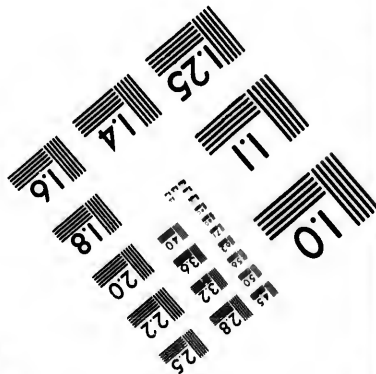
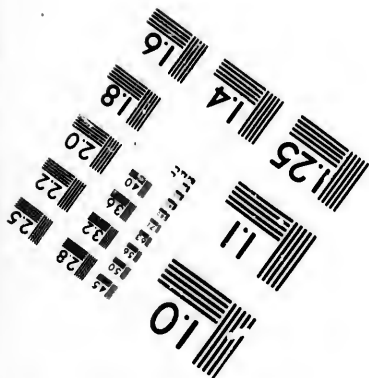
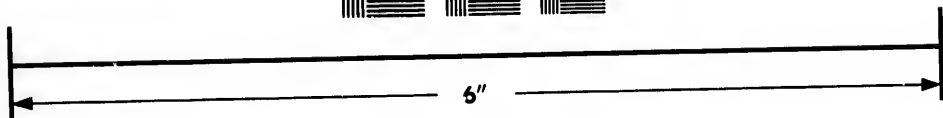
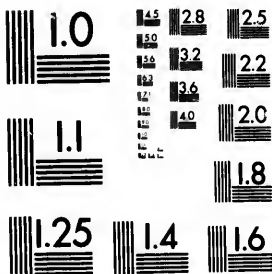


**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

20 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

15 28  
32 25  
22  
20  
8

**CIHM/ICMH  
Microfiche  
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH  
Collection de  
microfiches.**



**Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques**

11  
10  
13

**© 1984**

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured covers/<br>Couverture de couleur  | <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured pages/<br>Pages de couleur  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covers damaged/<br>Couverture endommagée   | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages damaged/<br>Pages endommagées  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covers restored and/or laminated/<br>Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée   | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages restored and/or laminated/<br>Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cover title missing/<br>Le titre de couverture manque  | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/<br>Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured maps/<br>Cartes géographiques en couleur  | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages detached/<br>Pages détachées   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/<br>Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)  | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Showthrough/<br>Transparence  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured plates and/or illustrations/<br>Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur   | <input type="checkbox"/> Quality of print varies/<br>Qualité inégale de l'impression  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bound with other material/<br>Relié avec d'autres documents  | <input type="checkbox"/> Includes supplementary material/<br>Comprend du matériel supplémentaire  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/<br>La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distortion le long de la marge intérieure  | <input type="checkbox"/> Only edition available/<br>Seule édition disponible  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/<br>Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées. | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image/<br>Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Additional comments:/<br>Commentaires supplémentaires:   |   |

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/  
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

|                          |                          |                          |                                     |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 10X                      | 14X                      | 18X                      | 22X                                 | 26X                      | 30X                      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12X                      | 16X                      | 20X                      | 24X                                 | 28X                      | 32X                      |

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

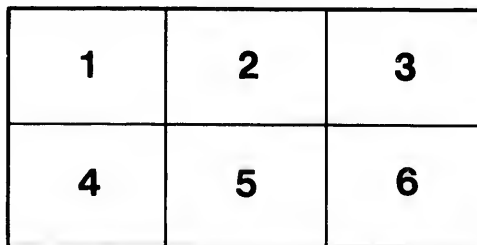
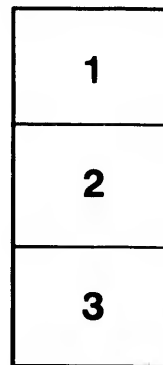
Library of the Public  
Archives of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol  $\rightarrow$  (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol  $\nabla$  (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

