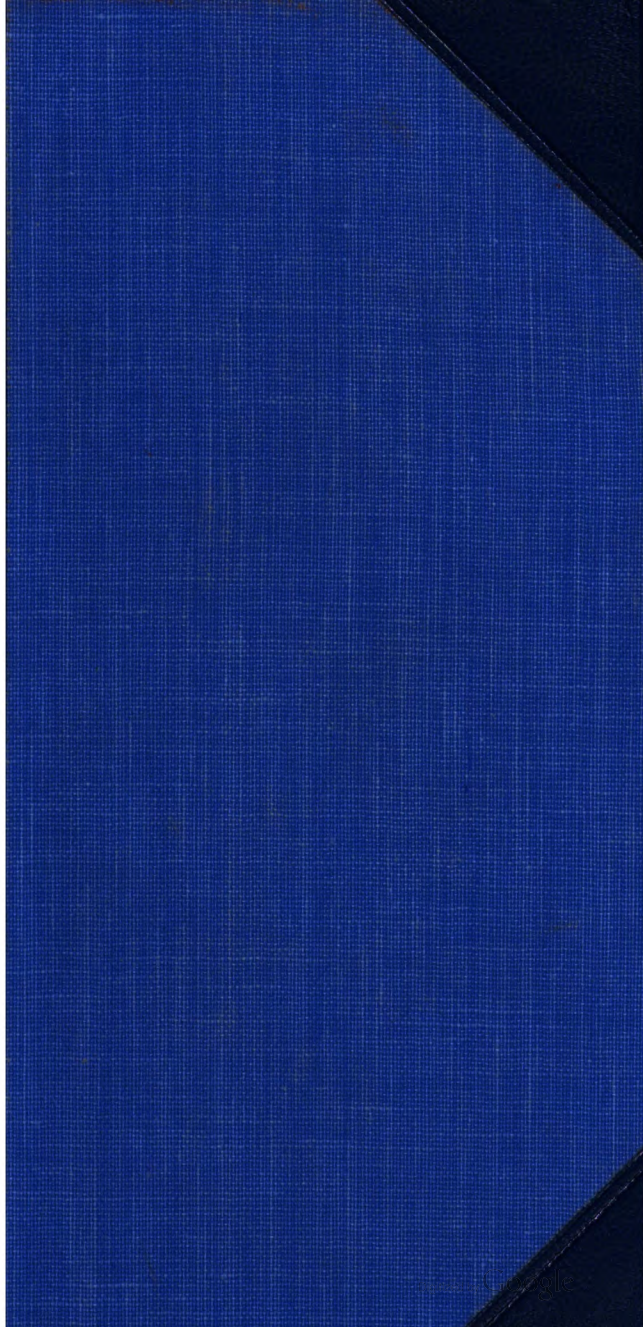
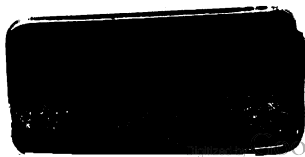

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52

8133 a 52

AMERICAN PATRIOTISM

Farther confronted with

REASON, SCRIPTURE,

AND THE

CONSTITUTION:

BEING

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

DANGEROUS POLITICKS

TAUGHT BY THE REV. MR. EVANS, M. A.,
AND THE REV. DR. PRICE.

WITH

A SCRIPTURAL PLEA

FOR THE REVOLTED COLONIES.

By J. FLETCHER, Vicar of Madeley, Salop.

“Skill in *Politicks* contributeth not a little to the understanding of divinity.—I learned more from Mr. Lawson than from any divine.—Especially his instigating me to the study of *Politicks*, in which he much lamented the ignorance of divines, did prove a singular benefit to me.”

The Rev. Mr. R. Baxter's Life, p. 107, 108.

S H R E W S B U R Y :

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P R E F A C E.

What distinguishes this Pamphlet from those which have been written on the same subject.—Nothing but SCRIPTURE and REASON can make the Colonies PROPERLY submit to Great Britain.

THE AUTHOR of these letters considers the American controversy chiefly in a *religious* light, which gives him an opportunity of making some remarks, that have probably escaped the attention of other writers on this subject. The duty of paying taxes to the protective power, is so strongly connected with christianity, that the Colonists must practically give up the scriptures, or submit to the reasonable demands of the British legislature. It is to be wished, that we had made use of the Bible, in this controversy. For, how much soever that venerable book is disregarded by some of our great men, the bulk of the Americans, and our religious patriots in England, dare not despise it. Mr. Evans, for one, speaking of the doctrine defended in these sheets, says, "Should you indeed prove it to be a SCRIPTURE-doctrine, &c. I am not afraid to promise you the most absolute submission to it as a christian. The authority of SCRIPTURE I revere above every other." The contested doctrine is here defended by scripture against Mr. Evans, and: if he stands to his "promise," we may hope soon to see him give the Colonists an example of due "submission."

When a great empire is divided against itself;—when a powerful mother-country, and a number of strong Colonies, draw up all their forces to encounter each other in the field;—when the two contending powers are subdivided into a warm majority and an heated minority, ready to begin a second intestine war;—and when every individual is concerned as an actor, sufferer, or spectator, in the bloody tragedy which is acted; it is natural for all lovers of their country to ask, How can the dreadful controversy be ended? Is it by the dictates of scripture and reason, or by the force of arms?

If the author is not mistaken, arms [tho' useful in their place] will never properly end the contest. Should we overpower the American Colonies, they will remain unconvinced. Far from being reconciled to their mother-country, they will still look upon her as an imperious step-mother, who adds tyranny to oppression, and murder to robbery. Nor will they submit to her any longer than the force, which has subdued them, shall continue to press and keep them down. And what shall we gain by this method, but perplexity, danger, and continual alarms? The condition of the Colonists will be as wretched as that of indignant prisoners, who are under a military guard: And our state will be as uncomfortable as that of a jailor, who watches over a numerous body of desperate captives, intent upon making their escape at the hazard of their lives. Under God, far more may then be expected, in the issue, from scripture and reason than from arms. Beasts and savages can be conquered by fire and sword; but it is the glory of men and christians to be subdued by argument and scripture. Force may indeed bend the body, but truth alone properly bends the mind. Whilst our armies prepare to engage the majority in America with the dreadful implements of war, it will not therefore be amiss to engage the ecclesiastical minority in England, with the harmless implements of controversy.

verſy. On ſome occaſions, one pen may do more execution than a battery of cannon: A page of well-applied ſcriptures may be of more extenſive uſe than a field of battle: And drops of ink may have a greater effect than ſtreams of blood, If a broad-ſide can ſink a man of war, and ſend a thouſand men to the bottom; a good argument can do far more: For it can ſink a prejudice, which fits out an hundred ſhips, and arms, it may be, fifty thouſand men. How inferior then is the ſpear of Mars, to *the ſword of the ſpirit*! And how juſtly did Solomon ſay, *A wiſe man is ſtrong*; eſpecially if he is *mighty in the ſcriptures, which can make us wiſe to ſalvation!*

The author dares not flatter himſelf to have the knowledge of logick and divinity, which are requiſite to do his ſubject the juſtice it deſerves: But having for ſome years oppoſed *false orthodoxy*, he may have acquired ſome little ſkill to oppoſe *false patriotiſm*: And having defended *evangelical obedience to God*, againſt the indirect attacks of ſome miniſters of the church of England; he humbly hopes, that he may ſtep forth a ſecond time, and defend alſo *conſtitutional obedience to THE KING*, againſt the indirect attacks of ſome miniſters, who diſſent from the eſtabliſhed church. Thoſe whom he encounters in theſe ſheets, are the leading, eccleſiaſtical patriots of the two greateſt cities in the kingdom; Mr. *Evans* being the champion of the minority in *Briſtol*, as Dr. *Price* is in *London*.

The capital arguments of theſe two gentlemen are here brought to a triple teſt, againſt which they cannot decently object. And, if the author's execution keeps pace with his deſign, their politicks are proved to be contrary to *reaſon, ſcripture* and the *conſtitution*. Should his proofs be found ſolid, and the public vouchſafe to regard them; the boiſterous patriotiſm, which has of late diſturbed our peace, will give place to ſober and genuine patriotiſm; the political miſtake which produces our di-
viſions,

visions, will be plucked up by the roots ; the minds of our uneasy fellow-subjects will be calm'd ; our bloody contest for supremacy will give place to a sweet debate between parental love, and filial duty : Parental love will overcome the Colonies with benign, lenient, and endearing offers of pardon and peace ; whilst filial duty will disarm the mother-country by kind, and grateful offers of manly submission.



CON-

C O N T E N T S.

L E T T E R I.

The Arguments, by which Mr. Evans tries to support his American politicks, are shewn to be contrary: (I) To sound reason: (II) To plain Scripture: And (III) To the British Constitution.

L E T T E R II.

A view of Mr. Evans's mistakes concerning: (I) The absoluteness of our property:—(II) The nature of slavery:—(III) The origin of Power:—And (IV) The proper cause of the war with America.—A note concerning the Anabaptists.

L E T T E R III.

Dr. PRICE's politicks are shewn to be as irrational, unscriptural, and unconstitutional as those of Mr. Evans.—His principal arguments are retorted:—The foundation of his capital error is sapped:—The legislative freedom of the members of the house of commons is asserted, in opposition to the legislative pretensions of plebeian levellers:—The partiality and inconsistency of the London-patriots is pointed out:—On Dr. Price's levelling principles there is an end of all subjection both on earth and in heaven:—A conditional reproof to Mr. Evans and Dr. Price.

L E T.

LETTER IV.

Observations on Dr. Price's awful argument taken from our immorality.--What great share our national prophaneness had in the ruin of the king, and in the subversion of the church and state in the days of Cromwell.--It becomes us to abviate the dangerous argument, by which thousands of rash religionists are seduced into wild patriotism.

LETTER V.

A scriptural plea for the revolted Colonies; with some hints concerning a christian method of bringing about a lasting reconciliation between them and the mother-country.--An extract of a letter from Pennsylvania, descriptive of American patriotism:—And a remark upon a precipitate judgment of the Monthly Reviewers.



L E T.

AMERICAN PATRIOTISM, &c.

TO THE REV. MR. EVANS.

L E T T E R I.

REV. SIR,

THE interests of truth are often as much promoted, by the inconclusiveness of the arguments with which she is attacked, as by the force of the reasons with which she is defended. If my *Vindication* of the Calm Address has thrown some light upon the American controversy, your *Reply*, Sir, in the issue, may possibly throw much more. Supposing that plain truth can be compared to a good steel; and keen error, to a sharp flint; I venture to say, that the more any one strikes the steel with such a flint, the more will the fragments of the broken stone shew the superior solidity of the impugned metal; and the more easily will sparks be collected to light the bright candle of truth. The public will judge which arguments, yours or mine, will serve the cause of truth, by flying to pieces in the controversial collision.

Desirous to share the blessings which our pacific Lord promises to the *meek* and the *peace-makers*; I shall, in these sheets, neither throw oil upon the flame of the American revolt, nor blow up the coals of indignation, which glow in the breasts of our insulted Governors. Whatever my performance and success may be, moderation and reconciling

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ciling

cing truth are my aim : I can assure you, Sir, that my utmost ambition is to draw the line between *unruly patriotism*, and *servile subjection*, in such a manner as to give you, and our readers, an equal detestation of both these unconstitutional extremes.

After throwing away all your first letter upon an useless † question, and beginning the second with an idle ‡ report, you step into the tribunal of the Review-

† This useless question is, Whether Mr. Wesley had, or had not, forgotten the title of I know not what book, which he had recommended to some of his friends, and which, thro' forgetfulness, he asserted that he had never seen ; till upon perusing the book, he discovered and owned his mistake. Mr. Evans diverts the reader's mind from the true question, by setting before him eight letters, which passed between Mr. W. and others, about that insignificant particular. For my part I admit the public acknowledgment which Mr. W. has made of his forgetfulness, rather than Mr. Evans's insinuation, that he is not " an honest man ;" and I do it (1) Because it is best to be on the safer side, which is that of charity : (2) Because it is highly improbable that a wise man, except in case of forgetfulness, would deny a fact, which a number of proper witnesses can prove, and are inclined to prove against him : And (3) Because experience constrains me to sympathize with those, whose memory is as treacherous as my own. On Sunday evening, after preaching three times, reading prayers, and being all day in a croud, or hurrying from place to place, my mental powers are so incapacitated to do their office, that, far from being able to recollect the title of a book, which I have seen some months before ; I frequently cannot, after repeated endeavours, remember one of the texts, on which I have preached that very day. Now Mr. W. lives all the year round in the hurry and croud, in which I am on my busy Sundays ; and he is between 70 and 80 years of age ; a time of life this, when even the men, who enjoy uninterrupted rest, find that their memory naturally fails. If Mr. Evans considers this, he will not be surprized that his first letter has not had its intended effect upon me.

‡ The idle report I mean is, that my Vindication " has received many additions and corrections from the pen of a celebrated nobleman." This is a mistake. I find indeed some errors of the press, which injure the sense of my book ; but I do not discover one addition in it, except that of *two* words ; and if Mr. Evans will be pleased to inspect my manuscript, he will see that the few little negative emendations in it, were made by Mr. Wesley's own pen.

Reviewers, and condemn my Vindication before you have refuted one of my arguments. As if you were both judge and jury, without producing one true witness, page 24, you authoritatively say, “ Instead of argument, I meet with nothing but “ declamation ; instead of precision, artful colour- “ ing ; instead of proof, presumption ; instead of “ consistency, contradiction ; instead of reasoning, “ a string of sophistries.”

To support this precipitate sentence, you represent me as saying things which I never said. Thus, page 25, you write : “ One while you tell us that “ our constitution guards our properties, &c. against “ the tyranny of unjust, arbitrary, or cruel mo- “ narchs ; then *you preach up with great solemnity,* “ &c. that their subjects have no more right to re- “ sist, than children or scholars have a right to take “ away paternal or magisterial authority.” I desire, Sir, you would inform me where I advance such a doctrine. Far from “ *preaching it up with “ great solemnity,*” I abhor and detest it. If a Nebuchadnezzar commanded me to worship his golden image, I would (God being my helper) *resist* him as resolutely as did Shadrach. And suppose the king and parliament were to lay a tax upon me, in order to raise money for the purchasing of poison, wherewith to destroy my fellow subjects, I would *resist* them, and absolutely refuse to pay such a tax.

When you have made my doctrine *odious* by lending me principles which I never advanced, or drawing consequences which have not the least connexion with my sentiments ; you prejudice the public against my book, by insinuating, that I *contradict* myself, where it is plain I do not. Thus you say, p. 26, “ In one letter you tell us, *The “ Colonists are on a level with Britons in general ;* “ in another, that *They were never on a level with “ England.*” This last sentence I spake of the *Colonies* as dependent legislatures, and not of the *Colonists* : and both sentences in their place are per-

fectly consistent. For, altho' not one of the COLONIES was ever on a level with England (an INDEPENDENT KINGDOM) with respect to *supreme dominion*; yet all the COLONISTS are on a level with Britons in general, with respect to several particulars enumerated just before, as appears by the whole argument, which [Vind. p. 23] runs thus: 'The mother-country and the parliament-house are as open to them [the Colonists] as to any free-born Englishman: they may purchase freeholds, they may be made burgessees of corporate towns, they may be chosen members of the house of commons, and some of them, if I mistake not, sit already there. The COLONISTS are then on a level, not only with [absent] Britons in general, but with all our members of parliament who ARE ABROAD.' Had you, Sir, quoted my words in this manner, your readers would have seen, that there is something in my Letters besides *contradiction* and *sophistry*; but it is far easier to shuffle the cards, than to win the game.

Permit me, Sir, to produce another instance of your polemical skill: you say, p. 24, "Your reason ag upon the quotation I made from the very learned Judge Blackstone is equally conclusive, &c. In a free state (says Judge Blackstone) every man who is supposed a *free agent*, ought to be in some measure his own governor; and therefore a branch, at least, of the legislative power should reside in *the whole body of the people*." You reply, — "Your scheme drives at putting the legislative power in every body's hands." No, Sir, this is not my reply, but only a just inference which I naturally drew from my solid answer. My reply, Vind. p. 16, runs thus: 'But who are *the whole body of the people*? According to Judge Blackstone, every *free agent*. Then the argument proves too much; for, are not *women* free-agents? 'Yea, and *poor* as well as rich men.' This, and this only I advanced as a *reply* to Judge Blackstone's argument. I cannot therefore help being surprized

surprized at your mistake. You keep my real answer to your argument out of sight: You render me ridiculous by producing as *my answer*, what is NOT my answer at all; and, before you conclude, you make me amends for this piece of patriotic liberty, by calling me "*one of the most unmeaning and unfair controvertists.*" The reader's patience would fail, were I minutely to describe the logical stratagems of this sort, by which you support your cause, which, I confess, stands in need of all manner of props.

However, in your second letter, you come to THE QUESTION, which is, Whether the Colonists, as good men, good christians, and good subjects, are bound to pay moderate, proportionable taxes, for the benefit of the whole British empire; when such taxes are legally laid upon them by the supreme protective power, that is, by the three branches of the British legislature.

In my *Vindication of the Calm Address*, I have produced the arguments which induce me to believe, that the doctrine of such taxation is *rational, scriptural, and constitutional*: And in your *Reply* you attempt to prove, that it is contrary to *reason, scripture, and the constitution*. Let us see how your attempt is carried on, and,

FIRST, how you disprove the REASONABLENESS of the taxation I contend for.

Page 27, You say, that you do not deny "*the necessity and propriety of subjects paying taxes.*" But in not denying this, Sir, do you not indirectly give up the point? Do you not grant, that, as the Colonists are not protected by the king alone, but by the whole legislative power of Great Britain, they are not under the jurisdiction of the king-alone, but of *all* the British legislature. Now if they are not the *subjects* of the king, as unconnected with the British parliament; but as consti-

tutionally connected with that high court, which supplies him with proper subsidies to protect his American dominions; it is evident, that they owe taxes to the king and the British parliament; for you yourself acknowledge "*the necessity of SUBJECTS paying taxes*" to the supreme power which protects them. But which tax have they, of late, consented to pay? Has it been a tax upon tea, or upon stamp paper?

Should you reply, that they have offered to pay taxes to the king and their provincial assemblies, I reply, that this is not paying capital tribute, to whom capital tribute is due: For capital tribute is due to the capital protective power; and the capital power that protects the Colonists, is not the king and the regency of Hanover, or the king and the Irish parliament, much less the king and a provincial assembly; but the king and the *British parliament*. Had the Americans got their wealth under the protection of the Irish; had Hanoverian fleets kept off the Spanish ships from the American coasts; or had squadrons of American men of war beat off the French fleets; I would not hesitate a moment to affirm, that the Colonists ought to pay proportionable taxes to the king and the *Irish parliament*; to the elector and regency of Hanover; or to the king of British America and the American assemblies. But, when all this has been done for the Colonists by the king and the *British parliament*, I confess to you, Sir, that [setting aside the consideration of the love and duty, which colonies owe to their mother-country] I cannot see what law of gratitude, equity, and justice the Colonists can plead, to refuse paying the king and the *British parliament* moderate and proportionable taxes.

Page 36, You indirectly appeal to the case of "the patriots of Charles's days," who refused to pay the tax called *ship-money*: But their cause was far better than that of the Americans. The *ship-money* was demanded by the king *alone*; but the king

king *alone* is not the supreme legislative power that protects the subjects of Great-Britain, because he can make no laws, and of consequence raise no taxes, without the concurrence of the parliament. The patriots of the last century were not then absolutely bound, either by the law of God, or the law of the land, to pay a tax, which had not the sanction of the legislative power; a money-bill passed by the king *alone*, being no law at all according to the British constitution. But a proportionable money-bill; as the stamp-act,—a bill passed by the complete legislative power of Great Britain, is every way binding in all the dominions of Great-Britain. Whoever resists *such* a law, breaks off with the legislative power, affects independence, and commences a petty sovereign.

I have said that a rightful “sovereign has a right to live by his noble business;” and because I have observed, that in England the sovereign [i. e. the legislative, and protective power] is the king and his parliament, you suppose I have poured shame upon the cause I defend. “So, &c. [say you page 25] “a member of parliament, instead of vacating his seat, ought to have a place provided for him, upon his becoming a member of the legislature.” No, Sir; your inference has no connexion with my doctrine. If you had said that every member of parliament, while he attends the parliament, has a right to a public maintenance suitable to his share in the legislature; you would have said what I mean, and what no unprejudiced person will deny. If the king and parliament ordered that all the attending members shall be honourably entertained during the session, at the expence of the public; and that a proper sum shall be annually raised to discharge this expence; what Briton would be so niggardly, ungrateful, and unjust, as to find fault with such a statute? Was our Lord mistaken when he said, *The labourer is worthy of his hire*? If the speaker, who is the principal member of the house of Commons, enjoys,

joys, as speaker, an income of some thousand pounds a year, does he not "live by his business?" Might not all the other members do the same in due proportion? When they exempt themselves and their friends, from paying the tax which we call *postage*, do they not shew that the legislature have pecuniary rights which other Britons have not? And if their generosity prevents their using those self-evident rights, should we not extol their disinterestedness, rather than pour contempt upon their reasonable and constitutional prerogative?

Unable to invalidate my doctrine by any just argument, you have recourse to a polemical stratagem, which will do your cause no credit. To render the politicks I defend odious to your readers, you insinuate, that upon my principles, the sovereign "is entitled to just what he pleases, and may take it with, or without consent, whenever he thinks proper." This doctrine, which you impute to me, p. 27, has no more connexion with my system, than darkness with the rising sun. I abhor it as well as you, Sir; being fully persuaded, that legislative power is to be used for good, and not for evil; for protection, and not for tyranny. If the king and parliament had laid disproportionate and unreasonable taxes upon our American fellow-subjects, I would no more have taken the pen in defence of such taxation, than I would take it in vindication of robbery.

Nor do my appeals to the propriety of giving the lawyers and physicians whom we employ, the proper fees they demand of us, prove that I hold the doctrine of despotism; for, as I should be a *knave* if I refused to give a gentleman of the faculty a reasonable fee for his attendance; so should I be a *fool* if I supposed, that he "is entitled to just what he pleases." I only assert, that as a good man will find a medium between *dishonesty* and *folly*, with respect to the fees due to his physician and lawyer; so a candid Colonist will find a middle way between the injustice of the patriots, who

who refuse moderate taxes to the legislative power that protects them ; and between the slavish tameness of the poltrons, who suffer a rapacious tyrant to grind their faces and suck their blood. Nevertheless, I dare affirm, that as we trust to a certain degree a lawyer's conscience, an apothecary's discretion, and a physician's candor, with respect to their bills and fees ; we may also trust to a certain degree, the discretion of our governors with respect to their money-bills and taxes. And therefore nothing can be more contrary to good manners, loyalty, reason, and conscience, than to represent the sovereign who protects the Colonists as a *robber* and a *tyrant*, for laying a MODERATE tax upon them, in order to discharge the national debt, and the daily expences of the government.

You indeed insinuate that the case is not parallel, because we employ our physicians and lawyers "*voluntarily*." But have not the Colonists "*voluntarily*" reaped for an hundred years the benefit of protection from the king and parliament? And, supposing they can now support themselves without British protection ; yet, are they not guilty of injustice if they *now* refuse to pay proportionable taxes? What would you think of my honesty, if the following case were matter of fact? I "*voluntarily*" employ a lawyer for ten years to recover an estate. When I have gained my ends, he demands fees, which, on account of my poverty, he forbore doing before. I storm on the occasion ; I run up and down screaming robbery ! tyranny ! And at last I turn my back upon him with such a speech as this ; Sir, I can do without you *now* ; and as I am not willing to employ you any more, you have no right to demand fees of me, as your DUE. I am a free man, and you shall not treat me as an *abject slave*, by insisting on fees with or *without* my consent." If I put off my industrious lawyer with this American plea, would not your moral feelings brand me as a man devoid of conscience and honour ?

I grant

I grant however, that the case between the taxes of the sovereign, and the fees of a lawyer, is not exactly similar: But if the parallel fails, it is in a point which does your cause no service. For altho' I am at perfect liberty to dismiss my honest lawyer, as soon as I please, when I have paid him his reasonable fees; I cannot cast off the authority of my rightful sovereign as soon as I please, when I have paid his reasonable taxes; and I prove it by the following reasons:—(1) I may possibly live fifty years without going to law, but I cannot safely live one day in society without being protected:—(2) As an *unconnected* individual, I may neglect the care of my property as I please; and if a man unjustly demands my cloak, I may let him have my coat also: But, as a man joined with others in civil society, I am a debtor to all the society with which I am connected: I must defend my property as a part of the common stock; and, of consequence, I must pay taxes, and help to support the sovereign, who protects and guards the whole society. Hence it is, that those who live in the centre of the kingdom, pay as much towards the fleet, as those that live on the sea coast; tho' they are not half so much exposed to the depredations of invaders and pirates.—(3) The laws of God and of the land bind me to obey *my* rightful sovereign rather than *another* king, in all things which are just and reasonable; But none of these laws bind me to employ one lawyer rather than another, under the fearful penalties due to *rebellion* and *high treason*. If the American patriots considered this, would they not blush to insinuate, that we may change our sovereigns as we do our tradesmen; and that, as the Colonists no longer demand the protection of Great Britain, the British legislature has no longer any right to demand taxes of them? Who could sufficiently wonder at the insolence and injustice of the following plea, which, I suppose, is urged by Yorkshire non-voters. “Neither we, nor our county, are represented in parliament according to our wishes. We are not afraid
of

of an invasion. Yorkshire is large and populous. We can protect ourselves : And therefore we refuse to pay any thing towards the protection of the British dominions. *What we have is ABSOLUTELY our own* : Nor will we be robbed by any body ; no not by the legislature. For, as we are desirous, that the sovereign would keep his protection to himself ; so are we determined to keep our money to ourselves." I question, Sir, if prejudiced as you are in favour of the American patriots, you would not be one of the first, to exclaim against such Yorkshire patriots.

