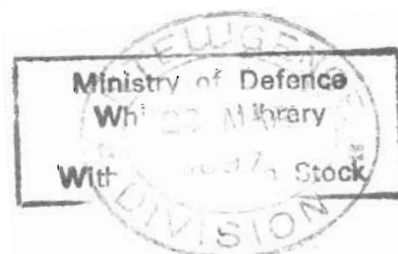


EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

ON

AMERICAN TAXATION,

APRIL 19, 1774.



L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR J. DODSLEY, IN PALL-MALL.
MDCCLXXV.

Though you should send out this angel of peace, yet you are sending out a destroying angel too; and what would be the effect of the conflict of these two adverse spirits, or which would predominate in the end, is what I dare not say: whether the lenient measures would cause American passion to subside, or the severe would increase its fury—All this is in the hand of Providence; yet now, even now, I should confide in the prevailing virtue, and efficacious operation of lenity, though working in darkness, and in chaos, in the midst of all this unnatural and turbid combination. I should hope it might produce order and beauty in the end.

✓ Let us, Sir, embrace some system or other before we end this session. Do you mean to tax America, and to draw a productive revenue from thence? If you do, speak out: name, fix, ascertain this revenue; settle its quantity; define its objects; provide for its collection; and then fight when you have something to fight for. If you murder—rob! If you kill, take possession; and do not appear in the character of madmen, as well as assassins, violent, vindictive, bloody, and tyrannical, without an object. But may better counsels guide you!

Again, and again, revert to your old principles—seek peace and ensure it—leave America, if she has taxable matter in her, to tax herself. ✓ I am not here going into the distinctions of rights, nor attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions; I hate the very sound of them. Leave the Americans as they antiently stood, and these distinctions, born of our unhappy contest, will die along with it. They, and we, and their and our ancestors, have been happy under that system. Let the memory of all actions, in contradiction to that good old mode, on both sides, be extinguished for ever. Be content to bind America by laws of trade; you have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do not burthen them by taxes; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools; for there only they may be discussed with safety. But if, intemperately, unwisely, fatally, you sophisticate and poison the very source of government, by
urging

Section 2 Burke

[53]

urging subtle deductions, and consequences odious to those you govern, from the unlimited and illimitable nature of supreme sovereignty, you will teach them by these means to call that sovereignty itself in question. When you drive him hard, the boar will surely turn upon the hunters. If that sovereignty and their freedom cannot be reconciled, which will they take? they will cast your sovereignty in your face. No body will be argued into slavery. Sir, let the gentlemen on the other side call forth all their ability; let the best of them get up, and tell me, what one character of liberty the Americans have, and what one brand of slavery they are free from, if they are bound in their property and industry, by all the restraints you can imagine on commerce, and at the same time are made pack-horses of every tax you choose to impose, without the least share in granting them? When they bear the burthens of unlimited monopoly, will you bring them to bear the burthens of unlimited revenue too? The Englishman in America will feel that this slavery—that it is *legal* slavery, will be no compensation, either to his feelings or his understanding.

A Noble Lord *, who spoke some time ago, is full of the fire of ingenious youth; and when he has modeled the ideas of a lively imagination by further experience, he will be an ornament to his country in either house. He has said, that the Americans are our children; and how can they revolt against their parent? He says, that if they are not free in their present state, England is not free; because Manchester, and other considerable places, are not represented. So then, because some towns in England are not represented, America is to have no representative at all. They are "our children;" but when children ask for bread, we are not to give a stone. Is it because the natural resistance of things, and the various mutations of time, hinders our government, or any scheme of government, from being any more than a sort of approximation to the right, is it therefore that the Colonies are to recede from it infinitely? When this child of ours wishes to assimilate to its parent, and to reflect with a true filial resemblance the beautiful countenance of British liberty; are we to turn to them the shameful parts of our constitution? are we to give them our weakness for

* Lord Carnarthen.

their

Section 2
Seabury

Samuel Seabury

1774

70 +
FREE THOUGHTS,
ON
The PROCEEDINGS of
THE
CONTINENTAL CONGRESS,

Held at PHILADELPHIA Sept. 5, 1774:

WHEREIN
Their ERRORS are exhibited,

THEIR
REASONING CONSIDERED,

AND
The fatal Tendency of their Non-IMPORTATION, Non-EXPORTATION, and NON-CONSUMPTION MEASURES, are laid open to the plainest UNDERSTANDING;

AND
The ONLY MEANS pointed out
For Preserving and Securing
Our present HAPPY CONSTITUTION:

IN
A LETTER
TO

THE FARMERS,
AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF
NORTH AMERICA

In General,

And to those of the Province of New-York
In Particular.

By a FARMER.

Hear me, for I WILL speak!

PRINTED IN THE YEAR M.DCC.LXXIV.

Section 2 Seabury

FREE THOUGHTS,

ON

The PROCEEDINGS of

THE

Congress at Philadelphia, &c.

My Friends and Countrymen,

PERMIT me to address you upon a subject, which, next to your eternal welfare in a future world, demands your most serious and dispassionate consideration. The American Colonies are unhappily involved in a scene of confusion and discord. The bands of civil society are broken; the authority of government weakened, and in some instances taken away: Individuals are deprived of their liberty; their property is frequently invaded by violence, and not a single Magistrate has had courage or virtue enough to interpose. From this distressed situation it was hoped, that the wisdom and prudence of the Congress lately assembled at Philadelphia, would have delivered us. The eyes of all men were turned to them. We ardently expected that some prudent scheme of accommodating our unhappy disputes with the Mother-Country, would have been adopted and pursued. But alas! they are broken up without ever attempting it: they have taken no one step that tended to peace: they have gone on from bad to worse, and have either ignorantly misunderstood, carelessly neglected, or basely betrayed the interests of all the Colonies.

A 2

I shall

Section 2 -

Hamilton

1774

Alexander Hamilton

A
FULL VINDICATION

OF THE

Measures of the Congress,

FROM

The CALUMNIES of their ENEMIES;

In ANSWER to

A L E T T E R,

Under the Signature of

A. W. F A R M E R.

WHEREBY

His *Sophistry* is exposed, his *Cerits* confuted, his
Artifices detected, and his *Wits* ridiculed;

I N

A GENERAL ADDRESS

To the *Inhabitants of America,*

A N D

A Particular Address

To the FARMERS of the Province of New-York.

Veritas magna est praesalutis.

Truth is powerful, and will prevail.

N E W - Y O R K :

Printed by JAMES RIVINGTON, 1774.

Section 2 -
Hamilton

- 1734 WORKSWORTH, WILLIAM. A Social History of the
7 vols. 16° cloth (stamp on titles). Boston, 1854
- 1735 WRIGHT, Thomas. A History of Caricature and Gro-
tesque in Literature and Art. Illustrations by F. W.
Fairholt. Small 4° half red morocco. London, 1865
- 1736 YALE COLLEGE Subject to the General Assembly
(the right of the General Assembly to inspect, reg-
ulate and reform the corporation of Yale College). 8
half calf. New Haven, 178.
- 1737 YANGZE Valley and Beyond. An Account of Journey
in China, chiefly in the Province of Sze Chuan, and
among the Man-Tze of the Somo Territory. By Isa-
bella Bird Bishop. With map and 116 illustrations.

A F U L L

VINDICATION

O F T H E

MEASURES of the CONGRESS, &c.

FRIENDS and COUNTRYMEN,

IT was hardly to be expected that any man could be so presumptuous, as openly to controvert the equity, wisdom, and authority of the measures, adopted by the congress: an assembly truly respectable on every account!—Whether we consider the characters of the men, who composed it; the number, and dignity of their constituents, or the important ends for which they were appointed. But, however improbable such a degree of presumption might have seemed, we find there are some, in whom it exists. Attempts are daily making to diminish the influence of their decisions, and prevent the salutary effects, intended by them.—The impotence of such insidious efforts is evident from the general indignation they are treated with; so that no material ill-consequences can be dreaded from them. But lest they should have a tendency to mislead, and prejudice the minds of a few; it cannot be deemed altogether useless to bestow some notice upon them.

And first, let me ask these restless spirits, whence arises that violent antipathy they seem to entertain, not only to the natural rights of mankind; but to common sense and common modesty. That they are enemies to the natural rights of mankind

Section 2- Extract

Wm is this
Bibliography. Wm = 2008 purchase

St qm - should this
rephr Extracts... 1774?

insert (2)

p. 42

q note

find

Extract, from the Journal of the proceedings, of the honorable the American Continental Congress, held at Philadelphia, September fifth, 1774. Being that part of their Address to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec, which enumerates, the glorious rights of Englishmen, and English subjects:

Among which are included,

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

The Committee, to whom the Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec was recommitteed; reported a draught, which was read, and being debated by Paragraphs and amended, was approved, and is as follows.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

Friends and Fellow-Subjects,

WE, the DELEGATES of the Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of Newcastle Kent and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South Carolina, deputed by the inhabitants of the said Colonies to represent them in a general Congress at Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania, to consult together concerning the best methods to obtain redress of our afflicting grievances, having accordingly assembled, and taken into our most serious consideration the state of public affairs on this continent, have thought proper to address your province, as a member therein deeply interested."