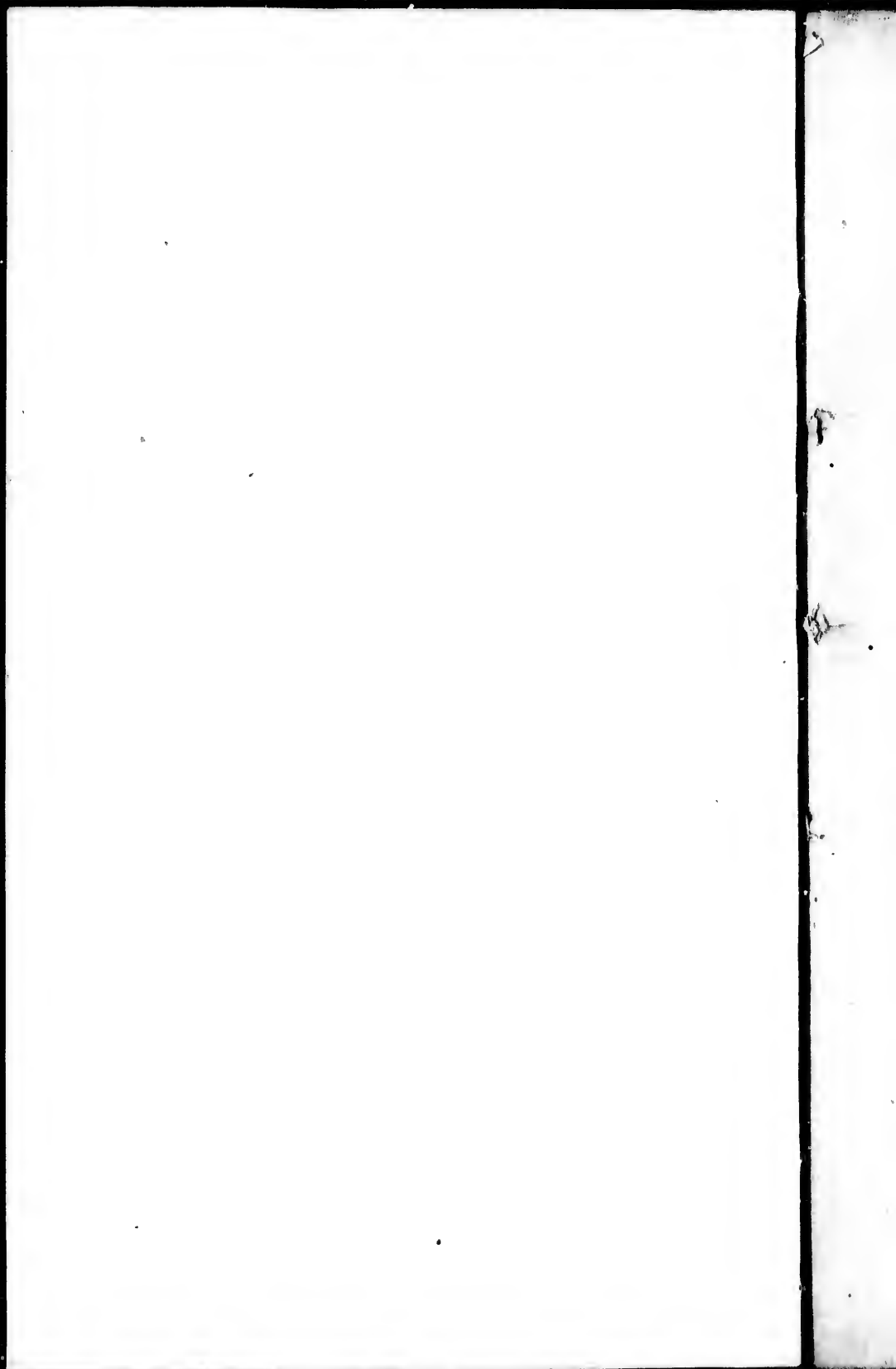
La bibliothèque des Archives  
publiques du Canada

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole  $\rightarrow$  signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole  $\nabla$  signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.



THE  
GRIEVANCES  
OF THE  
American Colonies  
CANDIDLY EXAMINED.

---

'Midst the low murmurs of submissive Fear,  
And mingled Rage, my HAMPDEN rais'd his voice,  
And to the LAWS appeal'd.

THOMSON.

---

Printed by AUTHORITY, at *Providence*, in  
*Rhode-Island*.

---

L O N D O N :

Reprinted for J. ALMON, opposite *Burlington-  
House*, in *Picadilly*. MDCCLXVI.