Nor do you weaken my argument taken from the proper fees due to lawyers, by intimating, that such fees are "LAWFUL, ACCUSTOMED fees," and that "In England the sovereign has no power to recover a debt even for himself, but according to LAW." Has it not been in all ages, and in all parts of the world, the "*custom*" of civilized nations to pay taxes to the protective power they are under ? Is it not the "*custom*" of all just sovereigns, to lay those taxes according to the wants and emergencies of the government ? When such taxes are properly laid by the supreme power which makes and executes every law, are they not "*lawful* ?" Is it not "*according to law*," that the king and parliament laid a little tax upon our American fellow-subjects ? And are there no statutes enjoining, that the goods of perverse subjects, who refuse to pay lawful and reasonable taxes, shall be distrained ; and that, if such subjects oppose the distraint, they shall be farther proceeded against according to law ; especially if instead of paying taxes, they break into ships, and tyrannically destroy the property of their fellow-subjects ?

If these observations overthrow your reply to the *rational* arguments, by which I have supported the doctrine of taxation laid down in the Calm Address ; I may consider,

SECONDLY, how you answer my SCRIPTURAL arguments, on which, as a *Christian*, I lay the *greatest* stress.

Page

Page 52, you say, "The golden rule of scripture both for governors and governed, is this: AS YE WOULD *that men should do unto you*, SO YE EVEN SO *unto them*. Now I presume the good people of England *would not* be willing that the Americans, in their assemblies, should tax *English property* here: And why should we therefore desire, in our parliament, to tax *American property* there?"

I reply: The case is not similar. The Americans are *protected*, and the British legislature is the *protecting* power. The protected owe taxes to their protectors, and not the protectors to the protected. You apply "the golden rule of the scripture" to the case in hand, as unfortunately as I should do; if I said, that this rule intitles my servant to command me, because I have a right to command him; and that I may *justly* demand a fee of the physician who attends me, because he *justly* demands a fee of me for his attendance. Nay, if your argument is just, it proves that the king is bound to pay *you* taxes. You may go to his majesty, and address him thus, according to your patriotic doctrine; O king, *the golden rule of scripture, both for governors and governed*, obliges thee to do to *me*, as thou *wouldst* that I *should* do to *thee*. Now, thou wouldst that I should pay *thee* taxes, and therefore, drop thy British partiality, commence an American patriot, and confess that thou shouldst pay *me* taxes.

If the objection, which you draw from our Lord's *golden rule*, is trifling; may not that which you raise from his blessed example, be affirmed to be deplorable? Our reformers say, in their *homily against wilful rebellion*, Part ii, 'NO EXAMPLE ought to be of more force with us christians, than the example of Christ our master, who, tho' he were the Son of God, yet did always behave himself most reverently to such men as were in authority in the world in his time. He behaved not himself *rebellionally*; but openly did teach the Jews to pay tribute to the Roman emperor, tho' a foreign reign

‘ reign and a pagan prince : Yea, himself, with his apostles paid tribute unto him.’ How different is your doctrine from that of those loyal champions of truth ! That very example of our Lord’s *loyalty*, which they so highly extol, you [indirectly] represent as an instance of *weakness*. “ *How could he*” [say you, p. 54] “ *avoid paying the tribute demanded of him ?*” So, it seems that our Lord paid tribute because he could not *avoid* paying it ! He did it thro’ *necessity* ! He broke his own commandments delivered by St. Peter and St. Paul ! *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man FOR THE LORD’S SAKE ;—Ye must be subject not only for wrath, but also for CONSCIENCE SAKE.* Fear of wrath, and human prudence, were the slavish motives of his loyal action ! Nay, you intimate, p. 55, that he thought it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar, only in the same sense in which it is “ *lawful to give a highwayman our money,*” and p. 54, you roundly assert, that “ *Such a*” [forced] “ *submission as this, is all the submission our Lord’s EXAMPLE can be supposed in the least to countenance.*”

If you could prove this assertion, Sir, the brightness of our Lord’s moral character would suffer a total eclipse. For, if “ *what a man has is absolutely his own ;*” and if the Roman emperor had not, as protector of the Jews, a reasonable claim to their tribute-money, did not our Lord prevaricate, and was not an untruth found in his mouth, when he said to the Jews, who shewed him the tribute-money, *Render therefore to Cæsar the things which ARE Cæsar’s ?* In what sense could he say, that this money WAS CÆSAR’S, if Cæsar had no more right to it than an highwayman ? And with what moral propriety could he bid the Jews to *RENDER* such money to Cæsar, as a part of Cæsar’s *PROPERTY ?*

This is not all ; The manner, in which our Lord enforced paying taxes to Tiberius, shews that he rested this branch of our duty to our neighbour, upon the very same authority, on which

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he rested our obedience to God himself. To be convinced of it, we need only consider his evangelical charge, *Render therefore to CÆSAR, the things which ARE CÆSAR'S; and to GOD, the things which ARE GOD'S.* The manner in which the two parts of this injunction are connected, demonstrates, that we must pay taxes to the civil power by which we are protected, as conscientiously as we pay adoration to the divine power by which we exist. But, according to your patriotic doctrine, our Lord's solemn precept degenerates into a charge as absurd and profane as the following: "Your money is *absolutely* your own; render it therefore to Cæsar, or to an highwayman, for it is his if he demands it: Nor forget in like manner, to render your all to God; for it is his, as your money is an highwayman's." What monstrous doctrines, does your patriotism couple together! *Geminantur tigribus igni!* And how hard is it to do justice to scripture, when we directly or indirectly part these inseparable precepts, *Fear God and honour the king*, i. e. the protective power: *Honour him with a reasonable part of thy substance*, as well as by thy respectful behaviour!

Let us see if you are more successful in your attempt to overthrow what you call my "*grand plea from scripture, taken from Rom. xiii.*" St. Paul there proves by various reasons, that taxes are due to the higher powers that protect us. Such powers are ordained of God:—Resisting them, when they lay reasonable taxes upon us, is *resisting the ordinance of God*;—*Those who resist*, in such a case, *shall receive to themselves damnation*:—*They are God's ministers to us FOR GOOD*; their grand business being to protect us in the way of virtue, and to curb or punish us in the way of vice:—and *they attend continually to this very thing*, i. e. to our protection when we do well, and to our punishment when we break the laws. *RENDER therefore to all their DUES, tribute to whom tribute is DUE, &c.*

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To set aside the force of this nervous comment of St. Paul upon the words of our Lord, *RENDER unto Cæsar, &c.* you tell us p. 63, that "*the apostle does not take upon him in the least, to determine TO WHOM tribute was due.*" But are you not mistaken, Sir? Does he not explicitly say *to whom*, when he mentions *the higher powers* that protect us? Now if the king and the British parliament are *the higher powers*, that have hitherto protected the Colonies; does not the apostle decide our controversy, as much as if he said, Let the American Colonies pay taxes to the king and parliament, who are *the higher powers* that have *continually attended* to the protection of the Colonists when they did well, and now attend to the punishing of them, because they do ill?

But, you add also, "*The apostle does not take upon him to determine what QUANTUM of tribute might be due.*" True: for, he did not *attend continually* to the dangers of the state, and to the best means of averting them. He minded his own business, instead of reflecting upon the higher powers in the execution of theirs. He knew no more than you, and I, what expence those powers might be at, to protect him and all his fellow subjects; tho' he could easily conceive, that such expence was prodigious, since *the chief captain Lyfias* employed once *an army to rescue him* from the rage of mobbing religionists; and protected him on another occasion, by granting him a guard of 200 soldiers, 70 horsemen, and 200 spearmen: Acts xxiii. 23, 27. Now as Paul did not know, but myriads of his fellow-subjects stood in need of such a guard as well as himself, and as he did not claim a place in the legislature *jure divino*, he did not pretend to determine the *quantum* of tribute necessary to maintain a sufficient, protecting force, all over the Roman empire. But what has this to do with the question? Could not Paul make christians understand that they must pay rent to their landlords, and taxes to the higher powers, without "*deter-*

“ *mining the quantum* ” of such rents and taxes? Must not a divine, who makes so frivolous an objection, be at a strange loss for arguments?

But you go on: p. 63, “ The apostle only enjoins the conscientious payment of what was due, to those to whom it was due, according to the *nature of the government under which they lived.* ” True, Sir, if by the *nature of the government under which we live*, you mean the reasonable demands of the legislative power which protects us. But, if you mean by this phrase, as your scheme requires, that we are to pay taxes only according to the nice speculations of men, who cry up the constitution one hour, and decry it the next, if it does not suit their chimerical notions of equal representation, and their injudicious ideas of liberty; your doctrine is subversive of the apostle’s loyal precept, opens the door to all manner of sedition, and leaves Christians at an utter uncertainty with respect to a capital branch of morality, the payment of taxes: And I prove my assertion by the following observations.

(1) The Jews were divided among themselves, with respect to the *nature of the government they were under*. While some of them said, We are under the Roman government; *We will have no king but Cæsar*; the patriots said, “ *We never were in bondage to any man*; we are freemen; we are under the Mosaic constitution; we owe no taxes to Cæsar. To pay taxes to an heathen prince is to give up the excellent constitution which our ancestors have transmitted to us.” Now, in full opposition to these plausible notions, our Lord bid the Jews pay taxes to Cæsar, according to the Roman government; another government this, than that which the patriots said they were under.

(2) When Joseph and the virgin Mary went to Bethlehem, to be taxed according to the decree of *Cæsar Augustus*; the ablest politicians were at a loss to say what was precisely the *nature of the Roman government*, which the Jews and most other nations were then under; so many were the changes which

which it had undergone. At first it was a monarchy, by and by a republic headed by consuls, and by and by a republic headed by a dictator. One time the supreme power had centered in a decemvirate; at an other time a triumvirate had held the reins of administration. At that juncture the government wore the form of a monarchy again; but there was yet a considerable minority, who held the high, republican principles of Cato, Brutus, and Cassius, the three great patriots of the day. This minority considered Cæsar Augustus as a tyrant, and a robber, to whom no taxes were due; asserting that the government, which the Romans were under, was entirely republican. Now, what must subjects do in such a case? Must they refuse to pay taxes to the power that actually protects them, till the minority and the majority are perfectly agreed concerning "*the nature of the government under which they live?*" Or must they lose their time in trying to decide nice, political questions, which puzzle the men who have studied civil law all their life?

(3) As it was next to impossible, to determine with exactness, what was the nature of the *Roman* government; so it requires more wisdom than millions of people in the British empire are masters of, *precisely* to determine the nature of the *British* government. The strong Whigs are for the republican government which obtained in the days of Cromwell and the rump. The strong Tories contend for the high, monarchical government, which prevailed in the days of king James II. You and I, Sir, are for the government which has obtained since the revolution. Nor are you satisfied even with this; for you speak of *an avowed defect in the present constitution*: You are for an equal representation of the people, that is, for an utter impossibility: And p. 98, you inform us, "That till the eighth year of Henry the VI, all the residents in a county were permitted to elect representatives, without exception;" insinuating that now "*the presentation here in England is imperfect,*" because

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that practice is disused. Now, Sir, if this kind of representation is essential to *the nature of the government we live under*; and if we are not bound to pay taxes, which are not laid according to that ancient form of the constitution; it is clear that no man in Great Britain is bound to pay any tax at all: For no tax is laid according to your levelling scheme of representation, and according to *the nature of the government* which obtained before Henry VI. Hence it appears, that, as the Pope's bulls formerly loosed Britons from the oaths of fidelity, which they had taken to their sovereign, and by this means raised and fomented rebellions: So your political refinements loose not only the Colonies, but Great Britain also, from the obligation of paying taxes to the king and parliament. So true it is, that overdoing is the way of undoing; and that *your politicks* tend to kindle the flame of rebellion in England, and to keep it up in America. I say *your politicks*, because candor obliges me to do justice to your good meaning, and to make a friendly distinction between your person and your opinions.

(4) Should you say, that, tho' it cannot be expected that every subject shall study the *nature* of all the wheels and springs, which compose that piece of political mechanism, we call *The constitution*; yet every subject may chuse his own representative, whose business is to decide what taxes must be paid according to the constitution; I reply, that in most Christian governments, the people are not allowed to chuse any representatives, and therefore in such states every individual must, upon your plan, revolt or *personally* study politics, that he may know how to pay taxes according to the *nature* of the constitution.

Things, I grant, are upon another footing in England: But this does not remove the difficulty: For [not to mention, that perhaps nineteen subjects in England out of twenty, cannot chuse representatives] the members of parliament are as much divided among themselves, as the Romans were in
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the days of Augustus, and the Jews in the days of Tiberius. The minority declare that the Colonists are taxed *against the nature* of the constitution; whilst the majority assert, that they are *constitutionally* taxed. Thus your patriotic comment absolutely unnerves St. Paul's doctrine of taxation, and leaves christians in the greatest uncertainty, with respect to the payment of taxes, which are the sinews of government. For, if that payment be suspended on our *notions* of the nature of the government we are under, it might as well be suspended on the *shape* of the clouds, and the *colour* of a pigeon's neck.

Should you reply, that when our representatives do not agree touching the nature of the government we live under, we must follow the majority; I answer, that the majority has decided the question: But what care some patriots for the majority? Does not Americanus openly oppose their decisions, and wishfully quote the misapply'd saying, "*Dulce pro patriâ mori*;" just as if *mori pro pertinaciâ*, was the same thing as *pro patriâ mori*? O Sir, if the former is sweet, the latter is the quintessence of bitterness; for the scripture declares, that wilful rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and that stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry.

We have seen by what arguments you have endeavoured to prove, that the doctrine of taxation espoused by the sovereign is *irrational*, and *unscriptural*: Let us see,

THIRDLY, How you attempt to prove that it is UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

Permit me, Sir, to lay this doctrine before you with some capital improvements. The king and parliament believe, that the constitution allows of *indirect* representation, and that among the several sorts of *indirect* representation, some are *less* and others *more* indirect. This sentiment is founded on

on the following FACTS. (1) Tho' the constitution allows a woman, for instance Queen Elizabeth or Queen Ann, to be the head of the legislative power, yet no woman-subject can have any share in the legislature; but all women are indirectly represented by the men; be their rank never so high, and their property never so considerable.— (2) According to the constitution, all the voters, who actually chuse parliament-men, indirectly represent all the voters who do not, or cannot attend the election; whether the absent voters be at home or abroad, in jails or on sick-beds.— (3) Tho' the number of the non-voters exceeds ten or twenty times the number of the voters; yet, according to the constitution, the voters indirectly represent the countless body of the non-voters, whether such non-voters be poor men of age, or rich men under age.— (4) The constitution allows that men of a certain profession shall be particularly represented, when men of other honourable professions are not. Thus the clergy are *particularly* represented, when the rich body of our merchants, the gentlemen of the law, those of the fleet, those of the army, and those of the faculty, are not allowed a *particular* representation. This constitutional partiality does not stop here: The *whole order* of bishops is admitted into the house of *lords*; but not one seat in the house of commons, is appropriated to the order of the priests. Such is the latitude which the constitution allows herself, when she decides concerning the right of representation!— (5) According to the same prerogative, she orders that the little county of Rutlandshire, shall send as many members as the large county of Yorkshire; so that if Yorkshire is ten times more populous than Rutlandshire, the representation of a Yorkshire freeholder is by ten degrees weaker or *less direct*, than the representation of a Rutlandshire freeholder. And, suppose the city of Bristol contains a thousand times more freemen, than the decay'd borough of old Sarum, the constitution allows,

allows, that a burges of old Sarum shall be a thousand times *more directly*, or *particularly* represented, than a freeman of Bristol.—(6) On the same plan, some flourishing and populous towns are not allowed to send any representative, when some poor and deserted Cornish or Welch boroughs, send as many members as some of the greatest cities in the kingdom.—(7) The constitution allows, that the present members shall represent all those who are absent; that the majority of the present members, shall indirectly represent the minority; and that the parliament shall determine the affairs of all the British settlements in Europe, Asia, Africa, and in the West Indies; altho' the Colonists settled in those parts have no direct representatives in parliament: I say *no direct representatives*, because the constitution supposes, that as the men *indirectly* represent all the women; the burgeses, all that are not burgeses; and the freeholders, all that have no freehold; and as the majority in parliament *indirectly* represents the minority, and the members who are in the house *indirectly* represent those who are absent; so the three branches of the legislature, indirectly represent all the political body which is called the British empire, just as the head, the heart, and the breast indirectly represent all the natural body; whether the hands and feet touch each other, or whether they are widely extended towards the east and the west.—(8) The prosperity of the mother-country being as closely connected with the prosperity of the Colonies, as the welfare of parents is connected with that of their children, Great Britain has as rational and natural a right to represent the Colonies, as parents have to represent their children; present burgeses, those that are absent; and voting freeholders, those that have no vote.—Lastly, matter of fact demonstrates, that the American Colonies are *indirectly* represented in parliament, and matter of fact bears down ten thousand sophisms. I have already made appear, that the constitution allows
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of various degrees of indirect representation, some proximate, and others more remote. And, that the Colonists are represented in one of the degrees which the constitution allows, appears by the following remark: As a lawyer, who pleads your cause in a court of judicature, is indirectly your representative, whether you chose him or not: So the members who plead the cause of the Colonists in the high court of Parliament, shew themselves the indirect representatives of the Colonists, whether the Colonists chose them or not. And therefore, to deny that the Provincials are indirectly represented in parliament, is as bold an imposition upon the good sense of the public, as to deny that the minority in both houses of parliament opposes the claims of Great Britain and votes for the Colonies: For reason, conscience, and the constitution agree to decide, that if the Colonists are not indirectly represented in parliament, the members who plead their cause, have no more right to vote for them, than you and I have. My demonstration is short: A considerable number of parliament-men vote in both houses, that parliamentary taxation is unjust with respect to the Colonies; all the members have a right to vote in their favour, and would do it if their conscience permitted; and therefore the Colonists are incontestably, tho' indirectly, represented in parliament. Nor can one of the members, who compose the minority, *give his vote for the Americans*, without confuting himself, if he denies that they are *indirectly* represented in the parliament: And if they are indirectly represented in the parliament they may be CONSTITUTIONALLY taxed BY THE PARLIAMENT. On this ground, which is firm as *matter of fact*, the majority are ready to stand the minority and you, in all the courts of reason, which are or can be erected in Great Britain or America.

Consider we now what you object to this *constitutional* doctrine. Page 37, you say, "The non-voters here can point out their *virtual* representatives, as clearly as the voters can point out their *direct* representatives. But who are the specific, " virtual

“ virtual representatives of America? Who are
 “ appointed to represent the property there?” I
 reply: (1) The whole body in which the legisla-
 tive power is lodged, is appointed by the constitu-
 tion to protect the property of all the subjects of
 Great Britain. (2) Your ideas of representation are
 far too much circumscribed. Tho’ the members
 of a Cornish borough *directly* represent the burgeſſes
 of that borough, yet they *indirectly* represent the
 commons of all England, and of all the British do-
 minions. If it were not so, they could have no
 voice in the house, except when the petty concerns
 of their borough are debated. Now Sir, by the
 same constitutional rule, by which the members of
 a Welch borough are appointed to manage the af-
 fairs of all England; the members of Middlesex
 are appointed to manage the affairs of all British
 America. And if you want me to point out some
 of the *indirect, virtual representatives* of the Ame-
 ricans, I take up the first news-paper, and point at
 the names of the members, who distinguish them-
 selves by their zeal to support what they judge to be
 the rights of the Americans. And I ask, if these
 Lords and Gentlemen do not *indirectly* represent the
 rich and the poor in our colonies, what right have
 they to vote for the Colonists more than the mem-
 bers of the Irish Parliament?

Page 31, You intimate, that it is “ perfectly
 “ unconstititutional to exclude the Americans from
 “ having a voice in the disposal of their property,
 “ whose estates may amount to thirty nine pounds
 “ per annum;” tho’ you grant, that “ a man in
 “ England can have no voice in the disposal of his
 “ property, whose estate amounts to no more than
 “ thirty nine shillings per annum.” But have you
 forgot, that the constitution allows “ the pot-boil-
 “ ers in the despicable hovels of some boroughs”
 to have votes for parliament men, while some
 “ *Freeholders in Gloucester, Hereford, and London,*
 “ *have no votes for town or county,*” because they
 are neither freemen nor liverymen. On this im-
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portant concession, which you make page 98, I rest the following queries. If the constitution allows the taxation of some FREEHOLDERS in the cities of *Gloucester, Hereford, and London*; altho' such freeholders, thro' an accidental cause, HAVE NO VOTES FOR TOWN OR COUNTY; why can it not allow the taxation of some FREEHOLDERS, who thro' an accidental cause, have no votes for England or America? And if you grant, that the constitution permits, that some men, who possess a FREEHOLD in the centre of Great Britain, are *constitutionally* taxed by the parliament, tho' they have no vote; do you not expose your prejudice before all the world, if you say that the Colonists cannot be *constitutionally* taxed by the parliament, merely because they have no vote?

I have pressed you with the case of some members of parliament, who are constitutionally taxed with or *without* their consent, so long as they chuse to live abroad. P. 31, 32, you reply, "The Americans are *at home*:" You insinuate that my doctrine supposes they "are NEVER AT HOME," and you humourously say, "Were I a Colonist, the prerogative I would humbly sue for, should be that of being permitted to be *at home*, for home is home, says the old proverb, be it ever so homely." I answer, Lord Pigot, a member of parliament who is in the East Indies, and Mr. Hancock, a member of the Congress, have the full leave of the constitution to be AT HOME. Only it must be remembered, that, by emigration, they have their home in two places; as the gentlemen who have a house in London, and another in the country. They have their *legislative* home in Great Britain, and their *actual* home, Lord Pigot in Bengal, and Mr. Hancock in Philadelphia. If they will enjoy the prerogatives of their *legislative* home, they must return to England, just as the gentlemen who will fill their seats in the parliament, and enjoy their honours at court, must leave their country-seats and repair to London. Nor say that the distinction

distinction I make between our *actual* and our *legislative* home is frivolous; for Dr. Price, your oracle, says, "They [the colonies] gloried in their relation to us;—and they always spoke of THIS country and looked to it as *THEIR HOME*." Now, as the Colonists were never so destitute of good sense, as to look on England as their *actual* home; it remains that your oracle has spoken nonsense, or that England is their *principal, legislative* home. And would to God they were not grown so uneasy as to despise, this "home, be it ever so homely!"

You indeed hint at the inconveniency and impossibility of the Colonists coming back to their legislative home; but this objection makes as much against your scheme of representation as against ours; for you insinuate, that all the non-voters in England may go and settle in the few Boroughs, where the constitution allows every pot-boiler to be a voter; and you give us a hint, that if they do not, "it is their own fault." But is it not more practicable for all the Free-holders in America, to crowd into Great Britain; than for all the non-voters in Great Britain, to crowd into such privileged Boroughs as you speak of; or for all the women who have freeholds in England, to change their sex, that they may have a vote at the next election?

You reply, p. 38, "The representation in ENGLAND is *unequal*, owing to a great variety of casual circumstances, which it would be useless to enumerate." Now, Sir, applying to all the British empire, what you say of England, I answer, The representation with respect to AMERICA is *unequal*; owing to a great variety of casual circumstances,* such as emigration, distance, interposing seas, and the impropriety of multiplying parliaments, which would as much weaken the

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empire,

* Mr. Evans wants each American assembly to be invested with supreme power in conjunction with the king, after the model of the Irish Parliament; but I wish the British empire too well, to be of his sentiment. The same rule holds in politicks, and in mechanics;

empire, as you would do a piece of clock work, if you contrived to make each wheel move by means of a separate spring. Thus, if I am not mistaken, your own concessions, backed by one of Dr. Price's observations, shew that, so far, your attempt to demonstrate that the parliamentary doctrine of taxation is contrary to the constitution, only shews that it is TRULY CONSTITUTIONAL.

Come we now to your capital argument, the first part of which runs thus: "The American CAN have no voice in the disposal of his property; and what is worse, those who are to have the power of disposing of it, are under every possible temptation to abuse that power, because every shilling they take out of the pocket of an American is so much saved in their own." To this I reply, *Vind.* p. 33, "You mistake, for as many of the Colonists as chuse to purchase a freehold in England, MAY become electors; and as many as have a sufficient fortune, MAY be candidates at the next election; adding, that you yourself speak of a late American candidate, who was a friend to America." But you take no notice of this sufficient answer.

Pressing you still farther, I remind you that there are several members in both houses of parliament, who have a very large property in America, and who, when they tax the Colonists, take far more money out of their own pocket than they

they could if a parliament were to be chosen from the Colonists. The more a government and a machine are need-
 ily complicated, the weaker is their motion, and the greater the danger of their being out of order. It is the glory and strength of our constitution to be compact, *in se tota teres atque rotundas.* As I could not admire an human body with one head and a dozen stomachs, I could not be pleased to see Great Britain and her Colonies exhibiting to the world a political body, with one royal head and a dozen supreme courts of parliament. If such needless divisions and multiplications do not tend to speedy dissolution, they certainly do to weakness, confusion, slowness of operation, and a thousand evils, which France with her several unconnected parliaments so severely feels.

• they probably do out of the pocket of Mr. Hancock.' To this you reply, page 41, "*But what security have the Americans; that there will always be such members in parliament?*" I answer: They have the same security for it, which we have that there will always be a prince to fill the throne, and a number of peers to compose a house of Lords. It is not impossible that a plague should sweep away all the royal family, and all the nobility; but would it be right, to distress the public upon such a supposition? Would it not be ridiculous to frighten the people, by telling them that the constitution is in danger, and that, as we have no security that all the royal family and all the nobility will not die of the plague, or be blown up by a second gun-powder plot, "*our constitution is almost lost,*" and we are likely to have soon another rump parliament without king, and without house of Lords?

But you add: "*Unless all the members of the British parliament had American property, they would not be on a level with the non-voters in England.*" I reply: If the American Colonies are, as some patriots suppose, the capital spring of British wealth, all the members of parliament have a particular, tho' indirect concern in the prosperity of the Colonists; nor does the constitution require that taxed subjects should be on a level with each other in every possible respect. The Americans should be thankful for being on a level, not only with the non-voters in England, in the important right of qualifying themselves to be voters, or candidates for seats in parliament; but also with the free-holders in London who have no vote, and with the members of parliament abroad, who, thro' emigration, cannot actually share in the legislature. I repeat it, to attempt to bring about a representation equal in every respect, is as absurd as to attempt making all our fellow-subjects of one size, one age, one sex, one country, one revenue, one rank, and one capacity.