When

THE AMERICAN CONGRESS ON THE

"When the fortune of war, after a gallant and glorious resistance, had incorporated you with the body of English subjects, we rejoiced in the truly valuable addition, both on our own and your account; expecting, as courage and generosity are naturally united, our brave enemies would become our hearty friends, and that the Divine Being would bless to you the dispensations of his over-ruling providence, by securing to you and your latest posterity the inestimable advantages of a free English constitution of government, which it is the privilege of all English subjects to enjoy."

"These hopes were confirmed by the King's proclamation, issued in the year 1763, pledging the public faith for your full enjoyment of those advantages."

"Little did we imagine that any succeeding ministers would so audaciously and cruelly abuse the royal authority, as to withhold from you the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which you were thus justly entitled."

"But since we have lived to see the unexpected time, when ministers of this flagitious temper have dared to violate the most sacred compacts and obligations, and as you, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from discovering the unspeakable worth of *that* form you are now undoubtedly entitled to, we esteem it our duty, for the weighty reason

RIGHTS OF ENGLISHMEN.

herein after mentioned, to explain to you, some of its most important branches."

"In every human society," says the celebrated Marquis Beccaria, "there is an *effort, continually tending* to confer on one part the height of power and happiness, and to reduce the other to the extreme of weakness and misery. The intent of good laws is to *oppose this effort*, and to diffuse their influence *universally and equally*."

"Rulers, stimulated by this pernicious *'effort'*, and subjects, animated by the just intent of opposing good laws against it," have occasioned that vast variety of events, that fill the histories of so many nations. All these histories demonstrate the truth of this simple position, that to live by the will of one man, or set of men, is the production of misery to all men."

"On the solid foundation of this principle, Englishmen reared up the fabric of their constitution with such a strength, as for ages to defy time, tyranny, treachery, internal and foreign wars: And as an illustrious author (Montesquieu) of your nation, hereafter mentioned, observes,—"they gave the people of their colonies the form of their own government, and this government carrying prosperity along with it, they have grown great nations in the forests they were sent to inhabit."

THE AMERICAN CONGRESS ON THE

"In this form, the first grand right is that of the people having a share in their own government by their representatives chosen by themselves, and, in consequence, of being ruled by *laws*, which they themselves approve, not by *edicts* of men over whom they have no controul. This is a bulwark surrounding and defending their property, which by their honest cares and labours they have acquired, so that no portions of it can legally be taken from them, but with their own full and free consent, when they in their judgment deem it just and necessary to give them for public services, and precisely direct the easiest, cheapest, and most equal methods, in which they shall be collected."

"The influence of this right extends still farther. If money is wanted by rulers who have in any manner oppressed the people, they may retain it, until their grievances are redressed, and thus peaceably procure relief, without trusting to despised petitions, or disturbing the public tranquillity."

"The next great right is that of trial by jury. This provides, that neither life, liberty nor property can be taken from the possessor, until twelve of his unexceptionable countrymen and peers, of his vicinage, who from that neighbourhood may reasonably be supposed to be acquainted with his character, and the characters of the wit-

RIGHTS OF ENGLISHMEN.

ness, upon a fair trial, and full enquiry face to face, in open court, before as many of the people as chuse to attend, shall pass their sentence upon oath against him; a sentence that cannot injure him, without injuring their own reputation, and probably their interest also; as the question may turn on points that, in some degree, concern the general welfare; and if it does not, their verdict may form a precedent, that, on a similar trial of their own, may militate against themselves."

"Another right relates merely to the liberty of the person. If a subject is seized and imprisoned, though by order of government, he may, by virtue of this right, immediately obtain a writ, termed a Habeas Corpus, from a judge, whose sworn duty it is to grant it, and thereupon procure any illegal restraint to be quickly enquired into and redressed."

"A fourth right is that of holding lands by the tenure of easy rents, and not by rigorous and oppressive services, frequently forcing the possessors from their families and their business, to perform what ought to be done, in all well regulated states, by men hired for the purpose."

"The last right, we shall mention, regards the freedom of the press. The importance of this consists, besides the advancement of truth, science, morality, and arts in gene-

Q. 104

THE AMERICAN CONGRESS, ON THE
RIGHTS OF ENGLISHMEN.

ral, in its diffusion of liberal sentiments on the administration of government, its ready communication of thoughts between subjects, and its consequential promotion of union among them, whereby oppressive officers are shamed or intimidated into more honorable and just modes of conducting affairs."

"These are the invaluable rights, that form a considerable part of our mild system of government; that, sending its equitable energy through all ranks and classes of men, extends the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all, from their superiors."

"These are the rights, without which a people cannot be free and happy, and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which, these colonies have hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased. These are the rights, a profligate ministry are now striving, by force of arms, to ravish from us, and which we are, with one mind, resolved never to resign but with our lives."

"THESE ARE THE RIGHTS, YOU ARE ENTITLED TO, AND OUGHT AT THIS MOMENT IN PERFECTION TO EXERCISE."

Section 2

Burgh 1774

James
Burgh

POLITICAL

DISQUISITIONS:

OR,

AN ENQUIRY into public ERRORS,
DEFECTS, and ABUSES. Illustrated by,
and established upon FACTS and REMARKS
extracted from a Variety of AUTHORS,
ancient and modern.

CALCULATED

To draw the timely ATTENTION of GOVERN-
MENT and PEOPLE to a due Consideration
of the Necessity, and the Means, of RE-
FORMING those ERRORS, DEFECTS,
and ABUSES; of RESTORING the
CONSTITUTION, and SAVING
the STATE.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:

Printed for E. and C. DILLY, in the Poultry.
MDCCLXXIV.

1774

Section 2 Burgh

x GENERAL PREFACE.

Every body has observed, that, on political subjects, the opinions of men are peculiarly vague, unsettled, and contradictory, because all men will, and in a free country, *ought* to judge of politics. There are indeed many particulars to be attended to, various views of things to be taken, and many comparisons to be made, in order to form just and steady principles of politics. And these employments of the mind requiring leisure, thought, and labour, it is not to be wondered, that few ever come to deserve, in a general and extensive manner, the character of sound politicians; though it is certain that every man of common sense may, if unbiassed, very clearly see wherein his country's great interest consist.

The same observation may be made on politics as one of the fathers has made on holy Scripture; 'The lamb may wade in them, and the elephant swim.'

'The science of politics' [extensively considered] 'is as much superior to all others,' says *S. Pierre*, 'as the whole is superior to a part. For it comprehends all human knowledge, and, to be a good politician, a man must have a general knowledge of all arts and sciences.' On the other hand, it is observed by *Locke*, 'That politics [in the common and confined sense] are only common sense applied to national, instead of private concerns.'

Some

* *S. Pierre, OUVR. POLIT. VI. 11.*

GENERAL PREFACE. xi

Some things are right in theory, for instance, but not in practice, and contrariwise. Hereditary succession to regal power applied to the test of reason, appears, *a priori*, consummately absurd. But elective monarchy, if we judge of it from its effects in *Poland*, is an inexhaustible fountain of mischief to a country. Some measures are in general salutary; but pursued at particular times, would ruin all. In distinguishing wisely lies the superiority of genius in statesmen.

There are no such mighty talents necessary for government as some, who pretend to them, without possessing them, would make us believe. Honest affections, and common qualifications, are sufficient, and the administration has always been best executed, and the public liberty best preserved, near the origin and site of states, when plain sense, and common honesty alone governed public affairs, and the morals of men were not corrupted by riches and luxury, nor their understanding perverted by subtleties and distinctions. Great abilities have generally, if not always, been employed to mislead the honest unwary multitude, and draw them out of the plain paths of public virtue and public good.*

In a country which pretends to be free, and where, consequently, the people ought to have weight in the government, it is peculiarly necessary

that

* *CATO'S LETT. I. 173.*

Section 2 Burgh

xii GENERAL PREFACE.

say that the *people* be possessed of just notions of the interest of their country, and be qualified to distinguish between those who are faithful to them, and those who betray them.

It must, I think, fill every generous mind with indignation, to see our good-natured countrymen abused over and over, from generation to generation, by the same stale dog-tricks repeatedly played upon them, by a succession of pretended patriots, who, by these means, have screwed out their predecessors, and worned themselves into their places. To teach the people a set of solid political principles, the knowledge of which may make them proof against such gross abuse, is one great object of this publication.

If the people do not look with an eye of severe and unremitting jealousy, after their own great and weighty concerns, in whose hands must they leave them? The answer is, In those of a ministry. And what hope is there, that in such hands they will be safe? In these collections, under the article MINISTERS, it will too plainly appear, from history, that ministers have generally been a set of ambitious, or avaricious grandees, who have, by all the worst kinds of arts, thrust themselves into power, in order to raise (as they call it) themselves and their families, and to fill their pockets. Entering into public stations with such views, it is to be supposed, that they would form to themselves an interest totally

GENERAL PREFACE. xiii

really separate and diametrically contrary to that of the people, and that they would debauch the house of commons to join them against their constituents. And is it not then necessary, that the people should be qualified, and disposed to take care of their own interests, and secure themselves against so formidable a set of internal enemies?

