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A L E T T E R,

T O T H E

Rev. Mr. JOHN WESLEY;

O N H I S

C A L M A D D R E S S

T O T H E

A M E R I C A N C O L O N I E S :

W H E R E I N I S S H E W N ,

That his Arguments are inconclusive;

His Principles arbitrary;

A N D T H A T

His Assertions are without Foundation.

B Y

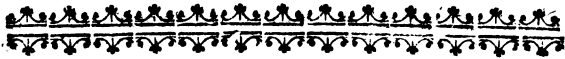
*A Lover of Truth and the British Con-  
stitution.*



*My dear Friends and Countrymen,*

**T**HOUGH this Letter is addressed to Mr. WESLEY, it was written for your Sakes: When I saw such Principles instilled into the Minds of the Ignorant, and such Falsties believed and propagated, I could not stand by unconcerned. My Motives purely are, to instruct the Ignorant in Constitutional Principles, and to undeceive those that are in Error.—Such Men as I have here opposed, while they are flattering his Majesty, and as far as they can bestowing upon him unbounded Power, are in Fact undermining *his Throne* and our *Liberties*, as *Englishmen* and *Protestants*. His Majesty's Title is founded on Liberty. I desire you to read with Candour what is now offered to you; and also to read a Pamphlet, intituled, “*An Appeal to the Justice and Interest of Great-Britain, in the present Dispute with America.*”—Consider the Arguments, and examine the Facts laid before you, and believe and profess as you shall then see Cause. I have not knowingly thrown out *one* Censure on Mr. *Wesley*, which he has not given great and just Occasion for; and am surprized every Time I think on his Performance, how he could assert such Things as he has done: And on second Thoughts, I can no Way account for his Conduct, but in the Manner I have done at the End of my Letter.—May *Britons* see their true Interest before it be too late—May you be wise, good, and happy.





## A LETTER, &c.

REVEREND SIR,

I Have read your calm Address to the *American* Colonies. I am sorry to find a Person of your Abilities and Influence, Reason so inconclusively, hold Principles so inconsistent with the natural Rights and Liberties of Mankind, and so subversive of the *British* Constitution; and above all, to assert such glaring Falshoods as you have done in this Address.

In the first Place, you seem to make no Distinction between Power and Right: Be pleased therefore to consider, that a Man may have *Power* to do what he pleases, but he can have no *Right* to do any Thing that is wrong; and I am fully of Opinion, that it was very wrong in the *British* Parliament to tax the *Americans*, for these Reasons: First, because they are unrepresented in Parliament; secondly, because they have been always willing to give and grant a Sufficiency of their own Money whenever able, and a proper Requisition has been made. Have you forgot, that in the last War they so greatly exerted themselves, in raising Men and Money to assist Government in subduing the *French*, that grateful Acknowledgments were made them, and a considerable Sum returned?

It is undoubtedly the Privilege of Freemen to be taxed only by their own Consent, and no Power on Earth has a Right to tax them without it. If this is not the Case, we have no Right in our Property; for what Right have I in that Property, which another has the Right to take from me when he pleases: Nor does this Argument prove too much; for I also assert, that the Parliament has not a Right to make Laws to bind Freemen in other Respects, without their own Consent, but the *Americans* have consented to Laws for the Regulation of our Trade with them, though they have never owned our Right to tax them in the *British* Parliament. According to Reason and Nature, and agreeable

able to the *British* Constitution, the People are to be bound by no Laws, whether relating to Taxation or other Matters, but those to which they give their Consent; and if any Laws are made without universal or general Consent, it is owing to the Imperfections of Man and all human Institutions: But what I have laid down is the Rule of Government, and it is the Duty of every one to support and abide by such Rules, as nearly as possible.