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Another of my answers to your grand argument ran thus:—“It is improbable that our lawgivers would save a dirty shilling in their pocket, by oppressively taking one out of an American’s pocket.—Being men of fortune, they are raised by their circumstances above the felonious trick you speak of.” Page 40, you humorously reply, “I suppose, Sir, if you should lend a few thousand to any of our legislators, you would not pretend to ask for a bond. It would be dangerous to suspect men of such circumstances as the constitution obliges all our lawgivers to be, of such a felonious trick as not paying you again.” But this reply of yours is fully obviated by my fifth answer, which is as follows: “If the Colonists were afraid of being taxed more heavily than the rule of proportion allows, should they not have humbly requested, that the parliament would settle the matter by an act,—or a *bono*,” which might have been an effectual check upon the abuse of the power of taxation?

You think to answer this answer by saying, p. 42, “What the Colonists should have done, is one thing, and what the British parliament has done is another.” True: The parliament has laid upon the Colonists a little tax, and they have revolted, instead of paying it with the loyalty which becomes good subjects, and with the prudence which becomes men jealous of their liberty; and therefore their conduct is unjustifiable, and that of the parliament reasonable. You farther insinuate, that, as you are not obliged to “conform to the established church,” so the Colonists were not obliged to submit to British taxation in the prudential manner I have mentioned. But the case is not parallel. Neither christianity nor the constitution obliges us to conform to the established church; whereas both enjoin us to render to all their *DUBS*, tribute to whom tribute is *DUB*, that is, to the supreme protective power.

You

You have another string to your bow: Sensible that the preceding argument is not strong enough to shoot the arrow of conviction into a thinking man's breast, you add, p. 42, "A man that robs me on the highway, may think that I *should* have been previously asked him if he did not want my money:—but I presume this will not justify his robbing me." So, Sir, you will always inform me that we are not more bound to pay reasonable taxes to the legislative power which protects us, than we are bound to give our money to a robber who demands it! But when Americans argues in this manner, does he not contradict St. Paul, Jesus Christ, and Mr. Evans himself, who {p. 27} not only grants "*the necessity of subjects paying taxes*," but intimates that a man who *denies the propriety of that custom, and the ground of that propriety, is "one of the most unreasonable beings in the universe, and a mere political Quixote?"* It does not become me to decide how far you have drawn your own picture in this candid concession:—But, as you finish your answer to my argument by this display of your consistency, I may desire the public to judge, whether your reply gives a finishing stroke to the cause of the parliament, or to your own.

The other part of your capital argument runs thus: The Britons who have no vote, or who are unable to vote by emigration, may "consent to the disposal of their property, because they have always *this security*, that those who take an active part in the disposal of their property, must at the same time dispose of an equal proportion of their own." I have already shewn, that the Colonists have considerable degree of *security*, that the parliament will not tax them *disproportionably*. And if they had properly asked a *fuller security*, instead of flying to arms, the parliament would undoubtedly have granted their request. But, without dwelling upon this answer, to overthrow your argument I need only observe, that it is inconclu-

... because it can be retorted, and lays the foundation of what you call "*the fundamental principle*" of the commons, which is, that no money-bills can reasonably "*originate but from them*." For, if money-bills always originated from the *Lords*, who are richer than the populace, the commons would *have always this security, that the Lords in taking an active part in the disposal of the people's property, must at the same time dispose of an equal proportion of their own.* So easily can your grand argument be turned against your own cause. And so great is the inconsistency of a system, one part of which you cannot support without totally undermining the other.

If these remarks recommend themselves to your reason, piety, and *sober patriotism*, I hope, Sir, you will confess, that truth is a file, which we bite in vain; that it is as imprudent to attack a good argument in the field of controversy, as to lay hold of an antagonist's sword with a naked hand in a field of battle; that your reply has given me an opportunity of confirming my vindication; and that the doctrine of taxation embraced by the parliament is truly *rational, scriptural, and constitutional.* Q. E. D.

I am,

Rev. Sir,

Your friendly Opponent, and

Obedient Servant in the Gospel

J. F.

L E T T E R II.

REV. SIR,

I Would have taken my leave of you in the preceding letter, had I not considered, that a patient controvertist ought to contend for Truth, till she enjoys her full liberty. The truth I defend is not yet free. She is still bound, with three or four of the chains you have loaded her with. Nor can I complete my rescue, without breaking them with my polemical hammer.

I The first of these chains is your error (or that of Lord Camden) concerning the ABSOLUTENESS OF OUR PROPERTY.

Page 34, you still insinuate, that "*What a man has is ABSOLUTELY his own.*" Nevertheless, pressed by my objection, you indirectly grant, that God has a right to our property. But if God has a right to our property, does he not delegate this right to our political gods, I mean to our Lawgivers and Governors, who are his *lieutenants and representatives*? And in this case, how can you say that NO MAN has a right to take our property from us without our consent; our property being *absolutely* our own? I still farther assert, that, so long as we live in society, our property is a part of the commonwealth: But if it is ABSOLUTELY *our own*, how can it be *a part of the COMMONWEALTH*? And if it is *a part of the COMMONWEALTH*, how can it be ABSOLUTELY *our own*?

I support

I support this dilemma by the following Queries. Who is such a novice in politicks as not to know, that private interest, in a thousand cases, is to yield to public good; and, of consequence *private* possession to *public* claims? If a man has a thousand bushels of wheat, which he hoards up in time of scarcity, may he not be justly compelled to sell it at a reasonable price, tho' he and his representative should cry out ever so loud, "Oppression! tyranny! robbery?"—If a nobleman found rich mines of coals in his estate near London, could he not be legally hindered from working these mines, lest the Newcastle colliers, and a thousand sailors should starve for want of employment?—If Bristol were besieged, and you had a house near the walls, where the enemy might lodge his forces to annoy the city; might not your house be justly pulled down; tho' you and your American representative should refuse your consent to the very last?—If you have rich meadows, which you delight in; and if the general good requires, that a fort be erected upon them, or a canal cut thro' them; may you not be made sensible that the public has a *superior* right to your property; and that your ground is not so *absolutely* your own, but you may be compelled to part with it for the good of the kingdom?—If you have a ship laden with goods brought from the Levant, and you want to sell them immediately to prevent their being spoiled; and if there is some reason to fear, that they will convey the plague; may not a magistrate, in spite of you and an hundred representatives, if you had a right to chuse so many, force you to let your goods spoil, rather than to endanger the lives of thousands?—And, to come to the case of the Colonists, if you and your representative fancied, that you owe nothing to the sovereign for protecting you in time past, and that you can very well protect yourselves for the time to come; and if, upon such a fancy, you refused to contribute to the expence of the general protection; think you the public would

would be duped by your conceit; and grant you to live as free from taxes in England, as David did in Israel, when he had slain Goliath? Would not our Governors justly seize upon a proportion of your property, whether you and your Representative reasonably consented to it; or whether you absurdly raised the neighbourhood by the patriotic cry of "Tyranny! robbery! and murder?"

Nor is it only our property, which is not *absolutely* our own, when we live in civil society: For what I have said of our goods, may be applied to our persons. We are not *absolutely* our own. Hence it is, that in all civilized countries, when the sovereign wants soldiers for the protection of the commonwealth, a militia is raised; and if the lot falls upon a pacific farmer, notwithstanding his objections, and the opposition of his parliamentary representative, he must bear arms, either in his own person, or in the person of his military representative. And when no such representatives can be procured, the men who are able may be personally pressed into the service of the commonwealth. Hence it is that, in an emergency, the sovereign issues press warrants to raise sailors for manning the fleet. An hardship this, which, great as it is, is not so great as the general overthrow of the state.

II. Your *first* error about the absoluteness of our property, naturally leads you into a *second* concerning ABJECT SLAVERY, which you confound with *loyal subjection*. Hence you say, p. 37, &c. "If there be any *man*, call him by what name you please" [you should have said, agreeably to the case in debate, if there be any *set of men*, call them by what name you please, lawgivers, magistrates, or officers of the legislative power] "who has" [or have] "a right to take it [his property] without his consent express'd by himself or representative, what is this but the *quintessence of slavery*? Wherein does the case of such a man differ from that of the
" *negro*

" most *abject* slave in the universe? God's lieutenants may, it is true, be very mild, and kind, and reasonable in their demands, and require no more of such a man than it is highly just he should pay:—but what then? If my property be at their disposal, not my own,—what becomes of my liberty? The man that robs me of five shillings only, commits a robbery as much as the man that robs me of five pounds. The most abject slave in the universe may chance to have a very good master; but still, if he is *at the disposal* of his master,—he is equally a slave when treated well as when treated ill."

The plausibility of this argument rests upon the following mistakes. (1) You still suppose, that insisting on moderate taxes as a reasonable equivalent for protection, is a species of robbery; whereas such a demand, by the consent of all men, except the patriots of the day, is as reasonable as the demand of a moderate fee, which a diligent lawyer has upon his client.—(2) You do not consider, that the Colonists, being indirectly represented in parliament, have as much consented by their *indirect* representatives, to pay taxes to the parliament, as the patriots and you have consented by your *direct* representatives to be *additionally* taxed in order to bring the Colonies to reason.—(3) The latin word *Servus*, means not only a *servant*, but a *bond-man* and a *slave*. And the english word, *Servitude*, means both *slavery*, and the *state of a servant*. But would it be right in me to avail myself of this analogy, to put all the patriotic servants in the kingdom out of conceit with their *servitude*, and to make them shake off the yoke of dependance, under pretence that *servitude* is *abject slavery*, whether a servant is treated well or ill?—(4) In hebrew the word [*obed*] *servant*, means both a *slave* and a *subject*. But would you have approved of Absalom's conduct, if, on this account, he had alienated the minds of his father's *subjects*, and made an injudicious populace believe, that whosoever fully sub-

mits

be.

mits himself to good government, commentes an *object slave*? Who does not see the inconclusiveness of this argument? An *object slave* is bound to submit himself *reasonably or unreasonably* to his *lawless* Sovereign: A *loyal subject* is bound to submit himself *reasonably* to his *lawful* Sovereign: Add therefore, as they are both bound to submit or *SUBJECT themselves* to their Sovereign, they are both "*object slaves*." Such logick, Sir, may convert heated Americans to your overdoing patriotism; but, if I am not mistaken, it will confirm judicious Britons in their constitutional loyalty. —

(5) You conclude your argument by saying, "*A SLAVE is equally a SLAVE, when treated well as when treated ill;*" and you might have added, "*A SUBJECT is equally a SUBJECT, when treated well as when treated ill:* but then the pill would not have been properly gilded; and your own loyalty, as well as piety, would have taken the alarm at a doctrine, which bears so hard upon this gospel precept, *Let every soul be SUBJECT to the higher Powers.*

For my part, whatever you may say of my "meanness," I will be the *servant, the subject,* and if you please, Sir, the *SLAVE* of *GOOD government*. I am determined to glory in the *subjection*, of which you seem to be so afraid and ashamed: And applying to a *freeman* what the Apostle says of a *Son*, I do not scruple to assert, that a freeman, *so long as he lives in society, and is a SUBJECT, differeth nothing from a SERVANT or SLAVE* who "is well treated;" *but IS UNDER governors* [lawgivers and magistrates] *until the time appointed* of his heavenly Father for his removing from earth, and leaving the society of mortals. Gal. iv. 1, 2. "To oppose this doctrine, is to overthrow *subjection* and *government*, which stand or fall together.

III. A word about the *ORIGIN OF POWER*. I believe with St. Paul, that *The powers that are, are ordained of God*, who is the fountain of all power, and

and the author of all good government. I date the divine communication of power, from the paradisaical age; yea, from the hour in which God said to Adam and Eve, *Multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and HAVE DOMINION over—every living thing.* Gen. i. 28. Here, Sir, is the original grant of Power? and whosoever wantonly *resisteth the Power* which Providence calls him to obey, breaks this great political charter of God, which is so strongly and so frequently confirmed in the gospel.

You reply, p. 74, "The first man could have no power to protect and rule mankind, till there were some for him to rule." But is not this a mistake? Might not God endue him with a *protective*, as well as with a *prolific* power, before the earth began to be replenished? Would you not wonder at my positiveness, if I insisted, that God could not give to Adam power to *multiply* and *rule* his species, because his species was not yet multiplied, and governable; and that our Creator *could have no creative power*, till creatures rose into possible existence?

But you add, p. 75, "When Adam became a father, he had as much *power* as any other father;" And, p. 77, you ask, "Does not every father receive the same divine right of dominion?" asserting that, "There is nothing to be inferred from the parental authority of Adam, but is equally applicable to all parents without exception." I reply, that it is contrary to all divinity to say, that every parent is endued with all the authority, which Adam was invested with when God said to him, *SUBDUED the earth, and HAVE DOMINION.* You are too judicious a divine, not to speak a different language in the pulpit. You know, Sir, that Adam was invested with characters, which he could not communicate to *all* his posterity, and which consequently are not common to all men. A simile will possibly convince you of your mistake. King George the third is, with respect to his children, what

what Adam was with respect to his posterity. He is a *Father*, and a *King*. The *first* character he can entail upon all his sons; but the *second* he can entail upon none but the prince of Wales. This shews the inconclusiveness of the argument you draw from "Eve's motherhood," and "patriarchal government." I reverence the queen; and, if she filled the throne as queen Ann did, I would submit myself to her good government, not because of Eve's motherhood, but because God said to *Eve* [as well as to *Adam*] in her regal capacity, *Have dominion*; and because he says in the decalogue, *Honour thy* [political] *Mother*, as well as thy political *Father*. Nor should I be ashamed to advance these two capital scriptures in support of the English constitution, if you excited me to dethrone an English queen, and urged the propriety of the *loi salique*—a French law this, which, in all cases, excludes princesses from the right of succeeding to the crown.

You try to embarrass the question by saying, p. 79, "You must tell us who is Adam's heir: What does it signify what *power* Adam had, or what *power* he left behind him to his" [governing] "successors; unless we certainly know who those successors are." But I reply, that, in every country, those who share in the dominion given to Adam and Eve in their regal capacity, are as much known as the king and parliament are known in England, the doge and senate at Venice, the emperor and diet in Germany, the monarch in France, and the despot in Prussia. Whoever, by the good providence of God, is endued with the legislative and protective power in the country where I reside, and retains that power by the consent of a majority of the people, is the *higher power*, which I consider as actually *ordained* of God for my protection. To *that* power I will cheerfully submit, so far as it is used for good: And to *that* power I will conscientiously pay taxes, for the protection which I enjoy.

I enjoy. And suppose that power was possessed by an usurper, I would lament the usurpation, and bear my testimony against it, till the same overruling providence which removed Absalom, John of Leyden, Ket, the Rump, and Cromwell, took that usurper out of the way also. But if divine providence, instead of removing the usurper, established his power, as it did that of Jeroboam in the days of Solomon's son, which I would know by the general and lasting consent of the people, I would no longer oppose that power, but submit myself to it as religiously as the christians of the fourth century did to Constantine the Great, and as cheerfully as the French do to the ancient family of the *Capets*; tho' *Hugues Capet*, the first king of that illustrious house, was only a noble usurper. Such are, if I mistake not, the loyal views which the scripture gives us of the origin of power; and such the marks, by which we may know the power that divine providence calls us to obey.

Consider we now what are *your* views of the same doctrine. Page 66, you say, "Every good government is of God. Nor will the personal vices of our *Governors*, nor any slight error in their administration of government, justify our resisting them." Here, Sir, you speak as a christian and a Briton; and, so far, I heartily set my seal to your politicks. But who are our *Governors*? Are they not the men who are invested with *governing, legislative, and supreme* power? Now Sir, according to this just definition of the word *Governors*, you have thrown down the distinction between *the governors* and *the governed*, and, before you are aware, you have crowned king *Mab*. I prove my assertion by your own words. Page 71, you write, "Perhaps you will say, The SUPREME POWER in every government, must be lodged somewhere, and this power must be omnipotent and uncontroulable. I allow it. But the glory of the Brit-
"ith

"ish constitution is, that THE PEOPLE have never
 "parted with THIS power, but have MOST RELI-
 "GIOUSLY kept it IN THEIR OWN HANDS."^a
 Thus, Sir, according to your doctrine, the su-
 PREME and GOVERNING power, belongs not to the
 GOVERNORS, but to THE PEOPLE, that is, to THE
 GOVERNED. Was ever a more preposterous doc-
 trine imposed upon injudicious patriots? O Sir,
 what you call "*the glory of the British constitution,*"
 would be the *shame* of the worst government. Nay,
 upon this plan, there could be no government at
 all. For, so long as the GOVERNED "*most religi-*
 "*ously*" [should you not have said *most impiously* and
absurdly] *keep the* [GOVERNING] *power in their own*
hands, that power is in every body's hands. And
 the moment this is the case, there is an end of go-
 vernment; anarchy takes place; king *Mob* breaks
 all the laws with an high hand; and a tyrannical
 populace fiercely trample upon all order, and carry
 devastation wherever they turn their steps. Thus,
 Sir, you have helped me to prove the truth of this
 deep proposition of judicious Mr. Baxter, who, af-
 ter having studied christian politics near thirty years,
 left it upon record, that, "If once legislation, the
 "chief *act* of government, be denied to be any part
 "of government at all, and affirmed to belong to
 "the people as such, who are *no* governors, ALL
 "GOVERNMENT WILL THEREBY BE OVER-
 "THROWN,"—and the grand principle of the
 fierce, mobbing, and levelling † Anabaptists will
 be "*most religiously*" set up.

E 2

This

† I call *some* Anabaptists *fierce and levelling*, to distinguish them
 from the "*mild and moderate Anabaptists*," whom I have menti-
 oned *Vind.* p. 46, where I commend the *candor* of Bishop Burnet
 for making a just distinction between these two sorts of Anabap-
 tists; and for observing, that "*they were not all of the same tem-
 per.*" This, one would think, should have hindered our bre-
 thren who contend for anabaptism, to think that I reflect on *all*
 the

This doctrine of yours, Sir, brings to my remembrance an anecdote, to which a loyal and pious Anabaptist undesignedly helped me some weeks ago. In order to convince me that what Mr. Baxter says of the high republican spirit of the Anabaptists and Independents is not true, he sent me the IVth volume of *Blennerhasset's History of England*,

the people of their denomination for the political errors of *some*. Had I done this, I would publicly ask their pardon; being persuaded that nothing can be more cruel, than to involve the innocent in undeserved guilt. Lest this construction should be put upon my quotations respecting the levelling Anabaptists, I inserted in the second edition of my *Vindication*, p. 46, a note where I say, that "some Anabaptists are very good people, that most of them mean well, and that I hope this is the case with my opponent." And I gladly embrace this third opportunity of testifying more fully my brotherly love to that respectable body of dissenters; not doubting but these are numbers of truly pious and loyal Anabaptists both in Germany, England, and America. However, p. 84, my opponent says, "Your telling the world that I am, &c. an Anabaptist, &c. is a display of illiberality, meanness, and impertinence." But where did I tell the world, in the first edition of my book, that Mr. Evans is an Anabaptist? And if in a note inserted in the second edition [which, by the bye, was not published when Mr. E. advanced this charge] I insinuate that he is one of the Anabaptists who "are very good people and mean well;" I appeal to the unprejudiced, if this insinuation, is not a display of candor and brotherly love, rather than of "illiberality, meanness, and impertinence." I grant that I have enforced Calvin's doctrine of taxation upon my opponent, by reminding him, that, as "he is a Calvinist," he cannot well avoid paying some regard to that excellent doctrine of Calvin. But wherein consists the impertinence of such an argument? Are controvertists the only men, who cannot use an argument *ad hominem*? And has not Mr. E. as much reason to charge me with "meanness," because I have addressed him as a *Heaven* and a *Christian*, and have pressed him, as such, with appeals to his constitutional concessions, and his *Christian* profession? Some men will say what they please against their governors. Their most groundless charges must pass for patriotism, and a spirited defence of our liberties; but if you drop a self-evident truth that embarrasses them a little, you are guilty of "Helvetic rudeness, illiberality, meanness, and impertinence." I appeal from this patriotic freedom and partiality; to English candor and British politeness.

land, which contains an account of the proceedings of the mangled tyrannical parliament known by the name of *the Rump*. This author informs us, p. 1541, that just before king Charles I. was beheaded, "The Commons voted, that *the people*,
 " under God, are *the original* of all just power;
 " and that the Commons of England, being chosen by the people, had the *supreme* authority of
 " this nation; and what *they* enacted should be
 " law, without the king or lords' concurrence.
 " This squared exactly with the Independents,
 " who were for turning the monarchy into a republic." Now if the *Anabaptists* were at least as zealous republicans as the *Independents*, I leave you to judge, Sir, if my neighbour's book was a better proof of Baxter's mistake than your own; and if it is not evident from this quotation, that when you teach the world, that *the people most religiously keep the supreme power* [i. e. the power of their governors] *in their own hands*, as their indubitable right, you plow with the wild, mischievous heifer of Cromwell and the rump.

IV. A word concerning the PROPER CAUSE of the war with America.

Page 51, you say, "Should it be made to appear, that the British parliament have authority from scripture to tax their unrepresented brethren in America, and to *cut their throats*, burn their towns, and spread universal devastation amongst them, because they do not chuse to submit to such taxation: it would furnish a stronger objection, &c. against the divine original of the sacred code, than has ever yet been produced." You insinuate by these words, that the PROPER and IMMEDIATE cause of *cutting throats* in America, is the demand which the king and parliament make of taxes? But are you not

mistaken, Sir? And does not your mistake make you throw an undeserved odium upon the sovereign? For my part I conceive, that the *immediate* occasion of the bloodshed which we lament, is not so much the parliamentary demand of taxes, as a chain of causes, which chiefly contains the following links: (1) The heat of some Bostonian patriots, who, with felonious audacity, boarded our ships, seized upon the property of our merchants, and wantonly threw it into the sea. If the patriots would not buy tea subjected to a tax, could they not keep their own money? Was it right in them to undo our innocent traders by destroying their goods? — (2) The demand which the government made of restitution, or satisfaction, for that act of glaring injustice; a *just* demand this, which the sovereign could not avoid making without being guilty of injustice; it being evident, that it would be unjust in the legislative power, to receive taxes of our merchants for the protection of their property, and then to look on unconcerned, when that property is feloniously destroyed. — (3) The obstinacy with which the mobbing patriots, and their abettors, refused to make satisfaction to our injured merchants. — (4) The prudence with which the parliament farther interposed, by passing the bill for shutting up the port of Boston, that by this unbloody and mild method, the Bostonians might gently be brought to make restitution. — And lastly, the flame of revolt, which on this occasion rapidly spread thro' British America.

Had the Algerines insulted the British flag, and injured British subjects, as the mobbing Bostonians have done; the government would not have shewn them the same lenity. A fleet would immediately have sailed for the inhospitable coast; and the admiral would have sent a card to the legislature of Algiers: "I am come to demand satisfaction for the injury done to British subjects. Send me, by to-morrow, 30,000*l.* being the value of the goods which

which you, or the men whom you screen, have feloniously taken from our merchants; or I will do them and my country justice." Instead of using this peremptory method, as Admiral Blake would have done; our admiral quietly stationed his ships before Boston, and General Gage, far from "cutting throats," amicably quartered his forces in or about that city; patiently waiting till remorse of conscience, a sense of equity, a spark of loyalty, or some fear of the power, wrought upon the patriots, so called, and inclined them to do an act of justice, which Mahometans would hardly have refused to do. But all in vain. The mobbing patriots and their ringleaders, hardened by this lenity, avail themselves of the kind delay. While humanity and brotherly love suspend the stroke of justice, enthusiastic demagogues sound a false alarm, and engage the misinformed Colonists to countenance their obstinacy. In short, the Americans, seduced by misrepresentations, take up arms against Great Britain: And the forces sent by the sovereign, instead of obtaining the satisfaction they demand, are obliged to provide for their own safety by attempting to seize some of the artillery, and ammunition, brought from all quarters to destroy them. Hence the engagement at *Lexington*, and the fight at *Bunker's Hill*, where the forces raised by the congress pressed those of the sovereign by an audacious blockade.

Should you object, that the Colonists once offered to make restitution, on condition that they should never be taxed by the power that protected them; I reply, that by such an offer they only added injustice and revolt to felony. Suppose the Scotch plundered an English ship, and the sovereign insisted on speedy restitution; do you think they would deserve the name of *patriots*, if they said: We will pay for the goods we have destroyed, on condition that you shall exempt us from paying the window-tax for ever. Or, in other terms,

terms, We will be just to some of our fellow-subjects, if you will give us leave to wrong all our fellow-subjects, to shake off your authority, and to break Christ's capital commandment, *Render to all their dues, especially taxes to Cæsar.*

If this is a true state of the case, are you not partial, Sir, when you represent the parliament as "*cutting the throats*" of the Colonists, because the Colonists will not be taxed by the parliament? Is it not rather the Colonists, who want to *cut the throats* of our soldiers, because the king and parliament justly insist on proper satisfaction for the injury done to British merchants by the petty tyrants of Boston?

An illustration will make you still more sensible of your mistake. Suppose I harbour a parcel of house-breakers, or ship-breakers, who have stolen or destroyed your goods; and suppose you obtain a legal warrant, and come attended with a number of armed constables to recover your property, or apprehend the felons; if I raise a mob to hinder the constables from doing their office, and if some *throats are cut* in the endeavour which the constables make not to fall into the hands of the armed mob which surrounds them; is the guilt of *cutting throats* chargeable upon you, who act according to law, and in a just cause? Is it not rather chargeable upon me, who wantonly oppose the legislative power, and can say nothing in defence of myself and my mob, but that the felons I protect are not felons, but spirited patriots; or that I shall pay you for damages, if you will promise to suffer yourself to be wronged of more money than the wrong you have sustained amounts to?

