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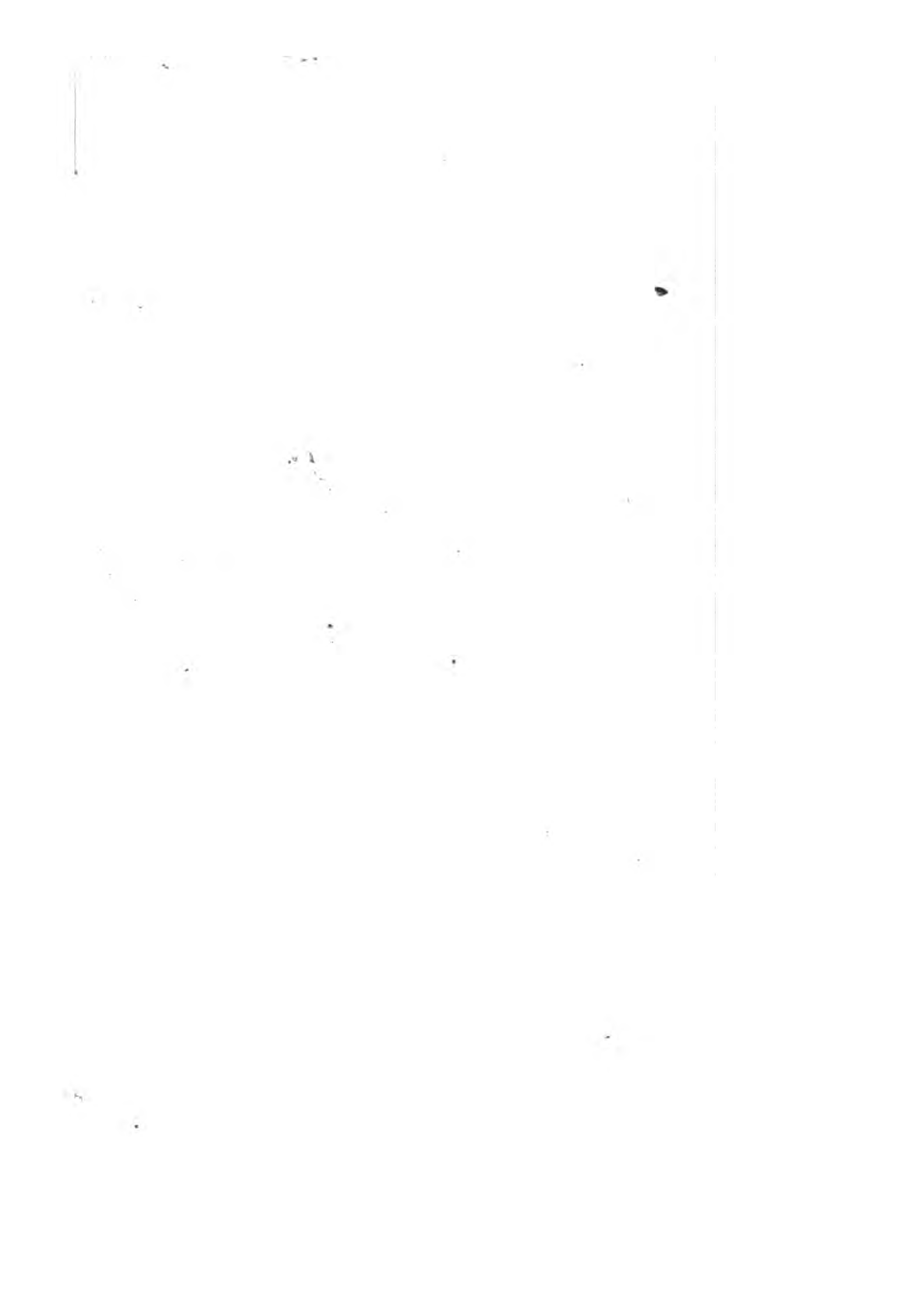
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A
VINDICATION

OF THE

Rev. Mr. WESLEY'S

"CALM ADDRESS

TO OUR

AMERICAN COLONIES."

In some LETTERS

TO MR. CALEB EVAN



By JOHN FLETCHER, Vicar of Madeley, Salop.

THE SECOND EDITION CORRECTED.

"As free, and not using your liberty for a cloke of maliciousness; but, as the servants of God, honour all men, love the brotherhood, fear God, honour the King.—While they promise you liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption." St. PETER.

L O N D O N :

Printed by R. HAWES, (No. 40.) the Corner of
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E R R A T A.

Page. Line.

- 16 — 32 *demeed* read *deemed*
 22 — 35 *beld* read *hold*
 24 — 7 *would* read *will*
 25 — 25 *their last charter,* read *one of their last charters*
 26 — 3 *from* read *almost from*
 ✎ The note, p. 25, was intended to recall the two last errata in the first edition. But thro' the author's absence, and the editor's mistake, they have crept into this edition also.
 26 — 36 *lord Chatham, and* read *and lord Chatham; as well as the vain testimony of*
 31 — 10 *legislation* read *legislature*
 35 — 7 *Argumentt* read *arguments*
 35 — 36 *own* read *own"*
 39 — 28 *patriotism.* read *patriotism?*
 43 — last line but one *stunt* read *stiff*
 44 — 23 *Thaddeus* read *Theudas*
 63 — last but five *to voice be* read *voice to be*
 68 — 15 *subjects of those in* read *men who are under*

This Book is sold at the **FOUNDRY, Moorfields,**
 and by **J. BUCKLAND, Paternoster-Row, London:**
 by **T. MILLS, Wine-Street, Bristol:** and by **J.**
EDDOWES, Shrewsbury. [Price Four-Pence.]

to hurt no body by word or deed ;—and to be true and just in all our dealings ;” giving every one his due, “tribute to whom tribute is due, and custom to whom custom ?” Do we not teach this doctrine to our Children, when we instruct them in the first-principles of Christianity ? If divinity, therefore, can cast light upon the question, which divides Great-Britain and her Colonies ; is it impertinent in divines to hold out the light of their science, and peaceably to use what the Apostle calls “the sword of the Spirit ;” that the material sword, unjustly drawn, by those who are in the wrong, may be sheathed ; and that a speedy end may be put to the effusion of Christian blood ?

Another reason influences the Author to write upon the question which is now so warmly agitated in England,—so dreadfully debated in America. Many of the colonists are as pious as they are brave ; and whilst their undaunted fortitude makes them scorn to bow under an hostile arm, which shoots the deadly lightning of war ; their humble piety may dispose them (or some of them) to regard a friendly hand, which holds out an olive branch, a bible, and the articles of religion drawn by their favourite Reformer. Had more care been taken to inform their
judgment

C O N T E N T S.

L E T T E R I.

The Doctrine of Taxation, maintained by the Author of the Calm Address, is rational, scriptural, and constitutional.

L E T T E R II.

The Doctrine of Americanus is highly unconstitutional, and draws after it a long train of absurd consequences.

L E T T E R III.

Observations on the Origin of Power,—on the high republican Spirit —on the political Enthusiasm of many of the first protestants—on the Articles of Religion, by which the later Reformers struck at that Enthusiasm—on the Tyranny which attended it;—on Slavery—and on the peculiar Liberty of the Subjects of Great Britain;—the Author's Wishes, with respect to a speedy Reconciliation with the Colonists:—the happy consequences of such a Reconciliation.*

* This was the grand engine whereby Cromwell overturned both the Church and State.

cannot hold up the hands of our soldiers by prayer, without committing sin: nor can they fight with christian courage, which is inseparable from a good conscience, if they suspect that they are sent to rob good men of their properties, liberties, and lives.

Mr. Wesley asserts, "*That the supreme power in England has a legal right of laying any tax upon the American Colonies, for any end beneficial to the whole empire,—with or WITHOUT their consent.*"—And you reply, "*If the Americans are indeed subject to such a power as this, their condition differs not from that of the most abject slaves in the universe.*"

Sir, I venture to assert, that you are mistaken, and that Mr. Wesley's proposition is *rational, scriptural and constitutional*. And, promising you to shew in another letter the absurdity of your proposition, I enter upon the proof of my assertion, by an appeal to reason, scripture, and your own letter. In following this method, I shall address you as a man, a divine, and a controvertist. First, as a man:

Does not your mistake spring from your inattention to the nature of civil government? You represent the power, which the king and parliament claim of disposing of some of the money of the Colonists without their consent, as an encroachment upon British liberty;—as an unjust tyrannical pretension;—nay, as a species of "robbery." But, did you never consider, Sir, that in the nature of things, our sovereign [I mean by this word, the king and his parliament, first jointly making laws not contrary to the laws of God, whose supremacy must always be submitted to by all created law-givers; and secondly executing the laws which they have made, by imparting to magistrates and other officers of justice, a sufficient power to put them in force;]—did you never consider, I say, that our sovereign, whether we have a vote for parliament men or not, has both a *right*, and a *power* to dispose, not only of our money, but also of our liberty and life; so far as that disposal answers ends agreeable to the law of God, beneficial to the peace
of

of society, and conducive to the general good? if this political doctrine is explained, you will, I am persuaded, assent to it, as an indubitable truth.