* None can be said to know things well, who do not know them in their beginnings,' says *Mr. Temple*.

* All ought to know what is right, and what is wrong in public affairs,' says *St. Amand*.

Not only the people, but our flatelmen and beggars, may from the following collections gain lights, and meet with hints, which, if properly pursued, may lead them to measures of a more generous kind, than that series of poor and temporary expedients, by which they have long made a shift to patch up matters, and barely keep the machine of government from bustling in ruins about them, while the efficiency of the constitution (as will too clearly appear in the sequel) is annihilated.

The ablest politicians have always been the most delirious of information. The great *Colbert* used to declare, that he thought his time well spent in perusing an hundred proposals for advancing the wealth, the commerce, and the glory

* *Phil. to Hist. Eng.*

* *Phil. to Hist. Parl.*

Section 2
Declaration 1775

A
DECLARATION
BY THE
REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE
UNITED COLONIES
OF
NORTH-AMERICA,
NOW MET IN
GENERAL CONGRESS
AT
PHILADELPHIA,
Setting forth the Causes and Necessity of their
taking up
A
R
M
S.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed by WILLIAM and THOMAS BRADFORD, 1775.
adopting the
power over them, have in
given such decisive specimens of the
sequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt
concerning

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In order to procure their dismissal, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms, but in open violation of honor, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the Governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy, wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their relations and friends, who with to attend and comfort them; and those who have been used to live in plenty, and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The General further emulating his ministerial matters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies, proceeds to "declare them all either by name or description to be rebels and traitors, to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial."---His troops have butchered our countrymen; have wantonly burnt Charles-Town, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships

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ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief a part of these colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword and famine.---We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force.---The latter is our choice.---We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery.---Honor, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable.---We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favour towards us, that his Providence would

Section 2 - Declaration

[12]

would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in war-like operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves.---With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defence of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved, to dye Free-men rather than to live Slaves.

LEST this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them, that we mean not to dissolve that Union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored.---Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them.---We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great-Britain, and establishing independent States.---We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation, or even suspicion, of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.---

14

[13]

IN our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it---for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our fore-fathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

WITH an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to conduct us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

By Order of Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

Attest,

CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY.

PHILADELPHIA, }
JULY 6th, 1775. }

Section 2
Burke

THE

Consider adding

S P E E C H

insert

OF

EDMUND BURKE, Esq;

ON

MOVING HIS RESOLUTIONS

FOR

CONCILIATION with the COLONIES,

MARCH 22, 1775.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR J. DODSLEY.

MDCCLXXV.

can never be begged as alms, by an impoverished and defeated violence.

A further objection to force is, that you *impair the object* by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for, is not the thing which you recover; but depreciated, sunk, wasted, and consumed in the contest. Nothing less will content me, than *whole America*. I do not choose to consume its strength along with our own; because in all parts it is the British strength that I consume. I do not choose to be caught by a foreign enemy at the end of this exhausting conflict; and still less in the midst of it. I may escape; but I can make no insurance against such an event. Let me add, that I do not choose wholly to break the American spirit, because it is the spirit that has made the country.

Lastly, we have no sort of *experience* in favour of force as an instrument in the rule of our Colonies. Their growth and their utility has been owing to methods altogether different. Our ancient indulgence has been said to be pursued to a fault. It may be so. But we know, if feeling is evidence, that our fault was more tolerable than our attempt to mend it; and our sin far more salutary than our penitence.

These, Sir, are my reasons for not entertaining that high opinion of untried force, by which many Gentlemen, for whose sentiments in other particulars I have great respect, seem to be so greatly captivated. But there is still behind a third consideration concerning this object, which serves to determine my opinion on the sort of policy which ought to be pursued in the management of America, even more than its Population and its Commerce, I mean its *Temper and Character*.

In this Character of the Americans, a love of Freedom is the predominating feature, which marks and distinguishes the whole: and as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your Colonies become suspicious, restive, and untractable, whenever they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force, or shuffle from them by chicane, what they think the only advantage worth living for.

This

This fierce spirit of Liberty is stronger in the English Colonies probably than in any other people of the earth; and this from a great variety of powerful causes; which, to understand the true temper of their minds, and the direction which this spirit takes, it will not be amiss to lay open somewhat more largely.

First, the people of the Colonies are descendents of Englishmen. England, Sir, is a nation, which still I hope respects, and formerly adored her freedom. The Colonists emigrated from you; when this part of your character was most predominant; and they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands. They are therefore not only devoted to Liberty, but to Liberty according to English ideas, and on English principles. Abstract Liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. Liberty inheres in some sensible object; and every nation has formed to itself some favourite point, which by way of eminence becomes the criterion of their happiness. It happened, you know, Sir, that the great contests for freedom in this country were from the earliest times chiefly upon the question of Taxing. Most of the contests in the ancient commonwealths turned primarily on the right of election of magistrates; or on the balance among the several orders of the state. The question of money was not with them so immediate. But in England it was otherwise. On this point of Taxes the ablest pens, and most eloquent tongues have been exercised; the greatest spirits have acted and suffered. In order to give the fullest satisfaction concerning the importance of this point, it was not only necessary for those who in argument defended the excellence of the English constitution, to insist on this privilege of granting money as a dry point of fact, and to prove, that the right had been acknowledged in ancient parchments, and blind usages, to reside in a certain body called an House of Commons. They went much further; they attempted to prove, and they succeeded, that in theory it ought to be so, from the particular nature of a House of Commons, as an immediate representative of the people; whether the old records had delivered this oracle or not. They took infinite pains to inculcate, as a fundamental principle, that, in all monarchies, the people must in effect themselves mediate or immediately possess the power of granting their own money, or no shadow of liberty could subsist. The Colonies draw from you as

with their life-blood, these ideas and principles. Their love of liberty, as with you, fixed and attached on this specific point of taxing. Liberty might be safe, or might be endangered in twenty other particulars, without their being much pleased or alarmed. Here they felt its pulse; and as they found that beat, they thought themselves sick or sound. I do not say whether they were right or wrong in applying your general arguments to their own case. It is not easy indeed to make a monopoly of theorems and corollaries. The fact is, that they did thus apply those general arguments; and your mode of governing them, whether through lenity or indolence, through wisdom or mistake, confirmed them in the imagination, that they, as well as you, had an interest in these common principles.

They were further confirmed in this pleasing error by the form of their provincial legislative assemblies. Their governments are popular in an high degree; some are merely popular; in all, the popular representative is the most weighty; and this share of the people in their ordinary government never fails to inspire them with lofty sentiments, and with a strong aversion from whatever tends to deprive them of their chief importance.

If any thing were wanting to this necessary operation of the form of government, Religion would have given it a complete effect. Religion, always a principle of energy, in this new people, is no way worn out or impaired; and their mode of professing it is also one main cause of this free spirit. The people are protestants; and of that kind, which is the most adverse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion. This is a persuasion not only favourable to liberty, but built upon it. I do not think, Sir, that the reason of this averseness in the dissenting churches from all that looks like absolute Government is so much to be sought in their religious tenets, as in their history. Every one knows, that the Roman Catholick religion is at least coeval with most of the governments where it prevails; that it has generally gone hand in hand with them; and received great favour and every kind of support from authority. The Church of England too was formed from her cradle under the nursing care of regular government. But the dissenting interests have sprung up in direct
D
opposition

Richard Price

Section 2

Price

1776

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
NATURE
OF
CIVIL LIBERTY,
THE
PRINCIPLES
OF
GOVERNMENT,
AND THE
JUSTICE AND POLICY
OF THE
WAR WITH AMERICA.

To which is added

AN APPENDIX,

Containing a STATE of the NATIONAL DEBT, an
Estimate of the Money drawn from the Public
by the Taxes, and an Account of the National
Income and Expenditure since the late War.

Hæu miseri cives; non Hoffen, inimicæ cœstra,
Velras Spes utilis. VIRG.

By RICHARD PRICE, D.D. F.R.S.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. CADELL, in the STRAND.

M.DCC.LXXVI.

Published by the same Author,

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Printed for T. CADELL, in the Strand.

OBSERVATIONS,

&c.

OUR Colonies in North America appear to be now determined to do and suffer every thing, under the persuasion, that GREAT BRITAIN is attempting to rob them of that Liberty to which every member of society, and all civil communities, have a natural and unalienable right. The question, therefore, whether this is a reasonable persuasion, is highly interesting, and deserves the most careful attention of every *Englishman* who values Liberty, and wishes to avoid staining himself with the guilt of invading it. But it is impossible to judge properly of this question without correct ideas of Liberty in general; and of the nature, limits, and principles of Civil Liberty in particular.—The following observations on this subject appear to me important, as well as just; and I cannot make myself easy without offering them to the public at the present period, big with events of the last consequence to this kingdom. I do this, with reluctance and pain, urged by strong feelings,

B

The Liberty of *America* might have preserved our Liberty; and, under the direction of a patriot king or wise minister, proved the means of restoring to us our almost lost constitution. Perhaps, in time, we might also have been brought to see the necessity of carefully watching and restricting our paper-credit: And thus we might have regained safety; and, in union with our Colonies, have been more than a match for every enemy, and risen to a situation of honour and dignity never before known amongst mankind.—But I am forgetting myself.—Our Colonies are likely to be lost forever. Their love is turned into hatred; and their respect for our government into resentment and abhorrence.—We shall see more distinctly what a calamity this is, and the observations I have now made will be confirmed, by attending to the following facts.