Suppose that the doctrine of taxation, which is the *remote* cause of our divisions, admits of some objections, as the plainest doctrines always do; [for the brightest clouds have their obscure side, and the most shining diamonds cast a faint shade;] yet the *immediate* cause of the American war, the refusing

refusing to make restitution for goods feloniously destroyed, has no shadow of difficulty. Whoever is *honest* enough, to disapprove the malicious destruction of an innocent man's property; — whoever is *conscientious* enough, to praise the steadiness of a government, which stands by oppressed subjects whom it is bound to protect; — and whoever is so far a *lover of order*, as to blame a wanton opposition to the sovereign, when he discharges his duty; must confess, that the guilt of “cutting throats” in America, is *properly* caused by the obstinate injustice of the American patriots; and not by the moderate taxes laid by the British legislature. To assert the contrary is almost as great a mistake in politics, as it is in divinity to hint, that the miseries consequent upon man's fall, were not *properly* caused by the tempter's artful misrepresentations, and by Adam's wilful rebellion; but by God's reasonable demand of a little proof of Adam's loyalty.

And now, Sir, if I have duly confirmed my proofs, that the doctrine of taxation which you oppose, is just in every point of view; — if I have shewn that you confound loyal subjection with *absolute slavery*; — if I have demonstrated, that your notions concerning the *supreme power* of the people, are subversive of all government; — and if I have made appear, that you do not fix the charge of wantonly “cutting throats” upon those who are *properly* guilty of that atrocious crime; may I not call upon your rational and moral feelings to decide, if I have not vindicated my Vindication? And are you not as precipitate, when you pronounce me “one of the most unmeaning and unfair disputants that ever took up the polemical gauntlet,” as when you insinuate that the British legislature “commits robbery,” because it lays a moderate tax upon those who have long basked in the beams of its protection, and have acquired immense wealth under the guardian shadow of its flags and standards?

Hoping

Hoping that no controversial heat will make us forget that we are fellow-creatures, fellow-subjects, fellow-protestants, and fellow-labourers in the gospel of truth and love; I ask a part in your esteem, equal to that which [notwithstanding your heats and mistakes] you have in the cordial respect of,

Rev. Sir,

Your affectionate brother
and obedient servant,

J. F.



L E T.

L E T T E R III.

REV. SIR,

IF I have answered *you* in the preceding letters, I may look your second in the face: I mean the ingenious Dr. Price, whom you call to your help in your notes, and whose arguments you introduce by this high encomium: ‘ Dr. Price’s most excellent pamphlet just published, carries conviction in every page, and breathes that noble spirit of *liberty*, for which the author so ably pleads.’

Page 46, your first quotation from him runs thus: “ In the 6th of George II. an act passed for imposing certain duties on all foreign spirits—and sugars imported into the plantations. In this act the duties imposed are said to be given and granted by the parliament to the king, &c. and a small direct revenue was drawn by it from them.” — The Doctor intimates soon after, that “ this revenue-act was at worst only the exercise of a power, which then they [the Colonists] seem not to have thought much of contesting; I mean the power of taxing them **EXTERNALLY.**” — I thank Dr. Price and you, Sir, for thus granting that the Colonists were taxed *before* the present parliament and the present reign. This shews that the odium cast upon the *present* government, springs more from prejudice than from reason. If George II. his whig-ministry, and his approved parliament, raised a “ direct

rect revenue" by taxing the Colonies, why do the American patriots insinuate that George III. the present ministry, and the present parliament are robbers, because they raise a *direct revenue* by taxing the Colonists? And how strangely does Dr. Price forget himself, where he says; "How great would be *our happiness* could we now recall former times, and return to the policy of the last reign?" What have our lawgivers done after all? Truly they have recalled former times, and returned to the policy of the last reign; and yet Dr. P. instead of being thankful for *our happiness*, frightens the public with most dreadful hints about the insatiation of our governors, and the danger of "a general wreck;" just as if his grand business was to spirit up the Colonists, and to deject his own countrymen.

The Dr. it is true, tries to obviate this difficulty by making a distinction between external and internal taxes; insinuating that in the late reign the Colonists were taxed **EXTERNALLY**, whereas in the present reign they have been taxed **INTERNALLY**. But if this distinction is frivolous, will it reflect any praise on your patriotism? And that it is such, I prove by the following argument: A distinction about taxation, which has no foundation in *reason, scripture, or the constitution*, is frivolous: But Dr. Price's distinction has no foundation in *reason, scripture, or the constitution*: And therefore it is frivolous in the present controversy. Should you contest the second proposition of this syllogism, I ask: By what dictates of *reason* does it appear, that, if taxes are *due* by subjects to their sovereign, they may not be levied *internally*, by rates upon the goods we already possess, as well as *externally*, by duties upon goods imported, which purchase has not yet made our own? Where does St. Paul charge christians to pay taxes, if they are *externally* taxed; and to fly to arms, if they are taxed *internally*? Did not Christ speak of *internal* taxes, when he commanded

ed the Jews to *render Cæsar* what was his? And is there any law, either of God or of the realm, which allows the legislative power to tax the subjects of Great Britain *externally*, and precludes it from taxing them *internally*?

The Doctor's distinction is not only unscriptural and unconstitutional, but *unreasonable*; in as much as it would, in a great degree, enable subjects to avoid paying taxes at all. Suppose, for example, we could be taxed only *EXTERNALLY*, by means of duties laid upon *imported goods*, such as tea, coffee, foreign wines, and rum; might we not, if I may so speak, *starve the government* by drinking only sage or balm-tea, ale, made-wines, and spirits distilled from our own wheat?—The Doctor's distinction is not only unreasonable, but *unjust*. Why should the Colonies enjoy greater privileges than the mother-country? Why should Britons be taxed *externally* and *internally*, whether they have votes or not, and the Americans *ONLY externally*, when both have their property *internally* and *externally* guarded by the protective power? If I owed my lawyer reasonable fees amounting to ten pounds, what would you think of my honesty if I said to him, Sir, I give you leave to pay yourself by demanding a shilling from me, every time I drink a glass of claret or a dish of chocolate: But I declare to you, that, except in such cases, I will take you for a robber, if you lay claim to any part of my property?—The Doctor's distinction is not only unjust in the present case, but it might prove *destructive* to the commonwealth. It is granted on all sides, that taxes and money are the sinews of the government. If *external* taxes did not bring in money enough to discharge the necessary expences of the state; and if the sovereign could not lay *internal* taxes to supply that deficiency, what would become of the kingdom? Must it not fall a wanton sacrifice to Dr. Price's political refinements? I hope, Sir, that if you weigh these observations, you will own that his book, ingenious

as it is, far from "carrying conviction in every page," carries frivolousness, and mischievous absurdity in the very first quotation which you produce from him: And we may well suppose you did not pick out his weakest argument, to support the praises which you bestow on his "most excellent pamphlet."

But let us hear him out. You continue p. 47, to quote him thus. "The Stamp-act was passed: This being an attempt to tax them internally; and a direct attack on their property, by a power which would not suffer itself to be questioned; which eased itself by loading them; and to which it was impossible to fix any bounds; they were thrown at once, from one end of the continent to the other, into resistance and rage." This sounds well to the ear; but judicious patriots, who expect to find the kernel of truth under the specious shell of fine words, may be a little disappointed. Permit me, Sir, to break the shell, and to see if the kernel is found.

(1) An attempt to tax subjects INTERNALLY is a direct attack on their property! And what if it is? When reasonable taxes are due, may they not be directly demanded? And that they are due do you not grant, p. 27, where you so much resent my supposing, that you deny "the NECESSITY of subjects paying taxes," whether they be external or internal? — (2) The legislative power of Great Britain would not suffer itself to be questioned! The Doctor should have said, that it would not suffer itself to be deprived of its right of demanding reasonable taxes for expensive protection; an incontestible right this, which you allow none deny but "political Quixotes." — (3) But this power eases ITSELF by loading THEM! And what if it does? Is the sovereign to bear all the national expence without being eased by his subjects? Or are some of the subjects to bear all the burden, without being eased by others who are able to help them? Where is either the equity or reasonableness of this objection? — (4) But it is impossible

ossible to fix any bounds to this power! I have already shown, that nothing can be easier than to fix proper bounds to the power of taxing the Colonies. The parliament can enact, that the Colonists shall be taxed as the Britons are; making the Colonists a proper allowance for the superior commercial privileges of the mother country. Supposing, for instance, that the privileges of British subjects are four times greater than the privileges of American subjects, the taxes of the American subjects might be four times lighter than ours: Thus, when we pay four shillings in the pound, they might pay only one shilling: And, when four articles of equal importance are taxed in England, only one might be taxed in America. It is therefore, excessively wrong in Dr. Price to assert, that it is *impossible to fix any bounds to the power of parliamentary taxation*. And none but heated patriots will praise him for increasing, by such a groundless assertion, the absurd "*rage into which the Colonists*" have "*thrown*" themselves, "*from one end of the continent to the other.*"

Page 48. You take up again 'Dr. Price's truly valuable tract, and enrich' your 'piece with a note from this capital writer upon the subject. In reference to the American charters he speaks with true dignity as follows:—"The question with all liberal enquirers ought to be, not what jurisdiction over them [the colonies] precedents, statutes, and charters give, but what reason and equity, and the rights of humanity give." Sir, this is the very first test, to which I have brought your American patriotism. The Doctor insinuates indeed that the power, which taxes the Americans, will not suffer its rights to be *questioned*. But this is a mistake. The legislature of great Britain is too equitable, not to give up the right of reasonably taxing the Colonists, whom they have so long protected; if you, Sir, Dr. Price, or the Congress, can prove that *reason, equity, and the rights of humanity* are against such taxation. Have you

not yourself granted the propriety and necessity of SUBJECTS paying proportionable taxes for the good of the whole empire? Is it reasonable or equitable that Great Britain should bear all the burden of the navy, which protects the Colonies and their trade? Is it contrary to "the rights of humanity" to demand a penny for a penny-loaf, or, which comes to the same thing, to demand reasonable taxes for royal protection? Or do parent states violate "the rights of humanity" in demanding some assistance from the growing states, to which they have given birth, when those states are well able to bear the easy burden? As soon will Dr. Price persuade me, that it is contrary to "the rights of humanity" in twelve lubberly young fellows, who have always enjoyed the benefit of their father's house, and who can get more money than their father, to give him something towards the payment of the window-tax, when he is burdened with debts, and wants some assistance to pay that tax.

Page 49. You continue to quote the Doctor thus: "Did they not settle under the faith of charters, which promised them the enjoyment of all the rights of Englishmen?" Granted. But did these charters promise them rights superior to those of Englishmen? Is it not evident, that if the Colonists enjoy the right of being protected by the legislative power of Great Britain, without paying taxes to that power, they enjoy a right superior to that of Englishmen, who are bound to pay taxes for British protection?

The Doctor goes on. "These charters allowed them to tax themselves, and to be governed by legislatures of their own, similar to ours." Granted in one sense: namely in the same sense, in which charters have been granted to corporations. Corporate bodies are allowed to tax themselves in a subordinate manner, and to be governed by legislatures of their own, similar to that of Great Britain. Thus the city of London is governed by a Lord Mayor, who represents the king; by a court of aldermen,

aldermen, which represents the high court of parliament; and by a body of livery-men and free-men, which answers to the body of voting burgessees and freeholders in Great Britain. And I suppose all together can raise money for the support of the corporation, by means of some peculiar rates, or subordinate taxes. Now if the citizens of London rose against parliamentary taxation, under pretence that they are, and always have been taxed by their own magistrates; they would shew themselves as unjust as the Colonists, and as good logicians as Dr. Price. What have *subordinate* taxes for the maintenance of lamp lighters, watch-men, and trained bands, to do with the *primary* taxes, by which the army and the navy are supported? When rash patriots avail themselves of the payment of the former taxes, to refuse paying the latter; do they shew more wisdom and equity than I should do, if I quarrelled with my physician for demanding of me ten guineas for ten visits, and dismissed him with the following speech: Sir, I claim all the rights of Englishmen, nor will I be duped by you. I do not deny paying fees, but I will not pay any to you. I will discharge my *apothecary's* bill; but as for your demands, they are contrary to "*reason, equity, and the rights of humanity.*" American patriots might give me thanks, and compliment me with the freedom of London in a golden box, for such a spirited opposition to tyranny and robbery; but I am of opinion, that British patriots would hardly think me worthy of the freedom of Old Sarum in a wooden box: And if the physician was "*thrown into rage*" by my provoking injustice, he might possibly think that I deserved a very different box, from that which Dr. Price has been lately presented with.

But the Doctor has an answer ready. Speaking of the Colonists he says. "They are taxed to support their own governments:—Must they maintain *two* governments? Must they submit to be *triple* taxed?" To shew the frivolousness of this

argument, I need only farther apply it to my physician's case, thus: Sir, you demand fees of me for your attendance, but I have already feed my apothecary: Must I maintain *two* of you? Must I submit to be *triple* taxed? What! must I pay my surgeon too? You unreasonable men, will you all agree to enslave me? You pack of r—s, will you *leave me nothing that I can call my own?*

Whilst you are struck with the fallacy of this patriotic argument, I proceed to some observations upon Dr. Price's doctrine, with respect to the CHARTERS of the Colonies. To suppose, that their charters exempt them from paying taxes to the British government for ever, is not only contrary to the express terms of the charter of Pennsylvania; but also to all probability. What ruling power would be so unwise as to suffer the emigration of subjects, out of a country which is not overstocked with inhabitants, into one where that power has claims and possessions, unless it was assured of retaining the right of *supremacy* over those emigrated subjects? Is it reasonable to think, that a power would thus weaken itself? And is it not the right of *supreme taxation* inseparably connected with the right of *supreme government*?

Again: When one of our kings granted a charter to the Colonists, did he not grant it as being the head of the legislative power of Great Britain:—a power this, whose ships had taken possession of North America? Was it not as the representative of *all* this power, that he signed the charter? Suppose the Lord Mayor of London, as political head of that city, had granted me leave to build a house upon some waste ground belonging to the city: And suppose he had helped me to build it with some materials, the property of the city, and had from time to time preserved it from being robbed and burned, by sending me watchmen, fire-men, and fire-engines from the city; would it be right in me to say, I acknowledge myself indebted to the Lord Mayor, as a *Lord*; but as for his London-mayor-alty,

alty, and the council of alderman, I bid them defiance, and deny my being under the least obligation of submitting myself to them. In short, I am willing that the Mayor of London should be my governor; but if the body of the corporation claims authority over me, and demands of me, who am neither one of the livery nor a freeman, city rates to pay the watchmen or buy new fire-engines, I will hew both them and the Lord Mayor, that I am a patriot, and that I can defend my property and protect my person.—Could you help smiling at the absurdity of such a speech? And think you, Dr. Price himself could prove, that the distinction which the Colonists make between the *king* and the *parliament*,—between the *head* and the *body* of the British legislature, is not as trifling and ungenerous, as the distinction I make between the *Loranship of the Mayor of London*, and the *London-mayoralty*; or between the *head*, and the *body* of that respectable corporation?

To return: After saying that the arguments drawn from the charters for the Colonies appear to him “greatly to outweigh the arguments against them,” Dr. Price speaks thus: “But I lay no stress on charters. They [the Colonies] derive their rights from a higher source. It is inconsistent with common sense to imagine, that any people would ever think of settling in a distant country on any such condition, as that the people from whom they withdrew, should for ever be masters of their property, and have power to subject them to any modes of government they pleased.”—The flaw of this argument consists in imputing to Great Britain false claims, which never entered into the minds of our legislators. When did the parliament say, they would “for ever be masters of the property of the Colonists,” any otherwise than they are masters of the property of Englishmen?—If the king and parliament claim the right of “making statutes of sufficient force to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever,” does not can-
dog

dor dictate, that they only mean all cases wherein they have power to bind Englishmen?—And is not Dr. Franklin too warm, when, availing himself of the laconic manner in which this reasonable claim is expressed, he renders the legislative power odious, by insinuating that it pretends to the authority of “compelling the Colonists, if it pleases, to worship the devil?”—Once more: When did the British legislature claim the right of “*subjecting the Americans to any modes of government they please,*” whether these modes be ever so foolish or tyrannical? Is it not wrong in Dr. Price and Dr. Franklin, to fix upon our doctrine invidious consequences, which have not the least connexion with our principles? What character could I not blast, and whom could I not represent as a rapacious tyrant, if I intimated, that, when ever a master claims the authority of *reasonably* commanding his servants in all things, he assumes the authority of making them “worship the devil if he pleases;” and that, when ever the Lord of a manor insists on his chieftie, a lawyer on his fees, a minister on his tithes, and a Sovereign on reasonable taxes; they pretend to be “*for ever masters of the property,*” of their vassals, tenants, clients, flocks, and subjects; so that the *abject slaves can call nothing which they have their own?* Can we lament too much the mistake of divines, who, by such ungenerous insinuations, inflame the heated patriots, and pour contempt on their rightful governors?

Page 49, You continue to quote Dr. Price thus: “Had there been express stipulations to this purpose in all the charters of the Colonies, they would, in my opinion, be no more bound by them, than if it had been stipulated with them, that they should go naked, or expose themselves to the incursions of wolves and tygers.” The Doctor is highly worthy to be your second, Sir. We have seen how you confound the right, which the protecting power has to reasonable taxes, with the right which an highwayman has to

a traveller's money: and we see here that Dr. Price absurdly compares a scriptural demand of moderate taxes, with an immodest command of going naked; and with a tyrannical edict of encountering 'wolves and tygers.' If such method of arguing is consistent either with sound logick or christian candor, I consent that the Doctor's gold-box be set with rubies and diamonds.

The Doctor's argument is not only founded on an absurd comparison; but it can also be retorted in this manner: "*I lay no stress on charters:*" The king and parliament "*derive their rights*" of taxing their American subjects "*from an higher source.*" "*Had there been express stipulations in all the charters,*" that the Colonies should ever be protected by Great Britain, without paying proportionable taxes as other subjects, it may be queried if the king and parliament would be any *more bound* by such stipulations, than they would be bound by a charter of the late king, supposing he had granted to all the Scotchmen and Yorkshiresmen who have a vote, the privilege of paying no taxes to the government for ever. Might not such a charter be repealed on account of its unjust partiality? Should not taxes be laid as proportionably as it is possible upon all the subjects? Can the king absolutely give up the rights of one part of his subjects to the other, any more than he can justly say, that when the parliament lays a tax of 4s. in the pound, Middlesex shall pay nothing for ever, because the trade of London brings in an immense revenue to the government? If these queries recommend themselves to your reason, Sir; is it not evident that Dr. Price's argument can be properly retorted, and that he is equally mistaken, whether he appeals to "*charters,*" or to "*an higher source?*"

Pass we on to his doctrine concerning the **ORIGIN OF POWER.** P. 69, You introduce him as speaking thus: "I am sensible, that all I have been saying would be very absurd, were the opinions just, which some have maintained concerning
"the

" the origin of government. According to these
 " opinions, government is not *the creature of the*
 " *people* or the result of a convention between
 " them and their rulers: But there are certain men
 " who possess in themselves, independently on the
 " will of the people, a right of governing them;
 " which they derive from the Deity." From this
 quotation it is evident, that, according to Dr. Price's
 principles and your own, "*Government is the crea-*
 "*ture of the people.*" In full opposition to this
 doctrine I assert that *Government is the creature of*
God. It is as absurd to say, that government is the
 creature of the people, as to maintain, that *religion*
 and *marriage* are the creatures of the people. All
 that I can reasonably grant the Doctor is, that as
 adultery and fornication, superstition and idolatry
 are the creatures of immoral and irreligious men;
 so *bad government*, which includes *confusion* and
tyranny, is the creature of wicked men.

Government is not less necessary in the moral
 world, than the subordinate motion of the planets
 in the natural. As God appointed the *greater*
luminaries to rule the day and the night; so he ap-
 pointed the higher powers to rule the less. When
 he manifested himself to rationals by his works or
 his word, and impressed their minds with a sense
 of their high obligations to him, he instituted *RE-*
PROBATION. When he said, *I will make man as help*
meet for him, and joined Adam and Eve together in
 their human capacity; bidding them *increase and*
multiply, he instituted *MARRIAGE.* And when he
 said to them, in their *regal* capacity, *Have dominion*;
 he delegated governing power, and instituted *GO-*
VERNMENT on earth; or, to speak more properly,
 he caused that celestial plant to take root in para-
 dise; whence, with divers degrees of degeneracy,
 it has overspread the civilized parts of the earth.
 If this is the case, is not Dr. Price under a capital
 mistake, when he makes government "the creature
 " of the people?" And does he not flatly contra-
 dict St. James, who says, *Do not err: Every good*
gift

list [and consequently GOVERNMENT, one of the best public gifts] *is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights?*

You will probably endeavour to render this doctrine odious by insinuating, that it makes the people altogether passive in matter of *government, religion, and marriage.* Nay, Dr. Price does it already where he says, that, according to the scheme he opposes, some men possess a right of governing "independently on the will of the people." This assertion is true in one sense, and false in another: it is true that the higher powers must govern the less, and that Sovereigns have a right of ruling their subjects for good, "*independently on the will of the people.*" That is, supposing the people wantonly dethroned their Sovereigns, to set up anarchy on the ruins of every legislature; it is true that such sovereigns should still have a *right* to rule such unruly subjects; just as a captain, against whom his soldiers wantonly rise, has still a *right* to command them, *whether they will be commanded or not.* If this were not true, rebellion and treason were no sin at all; the heinousness of those crimes consisting in a wanton resisting of a power, which possesses a right of governing us, *whether we will be governed or not.* But if Dr. Price intimates, that our doctrine supposes *the will of the people* has absolutely no share in our doctrine of government, he greatly mistakes: For we think that the will of a majority of the *people* is as indispensably necessary to the support of *civil* government in the state, as the will of a majority of the *soldiers* is necessary to the support of *military* government in the army. Nevertheless the consent of the people to be governed by their Sovereign, and of the soldiers to be commanded by their general, is not the ground or origin of the Sovereign's and general's authority. It is ~~not~~ only [*causa sine qua non*] a requisite, without which Sovereigns and generals cannot exercise their authority.

Some

Some illustrations may help you to understand this nice point of doctrine. Men are bound to pay God a *reasonable* service, whether they will or not. A wife is bound to obey her husband in all reasonable things, whether willingly or unwillingly. And subjects are bound to obey their sovereign in all reasonable and lawful things, however averse they may be to it. Nor is it less absurd to make a lawful sovereign's claim to the obedience of his subjects, depend upon *their will*; than to make the right which a husband has of ruling his wife, depend upon *her caprice*; or the right which God has to our adoration, turn upon *our consent*. Nevertheless if wives will absolutely refuse to submit to their husbands, sinners to their God, and subjects to their king, they can shake off the yoke of subjection and affect domestic, religious, and civil independence. But then the purposes of marriage, religion and government are defeated; and a threefold rebellion takes place.

It will be proper here to trace back to its source the error about liberty, which Dr. Price has adopted from *Rousseau*, the great Geneva patriot: A fatal error this, by which that fanciful politician has kindled the flame of discord in his own country. This error consists in inferring, that, because a savage, who lives alone in a wood, is his own governor, and can legislate for himself; a man, who lives in civil society can do the same. But is not this as absurd as to suppose, that because a man who is not listed, and of course is under no military government, can go backward or forward when he pleases; therefore a soldier in the field of battle has a right to legislate for himself, and advance or retire just when he thinks proper?

I grant that if a number of savages, living like wild beasts without *religion, marriage and government*, could be prevailed on to enter upon a religious, conjugal and civil life; among all the religions, women, and governments which they could choose, they might undoubtedly *chuse* those which they

they thought best. This, after a close enquiry, would be both their right and their duty. And suppose they had mistaken idolatry for religion, an incestuous union for marriage, and tyranny for government; they would be bound to alter their plan, because such capital mistakes are destructive of the salutary ends proposed in *religion, marriage, and government*. Again: When they had agreed to embrace a religious, conjugal, and civil life; they might agree to *worship* God standing or kneeling, in open air or in a church, in hymns or in prayers, &c. They might agree to *marry* before two witnesses, or two hundred, and to do it by giving and receiving a ring, or only by joining hands: and they might embrace a monarchical, aristocracal, or democratical government; or they might, as the English have done, combine those three sorts of governments, and submit at once to a king, an house of lords, and an house of commons. But if they had once espoused a true religion, lawful wives, and a lawful government; they would sin against God, their neighbour, and their own souls; — they would be guilty of impiety, adultery, and rebellion; if they wantonly changed their religion, their wives, and their sovereign.

The reason is evident. Men who never had any religion, wife, or sovereign, are tied to no religion, wife or sovereign. But as soon as they are bound by sacramental ordinances to profess a certain religion; by conjugal promises to cleave to a certain woman; and by oaths of allegiance to submit to a certain sovereign; they are highly guilty when they break thro' their engagements without a capital reason. I say *without a CAPITAL reason*, as God allows divorce in case of *undeniable* adultery; so he permits our renouncing a church *undeniably* and *capitally* corrupt, and our withdrawing from a government *undeniably* and *capitally* tyrannical. I lay a peculiar emphasis upon the words *undeniably* and *capitally*, to make

room for the scriptural doctrine which you advance, p. 66, "The personal vices of our governors, and any slight error in their administration, will not justify our resisting them;" much less will an *imaginary* error or a *groundless* suspicion do it. And of this nature are undoubtedly the American conceits, that reasonable, legal taxes are not *due* by subjects to the supreme power which protects them; that a direct and equal representation in parliament is constitutionally necessary to the lawfulness of a money-bill; and that the British legislature uses the Colonists in a tyrannical manner, because it insists upon satisfaction for the depredations wantonly committed by the mobbing Bostonians. From the whole, I hope, I may safely conclude, that the foundation of Dr. Price's peculiar patriotism is laid in a gross mistake;—a mistake which consists in confounding the lawless liberty of a *savage*, who lives under no sort of government, with the lawful liberty of a *subject*, who is protected by a civil government; and that *government*, instead of being the *creature of the people*, or the *result* of a convention between them and their rulers, is the *creature of God*, and [when considered in the theory] is the *cause*, and not the *result*, of such a convention as the Dr. speaks of.