You say, " If a Freeman cannot be taxed without his own Consent, neither can he be punished without it; for whatever holds with Regard to Taxation, holds with Regard to all other Laws: Therefore he who denies the *English* Parliament the Power of Taxation, denies it the Right of making any Laws at all."—This Argument is not just. Laws relative to Trade, &c. and Laws relative to Taxation, are so different in their Nature, that they may exist separate and apart, as the Experience of many Ages can testify. *Ireland*, Sir, ever since it was annexed to the *English* Crown, has been made a Partaker in the *English* Constitution, and governed by *English* Laws, but never taxed by the *English* House of Commons; and the plain Reason for it is, they were not represented there: And ever since we had *American* Colonies, they have been governed in the main by *English* Laws, but not subjected to *English* Taxation. There is a wide Difference between making Laws for the Regulation of our Trade with the *Americans*, and taxing them without their Consent. If to follow a Trade under such Regulations, seems inconvenient or unprofitable to us, we can quit such Branch of Business, though we may suffer some Inconvenience thereby; but to tax a Community without Representation, is unconstitutional, and takes from them the Money they have *already* acquired, which most certainly is their own; whereas what we *are* to acquire by future Trade, is not our own.

There was a Time when *Wales*, *Chester*, and *Durham* were unrepresented in Parliament, and also when *Calais* belonged to the *English* Crown, and was unrepresented; and the King and Parliament of those Days were so far convinced of the Injustice of taxing them unrepresented, that the Privilege of chusing Representatives in Parliament was granted to them all: Now if *Ireland* has always been governed by our Laws, without being subjected

subjected to our Taxes, and if the *American Colonies* have ever till lately been governed in the same Manner, why should we depart from such a Form of Government, attempt Innovations, and sacrifice the Blood and Treasure of the *English* Nation, to gain an Object which will vanish in the Contest?

We readily allow, that in wide extended Dominions, many are not concerned in making Laws, and that there are many who are not Electors; but this is no Argument that so it ought to be. Indeed, all that have considerable Property should be Electors, for it is the Property which pays Taxes; and suffer me to tell you, Sir, ~~that~~ all the Property in *Britain* is represented, though I own very unequally, but that I reckon as one of our greatest Grievances: It prevents us from having an independent House of Commons; and it would much better become you, and every Man of Influence, to point out such capital Grievances to his Countrymen, and to pray for and attempt a Redress of them.

You ask, "How has any Man consented to those Laws, which were made before he was born."—I answer, in this Case our Forefathers were our Representatives, and we consent to the Laws they enacted by not repealing them. The good Laws they made are left us as a fair Estate, and a valuable one they are; and any bad Laws that may have taken Place, are to be considered as an Incumbrance upon it.

You allow that the Colonies have a Right to all the Privileges granted them by Royal Charters: Why then have Royal Charters been altered? And I apprehend they have also a Right to the Privileges granted them by Provincial Laws; the Provincial Laws being such as they are allowed to make for internal Government, and ratified by the King: He is their Sovereign, and their Assemblies are their Parliaments.

With Regard to a Clause in the Charter of *Pensylvania*, or any other admitting Taxation by the *British* Parliament, the Colonies I suppose submitted to it, because they could not obtain better Terms; for it is a Condition quite repugnant to the Spirit of our happy Constitution: But if such a Clause be not inserted in other Charters, it by no Means follows that "it must be omitted as not necessary." It is sufficiently evident, that no Taxes were expected for the Purpose of raising

raising a Revenue here, where they are not expressed in their Charters. Suppose I take a Lease of a good Estate; must the granter of that Lease take such a Field of it from me when he pleases, because such a Piece of Injustice is not expressly forbidden in my Lease. I have impartially considered all that you have advanced, and yet do not see that the *British* Parliament has an undoubted Right to tax all the *English* Colonies. They must indeed be taxed for the Support of internal Government: They cannot support civil Governors, and keep Soldiers for Defence, without raising Money for those Purposes: It is Taxes for the Purpose of raising a *Revenue*, levied upon them without their own Consent, that we apprehend are unconstitutional.

You say, "But whence is all this Hurry and Tumult? Why is *America* all in an Uproar?"—If you have given yourself Time to think upon this Subject, you are very unhappy in thinking in so preposterous a Manner as follows. You say, "My Opinion is this: We have a few Men in *England* who are determined Enemies to Monarchy."—Very few indeed! So few, that I never conversed with one in all my Life, who desired *England* to be reduced to a Commonwealth. I did not imagine you had been capable of such Scandal. Who are the Men? Point them out? Inform the Ministry who are these Enemies to the King and Monarchy. How do you know that they cordially hate his Office; and what has been done so diligently to undermine it! I repeat it: How do you know these Things—Are you an Accomplice in Plots and Treasons? Speak out; and let the World know the Reasons for your Assertions; for if this be false, it is no petty Scandal? Are you one of the few who they have let into their Design? If you be, you can let us know who they are; and though it should be *Effingham*, *Rockingham*, *Chatham*, or *Shelburne*, we will desert their Cause, and acknowledge them Traitors.