Our American Colonies, particularly the Northern ones, have been for some time in the very happiest state of society; or, in that middle state of civilization, between its first rude and its last refined and corrupt state. Old countries consist, generally, of three classes of people; a GENTRY; a YEOMANRY; and a PEASANTRY. The Colonies consist only of a body of YEOMANRY (a) supported by

(a) Excepting the *Negroes* in the Southern Colonies, who probably will now either soon become extinct, or have their condition

by agriculture, and all independent, and nearly upon a level; in consequence of which, joined to a boundless extent of country, the means of subsistence are procured without difficulty, and the temptations to wickedness are so inconsiderable, that executions (b) are seldom known among them. From hence arises an encouragement to population so great, that in some of the Colonies they double their own number in fifteen years; in others, in eighteen years; and in all, taken one with another, in twenty-five years.—Such an increase was, I believe, never before known. It demonstrates that they must live at their ease; and be free from those cares, oppressions, and diseases which depopulate and ravage luxurious states.

With the population of the Colonies has increased their trade; but much faster, on account of the gradual introduction of luxury among them.—In 1723 the exports to *Pennsylvania* were 16,000 l.—In 1742 they were 75,295 l.—In 1757 they

exceeded that of *Freemantle*.—It is not the fault of the Colonies that they have among them so many of these unhappy people. They have made laws to prohibit the importation of them; but these laws have always had a negative put upon them here, because of their tendency to hurt our *Negro* trade.

(b) In the Province of *Massachusetts Bay* there has not been, I am informed, more than one execution these 18 years.

Section 2 - Paine

COMMON SENSE;

ADDRESSED TO THE

INHABITANTS

OF

A M E R I C A,

On the following interesting

S U B J E C T S.

- I. Of the Origin and Design of Government in general, with concise Remarks on the English Constitution.
- II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession.
- III. Thoughts on the present State of American Affairs.
- IV. Of the present Ability of America, with some miscellaneous Reflections.

A NEW EDITION, with several Additions in the Body of the Work. To which is added an APPENDIX; together with an Address to the People called QUAKERS.

N. B. The New Addition here given increases the Work upwards of one Third.

Man knows no Matter save creating HEAVEN,
Or those whom Choice and common Good ordain.
THOMSON.

PHILADELPHIA PRINTED.

And sold by W. and T. BRADFORD.

Section 2 Paine
Common Sense

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN the sentiments contained in the following pages, are not sufficiently fashippable to procure them equal favor, a long habit of not thinking a thing wrong, gives it a superficial appearance of being right, and raises at last a formidable outcry in defence of custom. But the tumult soon subsides. Time makes more converts than reason.

As a long and violent abuse of power, is generally the means of calling the right of it in question (and in Matters too, which might never have been thought of, had not the abuses been aggravated into the inquiry) and as the King of England hath undertaken in his *own Right*, to support the Parliament in what he calls *his* *Right*, and as the good people of this country are grievously oppressed by the combination, they have an undoubted privilege to inquire into the pretensions of both, and equally to reject the usurpation of either.

In the following sheets, the author hath studiously avoided every thing which is personal among ourselves. Compliments as well as censure to individuals make no part thereof. The wife, and the worthy, need not the triumph of a pamphlet; and those whose sentiments are injudicious, or unfriendly, will ease of themselves unless too much pains are bestowed upon their conversion.

The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind. Many circumstances hath, and will arise, which are not local, but universal, and through which the principles of all Lovers of Mankind are affected, and in the Event of which, their Affections are interested. The laying a Country desolate with Fire and Sword, declaring War against the natural rights of all Mankind, and extirpating the Defenders thereof from the Face of the Earth, is the Concern of every Man to whom Nature hath given the Power of feeling; of which Clubs, regardless of Party Censure, is the

A U T H O R.

INTRODUCTION.

P. S. The Publication of this new Edition hath been delayed, with a View of taking notice (had it been necessary) of any Attempt to refute the Doctrine of Independence: As no Answer hath yet appeared, it is now presumed that none will, the Time needful for getting such a Performance ready for the Public being considerably past.

Who the Author of this Production is, is wholly unnecessary to the Public, as the Object for Attention is the *Doctrine itself*; not the *Man*. Yet it may not be unnecessary to say, That he is unconnected with any Party, and under no sort of Influence public or private, but the influence of reason and principle.

Philadelphia, February 14, 1776,

COMMON SENSE.

Of the origin and design of government in general. With concise remarks on the English constitution.

SOME writers have so confounded society with government, as to leave little or no distinction between them; whereas they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness *positively* by uniting our affections, the latter *negatively* by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions. The first is a patron, the last a punisher.

Society in every state is a blessing, but government even in its best state is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one; for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries *by a government*, which we might expect in a country *without government*, our calamity is heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer. Government, like drels, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of paradise. For were the impulses of conscience clear, uniform, and irresistibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but that not being the case, he finds it necessary to surrender up a part of his property to furnish means for the protection of the rest; and this he is induced to do by the same prudence which in every other case advises him out of two evils to choose the least. *Wherefore*, security being the true design and end of government, it unanswerably follows that whatever *form* thereof appears most likely to ensure it to us, with the least expence and greatest benefit, is preferable to all others.

In order to gain a clear and just idea of the design and end of government, let us suppose a small number of persons settled in some sequestered part of the earth, unconnected with the rest, they will then represent the first peopling of any country, or of the world. In this state of natural liberty, society will be their first thought. A thousand motives will excite them

Section 2 Paine
Common Sense

Section 2

PAINE

1776

~~Tracked & revised p. 88~~

THE
AMERICAN CRISIS,

NUMBER I.

BY THE AUTHOR OF COMMON SENSE.

THESE are the times that try men's souls: The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: 'Tis dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to set a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed, if so celestial an article as *freedom* should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared, that she has a right (*not only to tax*) but "*to bind us in all ways whatsoever*," and if being bound in that manner is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious, for so unlimited a power can belong only to God.

Whether the Independence of the Continent was declared too soon, or delayed too long, I will not now enter into an argument; my own simple opinion is, that had it been eight months earlier, it would have been much better. We did not make a proper use of last winter, neither could we, while we were in a dependant state. However, the fault, if it were one,

was

Section 2 - Parsons

RESULT
OF THE
CONVENTION
OF
DELEGATES

Holden at IPSWICH in the
County of Essex, who were
Deputed to take into
Consideration

THE
CONSTITUTION
AND FORM OF
GOVERNMENT,
PROPOSED BY THE
CONVENTION
OF THE STATE OF
MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

NEWBURY-PORT:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOHN MYCALL, 1778.

Section 2 - Persons

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to dust. The man who alone undertakes to form a constitution, ought to be an unpassioned being; one enlightened mind; biased neither by the lust of power, the allurements of pleasure, nor the glitter of wealth; perfectly acquainted with all the alienable and unalienable rights of mankind; possessed of this grand truth, that all men are born equally free, and that no man ought to surrender any part of his natural rights, without receiving the greatest possible equivalent; and influenced by the impartial principles of rectitude and justice, without partiality for, or prejudice against the interest or professions of any individuals or class of men. He ought also to be master of the histories of all the empires and states which are now existing, and all those which have figured in antiquity, and thereby able to collect and blend their respective excellencies, and avoid those defects which experience hath pointed out. Rousseau, a learned foreigner, a citizen of Geneva, sensible of the importance and difficulty of the subject, thought it impossible for any body of people, to form a free and equal constitution for themselves, in which, every individual should have equal justice done him, and be permitted to enjoy a share of power in the state, equal to what should be enjoyed by any other. Each individual, said he, will struggle, not only to retain all his own natural rights, but to acquire a control over those of others. Fraud, convention, and an union of interest of some classes of people, combined with inattention to the rights of posterity, will prevail over the principles of equity, justice and good policy. The Genevans, perhaps the most virtuous republicans now existing, thought like Rousseau. They called the

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celebrated Calvin to their assistance. He came, and, by their gratitude, have they embalmed his memory.

The freemen inhabiting the territory of the Massachusetts Bay are now forming a political society for themselves. Perhaps their situation is more favorable in some respects, for erecting a free government, than any other people were ever favored with. That attachment to old forms, which usually embarrasses, has not place amongst them. They have the history and experience of all States before them. Mankind have been toiling through ages for their information; and the philosophers and learned men of antiquity have trimmed their midnight lamps, to transmit to them instruction. We live also in an age, when the principles of political liberty, and the foundation of governments, have been freely canvassed, and fairly settled. Yet some difficulties we have to encounter. Not content with removing our attachment to the old government, perhaps we have contracted a prejudice against some part of it without foundation. The idea of liberty has been held up in so dazzling colours, that some of us may not be willing to submit to that subordination necessary in the freest States. Perhaps we may say farther, that we do not consider ourselves united as brothers, with an united interest, but have fancied a clashing of interests amongst the various classes of men, and have acquired a thirst of power, and a wish of domination, over some of the community. We are contending for freedom — Let us all be equally free — It is possible, and it is just. Our interests when candidly considered are one. Let us have a constitution founded, not upon party or prejudice.