Page 69, you continue to quote him thus. "It is a doctrine which avowedly subverts civil liberty." No: It is a doctrine which avowedly secures a due submission to the governors that guard our civil liberty.—"It represents mankind as a body of vassals, formed to descend like cattle from one set of owners to another, who have an *absolute* dominion over them. It is a wonder, that those who view their species in a light so humiliating, should ever be able to think of themselves without regret and shame." This argument appears to me illogical and invidious. (1) *Illogical*: Logick forbids us to alter the terms of a proposition. This Dr. Price does when he substitutes

stitutes the word "ABSOLUTE *dominion*," for REASONABLE *dominion*, which our doctrine requires. I am so far from asserting that human sovereigns have an "ABSOLUTE *dominion*" over their subjects, that I readily oppose the pretended orthodoxy of the men, who ascribe *such* a dominion to God. I need not inform either you, Sir, or Dr. Price, that there are divines in England who teach, that God's *dominion* over his unborn creatures is so ABSOLUTE, that he not only can, but does ABSOLUTELY reprobate some of them, and appoint them to unavoidable and eternal ruin, before they hang yet at their mother's breast; nor need I remind you, that, in opposition to these men, I assert that God's sovereignty, far from being *thus absolute*, is always circumscribed by his goodness, wisdom and justice.—(2) The Doctor's argument is, I fear, *invidious*. What would he think of my candor, if treading in his steps, I reflected on the subordination of wives to their husbands, soldiers to their generals, flocks to their pastors, servants to their masters, and creatures to their Creator in the same manner, in which he reflects on the subordination of subjects to their sovereigns? I shall apply his argument only to the case of married women, thus: 'The doctrine of the reasonable dominion which all husbands have over their wives, *represents womankind as a body of vassals*. And those who marry two or three husbands one after another, are *formed to descend like cattle from one owner to another, who has an ABSOLUTE dominion over them*. It is a wonder that those who view their sex in a light so humiliating, should ever be able to think of themselves without regret and shame.'—For my part, far from being brought over to American patriotism by this logick, I think it is a wonder, that reasonable and good men should ever be able to think without regret and shame upon the public encomiums and rewards, with which they have crowned such illogical and dangerous arguments.

The rest of your quotation from Dr. Price is an insinuation, that arts and sciences flourish no more in a country, where the people submit to a monarch who will be obeyed, whether high republicans will submit or not. The whole of his argument is summed up in these concluding lines :
 “ With what lustre do the ancient free states of
 “ Greece shine in the annals of the world ? How
 “ different is that country now, under the Great
 “ Turk ? The difference between a country in-
 “ habited *by men*, and *by brutes*, is not greater.”
 —I am not for an *absolute* monarchy. I repeat it, the English constitution, which places the legislative power in a king, a body of patrician senators, and an house of plebeian lawgivers, appears to me the most perfect upon earth ; because it collects in one political focus all the advantages of the French Monarchy, the Venetian Aristocracy, and the new American Democracy. Nevertheless, as a lover of truth and matter of fact, I shall venture to propose some queries relative to Dr. Price’s insinuation. What people are more self-governed, or more *free from supreme authority*, than the Hottentots ; and what people come nearer than they, to the wildness and stupidity of brutes ?—Were not the Lacedæmonians, with all the ado they made about liberty, surprisngly regardless of arts and sciences ? Did not learning so flourish in Egypt and Babylon, under absolute princes, that the Greeks formerly went there for improvement, as we now do to our renowned universities ?—When did arts and sciences flourish more in Judea than in Solomon’s reign ; and who ever was a more absolute monarch ?—When did they reach a higher perfection in Rome, than under the reign of Augustus ? And yet Augustus was a despot.—What King ever ruled the French with an higher hand than Lewis XIV ? And was it not under his reign, that the French literature shone in her meridian glory ?—When did Russia emerge out of a sea of barbarity and rude ignorance ? Was it not when
 Peter

er the Great, her despotic emperor, lent her powerful hand? And do not at this day arts and sciences continue to make rapid progress there, under the patronage of the present despotic emperors?—What people are under a more absolute government than the Prussians? And in what part of Germany do the *Belles Lettres* flourish more than in Prussia? If Dr. Price does these hints justice, he will own, that an high monarchical government is at least as favourable to the improvement of arts and sciences, as an high republican administration. But, I repeat it, the middle, constitutional way is preferable to both those extremes.

Page 73, You favour me with an other quotation from Dr. Price. The doctrine of it centers in the last paragraph, which runs thus. “*All delegated power must be subordinate and limited.*” granted. All governing power is delegated from the King of Kings, and therefore it is subordinate to him, and is limited by the bounds which he has fixed, that is, by reason, scripture, and the apparent good of the people. The Doctor goes on: “If OMNIPOTENCE can, with any sense, be ascribed to a legislature, it must be lodged where ALL LEGISLATIVE POWER ORIGINATES; that is, IN THE PEOPLE.”

This is a groundless supposition, which the doctor and you take for granted;—a mischievous supposition, which is directly contrary to Scripture and Reason. And first to Scripture. *Put them in mind*, says the Apostle, *to BE SUBJECT to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates.* And why Christians are to be thus subject, he informs us where he says, that *The powers that are, are ordained of GOD*, not of the people; and that *they who resist, resist the ordinance of GOD*, and not of the people. A people who have no governors may indeed chuse their governors, just as a single woman may chuse a husband: But the authority of the governors once chosen, depends upon the people no more than the authority of a husband depends

pends upon his wife, tho' she chose him preferably to all other men ; — no more than the legislative authority of our plebeian lawgivers depends upon the freeholders or burgessees, who elected them preferably to other gentlemen.

This will probably offend our republican levellers, who fancy they are all born legislators, and can confer the power of legislation on the members of the house of Commons, just as the king can confer the honour of knighthood upon a gentleman. But I must speak the truth and do my subject justice, whoever is displeas'd at me for it. And I am ready to defend the following proposition against all our levellers and mistaken patriots. The people, that is, the governed, can no more create governing or legislative power, and bestow it upon the members of parliament whom they chuse, than the aldermen, who have the right of chusing a mayor, can create a mayoralty ; — no more than the women, who have the right of chusing an husband, can create masculine supremacy ; — no more than the servants who have chosen a master, can create masterly power ; or the soldiers who chuse to list under this or that captain, rather than another, can create the military authority to which they submit.

You possibly reply, What, is not Edmund Burke, Esq; *my* representative ? Did not I chuse him to represent *me* in parliament ? Did I not invest him with *my* legislating power ? And do not I, in his person, share in the government of Great Britain ? Indeed you do not, Sir, any more than I partake of the royal dignity in the person of the king. Permit me to hand you out of your imaginary paradise of legislation by the following important distinction. Every member of the house of commons has two characters : The first is that of representative of the commons of all the British empire in general, and of a certain borough or shire in particular. The second and nobler character of a member of parliament is that of representative of

f God himself. According to the former character, he is an agent of the people: But with respect to the latter, he is, in his degree, the substitute of God. According to the former capacity, he spreads before the legislature the wants or wishes of the people in general, and of his borough or shire in particular: And according to the latter capacity he, in his degree, makes laws, if the majority of the legislating body concurs with him.

Should you say that this is a political refinement, which originates from my fancy, I reply that it is a solid distinction which has its source in the very nature of things: And I prove it by a parallel case, which will strike you so much the more as it is probably your own. The majority of a certain congregation of protestants in Bristol, expressed a desire to have you for their pastor, and upon this desire you were ordained. But does it follow, that your authority to preach the gospel ascends from your flock to you? If your congregation insisted upon your *preaching to them smooth things, and professing deceits*, because they chose you to be their minister, would not you directly convince them of their folly by a distinction similar to mine? Would you not say: Gentlemen, tho' I am your minister, and tho' I was ordained in consequence of your suffrages, yet now I am ordained, I have an authority which you never gave nor can give. I am a minister of God as well as your pastor: My commission to preach the gospel I have received from Christ, and NOT from you; and by virtue of that commission, *whether you will hear or whether you will forbear*, I must preach to you severe as well as soothing truths.—Apply this, Sir, to our political question, and you will see, that the members of parliament, in their capacity of legislators, are no more authorized by the people to make laws, and bound to vote according to the directions of their constituents; than you and I receive authority from our flocks to preach the gospel, and are bound, in the delivery of our message to the people,

people, to consult their various humours; because legislators derive their authority from God, just as gospel-ministers do their commission from CHRIST. Were this observation properly attended to, our law-givers would study christian politicks with assiduity, that they might fully understand the will of God, the supreme lawgiver whom they represent, and to whom they shall one day give a strict account for the precious talent of legislation, which they are entrusted with: And Dr. Price would no longer poison the minds of thousands, with the antichristian doctrine that every man is, or ought to be, his own legislator, and that legislative power ascends from the people, and governing power from the governed.

(2) As this notion is contrary to scripture, so is it to *reason*. For reason dictates that if governing power came from the people, the people might, whenever they please, chuse to disobey their governors, and would have a *right* to do so. A parallel case will make you sensible of the truth of this assertion. Supreme, legislative authority belongs to *me* within the narrow compass of my family, as you suppose that it belongs to *the people* throughout the wide extent of the British dominions. I may, if I please, delegate to my servant the right of making household-regulations. And if I had delegated my right, and in consequence of this delegation my servant commanded me to breakfast at eight o'clock, is it not evident, that, if I pleased, I might instantly resume my delegated power, and say, You are only my representative; my authority exceeds yours; I insist upon breakfasting an hour later. Leaving the application of my simile to your good sense, I conclude, that, whenever you and Dr. Price teach, that the power of the governors originates from, or is delegated by the governed, you sap the foundation of all government, and indirectly bring in the lawless democracy, which a sacred historian describes where he says, *In those days there was no king*

g in Israel: Every man did that which was right
his own eyes.

But the Doctor adds, "For THEIR [the people's]
takes government was instituted; and theirs is the
only real omnipotence!" And what if it is, does
prove that governing power is delegated by the
erned? Would not the meanest corporation in
kingdom dishonour itself, if it complimented me
saying, *Military government is instituted for the
of soldiers, and theirs is the only real omni-
e of the army: Therefore the power of the ge-
al and other officers is delegated by, and origi-
es from the soldiers.* Equally conclusive, O ye
erican patriots, is your grand argument con-
ning the origin of power!

Page 76, Introducing the Doctor for the last time,
say, 'To prove the right Great Britain has to
x America, it is very common to plead, We
e the PARENT STATE. Hear Dr. Price upon
his subject.' — "These are the magic words,
which have fascinated and misled us.—The Eng-
ish came from *Germany*. Does that give the *Ger-
man* states a right to tax us?" To this trium-
ant question I answer, No: because the *Germans*
not protect us: But if the *German* Diet had, to
day, kept up fleets to guard our coasts, and an
y to fight our battles: And if we had always
ed the Emperor of *Germany* our sovereign, had
ived his lieutenants as our governors, and ad-
ted his coin as our lawful money, I would think
great piece of disloyalty and injustice, to re-
him a reasonable tribute. For protection, and
onable taxes, are equivalent to each other, as
customer's money is equivalent to the tradef-
's goods. Nor is it less unreasonable in the
onists, who have got their immense wealth un-
the protective wings of Great Britain, to refuse
at Britain the return of reasonable taxes, now
are able to pay them; than it would be in you
ceive the goods of a mercer, and to refuse
ing him a proper acknowledgment by paying
the

the reasonable bill he sends you, when he thinks you can discharge it without distressing yourself. And as it would be a shameful excuse in a gentleman, to say to his tradesmen, who kindly delayed sending in their bills till he had received his rents, Why did you not send me your bills before? So it is an unjust excuse in the Colonists to say to the protective power, Why did you not pass bills of internal taxation before the stamp-act? For a just right, founded on the eternal nature and fitness of things, can never be lost, tho' it should never be exercised. If you pay your servant wages for fifty years without ever commanding him to go on one single errand, and at last order him to do something which he is able to do; he cannot plead prescription with any decency. He would betray an ingratitude equal to his insolence if he said, Sir, you never commanded me to go on your errands before, and therefore you have lost your claim to my obedience. Had such a servant a grain of modesty and duty, he would argue in a manner diametrically opposite: He would say, I am doubly bound to go on all your errands to the utmost of my power. Your not calling upon me to exert my strength for you before, lays me under a double obligation to do it now with cheerfulness.

This brings to my mind another curious argument of Dr. Price. "Had the colonies [says he] been communities of *foreigners*, over whom we wanted to acquire dominion, &c. they [some Englishmen] are ready to admit that their resistance would have been just. In my opinion, this is the same with saying, that the Colonies ought to be *worse off* than the rest of mankind, because they are our *Brethren*." To shew the inconclusiveness of this argument, I need only bring it to open light, thus: You have more right to command your own children and servants, than to command strangers: And therefore your own children and servants are *worse off* than strangers: Or thus: The British legislature has more right to tax British subjects

ects than the subjects of France and Spain : therefore British subjects are *worse off* than the French and Spaniards.—The subjects of France and Spain would justly rise against British taxation, therefore the subjects of Great Britain may justly rise against it.—Or thus: Englishmen have more authority over their wives, than over the subjects of the Turks; therefore English women are *worse off than the rest of womankind*, yea than the subjects of the Turks, *because they are our WIVES?* I am grieved to see a doctor in divinity prostitute by his arguments christianity, morality, and logic to the infatuation of a restless, levelling patriotism. The preceding argument of Dr. Price is introduced by the levelling proposition which follows. Unless different parts of the same community are united by AN EQUAL REPRESENTATION, all such authority" [*that is, all the authority exercised by one part of the community over the other*] "is inconsistent with the principles of civil liberty," and "cannot be distinguished from the servitude of one" part "to another." If this doctrine is applied to the Lord Mayor, the aldermen, and the freemen of the city of London, chargeable with the government of the city; as well as the king, the parliament, and the electors of Great Britain? Is not Middlesex filled with slaves, as well as America? And may I address the London patriots thus? Gentlemen, Dr. Price's levelling doctrine is *false*, why do you honour and reward him for propagating it? If it is *true*, why do you not follow it? Why do you not begin to level authority in your own jurisdiction, as you want the king and parliament to do theirs? In a word, why do you not *unite the different parts of YOUR community by AN EQUAL REPRESENTATION?* Your community is made up of two sorts of men: Freemen, and men who have not the freedom of your city. These, who make up the greater part of your community, have no share in the government of it. By keeping the power of legislating for the city in your own hands, you

you exclude them from AN EQUAL REPRESENTATION; and according to the admired principles of your champion, your *authority cannot be distinguished from the servitude of one part of the city to the other*, —from the servitude of the non-freemen to yourselves; and therefore you yourselves are as much involved in the guilt of enslaving your fellow-creatures, as your scheme supposes the king and parliament to be. Let your principles of civil liberty take place at home: Level authority in the *city*; or, for decency's sake, never more reflect upon our legislators, because they do not level it in the *empire*.

Dr. Price presents us with another bold plea for levelling patriotism; and it is so much the more curious, as it is a perfect jest upon the freedom of the city of London, with which the patriots have presented him. This plea runs thus: “ We [non-voters] submit to a parliament that does not represent us, and therefore they [the Colonists] ought. How strange an argument is this? It is saying, we want liberty, and therefore they ought to want it. Suppose it true, that they are indeed contending for a better constitution of government, and more liberty than we enjoy: Ought this to make us angry?—Is it generous, because we are in a sink, to endeavour to draw them into it? Ought we not rather to wish earnestly that there may be at least ONE FREE COUNTRY left upon earth, to which we may fly when venality, luxury, and vice, have completed the ruin of liberty here?”—I own to you, Sir, that if I were the author of Dr. Price's *Observations*, and the patriots of London rewarded me for my book, by giving me the freedom of their city, I would reject that honour with detestation, and say: Gentlemen, what do you mean by presenting me with the *freedom* of your city? Is not your intended favour a glaring proof that you enslaved me before, as you do all my fellow-citizens who are not freemen? Will you make me a partaker of your sin? Will you bribe me into

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ranny by a gold box? Far from accepting a
 ace in your partial legislature, I will excite my
 enslaved fellow-citizens to rise against you. I will
 ntend for a better constitution of city-government,
 id more liberty than we enjoy: Ought this to make
 u angry? Is it generous, because the non-freemen
 e in a sink, to endeavour to keep them in it? Ought
 u not rather to wish earnestly, that there may at
 ast be ONE FREE City left in Great Britain, to
 hich we may fly, when venality, luxury, and vice
 ve completed the ruin of liberty in the kingdom?
 ill Dr. Price acts in this manner, and the city-patri-
 ts recant their encomiums of his book, or abolish
 e distinction between *freemen* and *non-freemen* in
 eir community; they must give the unprejudiced
 orld leave to consider them as inconsistent men,
 ho say and do not;—as partial men, who lay
 pon other communities heavy burdens, which
 ey will not suffer their own community to touch;—
 nd as restless, imperious subjects, who insist upon
 ur legislators levelling authority in America, when
 ey themselves will not level it in England; no
 ot in the city of London, where American pa-
 iotism has set up its standard. But I return to
 es:

You will perhaps object, that, If the Colonists
 nce owed taxes to the British legislature for pro-
 ection, yet they owe them now no more; because
 ll ties and natural contracts are now broken; the
 other-country having turned her protection into
 ets of open hostility: I reply, that Great Britain
 hastises the Colonies for their disobedience, with
 ne reluctance of a fond parent, who, when she
 orrects an undutiful child, is ready to take his
 art against a murderer. Were it not for the ter-
 or of our fleets, some greedy European powers
 ould perhaps at this very time fall upon the Co-
 onies, and endeavour to annex them to their co-
 ninions.—Again: If your servant or your son
 ad abused you, and you gave him correction to
 ring him to a sense of his duty; would he not
 add

add folly to wickedness if he said: Sir, my obligation to obey you ceases: For instead of using me as a master, or a father, you prepare to correct me; nay, you strike me! Every relation therefore, is now at an end between us. You have cut the last knot which tied me to you, and I will now fight you as an open enemy.—This immoral excuse brings to my remembrance the obstinacy of some incorrigible men, whom David describes thus: *The wrath of God came upon them for their disobedience, and slew the fittest of them. For all this they sinned still—Yea, they sinned yet more against him,*—their divine sovereign. But I hope better things of our pious American brethren. Notwithstanding the unwearyed endeavours of some patriots, to confirm them in their unnatural resistance, they will, I trust, submit to God and the king.

Page 76, you continue to quote the Doctor thus: “Children having no property, and being incapable of guarding themselves, the author of nature has committed the care of them to their parents, and subjected them to their absolute authority. But there is a period when, having acquired property, and a capacity of judging for themselves, they become independent agents; and when, for this reason, the authority of their parents ceases, and becomes nothing, but the respect and influence due to benefactors.” This argument is as illogical as it is ingenious. The flaw of it consists in confounding the double relation which the Colonists sustain, namely that of *sons*, and that of *subjects* of Great Britain: Granting therefore to Dr. Price, that according to the law of nature, there is a time when *children* become independent by acquiring property and wisdom; yet this is not the case with respect to *subjects*; but whatever be their wealth and age, and whatever capacity they have of judging for themselves, they continue to be *dependent* agents; being still bound to obey, in all *reasonable* things, the legislative power under which providence has placed them.

them. The plausible argument of your second, when touched with the finger of sound logic, sinks therefore into a sophism as glaring as that which follows: When the Prince of Wales shall be of age, he shall be *independent* on his father, and therefore he shall also be *independent* on the king. He shall have the liberty of taking a ride whether with his father's consent or not, and therefore he shall also have the liberty of commanding the fleet and the army whether *his king's* consent or not. If you would be frightened at my wickedness, were I to stir up the prince to rebellion by such sophistry; why do you recommend as "excellent," a pamphlet which supports the American revolt by so weak an argument?

You continue to quote the Doctor. "Supposing, therefore, that the order of nature in establishing the relation between parents and children, ought to have been the rule of our conduct to the Colonies, we *should have been gradually relaxing our authority as they grew up.*" Another great mistake this, of which you will be sensible if you apply the Doctor's simile to the case in hand, thus: If the sovereign ought to consider the Colonists as the children of Great Britain, and to treat them in a parental manner; *as they grow up* in power he *should have been gradually lessening* their burdens. But is not the inference big with absurdity? Because parents lay no burden upon a young child, does it follow they are to lay gradually less and less upon him *as he grows up*? Does not every unprejudiced person see that, if a parent needs his children's assistance, he may increase, and has a right, as they grow up, gradually to increase, their little burdens which he wants them to carry; and that nothing would be more absurd than "*gradually to relax his authority*" in this respect, when their increasing strength begins to render that authority valuable? But supposing parents ought to require less and less of their children as they grow up, does it follow that SOVEREIGNS ought to do so

too with respect to their SUBJECTS? Is there a legislature in all the universe, so far sunk in stupidity as to say to their subjects, You have paid taxes to the sovereign for above a thousand years, you are now grown up into an ancient kingdom; the American patriots have insinuated, that as our subjects are our children, we *should gradually relax our authority of taxing them as they grow up*, and therefore we enact that you shall pay but one half of our taxes for fifty years, and in a hundred years you shall pay nothing, for the government will be old enough to support itself without any taxes at all: So shall we shew the world, that we are grey-headed lawgivers, that you "are no children," and that our once childish constitution is grown to manly wisdom and strength. Such are the reasonings of Dr. Price's "most excellent pamphlet!" Can feathers be lighter than these arguments, with which the American patriots hope to batter down British patriotism! Feathers however may do mischief, when they are closely compacted in a strong paper-vehicle; when they are rendered ponderous by the weight of a gold box, and when busy prejudice hurls them through town and country with incredible ardor.

This part of the American controversy is so important, that I beg leave to throw light upon it by an opposite illustration. I live in a parish, where the wealth of several men consists in the number and strength of their children. A poor collier has, it may be, five or six sons. He works night and day to maintain them, in hopes that they will one day help to maintain him, and borrows money to build an house; flattering himself that by the assistance of his children, as they grow up, he shall soon discharge the debt. When they are eight years of age, they get him a groat a day; at fourteen, a shilling; and at nineteen, eighteen pence; so that the poor man has a fair prospect of being soon, as he says, "on a level with the world." But alas! his hope proves abortive; A busy body, an envi-

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ous neighbour, or some designing person, poisons the minds of his dutiful children with the policies of Dr. Price, and says, Your father does not use you well. He is a tyrant. The stronger you grow, the more burdens he lays upon you; whereas he should lay less and less. You "are no children:" You can maintain yourselves, and spend your own money. If I were in your place, this very day I would leave the old man, and set up for myself.—Too many of these deluded youths have I seen, first, using their parent ill thro' such mischievous insinuations; and then turning their backs upon him, to go and squander in riot and bloody sports, the money which they should have applied to the discharge of the family-debt, which was contracted to build the house, where they have lived rent-free all their life.

If I blame this conduct in my young, undutiful parishioners, can I approve of it in my American fellow-subjects, who despise a legislative power possessed of *royal*, as well as *parental* authority? Is it right in them to turn their backs upon their mother-country, when she groans under the weight of a debt, which has been in part contracted for their sake? And can we wonder enough at the conduct of Dr. Price, who tells us of "the ruin with which the national debt threatens us;—a debt much heavier than that which fifty years ago, the wisest men thought would necessarily sink us;" an immense debt, which we have no fair prospect of discharging but by the prudent management of growing taxes, and by the loyal, filial and brotherly assistance, which we have a right to expect from the Colonies;—can we, I say, wonder enough at the strange conduct of Dr. Price, who, while he tries to frighten us with the awful aspect of this national debt, says all he can to render us odious and contemptible to the Colonies, by whose friendly and proportionable help we are in hopes of discharging it?

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This conduct of Dr. Price is so much the more surprising, as he intimates in his conclusion, that "The debt of England, &c. might be acknowledged the debt of every individual part of the whole empire, Asia, as well as America, included." For my part, supposing *subjects* had a right to retire from their *sovereigns*, as grown up children have to leave their parents; I do not see how the Colonies could in conscience desire to set up for themselves, and form a separate empire, before they have helped their mother-country to extricate herself out of the difficulty of her national debt: Nor can I conceive how the sovereign could justly permit them to commence independent; because the strength and wealth of *all* the British empire are the double *security*, on which thousands of people have placed either the whole or a part of their fortune in the stocks; and it would be wronging the public to let so considerable a part of that *security*, as America, be lost.

However [says Dr. Price, who is always unhappily ingenious in finding fault with the sovereign's conduct] "Had we nourished and favoured America, with a view to commerce, instead of considering it as a country to be governed, &c. a growing surplus in the revenue might have been gained, which, invariably applied to the gradual discharge of the national debt, would have delivered us from the ruin with which it threatens us."—"This trade" [with the Colonies] "was not only an *increasing trade*; but it was a trade in which we had no rivals; a trade *certain, constant and uninterrupted.*"

But why was this trade "*an increasing trade, in which we had no rivals?*" Was it not because the Colonies were so taken up with clearing ground, planting, and building, that they had not time to apply themselves to the culture of less necessary arts? But now that their houses are built, their fields in proper order, and their numbers multiplying fast, they must either idly look one at another

other, or erect manufactures, and provide themselves with an hundred articles, with which they have hitherto been supplied from England. So shall they, themselves, naturally become our "rivals" in manufactures: And the moment this is the case, our trade with them will naturally decrease, and Dr. Price's scheme for discharging the national debt will prove an idle speculation, unless we should act so tyrannical a part as to put a total stop to industry among them. Hence appears the propriety and necessity of *internal* taxes, in order to obtain from them a revenue, which may be at once rational, scriptural, constitutional and *sure*.

Again: Why has our trade with the Colonies been hitherto "a trade certain, constant, and uninterrupted?" Was it not because Great Britain, by maintaining her *supremacy* over the Colonies, could confine their trade, and make it flow in British channels? If she gives up her *supremacy*, will she be able to oblige the Colonies to trade with her, more than with France, Holland, or Spain? Is it not evident, that in the same year in which she loses her *supremacy*, not only her American dominions and taxes, but likewise her American ports and trade will be lost for ever, unless the Colonists can get more by us than by other nations? I should wonder, that so obvious a thought escaped so penetrating a genius as Dr. Price; if I did not know, that the peculiar patriotism, which I oppose, is so intent upon looking for defects in the constitution, and for blemishes in our governors, that it frequently overlooks the most glaring truths.