But at present *my* Opinion is, that you are a greater Enemy to the *Constitution* of these Kingdoms, than any one that I know is to the King or kingly Government. You talk of inflammatory Papers! Verily, Reverend Sir, your calm Address stands in the foremost Rank of that Kind, and yourself and your followers are arrived nearer to the Pitch of Madness, than any People that I know: I mean your followers in your political Principles:

ciples: It is the Treatment which the *Americans* have received that has inflamed *them*, and that Treatment is the original Cause of the present Breach between *England* and her Colonies; and such Men as I imagine you have been stigmatizing, have been endeavouring with much Sincerity to bring about a Reconciliation.

You—if you had Eyes to see, and Ears to hear, might see other Causes of their Complaints, than any you have offered. Again you say, “These good Men hope it will end in the total Defection of *North America* from *England*.”—I answer, this good Man *Mr. Wesley* continues his Scandal, and arrogates to himself the Power of knowing the Hearts of Men. Have these good Men whom you villify any Estates in this Nation? Have they Friends or Relations; or in short, have they any Sense, that they should be thus bent on their own and the Nation’s Ruin? The Account you give of these good Men will agree with no Party that I know of, unless it be the Friends of the House of *Stuart*, who would be glad to see *Britain* reduced to such a Condition, that *France* and other Adherents of the *Pretender*, might have an Opportunity to set *him* on the Throne of these Kingdoms: And permit me to tell you, Reverend Sir, that *your* Principles are much like these, and have a Tendency to bring about such an Event; for never was any Thing advanced more in favour of arbitrary Power, not even in the Reigns of *Charles* the First, and *James* the Second, than you have done in this very calm Address.

Under your Number ten we find several Queries, in which the Privileges *British* Subjects *have* enjoyed, are well set forth; but in the Conclusion, your Censures on Republics are amongst your Fallhoods: You say, “No Governments under Heaven are so despotic as the Republican—No Subjects are governed in so arbitrary a Manner, as those of a Commonwealth—Republics shew no Mercy.”—If these Assertions were not Untruths too glaring to merit a serious Refutation, I would refer you to *Portugal*, to *Spain*, or to *France* and *Rome* for Conviction. I never read of a *Basilie* or an *Inquisition*, in any of the Republics you mention. You aim to be severe upon Republics, as the very worst of Governments, but tenderly pass by *Popish* and arbitrary Kingdoms, where the People are subject to Priests, whom you too much resemble, as well



well as to arbitrary Kings, such as you assert our Sovereign has a Right to be.

In your next Paragraph you seem to lament poor *America*; and her Condition indeed is lamentable enough; but I fear she will never be benefited by your calm Address. After this, you again bring upon the Carpet this *Secret*, which you *know* of, and do not reveal—This *grand Scheme*, which you know is, “laid so deep, and covered so well.” It appears to me, that Duty to your King and Country, should induce you to *uncover* this Plot, and draw it into Day-light, and *undeceive* those “Thousands that are ripening it to Maturity.” If you have nothing of this Kind to discover, you are like “the Madman that casteth Fire-brands, Arrows, and Death, and saith, Am I not in Sport.”—You say, “They love neither *England* nor *America*, but play one against the other, in subserviency to their grand Design of overturning the *English* Constitution.”—This again is a Description, that agrees with none but the Partizans of the proscribed House of *Stuart*; such as want the *Romish* Religion, *French* Laws, and the *Pretender* for King: These Men, and those who voted for a Law to establish Popery, in so large a Part of his Majesty’s Dominions as *Canada*, do best agree with *your* Description of the Men in the Secret.