Could the sovereign rule and protect us, if he had not this right and this power? I injure your property, or, what is worse, your reputation. You sue me for damages: but, how can the sovereign act the part of protector of your property and good name, if he cannot command my property, and take from me by force what I unjustly detain from you, and what may make you satisfaction for the injury done to your character? and suppose you had wronged me, how could the sovereign protect me, if he could not dispose of your property without your consent?

This is exactly the case with respect to *Liberty*. If you stop me on the road, and unjustly deprive me of the liberty of going about my business; can the sovereign protect me, unless he has a right of depriving you of your lawless liberty, that I may quietly enjoy my lawful liberty? and does not equity demand, that if I am the petty tyrant, who pretend to the liberty of tar-feathering you, the sovereign should have the same power of protecting you, by binding me to my good behaviour, or by ordering me to the stocks or to jail?

This power extends to *life*, as well as liberty. I demand your money or your life. How can the sovereign secure you more effectually than by taking away my life, for having attempted to take yours? By the rule of reciprocation, if you endeavour to take away my life, I cannot be protected; and if you murder me, my blood cannot be properly avenged; unless the sovereign has power to put you to death. Hence it is, that prosecutions for capital offences are carried on in the name of the king, who is the head of the legislative power, and who, as he insists [in his capacity of law-giver and protector of his subjects] upon the infliction of capital punishments, has also the royal prerogative of pardoning criminals who are condemned to die.

Come

Come we now to taxes. If the sovereign rules and protects his subjects ; and if it is his office to avert the dangers which threaten them, and to see that justice be done to the oppressed ; he has his noble, I had almost said, his *divine*, business : and he has a *right* to live by his business :—yea, to live in a manner which may answer to the importance and dignity of his business. Hence it follows, that he is not only as much entitled to a royal sustenance from his subjects, as a schoolmaster is entitled to a schoolmaster's maintenance from his scholars ; or a minister to a pastoral supply from his flock ; but that his right is so much the more conspicuous, as his rank is higher than theirs. Now, this royal sustenance chiefly arises from custom, and taxes. Hence it is evident, that to deny proper taxes to the sovereign who protects and defends us, is, at least, as gross an act of injustice, as to reap the benefit of a lawyer's study, a physician's attendance, a nurse's care, and a master's instructions ; and then to cheat them of the emolument which such study, attendance, care and instructions reasonably entitle them to. This is not all :

In a great empire, where the sovereign uses a great many officers to keep the peace and administer justice, there is absolute need of a great revenue for the maintenance of those officers : and the collecting of this revenue is the employment of many more. If the state is in danger from external or internal foes ; a sufficient force in constant readiness, is absolutely necessary to suppress seditions, quell rebellions, obtain restitutions, prevent invasions, and hinder encroachments. Hence, the need of a navy, an army, a militia. Hence, the need of sea-ports, docks, fortifications, garrisons, convoys, fleets of observation, ministers at foreign courts, arms, artillery, ammunition, magazines, and warlike stores without end :—hence, in short, prodigious expences. Now, as all these expences are incurred for the protection and dignity of the whole empire, do not reason and conscience dictate, —(1.) That all those
who

who share in the protection and dignity of the empire, should contribute in due proportion towards defraying the national expence:—(2.) That, of consequence, the supreme power has an indubitable right of laying moderate taxes upon the subjects, for any end beneficial to the whole empire:—(3.) That subjects have absolutely no right to complain of taxation, unless they are taxed exorbitantly, and without due proportion:—(4.) That if Colonies of subjects, settled, by a grant from the sovereign, within the limits of the empire, have been spared in their state of infancy, either to encourage their growth, or because the revenue which might have arisen from taxing them at first, would hardly have defrayed the expence of raising taxes; it by no means follows, that, when such Colonies have gathered strength, and are as well able to bear a share in the national burden as the mother country, they should still be excused:—And lastly, that to say, “you shall not tax me without my consent,” is as improper a speech from a subject to his sovereign, as to say, “you shall not protect the empire without my consent: if I steal, you shall not send me to jail without my consent; if I raise a rebellion, you shall not hang me unless I give you leave: you shall not dispose of my property without my permission, although (by the bye) I will dispose of the property of my fellow-subjects, not only without *their* permission, but also in full opposition to *your* authority:”—an absurd, unjust disposition this, which too many of the Bostonian patriots evidenced, when they imperiously disposed of the cargo of our ships, forcibly threw the goods of our merchants into the sea, to the amount of many thousand pounds, and set all America in a flame, as soon as the sovereign insisted that the port of Boston should be shut up, till the perpetrators of this daring act were delivered to justice, or, at least, till satisfaction was made to his oppressed subjects, whose ships have been boarded in a piratical manner, and whose property has been feloniously

feloniously destroyed, when they quietly traded under the sanction of English laws, and the protection of the British flag; trusting to the faith of Christians; depending on protestant usage in the harbour of a protestant city; expecting brotherly love, or at least common honesty, from the sons of pious Englishmen; little thinking—but enough of this black scene: may it be palliated by a speedy restitution, and a lasting repentance!

I hope, Sir, that the preceding remarks, which naturally flow from the principles of reason and humanity, recommend themselves to your conscience; and having thus addressed you as a rational creature, I take the liberty to address you next as a *Christian*;—yea, a preacher of the gospel of Christ. As such, you will not wonder at my producing a passage or two from the venerable book, which ought to be the rule of our conduct, sermons, and publications. *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore [in lawful things] resisteth the power [which providence calls him to obey] resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves condemnation, &c. Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. For, for this cause, PAY YOU TRIBUTE [i. e. taxes] also, &c. RENDER therefore to all their DUES: tribute to whom tribute is DUE, custom to whom custom. Rom. xiii. 1, &c.*

I need not remind you, Rev. Sir, that our Lord himself scrupulously followed this doctrine; *setting us an example that we should follow his steps*. For, although no Jew had a representative in the Roman senate; although the emperor of Rome had not half the right of taxing the Jews, which our protestant king has of taxing the Colonists, who are his natural subjects; although none of that emperor's predecessors had made the Jews a grant of their country;—although Christ could have insisted on being exempted, as the son of God, and the King of kings;—yea, although he could have pleaded absolute indigence

of the legislative, protective power of Great Britain, *the things which are HIS*: that is, Pay to him, by his officers, the reasonable taxes which are laid upon you; for in so doing, you only give him HIS DUE. You owe him obedience and taxes, as your supreme Governor and Protector. Hence it appears, that Mr. Wesley only unfolds our Lord's doctrine, when he says, "The reception of any law draws after it, by a chain which cannot be broken, the necessity of admitting taxation." The primary right of taxation is inseparable from the supreme power, and if our respective parishes at home, and our Colonies abroad, have a right to cefs themselves, with respect to their private expences; it is only a delegated subordinate right, which by no means exempts them from the taxes laid upon them to defray the general expence of the government. And therefore, to pretend that parish-rates, and Colony-rates, ought to supersede taxation, by the sovereign in a body political, is as absurd as to affirm, that the pulses in the human body ought to supersede the vital motion, or capital beating of the heart.

Having expostulated with you, as with a conscientious man, and a minister of the gospel, permit me, Sir, to address you thirdly, as a *consistent writer*. You give us to understand, that the act of parliament, by which the Colonists are taxed, is an unconstitutional act; because the Colonists, as inheriting the privileges of Britons, cannot be constitutionally taxed by a parliament, where they are not allowed to send representatives. But do you not in your very letter to Mr. W. overthrow this grand plea? Do you not grant the very truth, on which he rests his doctrine of the constitutional reasonableness of the taxation you represent as tyrannical? Undoubtedly, you do: for, considering that many large towns, as Birmingham, &c. send no representative to parliament, when the hill called Old Sarum, sends two; and that myriads of men, who have their fortune in ready money, in goods, in trade, or in the stocks, have no right to vote for parliament men, because
they

ever so despicable an bovel, but may, if he pleases, have a voice in the disposal of his property:" that is, in laying on or taking off taxes, or (which comes to the same) in making and repealing laws. Sir, I would no more encourage a tyrannical monarch, and an oppressive parliament than you: but supposing our mild King were a tyrant, and his parliament consisted of three hundred and ninety-nine little tyrants, would it not be better, upon the whole, to be ruled by four hundred tyrants than to be at the mercy of four hundred thousand? If you calmly weigh this question, I am persuaded, Sir, that your prejudices will subside. In the mean time, remember that if you are right as a patriot, you are wrong, not only as a man and a Christian, but also as a controvertist; and that, whether the constitution is *defective* or not, and whether you can mend it or not, you have granted that *unequal representation* is constitutional, and of consequence that the taxation of myriads of Britons in England, and sons of Britons in America, who send no representatives to parliament, is perfectly agreeable to the constitution.