Return we now to your quotation, and let us see if the conclusion is preferable to the beginning: Dr. Price goes on. "But, like mad parents, we have done the contrary; and at the very time when our authority should have been most relaxed, we have carried it to the greatest extent, and exercised it with the greatest rigor. No word *then*, that they [the Colonies] have turned upon us; and obliged us to remember, that

“ that they are not children.” Bring the Doctor’s meaning to open light: Unfold his argument, and you will find the following propositions, which may be considered as the political creed of Dr. Price and the American patriots. (1) Parents who do not relax their authority of laying some easy burdens upon their children, as their children grow more able to bear such burdens, are “ mad parents.” — (2) Our political parents, that is, our legislators, who have not relaxed their authority of laying some easy taxes upon their American children, as these children grew more able to pay such taxes, are “ mad ” legislators.—(3) When children grow up, and have got strength enough to bear a little burden for their heavy-laden parents; and when such parents desire their children to give them some filial assistance, it is *no wonder* that grown up children *turn upon* their parents, and *oblige* them “ *to remember that they are not children.*” — (4) The Colonies have now got strength enough to ease great Britain by bearing some small proportion of the taxes with which she is loaded: And therefore it is *no wonder that they turn*, sword in hand, *upon* their mother-country, and *oblige her to remember that they are not children.* Such is the manner in which a doctor in divinity enforces the fifth commandment!

If this doctrine shocks you, Sir, what would you think of it, were I to apply it to the character of subjects of Great Britain;— a character this, which the Colonists bear, as well as that of *Sons* of Britons? In this view of things, the Doctor’s patriotic creed naturally swells with the following articles. (1) A sovereign who does not relax his authority of laying reasonable taxes upon his *subjects*, as they grow more able to pay such taxes, acts like a “ mad ” sovereign. (2) When subjects have got strength and wealth enough to pay such taxes, they may “ *turn upon* ” their Sovereign, and *oblige him to remember, that they are no impotent subjects.* And, lastly, to make an application of the

the whole, the king and parliament have acted like *mad* lawgivers, by laying a reasonable tax upon their American subjects; and the Colonists only oppose *madness*, when they rise up in arms against their sovereign, rather than pay the reasonable tax laid upon them. If there is a grain of piety, morality, or good sense in one article of this patriotic creed, I consent to forfeit my claim to a grain of common sense.

Dr. Price may possibly attempt to prove, that the last articles of this creed do not belong to his doctrine: For he insinuates, that the Colonists are not the subjects of Great Britain. Take his own words: "The people of America are no more the subjects of the people of Great Britain, than the people of Yorkshire are the subjects of the people of Middlesex." This proposition is true, if the Doctor by *the people of Great Britain* means *you, me* and our *British fellow-subjects*. But who ever pretended that the Colonists are the subjects of Yorkshiremen or Cornishmen? No Briton but the king can say to a Colonist, You are *my* subject. And if *George* the Third has a right to say it, to every Colonist, it is only as he is the head and representative of the whole legislative power, and can say it to every Englishman. When we assert, that the Colonists are *the subjects of Great Britain*, we do not set ourselves above them: We only mean that they are under the legislative power of Great Britain, as well as we. And Dr. Price inadvertently grants it, when he adds, "They are our *fellow subjects*:" For if they are our *fellow-subjects*, they are bound to obey the British legislature as much as we are; as much at least as the body of the non-voters in England; a countless body this, which far exceeds the number of all the American Colonists, as appears from the account which Dr. Price himself gives us of the inequality of our representation, and the prodigious difference which the constitution makes between Briton and Briton, with regard to the privilege

vilege of voting at elections. " In Great Britain " [says he] " consisting of near six millions of inhabitants, 5723 persons, most of them the lowest of the people, elect one half of the house of commons; and 364 votes chuse the ninth part." According to this account, and that which in an other place he gives us of the Colonies, which, he says, consist of " near three millions of people," it follows that when the parliament taxes the *non-voters* in England, it taxes at least two millions of persons more than when it taxes all British America.

With respect to the prerogative which Britons, as a more ancient people enjoy, when they chuse parliament men; it may be as reasonably and legally invested in an elder community of subjects, as a family-prerogative is invested in an elder brother. - Add to this, that by paying heavier taxes, we now make, and, I hope, shall always equitably make a compensation to the Colonies for the superior privileges annexed to our *eldership*. Nor is it more just in the Colonies to levy war against Britons on the present occasion, than it would be in younger brothers to fall sword in hand upon their elder brother, because custom and law allow him peculiar rights necessary to support the dignity of their family, which, as the first-born son, he *peculiarly* represents.

Should you say, that, according to this doctrine, the Colonists lose the birth-right transmitted to them, as sons of free-born Englishmen, namely, the right of being *their own legislators*: A sacred right this, " without which government is a curse"; and subjection, " abject slavery".—I reply, that what the people of England never had, cannot be lost by the people of England, much less by the people of America.—" What! [says your scheme] have not the voters in England the right of making their own laws?" No, Sir, no more than Angels in heaven and Frenchmen on earth.—" What! Do we not chuse our own rep-

representatives? And are not our representatives lawgivers?" Yes, Sir, but they are not lawgivers as they are our agents and representatives; but as they are the agents and representatives of the Great Lawgiver, who *ordains the Powers that are.* — "However they legislate in consequence of our choice." True; but not thro' any legislative power communicated to them by virtue of our choice. You rule your own wife, if you have one, in consequence of the choice she made of you for a husband; but not by any authority she conveyed to you. If you have sons, and give them their choice of half a dozen masters; he whom they chuse, acquires a right to command them in consequence of their choice, but not thro' any authority conveyed to him by virtue of that choice. The authority of commanding your sons must come from an higher source than their election. If they could bestow magisterial authority, they could resume it as often as they are inclined to play the ruant.—"What! according to the British constitution, is it not the prerogative of certain men, whom we call *freemen* and *burgesses*, to give their vote to certain gentlemen, who, in consequence of those votes, are admitted as members of the house of commons, in which a large share of the legislative power is lodged." True: This is a peculiarity of the British government, just as it is a peculiarity of the church of England, that some men called *rectors*, *vicars*, and *patrons*, can give a student in divinity a title, in consequence of which he is invested with authority to be an ambassador of Christ, and to preach the gospel. But observe! his authority comes not from his *rector*, *vicar*, or *patron*: It descends from CHRIST himself. If I fancied, that authority to preach the gospel originates from me, because I can give a candidate for orders a title, in consequence of which he may be admitted into holy orders, and preach *for me*, and *by me*; I should betray my spiritual vanity in the church, as much as those men betray their political

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cal pride in the state, who fancy that they are born legislators, and that they can convey the power of making laws to the gentlemen for whom they vote at an election, just as you can convey the authority of dressing your horse, to the man whom you chuse for your groom. I have dwelt the more upon this part of our controversy, because the notion that *self-government* and *self-legislation* naturally belong to all men in general, and to the people and Colonies of Great-Britain in particular, is the *πρωτος ψευδος*, the capital error, from which flows your American patriotism. The moment that error is discovered, this boasted virtue visibly degenerates into a vice compounded of one or more of the following ingredients, inattention, prejudice, ignorance, conceit, pride, ambition, envy, refractoriness, and civil antinomianism.

We have seen in the preceding letter, how greatly you have wronged the sovereign in pointing out the cause of the war with America; let us see if Dr. Price does the king and parliament more justice than you do. “The present contest [says his pamphlet] is for dominion on the side of the Colonies, as well as on ours:—But with this difference. We are struggling for dominion over OTHERS; THEY for SELF-dominion; the noblest of all blessings.—I am persuaded, that were pride, and the lust of dominion, exterminated from every heart among us, &c. this quarrel would soon be ended.—To sheath our swords in the bowels of our brethren—for no other end than to oblige them to acknowledge our supremacy: how horrid!—This is the cursed ambition that led a Cæsar, and an Alexander, and many other mad conquerors, to attack peaceful communities, and to lay waste the earth.—This war can have no other object than the extension of power.” These patriotic assertions appear to me big with absurdity and gross injustice. Does Great Britain aim at an “*extension of power*,” when she protects our injured

tered merchants, her oppressed subjects? Have not all sovereigns the right to defend wronged innocence? Nay, is it not their bounden duty so to do with respect to their own subjects? Does our legislature "extend her power," when she taxes the Americans? Has not Dr. Price himself granted that they were taxed in the late reign? And does not his own conscience declare, that protective powers have the right of reasonably taxing the protected; and that this right has been enjoyed by all sovereigns in all ages?

Again: If the king of Great Britain is the lawful sovereign of the Colonies, and has as much right to command them as to command us;—if all the men in power among them before the revolt, took OATHS OF FIDELITY to him, as the king of Great Britain, who is inseparably connected with the British parliament;—and if they have always submitted to British laws, and "*always looked to his country as their home*"—if this is the case, I say, is any thing more unreasonable and unjust than to pour floods of odium upon the efforts, which the sovereign makes to bring back the Colonies to their former allegiance; and to compare those efforts with the *lust of power*, which intoxicated Cæsar and Alexander, when, without any provocation, they attacked and conquered foreign kingdoms? If a second *Ket* arose in England, affected independency, dethroned the tyrant, drew all the country people from their work, and engaged half a dozen counties to revolt; would any man, except an American patriot, dare to say, that it would be "*savage folly to address the throne*" for the suppression of the growing mischief? Could you insinuate with candor, that, if the king exerted his power on such an occasion, he would act the part of a "*mad conqueror*?" And would not your blood run cold, if you heard a christian Doctor put this wild plea in the mouth of *Ket* and his adherents: O king, *the spirit of domination, and the lust of power* make thee mad. Thou wilt *sheath thy sword in our bowels,*
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and spread misery among a happy people for no other end than to oblige them to acknowledge thy supremacy. We confess that the present contest is for dominion on our side as well as on thine; but with this essential difference: THOU art struggling for dominion over OTHERS; WE for SELF dominion, the noblest of all blessings?

This seditious sophism is sufficient to fill us with a just detestation of Dr. Price's politicks. But a scheme which has a direct tendency so to level authority, as to subvert all government, and abolish all subordination in the universe—such a scheme, I say, cannot be too strongly opposed: It should be totally extirpated. Archimedes said once, "Give me a point, on which I may fix my engine, and I will move the earth out of it's place:" And I may say, Give me Dr. Price's political principles, and I will move all kings out of their thrones, and all subjection out of the world. To convince you of the truth of this assertion, I need only work a moment his patriotic engine in your presence.

The collector of the land tax is at the door; Fired with Dr. Price's patriotism, I run to him and say: Sir, I am a *freeman*. You shall treat me neither as a *beast*, nor as a *slave*. I never yet chose a parliament-man in all my life: Nor will I be taxed till I am directly and adequately represented in parliament. And suppose I were, I could not in conscience pay taxes to maintain a government, which enslaves millions of my free-born fellow-creatures, who are taxed without being directly or adequately represented. Besides, I pay parish rates, and the levies of my hundred; and *must I submit to be triple-taxed?* Will those who send you *insist upon such a supremacy over me, as will leave me nothing that I can call my own?*—Would you let me alone, and suffer me to enjoy in security my property, and parish government, instead of disturbing me, I would thank and bless you.—But if you will not, I have a right to emancipate myself as soon as I can; I will shew you, that I and my hundred have the right of *legislating*

legislating for ourselves. This blessing, when lost, we have always a right to resume: And I resume it now in the name of all the non-electors in the parish and hundred, who are the majority, and who should be as glad as myself to pay taxes only when they have a mind. *Dulce pro parochiâ mori!* But suppose they chuse to be enslaved, I do not: Dr. Price has converted me to patriotism. I act according to his admired doctrine, which is summed up in the following propositions. "In a free State EVERY MAN is HIS OWN legislator." — "To be free, is to be guided by ONES OWN will: And to be guided by the will of ANOTHER is the character of SERVITUDE." — "As far as, in ANY INSTANCE, the operation of ANY CAUSE, comes in to restrain the power of SELF GOVERNMENT," (whether it be in an individual, in a parish, hundred, colony, province, principality, or kingdom,) "so far SLAVERY is introduced: Nor do I think that a preciser idea than this of LIBERTY or SLAVERY can be formed." According to this doctrine, I can not only refuse paying taxes with the majority of my hundred, but alone, by virtue of my own personal right. For EVERY MAN is HIS OWN legislator, it is plain, that he can make his own laws. Now, as I am a man, I am my own legislator; and as such I enact, that I ought not to pay the tax you demand of me. Should you say, that the parliament has enacted. I shall pay it, I reply [in Mr. Evans's and Dr. Price's words] *What a man has is ABSOLUTELY his own: No man has a right to take it from him without his consent; expressed by himself. or by his own representative, i. e. by a representative of his own chusing.* What authority has the parliament to cede my property? "Such a cession being inconsistent with the unalienable rights of human nature, either binds not at all; or binds only the individuals who made it," and the men who chose such individuals for their representatives. This is not all: Dr. Price asserts that "all taxes are FREE GIFTS." And can any thing be more absurd than to demand a FREE GIFT, as

if it were a *just debt*; especially considering that I never promised such a gift, no nor the majority of the parish, the hundred, the county, or the kingdom to which I belong; the majority not having sent any member to parliament? A *free gift* is to be given *freely*; and whoever will take it from us against our own will, contradicts himself, tries to *enslave us, stab our vitals, and commits robbery*. And is not such a *gross abuse* of power sufficient to *rouse me into resistance*? Besides, why should I be so much afraid of raising a rebellion? Does not Dr. Price say, "He who will examine the history of the world will find, there has generally been more reason for complaining that they have been too patient, than that they have been turbulent and rebellious?" Should you object that, upon this footing, all the non-voters will soon rise against the voters and their representatives, and that the *unity* of the kingdom will be broken? I reply in the Doctor's pious language, "If in order to preserve *unity*, one half of it" [the realm] "must be enslaved to the other half, let it, in the name of God, want unity." — "Of such liberty as I have now described, it is impossible that there should be an excess." And I apply to your tyrannical demand the patriotic query, which he makes with respect to the Sovereign's claims on the province of Massachusetts Bay, "Can there be any Englishman who, were it his own case, would not sooner lose his heart's blood, than yield to claims so pregnant with evils, and destructive to every thing that can distinguish a *freeman* from a *slave*?"

Nothing can exceed the wickedness of this patriotic speech of mine about taxes, except the insolence of that which follows. I suppose it was made by Satan to the Son of God, when, according to Milton's fancy, they encountered each other in the heavenly plains. I meet thee in the field [says the fiend] to defend my freedom, and assert the liberty of these heavenly legions. Before I pierce thy side with my spear, let me pierce thy conscience with my

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ny arguments. "In a free state [much more in heaven where liberty is perfect] every one is his own legislator. To be free, is to be guided by one's own will; and to be guided by the will of another, is the character of servitude." They call thee MESSIAH THE PRINCE; but for as much as thou say'st, *I do nothing of myself*, and art not ashamed to add, *Father NOT MY will, but thine be done*; and to teach the mean Spirits who follow thee to pray, *THY WILL be done in heaven and on earth*; it is plain that thou "restrainest the power of SELF GOVERNMENT," and "introducest SLAVERY." Thou art lost to all sense of heavenly patriotism. Enslaved thyself, thou comest to damp the noble flame of liberty, which glows in these angelical bosoms; and to make us wear the badge of the most abject slavery as thou dost.—Thou proud and base tool of tyranny!—Can thy reason blame us for our noble struggle, since we are not allowed to have our natural right of legislating for ourselves? And if those dastardly spirits, who compose thy hosts, say, "Neither have most of us;" I reply, "Then you so far want liberty, and your language is, we are not free, why will they be free?"—"I have no other notion of slavery, but being bound by a law, to which I do not consent." Now I do not consent to the law which says, Thou shalt obey thy divine sovereign and honour thy heavenly father: I never made that law. And suppose I and my legions had made it, we have a right to repeal it. For "Government is an institution for the benefit of the people governed, which they have power to modify as they please."—"Liberty may be enjoyed in every possible degree."—"Liberty is most complete and perfect, when the people have most of a share in government, and of a controuling power over the persons by whom it is administered." Now thou, and thy father, are the persons, by whom heavenly government is administered. A spirit of domination, and lust of power kindle thee into rage. The only object of the war thou wagest against us, is the extension of dominion. Thou wilt maintain thy usurped

Supremacy over us: And we will maintain our native or acquired supremacy over ourselves. *The present contest is for dominion on thy side, as well as ours*: But [like a tyrant] thou art struggling for dominion over OTHERS: And we [like free spirits] are struggling for SELF-dominion: *The noblest of all blessings.*—"Of such liberty [or self-dominion] as I have now described, it is impossible that there should be an excess."—I, and these brave legions, will therefore fight for it, at the hazard of our happiness and glory. Self-government and supremacy in hell, are preferable to servile obedience and subordinate grandeur in heaven.

I need not tell you, Sir, that this speech of the patriotic Scraph is formed upon the principles laid down in Dr. Price's pamphlet. You easily discern not only his sentiments, but his very words and doctrine. Should you reply, that the case of creatures is different from that of subjects, because creatures owe more to God, than subjects to an earthly sovereign: I grant it; and assert, that on this account obedience to the true God is prescribed in the first table of the law, and reasonable subjection to our rightful sovereign, in the second table. The former is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it in dignity and importance. Therefore says St. Peter, *Fear God and honour the king*. Give both God and Cæsar their due. Subject yourselves to both in their place.

To return: If your doctrine directly or indirectly strikes at the authority of God and Cæsar, as the two preceding speeches shew it does, how dangerous is your patriotism! I shall not however brand it with the epithets which Dr. Price applies to the conduct of his governors, and loyal fellow-subjects; nor shall I borrow from him the words *curst ambition—madness—rage—savage folly, &c.* But with a degree of the liberty, with which Paul withstood Peter to the face because he was to be blamed, I shall venture to expostulate a moment both with him and with you.

You

You are not only *men*, but *Britons*, *patriots*, *christians*, and *ministers of the gospel*. But which of these names do you adorn, when you teach the wretched politicks, which, I trust, I have refuted in these pages? If your capital arguments are *irrational*; have you shewn yourselves *men*?—If they sap the foundation of all *civil* government; have you shewn yourselves *civilized men*?—If they are *unconstitutional*, betray Great Britain, tend to rend from her all her American dominions, and pour undeserved contempt upon our rightful lawgivers; have you shewn yourselves *Britons*, *subjects*, and *patriots*, deservedly so called?—If they subvert an important part of Christ's doctrine, and defeat the effect of his loyal example; have you shewn yourselves *christians*?—If they tend to kindle the fire of national discontent, to make uneasy subjects fly to arms; or rebellious subjects grasp, with new transports of enthusiasm, the swords which they wantonly bathe in floods of British blood; have you acted the part of *preachers of the gospel of peace*? Have you shewn, that you either fear God, or honour the king?—If you have called all the powers of sophistry and oratory to your help, to hinder millions of subjects from paying obedience to God by *rendering unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's*; have you not blown the trumpet of discord? And have you not founded a false alarm thro' the British dominions, by representing *our constitution* as "*almost lost*" thro' the "*weakness*" and "*violence*" of our governors, when if there is any likelihood of its being lost, the danger springs from the *weakness* or *violence* of the patriots, whom your publications intoxicate and "*kindle into rage*?" And shall I praise you for such a conduct? No: Whoever they are, that admire you as bold, spirited citizens, I shall take the liberty to consider you as *rash* *injudicious* patriots, who have more wit than *prudence*, and intend far better than you perform.

Should you say, that you have the approbation of the minority in parliament, and of the patriots

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in the city of London : I reply, that the city patriots will not be your comforters on your death-bed, or your judges in the great day. And what if the *majority* of mankind were on your side ; could they cause a doctrine, which is *irrational, unscriptural* and *unconstitutional*, to be agreeable to reason, scripture, and the constitution ? Permit me, then, my dear, mistaken fellow-labourers in the gospel, to beseech you to review our controversy, to study christian politicks, to drop your prejudices against our governors, to embrace *genuine* patriotism, and to second the efforts of the ministers of state and gospel-ministers, who try to stem the torrent of political enthusiasm, which deluges America, and threatens to overflow Great Britain itself. So shall you undo the harm, which you have undesignedly done ; and our revolted fellow-subjects, instead of cursing the day when you confirmed them in their sin, will bless you for giving them an antidote as powerful as the error, which now poisons their minds, and distracts their country.

Should you wonder, Sir, at my repeated opposition to your principles, I shall urge two things by way of apology for it : (1) Tho' I believe that you and your second *mean* well, yet *some* of your principles have, I fear, a tendency to raise or foment a spirit of disobedience, sedition, and anarchy. And (2) As a minister of the church of England, I have subscribed to the doctrine of the *Homily against disobedience and wilful rebellion*, which contains this remarkable ejaculation. ' God of his infinite mercy grant unto us, that we may be—good, natural, loving, and obedient subjects ;—not only shewing all obedience ourselves ; but, *as many of us as are able, to the utmost of our power, ability, and understanding,*' [endeavouring] ' to stay and repress all rebels and rebellions against God, our gracious prince, and natural country, *at every occasion that is offered unto*

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‘ us! And that which we *are all able to do*, unless we do it, we shall be most wicked, and most worthy to feel in the end such extreme plagues as God has ever poured upon rebels.’ I produce this quotation, not to charge you, Sir, or Dr. Price, with *disobedience and wilful rebellion*, for I firmly believe you *intend* no such thing. I only want to remind you, that by my subscriptions as a minister, my baptism as a christian, and my oath of allegiance as a subject, I am bound, *at the occasion offered me* by your reply and your quotations, *to do what I am able to do* in order to rectify your mistakes, and guard my readers against what appears to *me* the natural tendency of your principles. And now, Sir, having cleared my conscience with respect to you, and the ingenious Dr. Price, whom you have called to your assistance, I quit the thankless office of a faithful reprover, and resuming that of a friendly controvertist, I assure you, that, notwithstanding the difference of our political and religious sentiments, I am with christian sincerity and love,

Rev. Sir,

Your Obedient

Servant in Christ,

J. F.

POSTSCRIPT.

[N my first Letter, I have omitted an important answer to your capital argument. You suppose, Sir, that the Colonists are enslaved and robbed when they are taxed by the king and the parliament, because “ *every shilling which they* [the members

members of the British parliament] *take out of the pocket of an American, is so much saved in their own.*" To this I object the improbability that a British legislator would so far demean himself, as to save a dirty shilling in his purse, by oppressively taking one out of an American's pocket.—You reply by insinuating, that I have not so high an opinion of the honesty of our legislators as I express; and that, if I lent a few thousands to one of them, I should take care not to part with my money without receiving a proper bond. To the answer which I have given you, p. 28, permit me to add that which follows.

Supposing that a member of parliament would act a knave's part for the sake of "a few thousands" wherewith he could enrich *himself*; yet it is absurd to suppose, that he would turn robber, to share his booty with near six millions of people. For if a member of parliament picks an American's pocket by taxing him, the shilling which he takes from the American does not save a shilling in his own pocket, as you insinuate: It is only a shilling saved for Great-Britain in general,—that is, for near six millions of people. I shall not say then, What gentleman is there in parliament,—but what felon is there in Newgate, who would think it worth his while to pick an American's pocket of a shilling, or even of three millions of shillings, to share the profit of his villainy among six millions of people? Your grand argument therefore, considered in this light, wants not only solidity, but even plausibility: Since it is founded on an absurd, uncharitable probability, which falls short of ~~any~~ a rational probability, almost as much as a single unit falls short of six millions.

The preceding observation is applicable to your doctrine of liberty: Civil liberty, if we believe you, Sir, and Dr. Price, is one and the same thing with the power of making our own laws in common with our fellow-subjects. According to this notion, supposing that, to make our own laws, we
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sealed all the laws which have been made in Eng-
 land by former legislators ;—supposing that all the
 subjects of Great Britain are *free* in your sense of
 the word ; that their number is nine millions ;
 and that one has as much right to make laws as
 another ;—supposing this, I say, upon your scheme
 follows, that the degree of *legislative power*,
 i. e. of *liberty*, which falls to the share of an En-
 glishman, bears as insignificant a proportion to the
 FULL power of legislation, i. e. to FULL liberty, as
 a single voice bears to eight millions nine hundred
 and ninety nine thousand nine hundred and ninety
 nine voices. If the crown itself, and the power
 annexed to it, were divided into so many parts,
 they would be so little and so insignificant, that
 none but fools would think it worth their while to
 attend an hour about one such part of the royal
 dignity. But this is not all : If the old adage,
ut capita tot sensus, is true ;—if every man has
 a peculiar turn for legislation, as well as his pe-
 culiar complexion and look ;—if no one is free
 so far as he is governed according to his own
 legislative mind ;—if nine millions of British sub-
 jects have as much right to make British laws as
 Dr. Price ;—and if the majority are to carry their
 point against the minority ; there are nine million
 degrees of probability to one, that Dr. Price, upon
 his own scheme, will be forced to give up his own
 legislative will ; and that the laws made by others
 shall prevail against his own self-made laws. And
 is not this a proof, that after all the ado he makes
 about liberty, he only leads us to a liberty, which
 is as far from what he calls complete liberty, as a
 single unit is far from nine millions ? And that
 which brings us as near the state which you are pleased
 to call *abject slavery*, as having only one share of
 that part of the legislative power which is lodged
 in the house of Commons out of nine millions of
 men, is near to having nothing to do with legis-
 lation at all ? If these observations are just, is it
 not evident, Sir, that your doctrine of *civil liber-*

ty rests on frivolous and irrational refinements, as well as your *American patriotism* ?