Section 2 Persons

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not one for to-day or to morrow—but for posterity. Let *Esse perpetua* be it's motto. If it is founded in good policy; it will be founded in justice and honesty. Let all ambitious and interested views be discarded, and let regard be had only to the good of the whole, in which the situation and rights of posterity must be considered: and let equal justice be done to all the members of the community; and we thereby imitate our common father, who at our births, dispersed his favors, not only with a liberal, but with an equal hand.

Was it asked, what is the best form of government for the people of the Massachusetts-Bay? we confess it would be a question of infinite importance; and the man who could truly answer it, would merit a statue of gold to his memory, and his name would be recorded in the annals of late posterity, with unrivalled lustre. The question however must be answered, and let it have the best answer we can possibly give it. Was a man to mention a despotic government, his life would be a just forfeit to the resentments of an affronted people. Was he to hint monarchy, he would deservedly be hifted off the stage, and consigned to infamy. A republican form is the only one consonant to the feelings of the generous and brave Americans. Let us now attend to those principles, upon which all republican governments, who boast any degree of political liberty, are founded, and which must enter into the spirit of a free republican constitution. For all republics are not FREE.

All men are born equally free: the rights they possess at their births are equal, and of the same

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kind. Some of those rights are alienable, and may be parted with for an equivalent. Others are unalienable and inherent, and of that importance, that no equivalent can be received in exchange. Sometimes we shall mention the surrendering of a power to controul our natural rights, which perhaps is speaking with more precision, than when we use the expression of parting with natural rights—but the same thing is intended. Those rights which are unalienable, and of that importance, are called the rights of conscience. We have duties, for the discharge of which we are accountable to our Creator and benefactor, which no human power can cancel. What those duties are, is determinable by right reason, which may be, and is called, a well informed conscience. What this conscience dictates as our duty, is so; and that power which assumes a controul over it, is an usurper; for no consent can be pleaded to justify the controul, as any consent in this case is void. The alienation of some rights, in themselves alienable, may be also void, if the bargain is of that nature, that no equivalent can be received. Thus, if a man surrender all his alienable rights, without reserving a controul over the supreme power, or a right to resume in certain cases, the surrender is void, for he becomes a slave; and a slave can receive no equivalent. Common equity would set aside this bargain.

When men form themselves into society, and erect a body politic or State, they are to be considered as one moral whole, which is in possession of the supreme power of the State. This supreme power is composed of the powers of each individual

Section 2 Pownell

3954

From the Editor to Mr. Whar

MEMORIAL,

MOST HUMBL Y ADDRESS ED

T O T H E

SOVEREIGNS of EUROPE,

O N T H E

PRESENT STATE of AFFAIRS,

BETWEEN THE

OLD AND NEW WORLD.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite BURLINGTON-HOUSE,
in PICCADILLY, 1780.

[Price Half a Crown]

Section
2
Powell

[4]

powerful empire. *It has taken its equal
part with the nations upon earth.*

Place solum orientem in occidente.

North-America is become a new primary planet in the system of the world, which while it takes its own course, in its own orbit, must have effect on the orbit of every other planet, and shift the common center of gravity of the whole system of the European world.

North-America is *de facto* AN INDEPENDENT POWER *which has taken its equal station with other powers*, and must be so *de jure*. The politicians of the Governments of Europe may reason or negotiate upon this idea, as a matter *sub lite*. The

powers of those Governments may fight about it as a new Power coming into establishment; such negotiations, and such wars, are of no consequence either to the right or the fact. It would be just as wise, and just as effectual, if they were to go to war, or settle, or set on foot negotiations to settle, for whom for the future the sovereignty of the moon should belong. The moon hath been long common to them all, and they may

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may all in their turns profit of her reflected light. The independence of America is fixed as fate; she is mistress of her own fortune;—knows that she is so, and will actuate that power which she feels she hath, so as to establish her own system, and to change the system of Europe.

I will not lose time, in an useless waste of words, by attempting to prove the existence of this fact. The rapid progress of events at this crisis will not wait for such trifling. The only thing which can be useful to the world is, to examine what the precise change of system is; what will be the general consequence of such change; and with what spirit, and by what conduct the advancing state of things should be met.

If the Powers of Europe will view the state of things *as they do really exist*, and will treat them *as being what they are*, the lives of thousands may be spared; the happiness of millions may be secured; and, the peace of the whole world preserved. If they will not, they will be plunged into a sea of troubles, a sea of blood, fathomless

Sect. 2 - Price

5

V

insert

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

IMPORTANCE

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION,

AND

THE MEANS of making it a BENEFIT to
the WORLD.

By RICHARD PRICE, D.D. L.L.D.

And Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and
of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in New-
England.

Printed in London in 1784.

Section 2 Price

[2]

wilhes. With heart-felt satisfaction, I see the revolution in favour of universal liberty which has taken place in *America*;—a revolution which opens a new prospect in human affairs, and begins a new era in the history of mankind;—a revolution by which *Britons* themselves will be the greatest gainers, if wise enough to improve properly the check that has been given to the despotism of their ministers, and to catch the flame of virtuous liberty which has saved their American brethren.

The late war, in its *commencement and progress*, did great good by disseminating just sentiments of the rights of mankind, and the nature of legitimate government; by exciting a spirit of resistance to tyranny, which has emancipated one *European* country, and is likely to emancipate others; and by occasioning the establishment in *America* of forms of government more equitable and more liberal than any that the world has yet known. But, in its *termination*, the war has done still greater good by preserving the new governments from that destruction in which they must have been involved, had Britain conquered; by provid-

ing,

[3]

ing, in a sequestered continent possessed of many singular advantages, a place of refuge for oppressed men in every region of the world; and by laying the foundation there of an empire which may be the seat of liberty, science and virtue, and from whence there is reason to hope these sacred blessings will spread, till they become universal and the time arrive when kings and priests shall have no more power to oppress, and that ignominious slavery which has hitherto debased the world is exterminated. I therefore, think I see the hand of Providence in the late war working for the general good; and can scarcely avoid crying out, *It was the Lord's doing.*

Reason, as well as tradition and revelation, lead us to expect that a more improved and happy state of human affairs will take place before the consummation of all things. The world has hitherto been gradually improving. Light and knowledge have been gaining ground, and human life at present, compared with what it *once* was, is much the same that a youth approaching to manhood is compared with an infant.

B 2

Such

Section 3

Jefferson
1788

Levin No 123
N O T E S

ON THE

S T A T E

OF

V I R G I N I A.

WRITTEN BY

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY PRICHARD AND HALL, IN MARKET
STREET, BETWEEN FRONT AND SECOND STREETS.

Section 3 Jefferson

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Blue ridge of mountains; 8 between the Blue ridge and Alleghany; and 8 westward of the Alleghany.

The state, by another division, is formed into parishes, many of which are commensurate with the counties; but sometimes a county comprehends more than one parish, and sometimes a parish more than one county. This division had relation to the religion of the state, a Parson of the Anglican church, with a fixed salary, having been heretofore established in each parish. The care of the poor was another object of the parochial division.

We have no townships. Our country being much interested with navigable waters, and trade brought generally to our doors, instead of our being obliged to go in quest of it, has probably been one of the causes why we have no towns of any consequence. Williamsburgh, which, till the year 1780, was the seat of our government, never contained above 1800 inhabitants; and Norfolk, the most populous town we ever had, contained but 6000. Our towns, but more properly our villages or hamlets, are as follows.

On *James river* and its waters, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Hampton, Suffolk, Smithfield, Williamsburgh, Peterburgh, Richmond the seat of our government, Manchester, Charlottesville, New London.

On *York river* and its waters, York, Newcastlle, Hanover.

On *Patuxent*, Urbanna, Portroyal, Frederickburgh, Falmouth.

On *Patowmac* and its waters, Dumfries, Colchester, Alexandria, Wincheller, Staunton.

On *Ohio*, Louisville.

There are other places at which, like some of the foregoing, the *laws* have said there shall be towns; but *Nature* has said there shall not, and they remain unworthy of emigration. *Norfolk* will probably be the emporium for all the trade of the Chesapeake bay and its waters; and a canal of 8 or 10 miles will bring to it all that of Albemarle sound and its waters. Secondary to this place, are the towns at

the

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the head of the tide waters, to wit, Peterburgh on Appamattox, Richmond on James river, Newcastle on York river, Alexandria on Patowmac, and Baltimore on the Patuxent. From these the distribution will be to subordinate situations in the country. Accidental circumstances however may controul the indications of nature, and in no instances do they do it more frequently than in the site and fall of towns.

Q U E R Y XIII.

THE constitution of the state, and its several charters?