You strengthen your cause by quoting a French and an English judge. As Mr. Wesley has taken particular notice of these quotations in the last edition of his Address, I shall only transcribe his answers. You write, "*All the inhabitants, &c.*" says Montesquieu, speaking of the English constitution, "ought to have a right of voting at the election of a representative, except such as are so mean as to be deemed to *have no will of their own.*"—Nay, [answers Mr. W.] 'if all have a right to vote that *have a will of their own*, certainly this right belongs to every man, woman, and child in England.'

One quotation more. Judge Blackstone says, "In a *free state*, every man who is supposed to be a *free agent*, ought, in some measure, to be his own governor: therefore, one branch at least of the legislative power should reside in *the whole body of the people.*"—Mr. Wesley answers: 'but who are *the whole*

commit enormities under pretence of redressing grievances; and give the signal of devastation, wherever they erect their standard of lawless liberty. Hoping, Sir, that a panic fear of a virtuous king, a lawful parliament, and a conscientious minister, whose crime is only that of making a constitutional stand against the boisterous overflowings of civil antinomianism;—hoping, I say, that such an absurd fear will never hurry you into groundless discontent and unguarded publications;—intreating you to take no step which may countenance king *Mob*, his merciless minister, *Rapine*, and his riotous parliament summoned from the “most despicable hovels;”—requesting you to exalt our divine Lawgiver, who sums up his *law of liberty* in these precious statutes, *Render to Cesar the things which are Cesar’s, and to God, the things which are God’s:—A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another, as I have loved you*; wishing you, Sir, all scriptural success in the gospel, which says, *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the PUNISHMENT of evil-doers, and for the PRAISE of them that do well*;—ardently praying, that when the governors, generals and forces going to America, shall land there, our disobedient fellow-subjects may be found *doing well*, i. e. penitently submitting themselves to their sovereign, that the threatened *punishment* may be turned into *deserved praise*;—and begging you would take in good part the freedom of this well-meant expostulation, I declare that I am as much in love with *liberty* as with *loyalty*; and that I write an heart-felt truth, when I subscribe myself,

Rev, Sir.

Your affectionate fellow-labourer in the gospel,
a republican by birth and education, and a
subject of Great Britain by love of liberty and
free choice.

JOHN FLETCHER.

Madely,
Nov. 15, 1775.

such freeholders, &c. virtually represent all that commonalty, whether it be made up of voters or non-voters, of poor men or men of property, of men at home, at sea, or on the continent: so the House of Commons virtually represents all the freeholders and voting burgeses in Great Britain; whether they voted or not at the last election, or whether they voted for or against the sitting members.

With an eye to this virtual representation, which draws after it a passive submission to taxation, Mr. W. asks: ‘*Am I and two millions of Englishmen,*’ who have no right to vote for representatives in parliament, ‘*made slaves, because we are taxed without our own consent?*’ You reply: “*Yes, Sir, if you are taxed without your own consent, you are slaves.*” You consider such taxation as “*The very quintessence of slavery;*” you declare, that, if the Americans submit to it, “*their condition differs not from that of the most abject slaves in the universe;* and you insinuate, that whoever attempts to tax them otherwise than by their direct representatives, “*attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery; he throws down the distinction between liberty and slavery. Taxation and representation (you mean direct representation) are coeval with, and essential to this constitution.*” But when you publish such assertions, which justify the armed Colonists, and represent the majority in parliament as a gang of robbers, does not an enthusiastic warmth for lawless liberty carry you beyond the bounds of calm reflection? And are you aware of the stab which you give the constitution; and of the insult which you offer, not only to your superiors, but also to millions of your worthy countrymen, whom you absurdly stigmatize as some of the “*most abject slaves in the universe?*”

Probably not one in five of our husbandmen, sailors, soldiers, mechanics, day-labourers, and hired servants, are freeholders, or voting burgeses. And must four out of five, in these numerous classes of free-born Englishmen, wear the badge of the *most abject slavery*, in compliance with your chimerical
notions

whom they did not vote into parliament; nay, by a man whom they opposed with all their might. Their choice is, perhaps, equally frustrated with regard to the other knight of the shire. Now, are these 3600 voters in any degree reduced to a state of slavery, till they can have an opportunity of being represented according to their mind?—Again, a free-born Englishman is possessed of a house, which he lets for thirty-eight shillings a year; for want of two shillings more in his yearly income he is no freeholder; and like the Colonists, he is taxed without his consent; is he “*an abject slave*” on this account? Wild patriotism answers in the affirmative, but impartial men smile and say, What! is British liberty so mean a blessing, as to depend upon a couple of shillings? Could a Jew make it turn on an hinge more contemptible than this? O Sir, what a low price does your system indirectly fix upon a jewel, on which you seem to set so immense a value! Once more: during the last election, myriads of Englishmen were abroad, some upon their travels or for their health, and others upon civil, military, or mercantile business; nor had they any more share in the choice of the parliament-men who now tax them, than the American Colonists; and will you aver, Sir, that if all these Englishmen were collected, they might constitutionally reform the constitution, and tax themselves by a congress composed of men who stimulate them to discontent? Will you assert, that such a congress would do well to make laws in opposition to the statutes of the King and parliament? and would you call the members of such a congress loyal subjects, if they raised an army to drive the king’s forces out of his own dominions; yea, out of those very provinces, where they held their land by gracious grants of the crown;—where they have acquired their wealth under the protection of the Mother-Country;—and where the Sovereign’s forces, which they now endeavour to cut off, have kindly fought their battles?

To come nearer to the point: some years ago, Lord Clive, member for Shrewsbury, went to the
East

finess or pleasure ; neither votes for the bill. Now, Sir, are they, and the county they represent, made slaves by being taxed without their consent ?—If you reply, that their not opposing the bill implies that they consent to it: I answer, The inference is not just. I did not oppose the last murder which was committed in the county, but you would wrong me, if you infer that I consented to it. Many clergymen will not oppose your letter, who nevertheless reprobate the doctrine it contains.

But, granting that your inference is just, I press you closer, and point out two knights [suppose the members for Middlesex] who oppose the bill with all their might. And yet the bill passes. Now, Sir, if your scheme of liberty is right, it follows, that our great patriots, and the little patriots whom they represent, are abject slaves ; for they are evidently taxed, not only without their consent, but against their warmest opposition ; seeing they are additionally taxed to bring their mistaken friends to reason. How excessively absurd then is your scheme, Sir ; since it not only puts the badge of the most abject slavery upon all the Britons who are not electors, but also upon all the electors and members of parliament, who call themselves *patriots*, with as much confidence as some mistaken divines call themselves *orthodox* !

You reply, “ In all collective bodies, the determinations of the majority of that body, are always considered as the determinations of the whole body : and every man who enters into society implicitly consents it should be so.” Mr. W. and I, Sir, thank you for this concession. If you and the Colonists stand to it, *you* will throw down your pen, and *they* their arms. For every body knows, that Great Britain and her Colonies make a collective, political body, called the British empire : and you declare, that “ *in all* ” such bodies, “ *the determinations of the majority are always considered as the determinations of the whole body*.” Now, Sir, if you do but allow that Great Britain is the *majority* of the British empire
[and

ment; and therefore their rising against such taxation is ingratitude, perverseness, and breach of charter, from first to last.

One more remark upon your important concession. If you grant that the minority in parliament has implicitly and passively consented to the measures of the majority, though very much against their will: witness their warm petitions, protestations, remonstrances, &c. do you not abundantly grant this leading proposition of Mr. W.'s Address, in a thousand cases, '*any other than this kind of consent the condition of civil life does not allow?*' Thus [so great is the force of truth!] after all your outcry against your opponent, you yourself lay down his grand principle: you come back to the very point whence he started, and are reduced to the mortifying necessity of maintaining, that our English patriots, so called, are some of the most abject slaves in the universe; or that our American Colonies are some of the most unreasonable Colonies in the world, since they take up arms to oppose a legislative power to which they have consented, not only *implicitly* and *passively*, as the minority does to the majority in parliament; but *explicitly* and *actively*: witness the charter of the Colony in which the congress is assembled, and the constant submission, which for many years they have paid to the British laws; supreme laws these, according to which they have suffered their lives, and the liberty of their persons, to be disposed of; though they had no more hand in actually making these laws, than the Great Mogul; since most of them were made before any living Englishman drew his first breath.