Permit me to make one more remark upon taxation. Page 47, I have quoted you and Dr. Price, who both agree to mention an act of parliament, where " *certain duties, &c. are said to be GIVEN and GRANTED by the parliament to the king.*" Looking now into your pamphlet, I take notice that you put the words *given* and *granted* in italics. Should you do it to insinuate, that the taxes which we pay are *not* a DEBT, but a FREE GIFT from us and our FELLOW SUBJECTS; permit me, Sir, to answer your indirect argument by observing, that the *legislative* power being chiefly lodged in the *parliament*, as the *executive* power is chiefly lodged in the *king*; the *legislative* power may with propriety GIVE and GRANT to the *executive* power the revenue arising from such and such taxes. All that can therefore be reasonably inferred from the two expressions, on which you seem to lay so much stress, is that the legislative power *gives* and *grants* supplies to the king, as the first commander of the fleet and army: But to conclude from thence, that taxes are not DUE by *the people* to the *legislative* and *protective* power, is as absurd, unscriptural and unconstitutional, as to conclude, that all the freeholders are *legislators*, that all who have no vote for parliament men are *slaves*, and that the supreme and governing power is in the hands of the *governed*:—Three dangerous opinions these, which are to your levelling patriotism, what the three heads of *Cerberus* are to that fabulous monster.

L E T.

L E T T E R IV.

REV. SIR,

I Should be inexcusable if I concluded my refutation of Dr. Price's *antichristian* politicks, without doing him the justice to confess, that he has advanced a *christian* argument, which I cannot properly answer, and which is so awful, that it highly deserves the attention of all, who wish well to church and state. Take it in his own words. "In this hour of tremendous danger, it would become us to turn our thoughts to heaven. This is what our brethren in the Colonies are doing. From one end of North America to the other, they are Fasting and Praying. But what are we doing?—Shocking thought! we are ridiculing them as *fanatics*, and scoffing at religion. We are running wild after pleasure, and forgetting every thing serious and decent at masquerades. We are gambling in gaming houses; trafficking for boroughs; perjuring ourselves at elections; and selling ourselves for places. Which side then is Providence likely to favour? In *America* we see a number of rising states in the vigor of youth, &c. and animated by PIETY. Here we see an old state, &c. inflated and IRRELIGIOUS, enervated by luxury, &c. and hanging by a thread. Can we look without pain on the issue?"

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There is more solidity in this argument, than in all that Dr. Price has advanced. If the Colonists throng the houses of God, while we throng play-houses, or houses of ill fame; if they crowd their communion-tables, while we crowd the gaming table or the festal board; if they pray, while we curse; if they fast, while we get drunk; and keep the sabbath, while we pollute it; if they shelter under the protection of heaven, while our chief attention is turned to our hired troops; we are in danger—in *great* danger. Be our cause never so good, and our force never so formidable; our case is bad, and our success doubtful. Nay, the Lord of hosts, who, of old, sold his disobedient people into the hands of their unrighteous enemies, to chastise and humble them,—this righteous Lord may give success to the arms of the Colonies, to punish them for their revolt, and us for our prophaneness. A youth that believes and prays as David, is a match for a giant that swaggers and curses as Goliath. And they that, in the name of the Lord, *antihastically* encounter their enemies in a *bad* cause, bid fairer for success than they that, in a *good* cause, *prophanely* go into the field; trusting only in the apparent strength of an arm of flesh. To disregard the *king's* righteous commands, as the Colonists do, is bad: But to despise the first-table commandments of the *King of kings*, as we do, is still worse. Nor do I see how we can answer it, either to reason or our own consciences, to be so intent on enforcing British laws, and so remiss in yielding obedience to the laws of God. If the capital command, *Fear God, and honour the king*, could be properly parted; should not every christian prefer the former part to the latter? Will our honouring the *king* atone for our dishonouring *God*? And can we expect, that our loyalty shall make amends for our impiety or lukewarmness?

Is it not surprising, that amidst all the preparations, which have been made to subdue the revolted Colonies, none should have been made to check

our

our open rebellion against God; and that in all our national applications to foreign princes for help, we should have forgotten a public application to the prince of the kings of the earth? Many well-wishers to their country flattered themselves, that at a time, when the British empire stands, as Dr. Price justly observes, "on an edge so perilous," our superiors would have appointed a day of humiliation and prayer;—a day to confess the national sins, which have provoked God to let loose a spirit of political enthusiasm and revolt upon us;—a day to implore pardon for our past transgressions, and to resolve upon a more religious and loyal course of life;—a day to beseech the Father of lights and mercies to *touch*, at this important juncture, our *senators wisdom* in a peculiar manner; and to inspire them with such steadiness and mildness, that by their prudence, courage, and condescension, the war may be ended with little effusion of blood; and, if possible, without shedding any more blood at all.—Thousands expected to see such a day; thinking that it becomes us, as reformed christians, nationally to address the throne of grace, and interest God to turn the hearts of the Colonists towards us, and ours towards them; that we may speedily bury our mutual animosities in the grave of our common Saviour. And not a few supposed, that humanity bids us feel for the myriads of our fellow-creatures, who are going to offer up their lives in the field of battle; and that charity and piety require us to pray that they may penitently part with their sins, and solemnly prepare themselves for a safe passage, I shall not say from Britain to America; but, if they are called to it, from time into eternity.—Such, I say, were the expectations of thousands, but hitherto their hopes and wishes have been disappointed.

Dr. Price knows how to avail himself of our omission or delay in this respect, to strengthen the hands of the American patriots, by insinuating; that heaven will not be propitious to us; and that

"our cause is such, as gives us [no] reason to ask God to bless it." None can tell what fewel this plausible observation of his, will add to the wild fire of political enthusiasm, which burns already too fiercely in the breasts of thousands of injudicious religionists. I therefore humbly hope, that our governors will consider Dr. Price's objection taken from our immorality and prophaneness; and that they will let the world see, we are neither ashamed nor afraid to spread the justice of our cause before the Lord of hosts, and to implore his blessing upon the army going to America, to enforce gracious offers of mercy, and reasonable terms of reconciliation.

And why, after all, should we be ashamed of asking help of God, as well as of German princes? Have we never read such awful scriptures as these?

• Save us, O king of heaven, WHEN we call upon
 • THEE. Some put their trust in chariots, and
 • some in horses: But we WILL remember the
 • name of the Lord our God.—Blessed be my strong
 • helper, who SUBDUETH the people unto me,
 • and setteth me above mine adversaries. — Thro'
 • THEE will we overthrow our enemies, and in
 • THY name will we tread them under that rise
 • against us: For I will not trust in my bow: It
 • is not my sword that shall, [comparatively] help
 • me. — Be not afraid of this † great multitude;
 • for the battle is not yours, but God's.—All the
 • assembly shall know, that the Lord saveth not
 • with sword and spear: For the battle is the
 • LORD'S.

Our

† Dr. Price, speaking of the numbers of the Americans, says,
 "To think of conquering that whole continent, with 30,000 or
 "40,000 men to be transported across the Atlantic, and fed from
 "hence, and incapable of being recruited after any defeat—This
 "is a folly so great, that language does not afford a name
 "for it."

Our own history, as well as the scripture, confirms Dr. Price's objection taken from our neglect of the *religious* means of success in the present contest. It is well known to many, that in the civil wars of the last age, a national disregard of the Lord's day, and the avowed contempt of God's name, which prevailed in the king's party, did him unspeakable injury. For multitudes of men who feared God, seeing prophaneness reign in the army of the royalists, while religious duty was solemnly performed by the forces of the parliament; and being unable to enter into the political questions, whence the quarrel arose, judged of the cause according to religious appearances; and sided against the king, merely because they fancied that he sided against God. Nor were there wanting men of the greatest candor and penetration, who thought, that this was one of the principal causes of the overthrow of our church and state; Cromwell then availing himself of this appearance, as Dr. Price does now, to persuade *religious* people, that he was fighting the Lord's battles, and that opposing the king and the bishops was only opposing tyranny and a prophane hierarchy. To shew how much our want of religious decency contributed towards the overthrow of our church and government in the last century, I shall produce an other extract from the *Rev. Mr. Baxter's Narrative of his life and times*. That candid divine and judicious politician, after mentioning the unhappy differences between those who conform to the church of England, and those who do not, says:

Page 32, &c. 'When they [the nonconformists] had been a while called by that name, [Puritan] the vicious multitude of the ungodly called all Puritans, that were strict and serious, were they ever so conformable: So that the same name, in a Bishop's mouth, signified a *Nonconformist*; and in an ignorant drunkard's or swearer's mouth, signified a *godly christian*. But the people, being the greater number, became among themselves

makers of the sense.—The ignorant rabble hearing that the bishops were against the *Paritans* [not having wit to know whom they meant] were emboldened the more against all those whom they called *Paritans* themselves; their rage against the *godly* was increased; and they cried up the bishops, &c. because they were against the *Paritans*.—Thus the interests of the Diocessans, and of the prophane sort of people, were unhappily twisted.

As all the Nonconformists were against the prelates, [whose interest was closely connected with the king's] so others of the most *godly* people were alienated from the bishops; because the malignant sort were permitted to make *religious* persons their common scorn;—because they saw so many vicious men among the conformable clergy;—because *fasting* and *praying*, &c. were so strictly looked after, that the bishop's courts did make it much more perilous, than common swearing and drunkenness proved to the ungodly;—because the book, that was published for *Recreations on the Lord's day*, made them think, that the bishops concurred with the prophane;—because so great a number of conformable ministers were suspended or punished for not reading the *Book of sports on Sundays*, &c. and so many thousand families, and many worthy ministers, driven out of the land, &c.—all these, upon my own knowledge, were the true causes, why so great a number of those persons, who were counted *most religious*, fell in with the parliament; inasmuch that the generality of the stricter sort of preachers joined with them.—Very few of all that learned and pious synod at Westminster were Nonconformists before, and yet were for the parliament; supposing that the interest of *religion* lay on that side.—

Upon my knowledge, many that were not wise enough to understand the truth about the cause of the king and parliament, did yet run into the parliament's

parliament's armies, or take their part, as sheep do together for company; being moved by this argument, "Sure God will not suffer almost all his most *religious* servants to err in so great a matter: If these should perish, what will become of *religion*?"—But these were insufficient grounds to go upon. And abundance of the ignorant sort of the country, who were civil, did flock in to the parliament, and filled up their armies afterwards, merely because they heard men *swear* for the common prayers and bishops, and heard others *pray* that were against them; and because they heard the king's soldiers with horrid oaths abuse the name of God, and saw them live in debauchery; and the parliament's soldiers flock to sermons, talk of religion, and pray and sing psalms together on their guards. All the sober men, that I was acquainted with, who were against the parliament, were wont to say: The king has the *better CAUSE*, but the parliament has the *better MEN*. And indeed this unhappy complication of the interest of prelacy and prophaneness, and this opposition of the interest of prelacy to the temper of the generality of the *religious* party, was the *VISIBLE CAUSE* of the overthrow of the king, in the eye of all the understanding world.

Page 31. Tho' it must be confessed, that the public safety, and liberty wrought very much with most, especially the nobility and gentry, who adhered to the parliament: Yet was it *PRINCIPALLY* the differences about *religious* matters, that filled up the parliament's armies, and put into their soldiers the *RESOLUTION* and *VALOUR*, which carried them on in another manner than mercenary soldiers are carried on. Not that the matter of *bishops* or *no bishops* was the main thing; tho' many called it *bellum episcopale*: For thousands that wished for *good bishops* were on the parliament's side. But the *generality* of the people [I say not *all*] who used to talk of God and heaven, and

and scripture and holiness, and read books of devotion, and pray in their families, and spend the Lord's day in religious exercises, and speak against swearing, cursing, drunkenness, profaneness, &c. I say, the main body of this sort of men adhered to the parliament. And on the other side, the gentry that were not so precise and strict against an oath, or gaming, or plays, or drinking; nor troubled themselves so much about God and the world to come; and the ministers and people that were for the king's *Book for dancing and recreation on the Lord's days*; and those that made not so great a matter of every sin, but were glad to hear a sermon which lashed the Puritans, &c. the main body of these were against the parliament.

Page 44. And here I must repeat the GREAT CAUSE of the parliament's strength, and the KING'S RUIN: and that was, that the debauched rabble thro' the land, emboldened by his gentry, and seconded by the common soldiers of his army, took all that were called Puritans for their enemies. And tho' some of the king's gentry and superior officers were so civil, that they would do no such thing; yet that was no security to the country, while the multitude did what they list. So that if any one was noted for a strict preacher, or for a man of a pious life, he was plundered or abused, and in danger of his life. And if a man did but pray in his family, or were but heard to repeat a sermon, or sing a psalm, they cried out *Rebels! Round-heads!* and all their goods that were portable proved guilty, how innocent soever they were themselves. I suppose this was kept from the knowledge of the king, and perhaps of many sober Lords of the council; for few could come near them; and it is the fate of such, not to believe evil of those that they think are for them; nor good of those that they think are against them. But, upon my certain knowledge, this was it that filled the armies

' mies and garrisons of the parliament with *sober,*
 ' *pious* men. Thousands had no mind to meddle
 ' with the wars, but greatly desired to live peace-
 ' ably at home, when the rage of soldiers and
 ' drunkards would not let them. Some stayed till
 ' they had been plundered, perhaps twice or thrice
 ' over,—but most were afraid of their lives, and
 ' so they sought refuge in the parliament's garri-
 ' sons,—and were fain to take up arms and be sol-
 ' diers to get bread.'

Mr. Baxter's account of Cromwell's character
 and of his *religious* troop, is too remarkable not to
 deserve a place in this extract. P. 98, 'No mere
 ' man was *better* and *worse* spoken of than he,'
 [Cromwell] 'according as men's interests led their
 ' judgments: The soldiers and sectaries most highly
 ' magnified him, till he began to seek the crown:
 ' And then there were so many that would be *half-*
 ' *kings* themselves, that a *king* did seem intolerable
 ' to them. The Royalists abhorred him as a most
 ' perfidious hypocrite; and the Presbyterians
 ' thought him little better. If after so many
 ' others, I may speak my opinion of him, I think
 ' that having been a prodigal in his youth, and
 ' afterwards changed to a *zealous religionist*, he
 ' meant honestly in the main course of his life, till
 ' prosperity and success corrupted him. At his first
 ' entrance into the wars, being but a captain of
 ' horse, he had special care to get *religious* men
 ' into his troop. These men were of greater un-
 ' derstanding than common soldiers, and therefore
 ' were more apprehensive of the importance of the
 ' war; and making not money, but that which
 ' *they* took for the public felicity, to be their end;
 ' they were the more engaged to be valiant. For
 ' he that makes money his end, esteems his life
 ' above his pay, and therefore is likely enough to
 ' save it by flight when danger comes. But he
 ' that maketh the felicity of church and state his
 ' end, esteemeth it above his life, and therefore
 ' will the sooner lay down his life for it.—This
 ' Cromwell

Cromwell understood, and that none would be
 such valiant men as the *religious*. I conjecture
 that at his first choosing such men into his troop,
 it was the very esteem and love of *religious* men
 that principally moved him. By this means he
 sped better than he expected. That troop did
 prove so valiant, that, as far as he could learn,
 they never once ran away before an enemy. Here-
 upon he got a commission, and brought this
 troop into a double regiment of fourteen full
 troops; and all these as full of *religious* men as
 he could get. These having more than ordinary
 wit and resolution, had more than ordinary suc-
 cess. With their successes the hearts both of cap-
 tain and soldiers secretly rose both in pride and
 expectation; and the familiarity of many honest
 erroneous men, Anabaptists, Antinomians, &c.
 began withal quickly to corrupt their judgments.
 Hereupon Cromwell's *religious* zeal grew way
 to the power of that ambition, which still in-
 creaseth as his successes increase. Both pride and
 ambition conspired in his countenance; all that
 he thought *godly*; Poetry pleadeth for them as
godly, and ambition secretly telleth him what
 he might make of them. He meaneth well
 in all this at the beginning, and thinketh that
 he does all for the safety of the *godly*, and the
 public good; but not without an eye so him-
 self.

From

No Historian having had to good an opportunity of knowing
 Cromwell as judicious Mr. Baxter, who was personally ac-
 quainted with him, and served in his army as chaplain; some of
 my readers will be glad to see what he farther says of that extra-
 ordinary man.

When successes had broken down all considerable opposition,
 he [Cromwell] was in the face of the strongest temptations,
 which conquered him when he had conquered others. He
 thought that he had hitherto done well; that none but God had
 made him great; that if the war was lawful, the victory was
 lawful; that if it was lawful to fight against the King and con-
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From this extract it appears, that Cromwell, like Dr. Price, rode the great horse *Religion*, as well as the great horse *Liberty*; and that the best way to counter-work the enthusiasm of patriotic religionists, is to do constitutional *Liberty* and scriptural *Religion* FULL JUSTICE; by defending the former against the attacks of *despotic monarchs* on the right hand, and *despotic mobs* on the left; and by preserving the latter from the opposite onsets of *profane infidels* on the left hand, and *enthusiastical religionists* on the right. I humbly hope, that our governors will always so avoid one extreme, as not to run into the other; and that, at this time, they will so guard against the very appearances of irreligion and immorality, as to leave Dr. Price, so far
as

quer him, it was lawful to use him as a conquered enemy; and that it would be a foolish thing to trust him, when they had so provoked him. Hereupon he joined with that party in the parliament, who were for cutting off the king, and raised with them the independents and sectaries in the army, city, and country, to make a faction. Accordingly he modelled the army, disbanded the forces which were like to have hindered his design, pulled down the presbyterian majority in parliament—and then the parliament; being the more easily persuaded that all this was lawful, because he had a secret eye to his own exaltation; thinking that when the king was gone, a government there must be, and that no man was so fit for it as himself.—Having thus forced his conscience to justify all his cause, he thinketh that the end being good and necessary, the necessary means cannot be bad. And accordingly, he giveth his interest leave to tell him, how far promises and vows shall be kept or broken.—Hence he thought secrecy a virtue, dissimulation no vice, and a lie, or perfidiousness tolerable in case of necessity.—His name standeth as a monitory monument to posterity, to tell them the instability of man in strong temptations;—what great success can do to lift up the mind;—what pride can do to make man selfish;—what selfishness can do to bribe the conscience, corrupt the judgment, and make men justify the greatest sins;—and what bloodshed and great enormities a deluded judgment may draw men into.—Hence it appears, candid Mr. Baxter believed, that Cromwell was once a good and pious man, who fell com. God's fear into complicated wickedness, thro' the external allurements of success and ambition, and thro' the internal snare of antinomianism.

as in them lies, no room to injure our cause by arguments taken from our want of devotion and of a strict regard to sound morals. What we owe to God, to ourselves, and to the Colonies, calls upon us to remove whatever may give any just offence to those who seek occasion to reflect upon us. The Colonists narrowly watch us: Let their keen inspection make us diligently watch ourselves.

Let us especially take care neither to embezzle, nor misapply the national income: But, as faithful guardians and stewards of the money raised for the necessary expences of the government, let us [as many as are entrusted with the collecting or expending of that consecrated treasure] shew ourselves disinterested, thrifty, and invariably just. Nothing can render our doctrine of taxation odious to conscientious people, but a needless rigor in the collecting, and a wanton profusion in the spending of the public revenue. I know that uneasy men, intent upon sedition and revolt, are apt to say whatever can palliate their crime. The least misdemeanor of individuals, let it be ever so much hid from, or disapproved of by our governors, will always appear to such men a sufficient reason to pour floods of reproach upon the administration. Thus, if we may depend upon the *St. James Chronicle*, "Dr. Franklin, a member of the American Congress," insinuates, that "the government is
 " made detestable by governors, who when they
 " have crammed their coffers, and made them-
 " selves so odious to the people, that they can no
 " longer remain among them with safety to their
 " persons, are recalled and rewarded with pen-
 " sions:—That the produce of the taxes is not
 " applied to the defence of the provinces, and
 " the better support of government; but bestow-
 " ed where it is not necessary, in augmenting sa-
 " laries, or pensions:—And that a board of offi-
 " cers composed of the most indiscreet, illbred,
 " and insolent men that can be found, live in
 " open, grating luxury upon the sweat and blood

" of

of the industrious, whom they worry with groundless and expensive prosecutions, before arbitrary revenue-judges."—I hope, for the honour of the administration, that prejudice guided Dr. Franklin's pen, when it dropped these invidious hints. Should we have given him any just ground for such severe insinuations, it becomes us to remove it with all speed; setting our seal to the noble maxim, which Dr. Price advances after Lord Chatham; *Restitute is dignity. Oppression only is meanness; and justice, honour.*

Righteousness exalteth a nation, says the wise man, but *sin is a reproach to any people*, and may prove the ruin of the most powerful empire. Violence brought on the deluge. Luxury overthrew Sodom. Cruel usage of the Israelites destroyed Egypt. Complete wickedness caused the extirpation of the Canaanites. Imperiousness, and an abuse of the power of taxation, rent ten tribes from the kingdom of Judah. Pride sunk Babylon. Nineveh and Jerusalem, by timely repentance, once reversed their awful doom; but, returning to their former sins, they shared at last the fate of all the states, which have filled up the measure of their iniquities. And have we taken so few strides towards that awful period, as to render national repentance needless in this day of trouble? By fomenting contentions and wars among the natives of Africa, in order to buy the prisoners whom they take from each other; have not some of our countrymen turned Africa into a field of blood? Do not the sighs of myriads of innocent negroes unjustly transported from their native country to the British dominions, call night and day for vengeance upon us; whilst their groans upbraid the hypocritical friends of liberty, who buy, and sell, and whip their fellow men as if they were brutes; and absurdly complain that *they* are enslaved, when it is they themselves, who deal in the liberties and bodies of men, as graziers do in the liberties and bodies of oxen?

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And is what I beg leave to call our *Nabob-trade* in the *East*, more consistent with humanity, than our *Slave-trade* in the *South* and *West*? Who can tell how many myriads of men have been cut off in the East Indies by famine or wars, which had their rise from the ambition, covetousness, and cruelty of some of our countrymen? And if no vindictive notice has been taken of these barbarous and bloody scenes, has not the nation made them in some degree her own? And does not that innocent blood, the price of which has been imported with impunity, and now circulates thro' the kingdom to feed our luxury—does not all that blood, I say, speak louder for vengeance against us, than the blood of Abel did against his murderous brother? — “The justice of the nation, says Dr. Price, has slept over these enormities, Will the justice of heaven sleep?”—No: but it still patiently waits for our reformation; nor will it, I hope, wait in vain: But if it does, the suspended blow will in the end descend with redoubled force, and strike us with aggravated ruin. For God will be avenged on all impenitent nations: He has one rule for them and for individuals: *Except they repent, says Christ himself, they shall all likewise perish.*

Let our *devotion* be improved by the American controversy, as well as our *morals*. Instead of “*scorning at religion*,” as Dr. Price says we do, let us honour the piety of the Colonists. So far at least, as their religious professions are consistent, sincere, and scriptural, let them provoke us to a rational concern for the glory of God, and our eternal interests. Were we to contend with our American Colonies for *supremacy* in VIRTUE and DEVOTION, how noble would be the strife! How worthy of a protestant-kingdom, and a mother-country! And does not political-wisdom, as well as brotherly love, require us to do something in order to root up their inveterate prejudices against us and our church? Have we forgotten that many of the first Colonists

Colonists crossed the Atlantic for conscience' sake ; seeking in the woods of America, some, a shelter against our once-persecuting hierarchy ; and others, a refuge from our epidemical prophaneness ? And does not their offspring look upon us in the same odious light, in which Dr. Price places us ? Do they not abhor or despise us, as impious, immoral men, "*enervated by luxury ;*"---men, with whom it is dangerous to be connected, and who "*may expect calamities, that shall recover to reflection*" [perhaps to DEVOTION]. "*Libertines and Atheists*" themselves ?

And is it only for God's sake, for the sake of our own souls, and for the sake of the Colonists, that we should look to our conduct and christian profession ? Are there not multitudes of rash religionists in the kingdom, who suppose that all the praying people in England are for the Americans, and who warmly espouse their part, merely because they are told, that the Colonists "*fast and pray,*" while "*we forget every thing, serious and decent,*" and because præjudiced teachers confidently ask, with Dr. Price, "*Which side is providence likely to favour ?*" Would to God all our legislators felt the weight of this objection, which can as easily mislead moral and religious people in the present age, as it did in the last ! Would to God they exerted themselves in such a manner, that all unprejudiced men might see, the king and parliament have "*the better men,*" as well as "*the better cause !*" Would to God, that by timely reformation, and solemn addresses to the throne of grace, we might convince Dr. Price and all the Americans, that in submitting to the British legislature, they will not submit to *libertinism* and *atheism* ; but to a venerable body of virtuous and godly senators, who know that the first care of God's representatives on earth—the principal study of political gods, should be to promote God's fear, by setting a good example before the people committed

ted to their charge, and by steadily enforcing the observance of the moral law!

I need not tell you, Sir, what effect this would have upon our pious American brethren. You feel it in your own breast. The bare idea of such a reformation softens your prejudices. Were it to take place, it would overcome Dr. Price himself. Pious joy would set him upon writing as warmly for the government, as he has done against it; and in the midst of his deep repentance for the dangerous errors he has published, he would have the consolation to think, that one of his *observations* has done more good, than all his *sophisms* have done mischief. These, Sir, are some of the reflections, which Dr. Price's *religious* argument has drawn from my pen, and which I doubt not but some of our Governors have already made by the help of that wisdom, which prompts them to improve our former calamities, and to study what may promote our happiness in church and state.

I am, &c.



L E T.

L E T T E R V.

REV. SIR,

CH R I S T I A N S are, in a special manner, debtors to all mankind. I owe love to all my fellow-subjects, as well as loyalty to the king, and duty to the parliament: And my love to our American Colonies, as well as my regard for equity, obliges me to say what can *reasonably* be said on their behalf; that prejudice, on both sides, may give place to christian forbearance and conciliatory kindness.