Queen Elizabeth by her letters-patent, bearing date March 25, 1584, licensed Sir Walter Raleigh to search for remote heathen lands, not inhabited by Christian people, and granted to him, in fee simple, all the soil within 200 leagues of the places where his people should, within 6 years, make their dwellings or abidings; retaining only to herself and her successors, their allegiance and one-fifth part of all the gold and silver ore they should obtain. Sir Walter immediately sent out two ships which visited Western island in North Carolina, and the next year dispatched seven with 107 men, who settled in Roanoke island, about latitude $35^{\circ} 50'$. Here Oskio, king of the Weopomeios, in a full council of his people, is said to have acknowledged himself the homager of the Queen of England, and, after her, of Sir Walter Raleigh. A supply of 50 men were sent in 1586, and 150 in 1587. With these last, Sir Walter sent a governor, appointed him twelve assistants, gave them a charter of incorporation, and instructed them to settle on Chesapeake bay. They landed however at Hatorak. In 1588, when a fleet was ready to sail with a new supply of colonists and necessities, they were detained by the Queen to assist against the Spanish Armada. Sir Walter having now expended 40,000 l. in these enter-

prises,

Section 3 Jefferson

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These articles were signed & sealed by the Commissioners of the Council of State for the Commonwealth of England the twelfth day of March 1651.

Then follow the articles stipulated by the governor and council, which relate merely to their own persons and property, and then the ensuing instrument:

An act of indemnity made at the surrender of the country.

Whereas by the authority of the parliament of England we the commissioners appointed by the council of state authorized thereto having brought a fleet & force before James citie in Virginia to reduce that collonie under the obedience of the commonwealth of England, & finding force raised by the Governour & country to make opposition against the said fleet whereby assured danger apperance of the ruine & destruction of the plantation, for prevention whereof the Burgeses of all the severall plantations being called to advise & assist therein, upon long & serious debate, and in sad contemplation of the great miseries & certaine destruction which were for everly hovering over the whole country; Wee the said Commissioners have thought fit & condescended and granted to signe & confirme under our hands, seales, & by our oath, Articles bearing date with these presents, and do further declare that by the authority of the parliament and commonwealth of England derived unto us their commissioners, that according to the articles in general we have granted an act of indemnity and oblivion to all the inhabitants of this colony from all words, actions, or writings that have been spoken acted or writt against the parliament or commonwealth of England or any other person from the beginning of the world to this daye. And this wee have done that all the inhabitants of the collonie may live quietly & securely under the commonwealth of England. And wee do promise that the parliament and commonwealth of England shall confirme & make good all those transactions of ours. Witness our hands & seales this 12th of March 1651.

[123]

1651. Richard Bennett—Seale. Wm. Claiborne—Seale. Edm. Curtis—Seale.

The colony supposed, that, by this solemn convention, entered into with arms in their hands, they had secured the ancient limits* of their country, its free trade†, its exemption from taxation‡ but by their own assembly, and exclusion of military force§ from among them. Yet in every of these points was this convention violated by subsequent kings and parliaments, and other infractions of their constitution, equally dangerous, committed. Their general assembly, which was composed of the council of state and burgeses, sitting together and deciding by plurality of voices, was split into two houses, by which the council obtained a separate negative on their laws. Appeals from their supreme court, which had been fixed by law in their general assembly, were arbitrarily revoked to England, to be there heard before the king and council. Instead of four hundred miles on the sea coast, they were reduced, in the space of thirty years, to about one hundred miles. Their trade with foreigners was totally suppressed, and when carried to Great-Britain, was there loaded with imposts. It is unnecessary, however, to glean up the several instances of injury, as scattered through American and British history, and the more especially as, by passing on to the accession of the present king, we shall find specimens of them all, aggravated, multiplied and crowded within a small compass of time, so as to evince a fixed design of considering our rights natural, conventional and chartered as mere nullities. The following is an epitome of the first fifteen years of his reign. The colonies were taxed internally and externally; their essential interests sacrificed to individuals in Great-Britain; their legislatures suspended; charters annulled; trials by juries taken away; their persons subjected to transportation across the Atlantic, and to trial before foreign judicatories; their supplications for redress thought beneath answer; themselves published as cowards in the councils of their mother

* Art. 4. † Art. 7. ‡ Art. 8. § Art. 8.

Section 3 Jefferson

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her country and courts of Europe: armed troops sent among them to enforce submission to their violence; and actual hostilities commenced against them. No alternative was presented but resistance, or unconditional submission. Between these could be no hesitation. They closed in the appeal to arms. They declared themselves independent States. They confederated together into one great republic; thus securing to every State the benefit of an union of their whole force. In each State separately a new form of government was established. Of ours particularly the following are the outlines. The executive powers are lodged in the hands of a governor, chosen annually, and incapable of acting more than three years in seven. He is assisted by a council of eight members. The judiciary powers are divided among several courts, as will be hereafter explained. Legislation is exercised by two houses of assembly, the one called the house of Delegates, composed of two members from each county, chosen annually by the citizens possessing an estate for life in 100 acres of uninhabited land, or 25 acres with a house on it, or in a house or lot in some town: the other called the Senate, consisting of 24 members, chosen quadrennially by the same electors, who for this purpose are distributed into 24 districts. The concurrence of both houses is necessary to the passage of a law. They have the appointment of the governor and council, the judges of the superior courts, auditors, attorney-general, treasurer, register of the land office, and delegates to congress. As the dismemberment of the State had never had its confirmation, but, on the contrary, had always been the subject of protestation and complaint, that it might never be in our own power to raise scruples on that subject, or to disturb the harmony of our new confederacy, the grants to Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the two Carolinas, were ratified.

This constitution was formed when we were new and unexperienced in the science of government. It was the first too which was formed in the whole United States. No

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No wonder then that time and trial have discovered very capital defects in it.

1. The majority of the men in the State, who pay and fight for its support, are unrepresented in the legislature, the roll of freholders entitled to vote, not including generally the half of those on the roll of the militia, or of the tax-gatherers.

2. Among those who share the representation, the shares are very unequal. Thus the county of Warwick, with only 100 fighting men, has an equal representation with the county of Loudon, which has 1746. So that every man in Warwick has as much influence in the government as 17 men in Loudon. But lest it should be thought that an equal interposition of small among large counties, through the whole State, may prevent any danger of injury to particular parts of it, we will divide it into districts, and shew the proportions of land, of fighting men, and of representation in each.

Between the sea-coast and falls of the rivers and between the falls of the rivers and the Blue ridge of mountains	Between the Blue ridge and the Alleghany	Between the Alleghany and Ohio				
			Square Miles.	Fighting Men.	Delegates.	Senators.
*11,205	18,759	11,911	19,012	18,828	71	12
18,759	11,911	4,458	7,673	4,458	46	8
11,911	4,458	1,49	1,49	1,49	16	2
4,458	1,49				2	
1,49						
Total	121,525	49,971	1,49			24

An inspection of this table will supply the place of commentaries on it. It will appear at once that 19,000 men, living below the falls of the rivers, possess half the Senate, and want four members only of possessing a majority of the house of delegates; a want more than supplied by the vicinity of their situation to the seat of government, and of course the greater degree of convenience and punctuality with which their members may and will attend in the legislature.

* Of these, 542 are on the Eastern shore. Of these, 22,616 are eastward of the meridian of the mouth of the Great Potomac.

for Beth 20 of
April 6, 2008)

Section 3
Adams 1787

John Adams

A
D E F E N C E
OF THE
CONSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY JOHN ADAMS, LL.D.
AND A MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
AT BOSTON.

All nature's difference keeps all nature's peace. POPE.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED FOR C. DILLY, IN THE POULTRY

M,DCC,LXXXVII.

LETTER I.

GROSVENOR-SQUARE, *October 4, 1786.*

My dear Sir,

THREE writers in Europe, of great abilities, reputation, and learning, Mr. Turgot, the Abbé De Mably, and Dr. Price, have turned their attention to the constitutions of government in the United States of America, and have written and published their criticisms and advice. They had all the most amiable characters, and undoubtedly the purest intentions. They had all experienced in public affairs, and ample information in the nature of man, the necessities of society, and the science of government.

There are in the productions of all of them, among many excellent things, some sentiments, however, that it will be difficult to reconcile to reason, experience, the constitution of human nature, or to the uniform testimony of the greatest statesmen, legislators, and philosophers of all enlightened nations, ancient and modern.

Mr. Turgot, in his letter to Dr. Price, confesses, "that he is not satisfied with the constitutions which have hitherto been formed for the different states of America." He observes, "that by most of them the customs of England are imitated, without any particular motive. Instead of collecting all authority into one centre, that of the nation, they have established

4 *Preliminary Observations.*

"different bodies, a body of representatives, a council, and a governor, because there is in England a house of commons, a house of lords, and a king. They endeavour to balance these different powers, as if this equilibrium, which in England may be a necessary check to the enormous influence of royalty, could be of any use in republicks founded upon the equality of all the citizens, and as if establishing different orders of men was not a source of divisions and disputes."