To shew that taxation and representation are inseparable according to the constitution, you produce the bare assertions of lord Camden, lord Chatham, and Montesquieu, a French author. But permit me to observe, Sir, that all the Frenchmen and English lords in the world, can never overthrow a doctrine which [as I have shewn in my first letter] stands or falls with reason, scripture, and matter of fact.

IF

take it from him without his consent, either expressed by himself or representative." Nay, you grow so warm as to say, "Whoever attempts to do it," [i. e. agreeably to the context, whoever attempts to tax a man, who has not consented to the tax, either personally or by his direct representative] "attempts an injury: whoever does it," [and the king has done it] "commits a robbery,"—What a speech! God save the king from such severe judges as you are!

Nothing can be more false, Sir, than the principle on which you found your bold, though indirect indictment: "Whatever is a man's own, is absolutely *his own*." I do not scruple to assert, that this principle is detestable, as being unscriptural—*irrational*—and highly unconstitutional.—(1.) *Unscriptural*: For the scriptures teach us, that God is the first and grand proprietor of all things; that *the powers that are, be ordained of him*; and that [for the ends mentioned in my first letter] he delegates his dominion and authority to kings and magistrates. Hence it is, that both in the Old and New Testament, those who make and enforce laws, are called *gods*; and that St. Paul declares, *He that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves condemnation*. To say therefore, that what we have, is *absolutely* our own, is to shake off the yoke of God's supreme dominion, and of the delegated dominion of kings, lawgivers, and magistrates, who are his lieutenants and representatives.

(2.) Your principle is *irrational*: For, if whatever a man has, "is *absolutely* his own;" it follows that non-voters and foreigners, who never consented to our laws, either personally or by appointing their representatives, can never be taxed, imprisoned, or hanged, unless they first sign the warrants, by which their property, liberty, or life, is legally disposed of. And if to dispose of their property by taxation is robbery; by the same rule we may say, that to dispose of their liberty and life by legal warrants, which they have not endorsed, is inhospitable tyranny, and downright murder.

(3.) Your

mistaken, Sir ; I know my parish better than you do. Some of the housekeepers I mention, could not vote on account of their sex, though they should have twenty estates ; and most of the rest would find it, through their poverty, much more difficult to purchase a freehold, than most of our American patriots.

You answer. If this is the case, their "*property must be so small, that it can be of no consequence to them who has the granting of it.*" But I argue in a quite contrary manner : For, if my poor parishioners have little of the necessaries of life, by every dictate of common sense, it is of the greatest consequence to them, not to be *robbed* of that little. Those who have blood to spare, may trust their arm in the hands of almost any surgeon : But those whose veins are already drained, are deeply interested in the choice of him, who is to let out the precious drops, which they can so ill part with. The parting with a couple of shillings, or the losing of two days work in mending the highways, is more to a poor man who has a large family, than the losing of 2000*l.* is to a man of fortune. Taxes are never felt by the rich ; because they pay them out of their superfluous abundance : whereas the Poor part with some of the necessaries of life, whenever they part with a penny. Besides, the poor, not being able to buy meat, live chiefly upon bread, which is the cheapest food. They eat a pound of it, where the rich eat an ounce. Therefore, when our wealthy legislators raise the price of bread, by allowing a bounty for the exportation of corn, or by forbidding the importation or permitting the distilling of it, they reap the principal benefit, and the poor bear the principal burden. You advance then, a monstrous paradox, when you insinuate, that legislation, "can be of no consequence" to the poor : For the capital branch of legislation, which raises or sinks the price of corn, chiefly concerns the lowest class of mankind, by whom corn is chiefly consumed.

This is not all. The legislative power disposes of our life and locomotive liberty, as well as of our property. I have seen some free-born Englishmen,
who

shillings; should have two votes; and he who has ten thousand pounds a year, should have five thousand votes; by which means, he might return himself member for any poor borough in the kingdom?— On the other hand, will not the poor have as good a right to rise in their turn, and to form another congress, under pretence, that rich men have but one body, and one life, any more than the poor; and therefore it is unreasonable, that the rich should have so much greater a part in legislation than they?— Nor will the mischief stop here: the wise and experienced will rise also, and urge, it is absurd that a young man, or a fool, should have as great a share in the legislature as a wise, aged man; and they will insist on having votes according to their wisdom and years; nor will their claim be, in my judgment, the most unreasonable.

This is not all: every little market town, and every ancient village, will insist on sending two representatives to parliament, as well as Wenlock and Old Sarum. By the rule of proportion, large towns, cities, and populous counties will claim a right of sending a number of members so much greater, as they are larger than Cornish boroughs, and more populous than Huntingdonshire. Thus we shall have an army of parliament-men, who, like the Polish nobility at their diets, will not be able to hear one another speak, and will be more ready to draw the sword than to make laws. And if such a parliament is to be chosen every year, as you intimate it should, the nation will spend half her time in raising armies of pot-boilers, to raise another army of lawgivers.

From these, and many such inconveniences, it appears, Sir, that your scheme of *equal representation* is absurd and impossible; and that, before you can bring it to bear, you must first get all Britons to be equally wise, rich, noble, learned, experienced, and diligent: Secondly, you must make them all of one sex and age: and thirdly, you must contrive to make them all live in the same place, and at the same time. If you consider the difficulty of such a task, I flatter myself, Sir, that you will be less ready to find fault
with

rica." If I mistake not, we have American members in the house; and the papers inform us, that—Sayer Esq; who is a native of Boston, claims a seat in the parliament; and, if he obtains it, he will not only represent his borough, but also, in connection with his fellow-members, he will represent the commonalty of all the British empire, except Ireland. Hence it is, that the minority in parliament, though they are not the special representatives of the Colonists, plead their cause so warmly, even against the privileges of the electors, whom they particularly represent.—(4.) Supposing these American members have no estates beyond the Atlantic; are there not several members in both houses of parliament, who have a large, a very large property in America; and who, when they tax the Colonists, take far more money out of their own pocket, than they probably do out of the pocket of Mess. Adams and Hancock?—(5.) If the Colonists were afraid of being taxed more heavily than the rule of proportion allows; should they not have humbly requested the parliament, that, before they were taxed at all, their jealousies might be removed by an act drawn up in such a manner as to set bounds to their taxes, in proportion to the bounds which are set to their commercial privileges? And would not our lawgivers have granted them so reasonable a request? But, to rise absolutely against all taxation by act of parliament, merely because it is taxation, by the legislative power of Great Britain; to destroy the property of our fellow subjects, by raising riotous mobs against them; and to take up arms against the Sovereign to defend such proceedings, argues, in my judgment, a temper which you may call patriotism, but looks too much like the sin forbidden in Rom. xiii. 2.—Lastly, if pleading that our superiors may abuse their power over us, were a sufficient reason to shake off the yoke of lawful authority; all apprentices (though ever so well used) might directly emancipate themselves; for they might adopt your argument, and say, My master indeed uses me well; but "*he is under every possible temptation*" to starve me; since every meal which he will
save

England: they could produce grants or charters to demonstrate, that they had a parliament of their own, and the prerogative of making their own laws; and therefore the Colonies, which have no such grants and charters; the Colonies, which have always been subject to the English parliament;—the Colonies, whose grants directly or indirectly mention subjection to the English parliament, shall not be subject to the English parliament.’ If Mr. W. had advanced such an argument as this, you might have as reasonably complained, that he deals in “childish quirks,” as you now do without reason; for common sense dictates, that it is as absurd to conclude, that the peculiar privileges enjoyed by the Palatinate of Chester, ought to be granted to all the Colonies; as it is to infer, that the peculiar privileges of the house of commons belong to every corporation in the kingdom.