[ PRICE ONE SHILLING. ]

1770 21 21 20

1771 21 21 20

1772 21 21 20

1773 21 21 20

TO  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
W I L L I A M  
EARL OF DARTMOUTH,  
FIRST LORD COMMISSIONER  
OF THE  
BOARD OF TRADE AND  
PLANTATIONS:

THIS TRACT, LATELY PRINTED  
BY AUTHORITY IN RHODE-ISLAND,  
IS  
MOST DUTIFULLY,  
AND  
MOST RESPECTFULLY  
INSCRIBED.





G

**I**  
fla  
na  
m  
m  
P  
in  
ve  
fo  
eo  
fo  
fu  
to  
b  
fo  
b  
it



others have thought it took its rise from power: enthusiasts have dreamed that dominion was founded in grace. Leaving these points to be settled by the descendants of Filmer, Cromwell, and Venner, we shall consider the British constitution, as it at present stands, on Revolution Principles; and from thence endeavour to find the measure of the magistrate's power, and the people's obedience.

This glorious constitution, the best that ever existed amongst men, will be confessed by all, to be founded on compact, and established by consent of the people. By this most beneficent compact, British subjects are to be governed only agreeable to laws, to which themselves have some way consented, and are not to be compelled to part with their property, but as it is called for by the authority of such laws: the former is truly liberty; the latter is to be really possessed of property, and to have something that may be called one's own.

On

On the contrary, those who are governed at the will of another, or others, and whose Property may be taken from them by taxes, or otherwise, without their own consent, and against their will, are in the miserable condition of slaves: “ For, (says Algernon Sidney, in his discourses on government) liberty solely consists in an independency upon the will of another; and by the name of slave, we understand a man who can neither dispose of his person or goods, but enjoys all at the will of his master.” These things premised; whether the British American colonies on the continent, are justly entitled to like privileges and freedoms as their fellow subjects in Great Britain are, is a point worthy mature examination. In discussing this question, we shall make the colonies in New England, with whose rights we are best acquainted, the rule of our reasoning; not in the least doubting but all the others are justly entitled to like rights with them.

New

New England was first planted by adventurers, who left England, their native Country, by permission of king Charles the first; and at their own expence, transported themselves to America, with great risque and difficulty settled among savages, and in a very surprizing manner, formed new colonies in the wilderness. Before their departure, the terms of their freedom, and the relation they should stand in to the mother country, in their emigrant state were fully settled; they were to remain subject to the king, and dependant on the kingdom of Great Britain. In return they were to receive protection, and enjoy all the rights and privileges of freeborn Englishmen.

This is abundantly proved by the charter given to the Massachusetts colony, while they were still in England, and which they received and brought over with them, as the authentic evidence of the conditions they removed upon. The colonies of Connecticut and

and Rhode Island also, afterwards obtained charters from the crown, granting them the like ample Privileges. By all these charters, it is in the most express and solemn manner granted, that these adventurers, and their children after them for ever, should have and enjoy all the freedom and liberty that the subjects in England enjoy: That they might make laws for their own government, suitable to their circumstances; not repugnant to, but as near as might be, agreeable to the laws of England: that they might purchase lands, acquire goods, and use trade for their advantage, and have an absolute property in whatever they justly acquired. These, with many other gracious privileges, were granted them by several Kings; and they were to pay as an acknowledgement to the crown, only one fifth part of the ore of gold and silver, that should at anytime be found in the said colonies, in lieu of, and full satisfaction for all dues and demands

mands of the crown and kingdom of England upon them.

There is not any thing new or extraordinary in these rights granted to the British colonies :—The colonies from all countries, at all times, have enjoyed equal freedom with the mother state. Indeed, there would be found very few people in the world, willing to leave their native country, and go through the fatigue and hardship of planting in a new uncultivated one, for the sake of losing their freedom. They who settle new countries must be poor ; and in course, ought to be free. Advantages, pecuniary or agreeable, are not on the Side of emigrants, and surely they must have something in their stead.