Further, Dr. *Smith* is certain, and so am I, that the *Americans* have a Right to grant their own Money; and that when it is taken from an *unrepresented* People (I am not speaking of Individuals) it is an arbitrary Proceeding, and contrary to the Constitution of *Britain*. Your Ignorance, Reverend Sir, in these Affairs, is so great, that you seem to know no Medium between a People being entirely independent, or entire Slaves. That happy Medium has been known, and that Knowledge reduced to Practice, with Respect to *English* Colonies, for 150 Years: The Colonies do acknowledge a Sovereign, but whose Rights and Prerogatives are bounded by Law, and by Charters: Would to God the united Force of Laws and Charters, were a sufficient Barrier against ministerial Vengeance.

A little further you say to the *Americans*, “You had the very same Liberty we have in *England*—I say you had.”—Reverend Sir, a greater Falshood than this cannot be uttered: Every one knows, who knows

knows any Thing of the Matter, that the *North-American* Colonies are very far from having the Liberty of Trade which we enjoy; they are restrained in more Instances than I can mention; but the following are some of them.

1st. The Prohibition of making Steel, or erecting Steel Furnaces, has been absolutely prohibited: This has reduced all *America* to the Necessity of buying these Articles from a few Persons in *England*, engaged in this Manufacture.

2d. The *Americans* have been obliged to land the *Spanish* and *Portugal* Wine and Fruit which they import, in *England*, subject to high Duties and heavy Charges for re-shipping: This Restriction not only grievously enhances the Price of these necessary Articles, but exposes their Vessels to the Danger and Expence of an additional Voyage of 1000 Miles, in a boisterous Sea in Time of Peace, and in Time of War to a great advance in Insurance.

3d. An absolute Restraint has been laid upon the Sale of Hats, and the Exportation of them has been prohibited: In Consequence of this, an Inhabitant of one Province cannot buy a Hat from his Neighbour, being a Hatter in the other, but must send 3000 Miles for it, at three Times the Price, for the Benefit of our Manufactures.

4th. The *Americans* are not suffered to erect Plating or Slitting Mills, or Tilt Hammers: Thus, though Iron is the Produce of their own Country, they must send it to *England*, and pay us for manufacturing it, before they are suffered to avail themselves of those Advantages which God has given them: Nails, Hoes, Ploughs, Axe-, &c. they are under the greatest Necessity of using, from the Nature of their Country, in great Quantities; yet they are obliged to take such as we please to send them, at our own Price, loaded with our Taxes, and the Charges of double Freight, Commission, &c.

5th. By the supreme Authority of *Great-Britain*, the *Americans* have been prohibited from carrying Wool, or any Kind of Woollen Goods made in one Colony, to another. A single Fleece of Wool, or a Dozen of Home-made Hose, carried from one Colony to another, is not only forfeited, but subjects the Vessel, if conveyed by Water, or the Waggon and Horses, if by Land, to a Seizure, and the Owner to a heavy Fine.

6th.

6th. The *Americans* are not permitted to carry Log-wood to any foreign Market, without first bringing it to some *British* Port, to land and re-ship it, at a great Risque, Expence, and Loss of Time.

I cannot go on to enumerate Particulars; but these are sufficient to shew what Hardships the Colonies have submitted to, rather than shake off the Authority of the Mother Country; and also sufficient to shew, that your repeated Assertion, that the Colonies had all the Liberties that *Englishmen* enjoy, is one of the greatest of Falshoods. I am really astonished how a Man of Sense, of Learning, and a Professor of the Religion of JESUS CHRIST, can shew his Face in Society, after having published such pernicious and unconstitutional Doctrines, such Scurrility and Slander, and such glaring Falshoods!

Further: In the next Paragraph you assert, that "Till the *Americans* appointed their new Sovereigns, they enjoyed all the Privileges of *Englishmen*."—Another Declaration of the same Falshood—To be restrained in Trade in the Manner I have just mentioned, and in many more Instances, and to be taxed by a foreign Parliament, without any Representation at all—Once more, in the Name of common Sense, let me ask you, if these are the Liberties wherewith GOD has made us free—if these are the Liberties wherewith the *English* Constitution hath made its Subjects free?—And will you again assert, that the *Americans* ever enjoyed all the Liberties and Privileges of *Englishmen*?—I hope you will not.