To this refutation of your arguments, permit me to add a remark upon your answer to Mr. W.’s most striking plea. You are sensible of the advantage which he has over you, where he appeals to the *express terms* of the charters granted to the Colonists. You know, that honest men dare not go from their bargain; and that a charter is nothing but a solemn bargain committed to writing, whereby the sovereign makes such and such grants to his subjects, upon such and such terms; and you know, that if the subjects accept the grants, they agree to the terms on which these grants are made. Mr. W. says, “Remember your last charter, that of Pennsylvania, says, in *express terms*, you are liable to taxation.”—Here, Sir, you seem embarrassed; and, to get off as well as you can, you tell us, that the clause of the charter, which Mr. W. appeals to, “was never never understood to mean a power of internal taxation for the purpose of raising a revenue; but merely the laying on of such duties, as might be necessary solely for the regulation of trade.” But your mistake was lately demonstrated before the house of lords, by the testimony of Governor Penn. Lord Denbigh asked him at the bar of the
house,

house, If he was well acquainted with the charter of Pennsylvania? He replied, that "he had read the charter, and was well acquainted with the contents." Lord Denbigh asked, "If he did not know, there was a clause which specifically subjected the colony to taxation by the British legislature?" and he answered, "He was well apprized there was such a clause." Now, Sir, as you are so evidently mistaken in your account of the charter of Pennsylvania; you will permit me to think, that you give us as fabulous an account of the charter of Massachusetts Bay, when you say, you are credibly informed, that the exemption from taxes for seven years, which was granted to the colonists of that province, "had no reference to what we commonly mean by taxes, but to" something, which you call "*quit rents*."—An odd criticism this, which I should imitate, if I insinuated, that when the Apostle charges us to *pay custom*, he does not mean, that we should pay what we commonly understand by custom; but only that tenants should pay their rent. From this specimen, it is easy to determine, who have most reason to complain of "mutilated charters," the patriots or the parliament.

Having so long pleaded the cause of my Sovereign and my country, I may be allowed to bestow a few paragraphs upon my friend. You say to him, "It is fallacious to the last degree, and unworthy of a man of integrity and candour to insinuate, as you are pleased to do, that the people have ceded to the king and parliament the power of disposing, without their consent, of both their lives, liberties, and properties." I shall make no remark, Rev. Sir, on the christian courtesy of this address. We, who pass for *abject slaves*, expect such liberal hints from you *patriots*, and to tell you the truth, we think it an honour to share them with our king, and our legislature. But, may not I ask a few questions, which will throw some light upon Mr. W's remark? When did all the freeholders, who have estates from fifty to ninety-nine pounds a year, consent to be deprived of the liberty to carry a gun, and to shoot a hare on their

own land? When did all the Quakers consent to pay tithes, for the non-payment of which their property is forcibly taken from them according to act of parliament, to the amount of several thousand pounds a year? When did all the clergy, who lately petitioned the parliament for the repeal of the thirty-nine articles, consent that the act, which orders subscription to these articles, should continue in force? When did all the freeholders in Middlesex consent to be additionally taxed, in order to enforce the taxation of the Colonists? When did all our blustering gentlemen consent to be sent to the house of correction, or to pay five shillings, every time they demean themselves, by prophane cursing or swearing? When did all the dissenters consent to the law, which obliges them to conform to the church of England, if they will have places under the government? And, to sum up all in one question, When did one half of the lords, who distinguish themselves by their violent opposition to the measures of the government, consent that their liberty, estate, title, and life, should be forfeited, if they should assist their fellow-patriots, who take up arms against the King and parliament? If you give me a satisfactory answer to these queries, I will give you leave to reflect on my friend's integrity for his assertion. But remember, Sir, that if you fly to the back-door of an *implicit consent* to make your escape, Mr. Wesley, like an honest man, will meet you face to face; and stopping you in the name of consistency, he will demonstrate that, according to your evasive doctrine, you, yourself, have taxed the Colonists, "committed robbery," and "stabbed our vitals."

You try another method to overthrow Mr. Wesley's arguments. You object, that, five years ago, he did not defend the measures taken with regard to America; because he "*doubted*" whether they were at all defensible: and you have been informed, that he has since represented the Americans as "an oppressed, injured people:" and has warmly expressed his fears, with respect to the danger of our liberties.

But

less candid than his ; and that you will yield to the arguments contained in this calm Vindication. Should this be the case, the public will see in you both, that reason and conscience can, at last, perfectly balance patriotism and loyalty in the breast of a good man.

With respect to me, Sir, I had not deeply entered into the merits of the cause either way, before I saw Mr. W's address and your answer to it. I contented myself to wish and pray for peace in general, without inquiring who was right and who wrong. But after an attentive perusal of your publications, I was fully convinced, that Mr. W.'s doctrine of government and taxation is rational, scriptural, and constitutional ; and that your's, Sir, draws after it a chain of the most absurd consequences, has a tendency to promote licentiousness, and is subversive of all the scripture-precepts which I have quoted in my first letter : And therefore, my reverence for God's word, my duty to the king, my regard for my friend, my love to injured truth, and the consciousness of the sweet liberty, which I enjoy under the government, call for this little tribute of my pen. And I pay it to much the more cheerfully, as few men in the kingdom have had a better opportunity of trying which is most eligible,—a republican government—or the mild, tempered monarchy of England. I have lived more than twenty years the subject of two of the mildest republics in Europe : I have been, for above that number of years, the subject of your sovereign ; and, from sweet experience, I can set my seal to this clause of the king's speech, at the opening of this session of parliament, " To be a subject of Great Britain, with all its consequences, is to be the happiest subject of any civil government in the world." That you, Sir, and all my dissatisfied fellow-subjects, may be as sensible of this truth as myself ; and that I may be daily more thankful to God, to the king, and to the parliament, for the religious and civil liberty which we enjoy, is the cordial wish of,

Rev. Sir,

Your affectionate fellow-labourer in the Gospel,
J. F.

dreamed of, I dare not embrace it. The vanity of considering myself as a member of the body, which your doctrine represents, as the supreme Law-giver, the Judge of legislators, and the Maker of kings; —this flattering vanity, I say, cannot induce me to renounce the dictates of reason, and the declarations of Scripture.

Reason informs me, that the first man was endued with a power to protect and rule mankind; that all men are born in a state of civil society, because no child was ever his own father, his own mother, his own nurse, or his own protector; and that, of consequence, all men were under as strong an obligation of submitting to the first man (in all things agreeable to God's supreme dominion) as the first man was, of submitting to God. If Adam had not sinned and died, to this day he would be, under God, the monarch of all the earth; and all kings would be bound to acknowledge his supreme authority. This divine right of dominion Adam received from God. At his death, he left it behind him; and, even before his death, it began to subdivide itself into every branch of family-government, and national administration. Hence it is, that *the Powers that be, are said to be ordained of God*; and that magistrates and governors are called *gods* in the Old and New Testament. It appears to me therefore, as irrational, to say, that the power of sovereigns comes originally from the people, as to say, that the sanction of the fifth commandment comes originally from man. Nor dare I any more assert, that the people have a natural right to inthroned and dethrone kings, than I dare maintain that children and scholars, have a natural right to bestow or take away paternal and magisterial authority; or that the hands and feet have a natural right to rule the head and heart. I grant that if all the people will rebel against their rightful Sovereign, they are able to depose and destroy him. But arguing from *might* to *right* is the logic of a tyrant, a robber, and a mob; not that of a man, a Christian, and a Protestant.

American brethren never be given over to so dreadful a delusion!

If legislative, royal power ascended from the people, the Lord would not have elected Moses to be the Lawgiver, and Joshua to be the Leader of Israel, without first consulting the twelve tribes. Nor would he have raised them judges afterwards, without previously asking their consent. Much less would he have anointed Saul, David, Jehu, and others, to be kings over Israel, in so arbitrary a manner as he did. To prove your doctrine, therefore, you must appeal to the right exercised by some lawless *citizens*, mentioned by our Lord, who unjustly *hated* their Sovereign, and said, *We will not have this man to reign over us*, Luke xix, 14. And, if you please, to this precedent you may add the example of those pharisaic fickle patriots, who once insisted upon making Christ their king, and afterwards cried, *We will have no king but Cæsar: let Jesus be crucified*. From the designs of such uneasy religionists, such makers and killers of king, may God deliver the king and his dominions! Let a Thaddeus, a Barrabbas, a Caiaphas, make insurrections against Cæsar, and raise mobs against Christ himself; but let not pious Christians, who dissent from the Church of England, dissent from the prophets and apostles, when they say, *My son, fear thou the Lord, and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change*, Prov. xxiv. 21. *Submit to the King, as supreme.—Fear God. Honour the King.—Yea, honour him with thy substance, by paying tribute, or taxes, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake*, 1 Pet. ii. 13, &c. Rom. xiii. 5, 6. Prov. iii. 9.