There has been, from the beginning of the revolution in America, a party in every state, who have entertained sentiments similar to these of Mr. Turgot. Two or three of them have established governments upon his principle: and, by advices from Boston, certain committees of counties have been held, and other conventions proposed in the Massachusetts, with the express purpose of deposing the governor and senate, as useless and expensive branches of the constitution; and as it is probable that the publication of Mr. Turgot's opinion has contributed to excite such discontents among the people, it becomes necessary to examine it, and, if it can be shown to be an error, whatever veneration the Americans very justly entertain for his memory, it is to be hoped they will not be misled by his authority.

Section 3

Federalist 1787

THE

FEDERALIST:

A COLLECTION

OF

ESSAYS,

WRITTEN IN FAVOUR OF THE

NEW CONSTITUTION,

AS AGREED UPON BY THE FEDERAL CONVENTION,
SEPTEMBER 17, 1787.

TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY J. AND A. MEEHAN,
No. 46, HANOVER-SQUARE,
MDCCLXXXVIII.

Section 3 Federalist

"The Federalist" which belongs to the
 General during his life time, in which
 he has designated in his own hand -
 writings, the part of that celebrated work
 written by himself as well as those con-
 tributed by Mr. Jay & Madison

It is supposed that a collection of the
 papers which have made their appear-
 ance in the Gazettes of this City, under
 the Title of the FEDERALIST, may
 not be without effect in assisting the public
 judgment on the momentous question of the
 Constitution for the United States, now
 under the consideration of the people of
 America. A desire to throw full light
 upon so interesting a subject has led, in a
 great measure unavoidably, to a more copious
 discussion than was at first intended. And
 the undertaking not being yet completed, it
 is judged advisable to divide the collection
 into two Volumes, of which the ensuing
 Numbers constitute the first. The second
 Volume will follow as speedily as the Editor
 can get it ready for publication.

The particular circumstances under which
 these papers have been written, have ren-
 dered it impracticable to avoid violations of
 a 2 method

Yes

Section 3 Federalist

(iv)

method and repetitions of ideas which cannot but dispense a critical reader. The latter defect has even been intentionally indulged, in order the better to impress particular arguments which were most material to the general scope of the reasoning. Respect for public opinion, not anxiety for the literary character of the performance, dictates this remark. The great wish is, that it may promote the cause of truth, and lead to a right judgment of the true interests of the community.

NEW-YORK, March 17, 1788.

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Section 3 - Debates -

[Heath
quote]

Pro. Drown

DEBATES,
RESOLUTIONS AND OTHER PROCEEDINGS,
OF THE
CONVENTION
OF THE
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTES.

Convened at Boston, on the 9th of January, 1788,
and continued until the 7th of February follow-
ing, for the purpose of assenting to and ratify-
ing the CONSTITUTION recommended by the
Grand Federal Convention.

TOGETHER WITH
The YEAS AND NAYS ON THE
DECISION OF THE GRAND QUESTION.

TO WHICH
THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

IS PREFIXED.
Reported by Benjamin Russell, 1st. Lieutenant.

B O S T O N :

Printed and sold by ADAMS and NOURSE, in Court-Street ; and
BENJAMIN RUSSELL, and EDMUND FREEMAN, in State-Street,

M,DCC,LXXXVIII.

tions, in their most important consequences, as related to the tribunal of God, hence I infer, that God alone is the God of the conscience, and consequently, attempts to erect human tribunals for the consciences of men, are impious encroachments upon the prerogatives of God. Upon these principles had there been a religious test, as a qualification for office, it would, in my opinion, have been a great blemish to the instrument.

Gen. HEATH. Mr. President—After a long and painful investigation of the Federal Constitution, by paragraphs, this Hon. Convention are drawing nigh to the ultimate question. A question as momentous, as ever invited the attention of man. We are soon to decide on a system of government, digested, not for the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts only—not for the present people of the United States only;—but in addition to these, for all those States which may hereafter rise into existence within the jurisdiction of the United States—and for millions of people yet unborn. A system of government not for a nation of slaves, but for a people as free, and as virtuous as any on earth. Not for a conquered nation subdued to our will, but for a people, who have fought, who have bled, and who have conquered; who under the smiles of Heaven, have established their independence and sovereignty, and have taken equal rank among the nations of the earth. In short, sir, it is a system of government for ourselves, and for our children, for all that is near and dear to us in life, and on the decision of the question is suspended our political prosperity or infelicity, perhaps our existence as a nation. What can be more solemn? What can be more interesting? Every thing depends on our union. I know that some have supposed that although the union should be broken, particular States may retain their importance, but this cannot be; the strongest nerved State, even the right arm if separated from the body must wither: If the great union be broken, our country, as a nation, perishes, and if our country so perishes, it will be as impossible to save a particular State, as to preserve one of the fingers of a mortified hand.

By

Section 3

BURKE
1790

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE,

AND ON THE

PROCEEDINGS IN CERTAIN SOCIETIES
IN LONDON

RELATIVE TO THAT EVENT.

IN A

LETTER

INTENDED TO HAVE BEEN SENT TO A GENTLEMAN
IN PARIS.

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. DODSLEY, IN PALL-MALL.

MDCCLX.

Section 3 Burke

(8)

stances (which with some gentlemen pass for nothing) give in reality to every political principle its distinguishing colour, and discriminating effect. The circumstances are what render

every civil and political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind. Abstractedly speaking, government, as well as liberty, is good; yet could I, in common sense, ten years ago, have felicitated France on her enjoyment of a government (for she then had a government) without enquiry what the nature of that government was, or how it was administered? Can I now congratulate the same nation upon its freedom? Is it because liberty in the abstract may be classed amongst the blessings of mankind, that I am seriously to felicitate a madman, who has escaped from the protecting restraint and wholesome darkness of his cell, on his restoration to the enjoyment of light and liberty? Am I to congratulate an highwayman and murderer, who has broke prison, upon the recovery of his natural rights? This would be to act over again the scene of the criminals condemned to the galleys, and their heroic deliverer, the metaphysic Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance.

When I see the spirit of liberty in action, I see a strong principle at work; and this, for a while, is all I can possibly know of it. The wild gas, the fixed air is plainly broke loose: but we ought to suspend our judgment until the first effervescence is a little subsided, till the liquor is cleared, and until we see something deeper

(9)

than the agitation of a troubled and frothy surface. I must be tolerably sure, before I venture publicly to congratulate men upon a blessing, that they have really received one. Flattery corrupts both the receiver and the giver; and adulation is not of more service to the people than to kings. I should therefore suspend my congratulations on the new liberty of France, until I was informed how it had been combined with government; with public force; with the discipline and obedience of armies; with the collection of an effective and well-distributed revenue; with morality and religion; with the solidity of property; with peace and order; with civil and social manners. All these (in their way) are good things too; and, without them, liberty is not a benefit whilst it lasts, and is not likely to continue long. The effect of liberty to individuals is, that they may do what they please: We ought to see what it will please them to do, before we risk congratulations, which may be soon turned into complaints. Prudence would dictate this in the case of separate insulated private men; but liberty, when men act in bodies, is *power*. Considerate people before they declare themselves will observe the use which is made of *power*; and particularly of so trying a thing as *new* power in *new* persons, or whole principles, tempers, and dispositions, they have little or no experience, and in situations where those who appear the most stirring in the scene may possibly not be the real movers.

Section 3 - Prime

R I G H T S O F M A N :

PART I.

Whether the forms and maxims of Governments which are still in practice, were adapted to the condition of the world at the period they were established, is not in this case the question. The older they are, the less correspondence can they have with the present state of things. Time, and change of circumstances and opinions, have the same progressive effect in rendering modes of Government obsolete, as they have upon customs and manners. Agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the tranquil arts, by which the prosperity of Nations is best promoted, require a different system of Government, and a different species of knowledge to direct its operations, to what might have been the former condition of the world.

As it is not difficult to perceive, from the enlightened state of mankind, that hereditary Governments are verging to their decline, and that Revolutions on the broad basis of national sovereignty, and Government by representation, are making their way in Europe, it would be an act of wisdom to anticipate their approach, and produce Revolutions by reason and accommodation, rather than commit them to the issue of convulsions.

From what we now see, nothing of reform in the political world ought to be held improbable. It is an age of Revolutions in which every thing may be looked for. The intrigue of Courts, by which the system of war is kept up, may provoke a confederation of Nations to abolish it: and a European Congress, to patronize the progress of free Government, and promote the civilization of Nations with each other, is an event nearer in probability, than once were the revolutions and alliance of France and America.

THE

AGE OF REASON.

BEING AN

INVESTIGATION

OF

TRUE AND OF FABULOUS

THEOLOGY.

BY THOMAS PAINE,

CITIZEN AND CULTIVATOR OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; — SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO CONGRESS IN THE AMERICAN WAR; — AND AUTHOR OF THE WORKS ENTITLED, 'COMMON SENSE, AND RIGHTS OF MAN.'

Paris, printed for Barrois, senior, Bookseller, Quai des Augustins, N^o. 19.