The *Americans* say, "No Power on Earth has a Right to grant our Property without our Consent." You reply, "Then you have no Sovereign; for every Sovereign under Heaven has a Right to tax his Subjects; that is, to grant their Property with or without their Consent: Our Sovereign has a Right to tax me, and all other *Englishmen*, whether we have Votes for Parliament-men or no."—These Assertions, Sir, are equally false, unconstitutional, and pernicious: It was for an adherence to such Doctrines as these, that your royal Martyr lost his Head. What he attempted, and what he did, you assert every Sovereign under Heaven has a Right to do; and you confer this Power on the Sovereign solely, without ever mentioning the House of Lords or Commons, and you must

must mean as you say, because the greater Part of Sovereigns under Heaven have no Parliaments. If every Sovereign under Heaven has a Right to tax his Subjects with or without their Consent; if he has a Right to make his Will the Law in this Respect, he has a Right to make his Will the Law in all other Respects. If this Doctrine be true, *James* the Second had a Right to do every Thing he did, and his People had no Right to resist him: Therefore upon your Principles, the Revolution was a Rebellion, the Act of Settlement was made under a usurped Authority, and the House of *Hanover* never had, and the reigning Prince, our present Sovereign, has no Right to the Throne of these Kingdoms. These are not remote, but the direct Consequences of the Right which you assert belongs to every Sovereign under Heaven. Your Assertions, Reverend Sir, are equally repugnant to Reason, to Justice, and Truth.

By and bye here's another Repetition of a Falshood asserted several Times before: "Every Right which I enjoy, is common to *Englishmen* and *Americans*."— Did you imagine this to be a Truth when you wrote it? Your Ignorance and Effrontery are really astonishing! Every one that knows how the *Americans* are confined to an exclusive Trade, if he knows nothing about Taxation, can refute this.

It is an Argument very inconclusive, very fallacious, that because Individuals here, who have no Votes for Members, are taxed, therefore whole Communities, whole Nations ought to be taxed, without any Representation at all. Hereby you would establish a Precedent for arbitrary Power over America, from an unavoidable Defect in the *British* Constitution. When the *British* Parliament lays a Tax upon the People here, they tax themselves, their Friends, their Relations, at the same Time, and those who have Votes for Members, are taxed equally with those who have no Votes; therefore those who have no Votes, have not so much to fear from being taxed and unrepresented as the *Americans* have; for when the *Americans* are taxed by our Parliament, those who lay the Tax bear no Part of the Burthen.

Your Assertions being thus examined, and found absolute Falshoods, vainly do you exhort and argue from them: The Fabric of your calm Address resteth on rotten

rotten Pillars, which shrink at the Touch, and consequently the whole falls to the Ground.

A little further you say, "None desires to withhold any Thing, that is granted by the express Terms of your Charter."—I answer, has not a Bill been made for altering the Charter of *Massachusetts-Bay*? Do not the Charters expressly promise all the Liberties and Privileges of *Englishmen*? And it is the Privilege of *Englishmen* not to be taxed, but by their own Consent, given by their Representatives; yet these *Americans* are taxed without any Consent, or any Representation at all; and in order to force Obedience to such Laws as these, the Blood and Treasure of *Britain* is wasted, the Affections of all the Colonies alienated, and the Government runs a Risque, by your Account, of being overturned by Republicans: But alas! greater is the Danger that our open and avowed Enemies, *France* and *Spain*, will sooner or later avail themselves of this pernicious and dreadful Contest, and lay *Great-Britain* low. On this Account every humane Mind must be deeply impressed; every Friend to his Country must abominate those Addresses, which encourage his Majesty to expend more Blood and Treasure in this pernicious Contest, and evidently risque the Ruin of the Nation. It is evident to me, that none but lenient Measures are ever likely to render the Colonies of any further Value to this Nation.