The levelling scheme, on which you found your doctrine of a right to equal representation, is the rock upon which rigid republicans perpetually run. Against this very rock *many* of the first, over-doing Protestants steered their course, and dashed their ark in pieces. They had long groaned under Popish tyranny; and when the yoke, which had galled them for ages, was broken, they did not know how

to contain themselves. Like a high-spirited horse, which takes to a mad gallop, and furiously leaps over the bounds of the pasture, into which it is turned, after a long confinement; they disdained all restraint. Nothing short of *lawless proceedings* seemed to them to deserve the name of *liberty*. Because they had shaken off the Antichristian yoke of ecclesiastical tyrants, they concluded, that they had a right to shake off the Christian yoke of civil governors. They payed an unjust tribute to the Pope no more; and therefore, they would pay just taxes to their Sovereigns no longer. In short, they asserted that they had as much right in the legislature as their legislators. They brought on a general election, at which they elected themselves lawgivers; and, as you may easily conceive, one of their first laws was, that goods should be common, thus they began, *facere rem publicam*—to make a *republic*, a *commonwealth*, in the fullest sense of the word. All things were theirs. They were to call no man master upon earth. They were all to be literally kings with Christ, and they anointed themselves to reign with him a thousand years. This scheme could not fail to please the pot-boilers in Germany, who had nothing to lose; and it was highly applauded by those who hoped to get more than they had. They rose therefore in riotous mobs, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. They were to undo all heavy burdens, to break off every yoke, to bind kings with chains and nobles with fetters of iron. They actually began their levelling march, headed by some well-meaning enthusiasts, and by some designing men, who, like Cromwell, made their way to supreme authority, by striking dreadful blows at all authority. And, under pretence of asserting *the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free*, they committed all the outrages which can be expected from a lawless populace, who mistake licentiousness for freedom.

This mischief had begun in the church. Some of the German reformers had, at times, spoken so
un-

unguardedly of the ceremonial law of Moses, which St. Paul absolutely discards, as to pour contempt upon the moral law of Christ, which the Apostle strongly enforces. Luther himself, in his zeal for salvation without works, had been ready to burn the epistle of St. James, because it speaks honourably of Christ's royal law, by which Christians shall stand or fall when they shall be *judged* (that is, justified or condemned) *according to their works*. When warm men had been taught to bid defiance to God's law, as well as to iniquity and Satan; what wonder was it, if some of them went beyond their teachers, and began to infer, that, as they were made free from the law of God, so they were made free from the law of the land. The transition from ecclesiastical to civil antinomianism, is easy and obvious: for, as he that reverences the law of God, will naturally reverence the just commandments of the King; so he that thinks himself free from the law of the Lord, will hardly think himself bound by the statutes of his Sovereign.

This republican, mobbing spirit, after having tossed Germany, began to agitate England. Permit me, Sir, to transcribe some passages from Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation. They refer to my subject, and will throw much light upon it.

* At this time there were many Anabaptists † in
 † several

† This word, according to its Greek etymology, means *Re-baptizers*. Mr. Evans and the protestants of his denomination, are called by this name, because their grand peculiarity is to *re-baptize* those who were baptized in their infancy. No Church-of-England-man can enter their church, but at the door of *re-baptization*. Nor can he go through that door, without renouncing his former baptism and all his communions. Dreadful abjuration! Hence it is, that too many of those who have taken that rash step, are as zealous for re-baptization, as the christians who have renounced their baptism for Turkish ablutions, are zealous for their new washings. They exceed all others in zeal for making proselytes. I do not say this to prejudice the reader against the anabaptists: On the contrary, I would have him think, as I do, that some of them are very good people, and that most of them mean well: and I hope, this is the case with my opponent.

‘ putting down of processions and pilgrimages ; so
 ‘ that as the numbers increased, they had more
 ‘ time than they knew how to bestow.’

The Historian tells us next, how the popish priests
 availed themselves of these favourable circumstances,
 to raise a dreadful rebellion in Devonshire ; and
 then he goes on thus :—‘ When this commotion
 ‘ was grown to a head, the men of Norfolk rose—
 ‘ being led by one *Ket*, a Tanner. These pretend-
 ‘ ed nothing of religion, but only to suppress and
 ‘ destroy the Gentry, to *raise the Commons*, and
 ‘ to *put new counsellors about the King*. They in-
 ‘ creased mightily, and became twenty thousand
 ‘ strong, but had no order or discipline, and com-
 ‘ mitted many horrid outrages.—Ket assumed to
 ‘ himself the power of judicature, and under an old
 ‘ oak, called from thence *the oak of the Reformation*,
 ‘ did such justice as might be expected from such a
 ‘ judge, in such a camp.—When the news of this
 ‘ rising came into Yorkshire, the commons there
 ‘ rose also ; being further encouraged by a prophe-
 ‘ cy, that there should be no king nor nobility in
 ‘ England ; that the kingdom was to be ruled by
 ‘ four governors, chosen by the commons, who
 ‘ should hold a parliament, in commotion, to begin
 ‘ at the south and north-seas. They, at their first
 ‘ rising, fired beacons, and so gathered the country,
 ‘ *as if it had been for the defence* of the coast, and
 ‘ meeting with two gentlemen, with two others
 ‘ with them, they, without any provocation, mur-
 ‘ dered them, and left their naked bodies unburied.
 ‘ At the same time that England was in this com-
 ‘ motion, the news came that the French king had
 ‘ sent a great army into the territory of Boulogne ;
 ‘ so that the government was put to most extraordi-
 ‘ nary straits. There was a fast proclaimed in and
 ‘ about London. Cranmer preached on the fast
 ‘ day at court.—He chiefly lamented the scandal
 ‘ given by many who pretended a zeal for religion ;
 ‘ but used that for a cloak to disguise their other
 ‘ vices. He set before them the fresh example of
 Germany

cession of faith for the reformed churches of France and Geneva, he bestowed the two last articles of it upon the error which our American brethren and you, Sir, are running headlong into. As you are probably a perfect stranger to these articles, I shall faithfully translate them from my French Common-prayer book.

ART. XXXIX. ' We believe that *God* will have
 ' the world to be governed by laws and civil powers,
 ' that the lawless inclinations of men may be curbed.
 ' And therefore *he* has established kingdoms and re-
 ' publics, and other sorts of government [some he-
 ' reditary and some otherwise] together with what-
 ' soever belongs to judicature. And *he* will be
 ' acknowledged the *author* of government. To this
 ' end *he* has put the sword in the hand of rulers to
 ' punish, not only the sins which are committed
 ' against the commandments of the second table ;
 ' but also those which are committed against the
 ' precepts of the first table. We ought then, not
 ' only to bear, for his sake, that rulers should have
 ' dominion over us ; but it is also our bounden duty
 ' to honour them, and to esteem them worthy of all
 ' reverence ; considering them as *God's* lieutenants
 ' and officers, which *he* has commissioned to exe-
 ' cute a lawful and holy commission.'

ART. XL. ' We maintain therefore, that we are
 ' bound to obey their laws and statutes, to *pay tribute,*
 ' *taxes,* and *other duties,* and to bear the yoke of sub-
 ' jection freely, and with good will ; though they
 ' should be unbelievers ; provided the supreme do-
 ' minion of God be preserved in its full extent. And
 ' therefore, we *detest the men*' [he means republican
 ' levellers] ' who reject superiorities, introduce com-
 ' munity and confusion of property, and overthrow
 ' the order of justice.'

Sir, you are a Calvinist. You follow the French reformer when he teaches the absolute reprobation, and unavoidable damnation of myriads of poor creatures yet unborn ; Oh ! forsake him not, when he follows Christ and teaches, that God [not the people]

the pilot or the captain. Suppose they should be so unhappily fortunate as to succeed, what will they gain by their success? Will they be better able to bear the tossings of the next storm? Will they not be at the mercy of every wave;—the sport of every blast;—ready to be dashed against every rock?

I am so fully convinced of the truth and importance of Calvin's two last articles of religion, that, though I have for years checked his errors, if I had the wings of the lightning, and a voice like thunder, I would, this instant, shoot myself across the Atlantic, and preach his loyal doctrine to our deluded brethren.

A seed of the error of the republican Anabaptists, has remained in England ever since the Reformation; and the fiery zeal of some Independents, and later Anabaptists, was the chief ladder, by which artful Cromwell climbed to the height of supreme power, under pretence of forming a commonwealth. That you may not charge me with misrepresentation, I shall draw my proof from the Rev. Mr. R. Baxter's life, written by himself. His testimony is worth that of twenty other authors, because he had few equals in his time for piety, wisdom, moderation, abundant labours, and ministerial success: and because he was an eye-witness of many things which he relates; having been chaplain to a regiment of horse in Cromwell's army, a place this, which he accepted chiefly with an intention to oppose by his preaching the headstrong republican spirit of those men, who, after having taken up arms with a design to redress grievances and oppose arbitrary power, bore them with an intention of putting down hierarchy and monarchy together. Baxter failed in his attempt partly through the forbidding coldness, with which Cromwell looked upon him, and partly by a severe fit of sickness, which obliged him to leave the army when his moderation was most wanting there. The following extract is taken from a folio volume printed in London 1696, intitled "*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, or Mr. Baxter's Narrative of the most memorable passages of his Life and Times.*"

" cretion appeared, and worse than indiscretion, in
 " the tumultuous petitioners, and much sin was
 " committed in the dishonouring of the king, and
 " provocation of him.—But these things came prin-
 " cipally from the sectarian spirit, which blew the
 " coals among foolish apprentices: And as the sec-
 " taries increased, so did this insolence increase."