To illustrate this, permit us to examine what hath generally been the condition of the colonies with respect to their freedom ; we will begin with those who went out from the ancient commonwealths of Greece, which are the first perhaps, we have any  
good

good account of. Thucidides, that grave and judicious historian, says of one of them, " they were not sent out to be slaves but to be the equals of those who remained behind ;" and again, the Corinthians gave public notice, " that a new colony was going to Epidamus, into which, all that would enter, should have equal and like privileges with those who staid at home."

This was uniformly the condition of all the Grecian colonies ; they went out and settled new countries ; they took such forms of government as themselves chose, though it generally nearly resembled that of the mother state, whether democratical or oligarchical. 'Tis true they were fond to acknowledge their original, and always confessed themselves under obligation to pay a kind of honorary respect to, and shew a filial dependence on the commonwealth from whence they sprung. Thucidides again tells us, that the Corinthians complained



complained of the Coreyreans “ from  
 “ whom, though a colony of their own  
 “ they had received some contemp-  
 “ tuous treatment : for they neither  
 “ payed them the usual honour on  
 “ their public solemnities, nor began  
 “ with a Corinthian in the distribu-  
 “ tion of the sacrifices which is al-  
 “ ways done by other colonies.”

From hence it is plain what kind of dependance the Greek colonies were under, and what sort of acknowledgement they owed to the mother state.

If we pass from the Grecian to the American colonies, we shall find them not less free ; but this difference may be observed between them, that the Roman colonies did not, like the Grecian, become separate states, governed by different laws, but always remained a part of the mother state ; and all that were free of the colonies, were also free of Rome. And Grotius gives us the opinion of a Roman king, concerning the freedom of Colonies : king Tullus says,  
 “ for



jects of France have also lost their liberty. And the question is not whether all colonies, as compared with one another, enjoy equal liberty, but whether all enjoy as much freedom as the inhabitants of the mother state; and this will hardly be denied in the case of the Spanish, French, or other modern foreign colonies.

By this it fully appears, that colonies in general, both ancient and modern, have always enjoyed as much freedom as the mother state from which they went out: and will any one suppose the British colonies in America are an exception to this general rule? Colonies that came from a kingdom renowned for liberty; from a constitution founded on compact, from a people of all the sons of men, the most tenacious of freedom; who left the delights of their native country, parted from their homes, and all their conveniencies, searched out and subdued a foreign country with the most amazing travail and fortitude, to the infinite advantage and  
emo-

emolument of the mother state; that removed on a firm reliance of a solemn compact, and royal promise and grant, that they, and their successors for ever, should be free, should be partakers and sharers in all the privileges and advantages of the then English, now English constitution.

If it were possible a doubt could yet remain, in the most unbelieving mind, that these British colonies are not every way justly and fully intituled to equal liberty and freedom with their fellow-subjects in Europe, we might shew, that the parliament of Great-Britain have always understood their rights in the same light.

By an act passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of his late majesty King George the Second, intituled, “ An act for naturalizing foreign protestants, &c.” and by another act, passed in the same reign, for nearly the same purposes, by both which it is enacted and ordained, “ That all  
C 2                      foreign

“ foreign protestants, who had in-  
 “ habited, and resided for the space  
 “ of seven years, or more, in His  
 “ Majesty’s colonies in America,”  
 might, on the conditions therein  
 mentioned, be naturalized, and there-  
 upon should be “ deemed, adjudged,  
 “ and taken to be His Majesty’s na-  
 “ tural born subjects of the kingdom  
 “ of Great-Britain, to all intents,  
 “ constructions, and purposes, as if  
 “ they, and every one of them, had  
 “ been, or were born within the  
 “ same.” No reasonable man will  
 here suppose the parliament intended,  
 in these acts, to put foreigners who  
 had been in the colonies only seven  
 years, in a better condition than those  
 who had been born in them, or had  
 removed from Britain thither, but on-  
 ly to put these foreigners on an equa-  
 lity with them ; and, to do this, they  
 are obliged to give them all the rights  
 of natural-born subjects of Great Bri-  
 tain.

From

From what has been shewn, it will appear beyond a doubt, that the British subjects in America, have equal rights with those in Britain; that they do not hold those rights as privileges granted them, but possess them as inherent and indefeasible.