In your last Paragraph but one, you have the strangest Assertion I ever heard advanced, viz. "I know but one Instance in all History, wherein the People gave the Sovereign Power to any one, that was to *Massiniello* of *Naples*; and I desire any Man living, to produce another Instance in the History of all Nations."—So far is this your Assertion from being true, that it is the People who give the Sovereign Power to every King, otherwise he has no Right to it: It is this Gift, or Consent of the People, which constitutes his best Claim to the governing Power, and without it he cannot have a Right to govern any Nation, unless GOD ALMIGHTY should bestow it upon him, which is not the Case in our Days. Pleading a Right by lineal Descent from a former King, if other Qualifications are wanting, signifies nothing—this in *Great-Britain* is true Constitutional Doctrine; and we need not go farther than the History and Laws of our  
own

own Country, to prove it; and also to prove the fal-  
lacy of your Assertion, with respect to the People giv-  
ing the Sovereign Power.

King *Alfred*, notwithstanding his Coronation by the  
Pope, acknowledged his Kingdom to have been the  
Bounty of his People; and in his Will he expresses him-  
self thus: " I desire to leave my People as free as  
" Mans Thoughts within him."

Though *William* the first gained the Crown by the  
Assistance of the *Norman Army*, it was not the Case  
with *William Rufus*, his second Son; though he had  
an elder Brother living, yet, by the Mediation and As-  
sistance of the leading Men in the State, and by en-  
gaging to abolish the over-hard Laws made by his Fa-  
ther, and to take off the Taxes and Imposts, he drew  
the People generally to confirm him in his Kingdom,  
and stand in his Defence; and a better Title he could  
not have, than such proper Qualifications, and the Suf-  
frage of the People.

*Henry* the first also, and King *Stephen*, came to the  
Crown by Election, and not by Right of Succession:  
Their Elections, and the Oaths they took, are to be  
found in the old Historians: That of King *Stephen* is  
very full and expressive, as follows.

" I *Stephen*, by the Grace of God, the Consent of  
" the Clergy and People, being elected King over  
" England, and consecrated by *William*, Archbishop  
" of *Canterbury*, Legate of the holy Roman Church,  
" confirmed by *Innocent*, Pontiff of the same See, do  
" declare, &c." The Elections and Oaths of *Henry*  
second and *Richard* first are equally clear; but in King  
*John's* Coronation we are brought beyond Dispute; in  
full Parliament of Arch-bishops, Earls, Barons, and  
Commons, when the Arch-bishop stood up, and spoke  
as follows.

" It is well known to you all, that no Man hath  
" Right of Succession, except that by unanimous Con-  
" sent of this Kingdom, with Invocation of the Holy  
" Ghost, he be elected from his own Deserts: But if  
" any of the last King's Race be more worthy and  
" better than others, his Election is more proper and  
" reasonable, as it is now in Earl *John* here present."  
It was this King who granted *Magna Charta*, the  
great, the irrevocable Charter of our Liberties.

In a Case so plain, it is needless to collect more In-  
stances;

stances; though it is undeniable, that it was the *People of England* that made *William and Mary*, King and Queen of these Realms, and set aside the House of *Stuart*; and it is as evident, that it was the *People of England* who settled the Crown on the House of *Hanover*: Our present most gracious Sovereign owes his Crown to the *Expulsion* of a Tyrant, and the *Gift* of his People.

I hope I have said enough, to convince every one who is willing to be convinced, that your Reasonings are inconclusive, your Principles unconstitutional, and your Assertions Falshoods.

Government, Reverend Sir, is not an Inheritance, it is a Trust; the Sovereign is the grand Steward of our Privileges, and his Power is delegated to him by the People: He receives his Power on certain Conditions; he swears to maintain the Constitution in Church and State—If he does not do these Things, but breaks through all the Ties of God and Man, he virtually unking himself, and forfeits that Right, that conditional Right conferred upon him: This was the Case with *Charles* the first and *James* the second—I need not tell you the Consequences—But if you hold the Doctrines of divine Right in Kings to do wrong, of Non-resistance and passive Obedience to their Will, give me leave to tell you, they are absurd and irrational in themselves, and exploded by the *British* Constitution.

And as in Principle, you are neither an *Englishman* nor a *Republican*, and therefore unworthy the Liberties and Privileges of either Government, let me advise you to retire to your Brethren, the crouching Slaves of *France* or *Spain*, of *Portugal*, or of *Rome*, who like you compliment their Sovereigns with arbitrary Power, and Right divine—to rob their Subjects.