Page 50, 51. " When the court news-book told
 " the world of the swarms of Anabaptists in our
 " armies, we thought it had been a mere lie, be-
 " cause it was not so with us.—But when I came
 " to the army, among Cromwell's soldiers, I found
 " a new face of things, which I never dreamt of:
 " I heard the plotting heads very hot upon that,
 " which intimated their intention to subvert both
 " church and state. Independency and anabaptif-
 " try were most prevalent.—A few proud self-con-
 " ceited, hot-headed sectaries had got into the high-
 " est places; and were Cromwell's chief favourites,
 " and by their very heat and activity bore down
 " the rest, or carried them along with them, and
 " were the soul of the army, though much fewer
 " in number than the rest; being indeed not one in
 " twenty throughout the army; their strength be-
 " ing in the generals, &c. I perceived that they
 " took the king for a tyrant, and an enemy, and
 " really intended absolutely to master him, or to
 " ruin him.—They said, what were the lords of
 " England, but William the Conqueror's colonels?
 " or the barons, but his majors? or the knights,
 " but his captains? *Per fas aut nefas*, by law or
 " without it, they were resolved to take down—all
 " that did withstand their way. They most ho-
 " noured the Separatists, Anabaptists, and Antino-
 " mians; but Cromwell and his council took on
 " them to join themselves to no party, but to be
 " for the *liberty* of all."

Page 53. " My life among them (Cromwell's
 " soldiers) was a daily contending against seducers.
 " —I found that many honest men of weak judge-
 " ments, &c. had been seduced into a disputing
 " vein,

Page 58. " I called the ministers again together
 " who had voted me into the army : I told them
 " that the forsaking of the army by old ministers,
 " and the neglect of supplying their places by others,
 " had undone us ; — that the active sectaries were
 " the smallest part of the army among the common
 " soldiers, but Cromwell had lately put so many of
 " them into superior command, and their industry
 " was so much greater than others, that they were
 " like to have their will : That whatever obedience
 " they pretended, I doubted not but they would
 " pull down all that stood in their way, in state and
 " church, both king, parliament and ministers, and
 " set up themselves. I told them that for this lit-
 " tle that I have done" [*in opposing the high, repub-*
lican spirit] " I have ventured my life.—The wars
 " being now ended, I was confident they would
 " shortly shew their purposes, and set up for them-
 " selves."

Page 59, &c. Baxter tells us that, when the roy-
 alists were all killed or scattered, and the king him-
 self taken prisoner, Cromwell began to serve the
 parliament as he had done the king ; availing him-
 self of the absolute power he had over the army,
 by the influence of the hot-headed sectaries whom he
 had promoted : some of whom were called *Agitators* ;
 and as they now stood in his way to the supreme
 power, he began to serve them in their turn, as he
 had served the king and the parliament. Take Bax-
 ter's own words. " When Cromwell had taught
 " his *Agitators* to govern, and could not easily un-
 " teach them again, there arose a party, who
 " adhered to the principles of their *agreement of the*
 " *people,*" [upon the high republican plan] " which
 " suited not with his designs : And to make them
 " odious, he denominated them *Levellers*, as if they
 " intended to * level men of all qualities and es-
 tates,

* Query, Did Cromwell absolutely wrong them when he said
 this? Is it not probable that some of them leaned to the level-
 ling principles of the headstrong Anabaptists? Was it not

“ quarters, before they could get their numbers
 “ together ; so that above 1500 being scattered and
 “ taken, and some slain, the Levellers’ war was
 “ crushed in the egg.”

Page 64. “ The king being thus taken out of
 “ the way, Cromwell takes on him to be for a
 “ common-wealth (but all in order to the security
 “ of the good people) till he had removed the other
 “ impediments which were yet to be removed ; so
 “ that the Rump” [that is, the rest of the house of
 commons, whom Cromwell still allowed to sit, after
 he had turned out the members who displeased him
 most] “ presently drew up a form of engagement,
 “ to be put upon all men, viz. [*I do promise to be*
 “ *true and faithful to the commonwealth, as it is now*
 “ *established without a king, or house of lords.*] So
 “ we must take the Rump for an established com-
 “ monwealth, and promise fidelity to them.”

In the following pages, Baxter tells us how Crom-
 well put down the Rump at last, and, page 74, he
 gives this account of the manner in which he far-
 ther laid aside his trusty friends the Anabaptists,
 who had done him so much service. “ The secta-
 “ rian party in his army and elsewhere, he [Crom-
 “ well] chiefly trusted to and pleased, till, by the
 “ people’s submission and quietness, he thought
 “ himself well settled ; and then he began to un-
 “ dermine them, and by degrees to work them
 “ out : And though he had so often spoken for
 “ the Anabaptists, now he findeth them so heady,
 “ and so much against any settled government, and
 “ so set upon the promoting of their way and party,
 “ that he does not only begin to blame their un-
 “ ruliness, but also designeth to settle himself in
 “ the people’s favour by suppressing them. In
 “ Ireland they were grown so high, that the fol-
 “ diers were, many of them rebaptized as the way
 “ to preferment : and those that opposed them,
 “ they crushed with much uncharitable fierceness.
 “ To suppress these, he sent thither his son Henry
 “ Cromwell, who so discountenanced the Anabap-
 “ tists,

“ from God, as that there is no recipient between
 “ God and him, to convey it to him; only, as the
 “ King (by his charter) maketh him a Mayor or
 “ Bailiff, whom the corporation chuses; so God
 “ (by his law, as an instrument) conveyeth power
 “ to that person, or family, whom the people
 “ consent to; and their consent is but a *conditio*
 “ *sine qua non*; and not any proof that they are
 “ the fountain of power, or that ever the govern-
 “ ing power was in them; and therefore, for my
 “ part, I am satisfied, that all politics err, who tell
 “ us of a *Majestas realis* in the people, as distinct
 “ from the *Majestas personalis* in the governors.
 “ And though it be true, that *quoad naturalem*
 “ *bonitatem*, &c. (with respect to natural good-
 “ nefs, &c.) the king is *universis minor* (inferior
 “ to the whole body of his subjects)—yet as to gov-
 “ erning power (which is the thing in question)
 “ the king is, as to the people, *universis major*, as
 “ well as *singulis*,—(superior to the whole body of
 “ his subjects, as well as to every one of them.)
 “ For if the parliament have any legislative power,
 “ it cannot be as they are the body of the people,
 “ &c. but it is as the constitution twisteth them
 “ into the government. For, 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 gover-
 “ nors, *all government will thereby be overthrown.*”

If Baxter is right here (and I believe you cannot
 prove him to be wrong), is it not evident, Sir, that
 when you insinuate, every one, who is a *free agent*,
 or has a *will of his own*, or *boils a pot*, ought to have
 a place in the legislature, before he can be properly
 subjected to taxation, and, of consequence, to the
 laws, you countenance one of the most dangerous
 principles of the levelling Anabaptists?—a princi-
 ple whereby all government may be overthrown by those,
 who know how to draw just consequences from false
 premises.

To return :

You

anointed head the indecent floods of their lordly remonstrances? Have they not sharpened their tongues like swords, and their pens like spears, sportively to wound him through the side of his minister? And have not those who have done it with the greatest boldness, been preposterously cried up as the greatest patriots? In short, has not taxing subjects, vindicating the legislative power, protecting our merchants, and making a stand against the impetuous overflowings of popular rage, in St. George's fields and in Boston—has not, I say, this commendable holding of the reins of government, been represented as tyranny—felony—robbery—murder?

If these men dare to take such astonishing liberties with their Sovereign, how will they treat their fellow subjects? how will they handle you and me, should they be suffered to step into the Sovereign's place? If the king, in the midst of his guards, can but just keep them from treading his honour in the dust, what will they not be able to do to us, who refuse to go with them to the same excess of riot? How shall we escape, if we fall into the power of their guards—their armies of pot-boilers? Those Tritons, who have turned themselves into * *beasts*, to draw the chariots of their semi-gods, will probably endeavour to turn us into *birds*, to make us adorn the triumphs of their goddesses, *Licentiousness*, and *Antinomian Liberty*; and we shall possibly think ourselves well off, if we come out of their hands stript of our money, watch, and clothes; and covered with tar, feathers, and infamy.