Second year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

Section 3 Paine-Age

Robert Rubin Books - Brookline MA
- Letter offer 2/16/01

Paine, Thomas. **THE AGE OF REASON.** Being an investigation of true and fabulous theology. By Thomas Paine. Citizen and cultivator of the United States of America ... Paris, printed for Barrois, senior, Bookseller ... Second year of the French Republic, one and indivisible (1794). 77pp. A fine copy bound in recent quarter morocco, marbled boards. \$2500.00

First edition (in English). Supposedly published in French in the spring of 1793; however, no copy is known with that date (this according to a note in the NUC). There was an edition in French published simultaneously with the present version in English. The dedication, "To my fellow citizens of the United States of America," is dated "Luxembourg, ... Jan. 27, O.S., 1794." Paine's attack on organized religion has remained perhaps the greatest single icon of free-thought in the modern world. In its time, boldly associating itself with the upheavals of the French Revolution, it created a profound disturbance in both England and America. "The greatest deist work of any age was Thomas Paine's The Age of Reason. Although Paine was an Englishman and this work was first published in France, both the man and the tract came to have a special place in American history. ... The Age of Reason created a huge controversy in the United States because many Americans were unwilling to accept Paine's assertion that a revolution in government ought to be accompanied by one in religion. Paine was falsely accused of atheism, an epithet that would later be used against his political ally, Jefferson ..." -- Liberty of Conscience and the Growth of Religious Diversity in Early America ... by Carla Pestana. Providence, R.I., 1986, item 79 (catalogue of an exhibition held at the John Carter Brown Library). In England, publication of the work led to the libel prosecution of Thomas Williams in 1797 (defended by Thomas Erskine) and later to the prosecution of Richard Carlile and his wife Jane Carlile. ESTC locates 8 copies in America, but this is rare on the market and it is not Thomas Paine Collection at Thetford. A fine copy of a seminal work.

Section 3. Pine. Age

(2)

systems of religion, and compulsive articles of faith, has not only precipitated my intention, but rendered a work of this kind exceedingly necessary; lest, in the general wreck of superstition, of false systems of government, and false theology, we lose sight of morality, of humanity, and of the theology that is true.

As several of my colleagues, and others of my fellow citizens of France, have given me the example of making their voluntary and individual profession of faith, I also will make mine; and I do this with all that sincerity and frankness with which the mind of man communicates with itself.

I believe in one God, and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life.

I believe the equality of man, and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavouring to make our fellow creatures happy.

But lest it should be supposed that I believe many other things in addition to these, I shall, in the progress of this work, declare the things I do not believe, and my reasons for not believing them.

I do not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish church, by the Roman church, by the Greek church, by the Turkish church, by the Protestant church, nor by any church that I know of. My own mind is my own church.

All national institutions of churches, whether Jewish, Christian, or Turkish, appear to me no other than human inventions set up to terrify and enslave mankind, and monopolize power and profit.

I do

(3)

I do not mean by this declaration to condemn those who believe otherwise. They have the same right to their belief as I have to mine. But it is necessary to the happiness of man, that he be mentally faithful to himself. Infidelity does not consist in believing, or in disbelieving; it consists in professing to believe what he does not believe.

It is impossible to calculate the moral mischief, if I may so express it, that mental lying has produced in society. When a man has so far corrupted and prostituted the chastity of his mind, as to subscribe his professional belief to things he does not believe, he has prepared himself for the commission of every other crime. He takes up the trade of a priest for the sake of gain, and in order to *garb* himself for that trade, he begins with a perjury. Can we conceive any thing more destructive to morality than this?

Soon after I had published the pamphlet, common-sense, in America, I saw the exceeding probability that a Revolution in the System of Government, would be followed by a revolution in the system of religion. The adulterous connection of church and state, wherever it had taken place, whether Jewish, Christian, or Turkish, had so effectually prohibited, by pains and penalties, every discussion upon established creeds, and upon first principles of religion, that until the system of government should be changed, those subjects could not be brought fairly and openly before the world: but that whenever this should be done, a revolution in the system of religion would follow. Human inventions and priest-craft would

B 2

be

Section 3 Poore Age

(4)

be detected; and man would return to the pure, unmixed, and undiluted belief of one God, and no more.

Every national church or religion has established itself by pretending some special mission from God communicated to certain individuals. The Jews have their Moses; the Christians their Jesus Christ, their apostles and saints; and the Turks their Mahomet; as if the way to God was not open to every man alike.

Each of those churches show certain books which they call *revelation*, or the word of God. The Jews say that their word of God was given by God to Moses face to face; the Christians say, that their word of God came by divine inspiration; and the Turks say, that their word of God (the Koran) was brought by an angel from heaven. Each of those churches accuses the other of unbelief; and, or my own part, I disbelieve them all.

As it is necessary to affix right ideas to words, I will, before I proceed further into the subject, offer some observations on the word *revelation*. Revelation, when applied to religion, means something communicated immediately from God to man.

No one will deny or dispute the power of the Almighty to make such a communication if he pleases. But admitting, for the sake of a case, that something has been revealed to a certain person, and not revealed to any other person, it is revelation to that person only. When he tells it to a second person, a second to a third, a third to a fourth, and so on, it ceases to be a revelation to all those persons. It is revelation to the first person only, and *heavily* to

every

(5)

every other; and consequently, they are not obliged to believe it.

It is a contradiction in terms and ideas to call any thing a revelation that comes to us at second hand, either verbally or in writing. Revelation is necessarily limited to the first communication. After this, it is only an account of something which that person says was a revelation made to him; and though he may find himself obliged to believe it, it cannot be incumbent upon me to believe it in the same manner, for it was not a revelation made to me, and I have only his word for it that it was made to him.

When Moses told the children of Israel that he received the two tables of the commandments from the hand of God, they were not obliged to believe him, because they had no other authority for it than his telling them so; and I have no other authority for it than some historian telling me so. The commandments carry no internal evidence of divinity with them. They contain some good moral precepts, such as any man qualified to be a law-giver or a legislator could produce himself, without having recourse to supernatural intervention.*

When I am told that the Koran was written in heaven, and brought to Mahomet by an angel, the account comes to

* This is, however, necessary to except the declaration which says, that God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children. It is contrary to every principle of moral justice.

Sect. 3 Paine

*400-
Thomas Paine*

A
L E T T E R
TO THE
Hon. THOMAS ERSKINE,
ON THE
PROSECUTION
OF
THOMAS WILLIAMS,
FOR
PUBLISHING THE AGE OF REASON,

BY THOMAS PAINE,

AUTHOR OF COMMON SENSE, RIGHTS OF MAN, &c. &c.,

WITH HIS

DISCOURSE AT THE SOCIETY

OF THE

THEOPHILANTHROPISTS,

PARIS

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

Sect 3 PAINE Letter

vi.

INTRODUCTION.

what sophistical, because while he admits the right of controversy, he reserves the right of calling the controversy abuse: and thus, lawyer-like, undoes by one word what he says in the other: I will, however, in this letter keep within the limits he prescribes; he will find here nothing about the Christian religion; he will find only a statement of a few cases, which shew the necessity of examining the books, handed to us from the Jews, in order to discover if we have not been imposed upon; together with some observations on the manner in which the trial of Williams has been conducted. If Mr. Erskine denies the right of examining those books, he had better profess himself at once an advocate for the establishment of an Inquisition, and the re-establishment of the Star-chamber.

THOMAS PAINE.

A LETTER

A.

LETTER, &c.

OF all the tyrannies that afflict mankind, tyranny in religion is the worst: Every other species of tyranny is limited to the world we live in; but this attempts a stride beyond the grave, and seeks to pursue us into eternity. It is there, and not here, it is to God, and not to man, it is to a heavenly, and not to an earthly tribunal, that we are to account for our belief; if then we believe falsely and dishonourably of the Creator, and that belief is forced upon us, as far as force can operate, by human laws, and human tribunals, on whom is the criminality of that belief to fall; on those who impose it, or on those on whom it is imposed?

A book seller of the name of Williams has been prosecuted in London on a charge of blasphemy, for publishing a book intitled *The Age of Reason*: Blasphemy is a word of vast sound, but of equivocal and almost of indefinite signification; unless we confine it to the simple idea of hurting or injuring the reputation of any one, which was its original meaning. As a word, it existed before Christianity existed, being a Greek word, or Greek anglicised, as all the etymological dictionaries will shew.

But behold how various and contradictory has been the signification and application of this equivocal word: Socrates, who lived more than four hundred years before the Christian era, was convicted of blasphemy for preaching against the belief of a plurality of gods; and for preaching the belief of one god, and was condemned to suffer death by poison; Jesus Christ was convicted of blasphemy under the Jewish law, and was crucified. Calling Mahomet an impostor would be blasphemy in Turkey; and denying the infallibility of the Pope and the Church would be blasphemy at Rome. What then is to be understood by this word blasphemy? We see that in the case of Socrates, truth was condemned as blasphemy. Are we sure that truth is not blasphemy in the present day? Woe, however, to those who make it so, whoever they may be.

A book called the Bible has been voted by men, and decreed by human laws, to be the word of God, and the disbelief of this is called blasphemy. But if the Bible be not the word of God,