I hope, Sir, you are, by this time, convinced that the American revolt is absolutely unjustifiable; and that the king and parliament have an indubitable right *proportionably* to tax the Colonists, as well as the English; altho' the Colonists are not *directly* and *adequately* represented in parliament, any more than multitudes of Britons who live abroad, and millions who reside in Great Britain. And now, Sir, I candidly allow, that, altho' the Colonists cannot without absurdity insist on an *equal* representation, yet they may humbly request to be particularly represented in the British legislature: And that, altho' strict justice does not oblige Great Britain to grant them such a request; yet parental wisdom, and brotherly condescension, require her to grant something to the notion, that a *direct* representation in parliament is inseparably connected with civil liberty. This notion, I confess, is irrational, unscriptural, and unconstitutional: But it

is a prevailing notion; and if we look at it in one point of view, it seems to wear the badge of *British* liberty, and therefore has some claim to the indulgence of *Britons*.

Permit me to illustrate my meaning by a scriptural simile. Thro' a strong national prejudice, the Jews who had embraced christianity fancied, that no man could be a true christian without being circumcised: And they supported their assertion by God's positive command to the Father of the faithful,---a command this, which Christ had not expressly repealed, and to which he and his disciples had religiously submitted. The apostles saw that the christianized Jews were under a capital mistake. Nevertheless [in condescension to human weakness and national prejudice] they allowed them to circumcise their children; and Paul himself, tho' he detested their error, yielded to them, so far as to have his convert Timothy circumcised. I grant that a *direct* and *adequate* representation in parliament is no more essential to British liberty, than circumcision to true christianity. But, as the governors of the christian church made some concessions to Jewish weakness; might not also the governors of the British empire make some to American prejudice; especially considering, that it will be as difficult for them peaceably to rule the Americans without such an act of condescension; as it would have been for the apostles to govern the Jews, without the above-mentioned complaisance?

Besides, in some cases, constitutional and unconstitutional taxation may border so nearly upon each other, that the most judicious politicians will be as much at a loss to draw the line between them, as the most skillful painter would be to draw the line between the primitive colours of the rainbow. This bordering of a faint constitutional privilege, upon an unconstitutional, absolute want of privilege, has deceived the Colonists. As a man, who is passionately fond of flaming crimson, takes a faint red to be no red at all; they have pronounced that, to be

no representation, which is an *indirect* representation discernible to all but the prejudiced. In their patriotic fright they have fancied that the ship of constitutional liberty stuck on a rock, because it did not carry so many sails as they imagined it should. You may compare their mistake to that of impatient suspicious passengers, who, when they have all their fortunes with them on board a ship, are apt to think, that she does not move at all, because her motion is not so rapid as they could wish; and because their anxious fears turn every sail they see, into a privateer in chase of their property. Their error deserves then compassion, as well as blame; and will appear excusable to those who know the immense value of *liberty*.

Our lawgivers, who are peculiarly acquainted with the worth of this jewel, can above all men put a favorable construction upon the panick of a people afraid of being enslaved. Depending therefore on their condescension, I shall presume to ask, if now, that the government has plainly asserted, and powerfully supported the *just* claims of Great Britain, it might not safely relax a little the reins of authority, and kindly condescend to the fears of the Colonists. And should the Americans shew themselves *just* in indemnifying our injured merchants, *penitent* in laying down their arms, and *loyal* in acknowledging the right, that Great Britain has to expect proportionable taxes from them a might not the king and parliament shew themselves *kind*, in granting them the privilege of a *special* representation in the British legislature; or in passing an *act of security*, to fix just bounds to the power of parliamentary taxation with respect to the Americans;—to promise the Colonies, that a proper allowance shall always be made them for the superior commercial privileges of Great Britain;—to ascertain, in an equitable manner, the quantum of that allowance;—and to remove their dread of being disproportionably taxed, by the most solemn assurances, that their taxes shall always rise or fall in exact
pro-

proportion to our own, according to the plan laid down in p. 51?

I would not carry matters so far as to say with the poet, *Summum jus summa injuria* †; but might I not observe that parental love, brotherly kindness, and British equity require, that some condescension be shewn to the Colonists? Should not British legislators shew themselves *gods*, by imitating the *God of gods*,

Who conquers all, beneath, above,
Devils with force; and men with *love*?

Whilst the Atlantic foams under the weight of the transports, which carry the troops sent over to subdue the revolted provinces, might not *love* suspend the destructive stroke, and conquer them without farther effusion of blood? Is their hardness absolutely desperate? Whilst the sight of a force so superior to that, which quelled them at *Bunker's Hill*, works upon their prudence; and whilst scriptural expostulations enlighten their consciences; might not some gracious and timely concessions work upon their gratitude, excite their admiration, and regain their confidence? O that you, Sir, and I could imitate those courageous women, who, when the Romans their husbands, and the Sabines their brothers, were going to engage, rushed between the two armies, and so wrought upon them by tender expostulations, that the fierce antagonists, instead of plunging their swords into each others' breasts, fell upon each others' necks, and turned the field of *battle* into a field of *reconciliation*! If an heathen country saw the delightful scene, might not a christian land behold it also?—The pleasing thought transports my mind:—My imagination warmed by the fond hope carries me beyond myself:—Methinks I rush between the parliament

† *Right carried to the height, is the height of injustice.*

liament and the Congress, and after having pleaded the sovereign's cause before the patriots, I plead that of the patriots before the sovereign. Fancying myself at the foot of the throne, and seeing the King raised on high above all the British lawgivers, on my bended knees, from the dust, with trembling awe, I present my bold, mediatorial plea.

O KING, live and reign in righteousness forever! And ye, his Patrician and † Plebeian senators, help him long to sway the sceptre with christian gentleness and British fortitude! As his faithful assessors, and partakers with him of the legislative power, firmly support on his royal head the pious crown, which gives him the dominion over the British islands, half of the western world, and the whole aqueous globe!—One of your adopted subjects, warmed with gratitude for the religious and civil liberty, which he enjoys under your mild government; and deeply concerned for your glory and the prosperity of your dominions, intrudes into your

† There is a symmetrical excellence in the British constitution, which escapes the attention of many Britons. I have observed, that the capital business of the parliament is to keep the balance even between the king and the people; that neither oppressive despotism, [or the tyranny of one,] nor mobbing anarchy, [or the tyranny of many,] may prevail. I now add, that the two houses of parliament are two *mediatorial* courts between the king and the people. The house of *commons* is composed of senators chosen by the *people* to be a check upon the king and his nobles; and the house of *lords* is composed of senators chosen by the *kings*, to be a check upon the people and their representatives. Hence it appears, that the house of lords is peculiarly bound to maintain the prerogatives of the crown, against the encroachments of mobs and mobbing patriots; and that it is the peculiar duty of the house of commons to maintain the privileges of the people, against the encroachments of despots and despotic ministers. In the last century the lords failing in their duty, the balance was broken; The commons prevailed; and the consequence was what might naturally be expected: The house of lords was set aside, the king beheaded, and the constitution overthrown. This remarkable event should teach our senators the wisdom peculiarly necessary to a faithful discharge of their high office.

your awful presence to intercede for his guilty brethren. If the KING of kings, and LORD of lords, vouchsafes to receive his fervent addresses to the throne of grace for you; do not reject, O ye gods, his humble address for your American Colonies.

It is not my design to extenuate their crime. An ingenuous confession becomes a prostrate supplicant. — They have sinned against heaven and against you. — They have preposterously charged *you* with robbery, when it was they themselves who robbed * *God*, by keeping from his political representatives, the reasonable and legal taxes *due* to the supreme power; — to a creative and protective power that gave them birth, and raised them from a state of infant-weakness and want, to youthful vigor and growing opulence. Their crime is complicate: They have openly encouraged the lawless mobs, which trampled upon your authority, and destroyed the property of your loyal subjects: — They have obstinately protected felony and sedition: — They have audaciously hindered the course of justice: — Their Congress has met to oppose your claim of taxation in the capital of that very province, by the *express terms* of whose CHARTER they are solemnly bound to pay you taxes. — They have armed by sea and land to cut off your forces: — And, not satisfied with asserting their assumed supremacy over the revolted provinces, they have aimed at making conquests; — They have compleated their guilt by a daring attempt to annex your immense province of Canada, to the empire they have newly set up. — And now, what can I say in their behalf? — My grand plea,

* I would not dare to use such an expression, if the scripture did not bear me out. The Lord, speaking by the prophet Malachi, says, *Will a man ROB GOD? Yet ye have ROBBED ME. But ye say, Wherin have we ROBBED THEE? — In TITHES.* Mal. iii. 8. — I infer from this answer, that if God accounts himself robbed, when *tithes* are detained from his *priests*; he does so much more, when reasonable and legal *taxes* are detained from *sovereigns*, his primary representatives, whom he calls his *anointed*, and to whom he allows the title of *gods*.

idea, O ye insulted powers, is taken from yourselves. *As your majesty is, so is your mercy.*---Ye are called *christians* by the name of the mild Potentate, who interceded for his mobbing murderers. When they poured floods of contempt upon his royal head;---when they pierced his temples with thorns, his hands with nails, his heart with sarcasms;--and when they prepared to pierce his side with a spear; *ven then*, he not only forgave them himself, but turned their excuser and said, *Father, forgive them, or they know not what they do.* The divine plea prevailed. It obtained an evangelical proclamation of pardon on the most condescending terms. *Where sin had abounded, there grace did much more abound.* Where rebellion had set up her bloody banner, there mercy gloried to erect her superior standard. Jerusalem, ungrateful, hypocritical, rebellious Jerusalem;---Jerusalem, guilty of the murder of the King of kings;---Jerusalem, the still-rebellious and unrelenting city, was *first* blessed with the news of a free pardon; and thousands of relenting rebels submitted to the terms of the gracious proclamation. By this unexpected effort of mercy, the Lord of glory subjugated those stiff religionists. Pardonng love effectually conquered their stubbornness; and *a nation of loyal subjects was born in a day.*

And might ye not, O ye christian Rulers, imitate *the Lord of glory* without prostituting your dignity?---Directed by the example of our meek Redeemer, might not thy mercy, O King, issue out a proclamation of pardon, upon such terms as might raise the astonishment of an *Adams* and a *Washington*? Are *Lee* and *Hancock* fiercer against thee, than *Saul* of Tarsus was against his Saviour? Have they breathed out more threatenings and slaughter than that enthusiastic zealot, who, not satisfied with his personal contempt of the Lord of lords, compelled others to blaspheme him, and persecuted to death those who would not? Nevertheless, when he fell to the ground, mercy raised him up, not only to the dignity of a christian, but to that of an

Apostle:

Apostle: And the service which he did the church in that high office, far exceeded the injury he had done her by his bloody enthusiasm. Could ye not, O ye christian Legislators, try the same successful method with your American subjects? If *Mercy alone* would make them insolent; and if *Power alone* would make them desperate; could not power and mercy combined by your wisdom, effectually disarm them, and for ever attach them to your steady and mild government?

Nor will you by this means overcome the Americans alone. You will also disarm the minority of your respectable body, and their numerous partisans in the kingdom. When we are wrongfully accused of intending things we never thought of, does not prudence call upon us to remove the very appearances, by which the charge *seems* supported? And how can these *appearances* be fully removed in the present case, otherwise than by granting your American subjects the privilege of *some direct representation*, together with *some security*, that the taxes laid upon them shall always bear an equitable proportion to the taxes laid upon your British subjects?

Might I not also presume to ask, if all the grievances they complain of are imaginary, and if no *needless provocation* has been given them by some of our countrymen, and no *secret encouragement* by others? Besides, are ye not divided among yourselves? And if ye have taught them the unhappy art of rising against you, by rising against each other, should ye not pity them? And should ye not bear *a little* with their turbulence, since you are obliged to bear *so much* from those of your own body, who openly countenance their rash patriotism?

Again: If ye are the political *Parents* of the Colonists, are they not entitled to parental indulgence from you? *My Lord the King is as an angel of God, to discern good and bad*: He knows, and ye, his legislative assessors, know, that *political*, as well as religious *enthusiasm* is a fever of the mind,

mind, which throws those who are attacked with it into a temporary delirium; and that, in the paroxysm, heated religionists and patriots, like delirious people, say and do a thousand things, of which they are ashamed when they come to themselves again. If your own children were dangerously ill and light-headed, would ye not treat them with an indulgence suitable to their deplorable case? And would not natural affection concur with reason, to make you overlook the petulance and wildness of their behaviour? Ye will extend your mercy to your American subjects with double readiness, if ye consider, that they are not all guilty. A few warm men among them opened the flood-gates of patriotic licentiousness: And whilst the fierce and roaring torrent *frightened* myriads into a *temporary* compliance to revolt; it carried away myriads more, before they knew what they were about: Nor have they perhaps had it yet in their power to recollect themselves. Vouchsafe then to shew yourselves their *tender physicians*, as well as their *indulgent Parents*; nor heal their moral fever by burning corrosives, so long as there is the least prospect of doing it by cooling applications. If christianity commands us to *restore in the spirit of meekness those that are fallen, to become weak to the weak, yea, to become all things to all men, that by all means we may gain and save some*; be abundantly condescending to your American people, that you may *save* thousands of precious lives, prevent the devastation of your own dominions, and disappoint your enemies, who flatter themselves, that when Great Britain and her Colonies shall have exhausted their strength in a destructive war, the British empire, or some part of it, will become an easy prey to their greedy and watchful ambition.

But I peculiarly address thee, Thou majestic *Head* and executive *Hand* of the legislative power. By thy steadiness thou hast shewn thyself a King worthy of commanding a people, who display lions in their standards. And now like *Messiah the*

M

Prince,

Prince, like the generous *Lion* of the tribe of *Juda*, vouchsafe to show thyself the *Prince* of peace. Let all the earth know, that thou art a representative of the God of all grace, and of the *Lamb*, that taketh away the sin of the world. Is not the right of showing mercy to the condemned, the noblest of all thy royal prerogatives, and the brightest jewel of thy imperial crown? Oh! let that jewel shine in this cloudy day, and it will reflect the light of the *sun of righteousness* across the Atlantic, and cheer the western world. The proclamation of a general pardon, accompanied by the grant of a direct representation, and of a security for the equitable proportion, which their taxes shall always bear to ours;—such a proclamation, I say, enforced by the sound of thy trumpets, the roar of thy cannons, the sight of thy fleets, and the terror of thy armies, will show that thou art eminently qualified to reign over a brave and free people. Thou mayest thus be merciful without weakness. A *Lee* and a *Washington* are resolute enough to stand for a time the shock of thy forces: An *Adams* and an *Hancock* are obstinate enough to bury themselves in the ruins of their country: But, resolute and obstinate as they are, thy mercy confounds—thine indulgence disarms them.—The paroxysm is over.—Candor and loyalty return together.—The fiery heroes come back to sober heroism; and the rash patriots, to true patriotism.—Thy royal mercy has melted them into tears.—With shame they fix their weeping eyes to the ground, with admiration they lift them up to heaven.—They claim the honour of bringing in person the restitution-money thou insistest upon for thy injured subjects.—They haste to throw themselves at the feet of a Sovereign, who knows how to protect, conquer, and pardon.—My imagination sees them cross the Atlantic:—They enter your gates:—They throw American swords at your feet:—They ask pardon for themselves, and the guilty people they represent:—They kiss the royal hand, which has averted

averted their impending ruin, and pour out their grateful souls in such words as these.

“**MERCIFUL and Great King, and Ye, his legislative assessors, permit us to distinguish ourselves by our penitential return, as we once did by our rash revolt. With feelings proportionable to the sense we have of our guilt, of the king’s mercy, and the parliament’s condescension, we lament our misapprehensions; and deploring the bloodshed which they have caused, we acknowledge that we owe you the reasonable taxes due to the supreme, protecting power by the consent of all civilized nations, and by the express command of God; and since you condescend to grant us the privilege of a share in your legislature, we will not only religiously but cheerfully pay them for the time to come. In the mean while we refund at your feet sums equivalent to the goods, which our rash citizens buried in the sea; and we own it is just, that we should, in due proportion, help to discharge the national debt, which has been in part contracted for our protection, and which our unhappy revolt has of late so greatly increased. Made wiser by our misfortunes, and taught both to revere and love our mother-country, we shall, at every proper opportunity, express our grateful sense of her parental regard. We are indeed separated by the Atlantic ocean, which we lately looked upon as a boundary to your dominions, a vast moat to keep us asunder, and a watery rampart to defend our continent against your incursions: But now our views are changed, and we consider that wide sea as a magnificent channel, which divine providence seems to have prepared to facilitate our friendly and commercial intercourse;—to enrich our respective countries with the treasures of the old and new world;—to make us live in a constant exercise of the art of navigation, — and enable us, by this means, powerfully to support the British claims to the empire of the sea.—Such are the pleasing thoughts we have of our happy re-union:**

M. 2

May

May they appear equally delightful to all who wish well to the British empire! And may the poisonous breath of discord, more dangerous than all the storms of the Atlantic, never break the sweet calm, which royal mercy and parliamentary condescension have restored to our distracted provinces!"

"TAKE UP your swords, ye brave, tho' rash patriots, replies the SPEAKER. Your courage and love of liberty entitle you to the honour of receiving them again, on condition that you beat them into plowshares, or use them only against our common enemies. It is the *first*—see that it be the *last* time, they are stained with British blood, and lifted up against the breast that gave you suck. And as the world sees the political and military leaders of the Colonies at the foot of the Throne, and of a British senate; the world shall see, that the king and parliament can not only

Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos,

but that they know how to conquer the generous friends of liberty by generous acts of condescending love. Rise, ye mistaken sons of liberty,—rise to demonstrate, that, as we can *fight* like Britons, so we can *forgive* as christians, and *indulge* as brethren. Take your seats among British senators, and particularly represent the American Provinces. But beware of considering this privilege as a *bribe* bestowed by a timorous administration, —much less as a *reward* for your rash revolt. Tho' we make allowances for your mistakes, and put a favourable construction upon your intentions, we abhor and bear our solemn testimony against your proceedings. But the mantle of royal mercy, and of your repentance having covered all, we shall not upbraid you with antichristian principles, and bloody scenes, which we wish buried in eternal oblivion. If we grant you some seats in the

the house of Commons, it is only to remove your jealousies by a condescension, which becomes a mother-country and a mild government; and to regain the filial confidence of our American Colonies by permitting the men, who have been most prejudiced against us, to be eye-witnesses of our firm attachment to the constitution, of our impartial zeal for the dignity of the crown, of our guardian care for the constitutional liberty of the people, and of our prudent endeavours to secure the due obedience of the British subjects."

"The wound which the demon of Discord has given to our union, cannot be perfectly healed but by an *amputation* or a *consolidation*. The former expedient is inconsistent with our mutual affection, and our common interest: But the latter is perfectly agreeable to both. And our consanguinity loudly demands that it should be preferred. Help us then to consolidate the lacerated parts of the British empire. Let your filial gratitude meet our paternal condescension half way: So shall reconciling love cast the bridge of union across the Atlantic, and firmly join our happy island with your fortunate continent: And may genuine, sober, scriptural patriotism, like an adamant key, for ever bind the solid arch! May one blood—one language—one constitution—one religion—one king—one supreme legislature—one temporal and eternal interest, combine to make us one flourishing empire, till the kingdom of God swallow up all other kingdoms! Nor let it be said any more,

Audiet cives acuisse ferrum,
 Quo graves *Turca* melius perirent;
 Audiet pugnas, vitio parentum
 Rara juvenus." †

M 3

Whilst

† Our posterity thinned by our civil wars, will hear of our culpable contentions, and will lament our having turned against each other those swords, which should never have been drawn but against our common enemies.

Whilst the Speaker concludes this patriotic speech, my imagination returns from her pleasing excursion. The awful, parliamentary scene vanishes "like the baseless fabric of a vision." But "a wreck is left behind:" Hints of a *scriptural* method of reconciliation are humbly suggested; and you have some expressions of my cordial concern for the glory of our Sovereign, and the satisfaction of our American fellow-subjects, to whom, as well as to Dr. Price and yourself, I sincerely wish all the sweets of Christian and British liberty, without any of the bitters of religious and civil licentiousness. *Of making many books, says Solomon, there is no end. Let us then hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God and keep his Commandments, for this is the whole duty of man.*— Or, if you prefer St. Peter's words, *Fear God and honour the King*, for this is the sum of the two tables of *Christ's law*. That, instead of breaking one of these tables under pretence of keeping the other, we may always agree to pay a cheerful obedience to both, is the final and highest wish of

Rev. Sir,

Your obedient servant in a gospel,
which neither makes void the
law thro' faith, nor supercedes
loyalty thro' liberty,

J. F.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I HAVE observed, p. 84, that the species of patriotism which I oppose, is a vicious temper compounded of one or more of the following ingredients; prejudice, ignorance, conceit, pride, ambi-

ambition, refractoriness, &c." As you may think, Sir, that this description is too severe, I beg leave to support it by the account that an honest inhabitant of *Pennsylvania* [who is eye-witness to the workings of American patriotism] gives his friend in England, of what you call American *liberty*, and what I beg leave to call American *tyranny*. As I can depend on his veracity, I present you with the following extract from his original letter, which is now before me.

" March 12, 1776.—Letters are not smuggled hence with little difficulty and risque, as every thing we write may be inspected by the jaundiced eye of men, who jesuitically construe the most guarded words of *Englishmen* inimical to *America*; deterring examples of which are not wanting.—With pretence of obtaining privileges, the inhabitants of this country lose the enjoyment of their privileges. Under mask of liberty, and cry of grievances, a set of ambitious men and designing demagogues *weigled*" [got] "themselves in power, which they unwarrantably exercised in abolishing law, justice, the freedom of the press, speech, and action;—in seizing all the channels of intelligence;—in publishing and inculcating the most shocking, wicked, and malicious falsehoods.—By specious pretexts, artful dissimulation, and obstinate efforts, these enemies to truth, affronters of justice, and violaters of laws, have not only poisoned and inflamed the minds of the people; but have influenced them so far as to take and pass current 4 by 3 inches of printed brown paper for no less than six guineas; by all these means leading the duped instruments of their ambition, with monstrous strides, towards their own and country's ruin."

" Had I a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues,
A voice of brass, and adamantine lungs;
Not half the mighty scene could I disclose,
Repeat their crimes, or count our matchless
woes." " I assert

“ I assert these naked and glaring truths, with a confidence which cannot be shaken, &c.”

Our letter-writer after observing, that the compliance of the majority “ to such tyranny” is but “ passive;” and that the proportion of those, who take an active part in it, is “ about one in ten of the whole community,” adds what follows: “ To see men of reputed sense, some by their passive, and others by their active conduct, manifesting such ignorance and blindness to the true interest of themselves, their country, and posterity, makes me think at times,

“ Perhaps he whose hand the lightning forms,
Who heaves old Ocean, and who wings the
storms,
Pours fierce ambition into *Hancock's* mind;
Or turns young *Adams* loose, to scourge man-
kind,”

“ and permit irreligious Britons to plunge themselves into difficulties, both to chastise them for, and turn them from, the evil of their doings.”

The letter-writer, after wishing that “ the councils on both sides may be blessed with that wisdom and moderation, which may be productive of a permanent union, so necessary to the welfare of both countries,” adds in a postscript: “ I enclose this in a bottle of Cream of Tartar directed to a passenger on board, in hope that having occasion to use it, this might be found, and thereby escape.”

Had I seen this American account of American patriotism, before I sent my last letter to the printer; I would have pleaded less earnestly for *some* of the patriots than I have done. But I do not stop the press, because condescension is the safer extreme; and because experience teaches England, that American patriots do their country less mischief in the mansion house, and in the parliament, than in the tower and in a common jail.

Permit

Permit me, Sir, to conclude by a remark upon the character, which the Monthly Reviewers give me in their last Review. They call me "a mere *Sacheverel*: A preacher of those slavish and justly exploded jacobitical doctrines, for which the memory of *Sacheverel* and his abettors will ever be held in equal contempt and abhorrence by every true friend of the liberties of mankind?" I should be truly sorry if I deserved so severe a censure: I hope that the Reviewers have passed it with a degree of precipitation. Possibly they did not read so far in my *Vindication* as page 63, &c. or even p. 40, where I begin to guard my doctrine against the *Jacobitical* tenets of despotism. Should my *American Patriotism* reach those gentlemen, and should they give themselves the trouble to turn to pages 8, 14, 17, 37, 38, 59, 61, 63, 65, where I continue to guard British liberty against the encroachments of arbitrary power, I flatter myself that they will see, I am no more "a mere *Sacheverel*" than I am a mere *Price*: Dr. *Sacheverel* ran as fiercely into the *high monarchical* extreme, as Dr. *Price* does into the *high republican* extreme. I have endeavoured to keep at an equal distance from their opposite mistakes, by contending only for the just medium, which the holy scriptures and our excellent constitution point out; and I hope my *unprejudiced* readers will do me the justice to confess, that, if I have missed the mark of moderation, at which I sincerely aim, I have not missed it [*toto caelo*] by going full east with Dr. *Sacheverel*, any more than by going full west with Dr. *Price*. What has possibly misled the Reviewers, is their not considering, that my withstanding an opponent, who impetuously throws himself into the levelling extreme of Dr. *Price*, obliges me *principally* to oppose *this* extreme. If Dr. *Sacheverel* were alive, and his erroneous, enthusiastical, mobbing politicicks endangered the public tranquility, as the patriotism

of

of Mr. *Evans* and Dr. *Price* does at present; I would oppose the *high churchman*, as much as I now do the two *high dissenters*. Before we absolutely condemn an author, we should, I think, consider what extreme *times* and *circumstances* call him chiefly to guard against. But party-men seldom do this: And it is well if, after all, bigoted *anti-Americans* do not blame some parts of this publication, as much as *Americans* will blame other parts. *Moderation* has not many friends whilst the spirit of contention runs high; But, like *wisdom*, she is justified of her children, and will in time win some of her opposers.

When the Reviewers have given me the character of a "*mere Sachsevoch*," we may naturally expect, to see them recommend your performance as much as they decry mine: Accordingly they say, "Mr. Evans is a lively and sensible advocate for the freedom of the Colonies, a spirited controversialist, &c — In letter iii. Mr. P's reasons from *scripture* are shewn to be inconsistent, absurd, and totally inconclusive."—To shew how strongly the judgment of ingenious critics may be biased by prejudice, I need only refer our readers to p. 12, &c. where I produce the "lively and sensible" arguments, by which you attempt to prove, that my *scripture doctrine* of taxation is "absurd."

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