They

* The servants of God may sometimes be allowed to make use of strong metaphors. David speaks of *the BEASTS of the people*, who refuse to bring pieces of silver, or to pay taxes to their lawful Sovereign. And St. Paul says, that he *fought with BEASTS at Ephesus*, because he narrowly escaped being torn in pieces by the mob there. If the Reader will see an admirable picture of the *beasts*, with which the Apostle fought, and to which our over-doing patriots endeavour to *give the power*, I do not refer him so much to Rev. xvii. 13. as to Acts xix. 28, &c. where he will find a masterly description of a mob.

they not deprived us of our locomotive liberty? Have they not insolently stopped us in the streets, and on the highway? Have they not taken a temporary possession of our coaches and doors, to mark them with their insulting numbers, and with the names of their principal agents? Have they not wantonly stigmatized our back, and chalked us out for laughing-stocks? Have they not lifted their hands against the peers of the realm? Have they not, without judge or jury, burned one of them in sarcastic effigy? Have they not insulted the prime minister in sight of the senate-house? Have they not mobbed the first magistrate of the city of London in the mansion-house; and almost mobbed the King himself in his own palace? And all this, under pretence of *liberty*! O Sir, if this is the beginning of liberty, how dreadful will be the end! Is not the tyrannical Scylla, upon whom you so eagerly push us, more dreadful than even the Charibdis, from which you fancy we are in so great danger? What unprejudiced citizen would not prefer the light yoke of the present government, to the ponderous yoke of such anarchy? And what undesigning Briton, will not (upon second thoughts) chuse to honour King *George*, rather than to tremble and fall down before King *mob*?

Should you do these observations justice, I hope, Sir, you will see, that to over-do, in *constitutional* doctrines, is as dangerous to the state, as to over-do, in *evangelical* doctrines, is perilous to the *church*. If we miss the medium of wisdom and moderation, it little matters whether we miss it, by going out of the way on the right hand, or on the left; it does not signify, which of the two we countenance in the church;—Pharisaism, or Antinomianism: it is indifferent which of the two we set up in the state;

—an

late parishioner was not the only one, who was injured on that memorable day. Among others, a quiet friend who ventured to open his china-shop, is said to have had his goods broken by the new king for this offence, to the amount of many pounds,

merely from a brotherly regard to the Colonists, who chiefly worship God according to the dissenting plan: or whether they hope, that a revolution on the continent, would be naturally productive of a revolution in England; that a revolution in the state here, would draw after it a revolution in the church; and, that, if the church of England was once shaken, the dissenting churches among us might raise themselves upon her ruins; whether, I say, there is something of this under the cry of *slavery* and *robbery* that you set up, is a deep question, which you, Sir, and some of your *warm* admirers, can determine far better than I.

It is the custom of most controvertists, to raise a variety of objections against the system of their opponents, whilst they overlook the greatest difficulties which attend their own system. Lest you should think, Sir, that I follow this disingenuous method, I will now answer the grand question which you propose to Mr. Wesley. "If every man who is taxed without his consent is not a slave, wherein consists the difference between slavery and liberty?"

If you mean by a *slave*, one who is bought with money, as the Negroes are by the Colonists; your question is unwise: for every body knows, that such slaves, having nothing at all, can never be taxed. When they work, their masters receive the wages; when they bear children, they bear them for their masters: their own body is the property of another. Since therefore they have no property, to talk of their being taxed with, or without their consent, is absurd.

But if, by a *slave*, you mean a subject oppressed by a tyrannical Sovereign; I reply, that the difference between such slaves and the subjects of Great Britain, who have no share in the legislation, is prodigious. A slave (in this sense of the word) is not only taxed as happy subjects are; but he is taxed without proportion, without judgment, and without mercy. The taxes laid on him, are so many

two or three judges only. Nay, he may fall a sacrifice to the prejudice, caprice, envy, hatred, or hurry of one single man.—Being tried by his peers, or by twelve of his fellow citizens, is an invaluable blessing, of which he has not the least idea.

Not so the happy subjects of Great Britain. Whether they have a freehold or not, they all enjoy this advantage; and, if the law is put in force, they are partakers of all the branches of religious and civil liberty, which are opposed to the above described branches of hard vassalage. And (what is most wonderful) the poor enjoy these blessings as well as the rich: the plebeian shares them with the nobleman. Hence it is, that the subjects of Great Britain are the *freest subjects* of those in any civil government in the world. And hence it appears, that when you assert, there is no difference between having no share in legislation, and being an absolute slave, you display an amazing unacquaintedness with the civil governments of Europe;—you betray an astonishing want of gratitude to God and the Sovereign, for the religious and civil liberty which we enjoy;—and you verify the observation of an ingenious foreigner, who has lately written upon the British constitution, and who says, “The blessings of liberty are so familiar to the English, that they neither relish nor know them. They may, in this respect, be compared to the children of princes, who, being born and educated in a palace, are so accustomed to its elegance and grandeur, and so unacquainted with the fordidness of cottages and gloominess of dungeons; that they never heighten their happiness, and excite their gratitude, by comparing the blessings they enjoy with the hardships that others endure.”

Just as this comparison may be, with respect to you, Sir, it can however hardly suit the case of many of the Colonists. Some of them, alas! know too well what tyranny and cruel servitude are. When poor, naked, bleeding slaves, ready to expire under the repeated strokes of a cutting whip, are obliged

; I say; of all the men upon earth, it least be-
lies the hard masters—the domestic sovereigns of
these poor creatures, to complain of the mild go-
vernment they are under, and to scream tyranny!
robbery! murder! And why?—Truly,
because some of them are enjoined to pay taxes,
but thirty times lighter than those which milli-
ons of their fellow-subjects, who have no vote,
lawfully pay in England; because the parliament
will not suffer them to destroy, with impunity, the
property of our merchants; and because the king
will not have the collectors of the public revenue
in continual danger of being murdered among
them. O Partiality, how high is thy glaring
one; and how many are thy warm votaries in
America, and thy sanguine advocates in England!

I shall esteem myself happy, Sir, if this check to
your partiality recommends itself to your conscience
as a Protestant, and to your candour as a well-wisher
to the cause of *true* liberty. Think not that the
sincerity, with which I have addressed you, springs
from malice or disrespect. Though I have bluntly
acknowledged your errors, I sincerely love and honour
you as an enemy to tyranny, and a (mistaken) asser-
tor of British liberty. Therefore, whilst I blame
your dangerous performance, I gladly do justice to
your good meaning; and I cordially join you, where-
ever you express a loyal ardent wish, that a speedy re-
conciliation may take place betwixt us and our Co-
lonies, upon an honourable, constitutional basis, and
that our beloved sovereign may long live to sway
the sceptre over a free people; provided you do not
mean by a "*free people*," tumultuous, mobbing peo-
ple, making liberty to consist in refusing to pay tax-
es, and in giving to the scriptural yoke of civil go-
vernment, the opprobrious name of "*abject slavery*."

Should you accuse me, Sir, as you do Mr. Wef-
ley, of "*inflaming the minds of the people here*
against

against our American brethren ;” you will do me as much injustice as you do to my friend. Our only design is to promote a proper obedience to those parts of the gospel of peace, which enjoin us a due subjection to our superiors ; and to enforce the articles of religion, which the last reformers drew up, to keep overdoing protestants from the enthusiasm of wild republicans. Far from being prejudiced against the Colonists, I feel a deep concern for their spiritual and temporal welfare. Yea, such is my partiality to them, and my fear of a greater effusion of the blood of Britons, and sons of Britons, that I even wish the government would make the easy yoke of which they causelessly complain, easier still ; by granting them some privileges, denied not only to millions of Britons here, but also to the members of parliament, and to the king’s own brothers, who, whilst they are out of England, are all taxed without being consulted. I humbly wish that our legislators would condescend to consult with the Colonists, about the taxes which suit their country and circumstances best. And as British senators know how to pity the prejudices of mankind, especially the prejudices of sons of Britons, with respect to the precious blessing of liberty ; I wish that the king and parliament would extend their greatest mercy to subjects, who have been hurried out of the way of loyalty, chiefly by their inattention to the blessings which they enjoy, and by the delusive hopes, with which, it is to be feared, some of our own countrymen have rashly flattered, and artfully seduced them. — In a word, I ardently wish, that [upon the return of the Colonists to their duty] the government would bind them to their mother-country, both by the silken cords of pardoning love, and by the silver bands of some prerogatives, which may convince them, that Great Britain considers them, not only as subjects, but also as younger brothers.

Such kindness, together with the scourge of a civil war, which they so severely feel already, would probably attach them to the parent state for ever.

Should