With Respect to your last Paragraph, I would observe, that the *Americans* are deprived, in many Respects, both of natural and constitutional Liberty—That, and that only, appears to me to be the Cause of the general Resistance, made to the Measures of Administration—That I say is the Cause—It is not attempting to gain a Liberty of disobeying our lawful Sovereign—It is only Laws, which are not the fundamental Laws of our Country, which they complain of; and notwithstanding all the Calumnies of their Enemies,

mles, there is, I think, no Proof that they are contending for any Thing more, than a repeal of unconstitutional Laws, and to regain that Liberty, though less than Constitutional, which they have so long enjoyed, and which has proved, by long Experience, to be of mutual Advantage to *Great-Britain* and *America*.

Notwithstanding all that I have said to you, I profess myself your Friend: I am an Enemy to no one: In Consequence of this Disposition, I have been endeavouring to make some Excuse, some Apology for you; but the Task is so difficult, I am obliged to give it up. It remains for you to consider, for what Reasons you have published Principles and Sentiments, so contrary to the natural Rights and Liberties of Mankind; so contrary to the *British* Constitution; so contrary to Reason, to Law, and historical Facts, and so contrary to *yourself*; to what your own avowed Principles were, till very lately: For I am fully satisfied you have at different Times, and at different Places, expressed yourself on the Subject of our Quarrel with the *American* Colonies, in a Manner directly contrary to the Principles and Sentiments contained in your calm Address. Such Inconsistencies, in the Conduct of a pretended Patriot, or a thorough-paced Courtier, I can account for; but I, and your more particular Friends, are moved with Concern and Astonishment, when they so strikingly appear in the Conduct of Mr. WESLEY.

As far as you have been instrumental in awakening Sinners, and turning them from Darkness to Light, and from the Power of Satan to God, I have rejoiced in your Success—in that Walk may you and your Brethren go on and prosper: But with respect to such Publications as this—that your Repentance may be timely and sincere, is the real Wish and Heart's Desire of,

Reverend Sir,

*Your's and the Public's humble Servant,*

A LOVER OF TRUTH and the BRITISH  
CONSTITUTION.

P. S. Just after I had wrote this small Piece, I met with an Abstract of the Charter granted to *William Penn*, by *Charles* the second, in 1681: The first Article sets forth, that such a Tract of Land was granted to *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns for ever; and the 18th Article exempts them from Taxation by any  
Power



Power whatever, except with the Consent of the Inhabitants and Governor, in Words as follow.—“ We do covenant and grant, to and with the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, that we will not set, or make any Custom or other Taxation, upon the Inhabitants of the said Province, upon Lands, Houses, Goods, Chattels, or Merchandizes, except with the Consent of the Inhabitants and Governor.”

If it should be thought that I have not sufficiently obviated the Objection, that a Right to make Laws for the Regulation of *American Trade*, infers a Right of Taxation; and that it appears inconsistent to allow the one to be a Right, and not the other: I answer; in the Government of far distant Provinces, we proceed as it were by Way of Compromise; we regulate and restrain their Trade, in a Manner greatly to our Advantage: In Consideration of this, and because they are not represented, we have exempted them from Taxation for the Purpose of Revenue: Thus you see we give and take, in order to draw somewhat of a strait and equitable Line—But when we would take all, and give little or nothing; when we would regulate their Trade in every Respect, and tax them as we please, we break that Line; and instead of allowing them all the Liberties and Privileges of *Englishmen*, we allow them none of them, save that of going to Heaven their own Way; nor can they be secure in the Enjoyment of that Privilege, when they have no other left. Such will be their abject State, if the present coercive Measures are successfully carried on. And can we desire that to be the Condition of any Subject of the *British Empire*?—Finally: If I was an Enemy to Truth and Liberty—if I was an Enemy to the Rights of Mankind and the *British* Constitution—if I was an Enemy to my King and Country, I would approve of ministerial Proceedings; I would address his Majesty in the courtly Style; and I would write as Mr. WESLEY has done—And if I was a Friend to Popery and arbitrary Power—if I was a Friend to *France* and *Spain*, to *Rome* and the *Pretender*, I would write and act in the same Manner.—*Adieu.*

MANCHESTER, NOV. 25, 1775.

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F I N I S.





































































































































































