And the British legislative and executive powers have considered the colonies as possessed of these rights, and have always heretofore, in the most tender and parental manner, treated them as their dependant (though free) condition required. The protection promised on the part of the crown, which with chearfulness and gratitude we acknowledge, hath at all times been given to the colonies. The dependance of the colonies to Great-Britain hath been fully testified by a constant and ready obedience to all the commands of His present Majesty, and royal predecessors; both men and money having been raised in them at all times when called for, with as much alacrity and in as large  
pro-

proportions as hath been done in Great Britain, the ability of each considered. It must also be confessed with thankfulness, that the first adventurers and their successors, for one hundred and thirty years, have fully enjoyed all the freedoms and immunities promised on their removal from England—But here the scene seems to be unhappily changing:—The British ministry, whether induced by a jealousy of the colonies, by false informations, or by some alteration in the system of political government, we have no information; whatever hath been the motive, this we are sure of, the parliament passed an act, limiting restricting, and burdening the trade of those colonies, much more than had ever been done before; as also for greatly enlarging the power and jurisdiction of the Courts of admiralty in the colonies, and likewise passed another act, establishing certain stamp duties. These acts have occasioned great uneasiness among

among the British subjects on the continent of America. How much reason there is for it, we will endeavour, in the most modest and plain manner we can, to lay before the public.

In the first place, let it be considered, that although each of the colonies hath a legislature within itself, to take care of its Interests, and provide for its peace and internal government, yet there are many things of a more general nature, quite out of the reach of these particular legislatures, which it is necessary should be regulated, ordered and governed. One of this kind is, the commerce of the whole British empire, taken collectively, and that of each kingdom and colony in it, as it makes a part of that whole: Indeed, every thing that concerns the proper interest and fit government of the whole commonwealth, of keeping the peace, and subordination of all the parts towards the whole, and one among another, must be considered in this light:  
amongst



amongst these general concerns, perhaps money and paper credit, those grand instruments of all commerce, will be found also to have a place. These, with all other matters of a general nature, it is absolutely necessary should have a general power to direct them; some supreme and overruling authority, with power to make laws, and form regulations for the good of all, and to compel their execution and observation. It being necessary some such general power should exist somewhere, every man of the least knowledge of the British constitution, will be naturally led to look for, and find it in the parliament of Great Britain; that grand and august legislative body must from the nature of their authority, and the necessity of the thing, be justly vested with this power. Hence it becomes the indispensable duty of every good and loyal subject, cheerfully to obey and patiently submit to all the acts, laws, orders and regulations

tions that may be made and passed by parliament, for directing and governing all these general matters.

Here it may be urged by many, and indeed, with great appearance of reason, that the equity, justice and beneficence, of the British constitution, will require, that the separate kingdoms and distinct colonies, who are to obey and be governed by these general laws and regulations, ought to be represented, some way or other, in parliament; at least whilst these general matters are under consideration. Whether the colonies will ever be admitted to have representatives in parliament—whether it be consistent with their distant and dependant state—and whether, if it were admitted, it would be to their advantage—are questions we will pass by; and observe, that these colonies ought in justice, and for the very evident good of the whole commonwealth, to have notice of every new measure about to be pursued, and

new Act about to be passed, by which their rights, liberties or interests may be affected; they ought to have such notice, that they may appear and be heard by their agents, by council, or written representation, or by some other equitable and effectual way.

The colonies are at so great a distance from England, that the members of parliament can, generally have but little knowledge of their business, connections and interests, but what is gained from people who have been there; the most of these, have so slight a knowledge themselves, that the informations they can give, are very little to be depended on, though they may pretend to determine with confidence on matters far above their reach. All such informations are too uncertain to be depended on, in the transacting business of so much consequence, and in which the interests of

two

two millions of free people are so deeply concerned. There is no kind of inconvenience or mischief can arise from the colonies having such notice, and being heard in the manner above-mentioned ; but, on the contrary, very great mischiefs have already happened to the colonies, and always must be expected, if they are not heard, before things of such importance are determined concerning them.

Had the colonies been fully heard, before the late act had been passed, no reasonable man can suppose it ever would have passed at all, in the manner it now stands ? for what good reason can possibly be given for making a law to cramp the trade and ruin the interest of many of the colonies, and at the same time, lessen in a prodigious manner the consumption of the British manufactures in them ? These are certainly the effects this act must produce : a duty of three-pence *per* gallon on foreign melasses, is well

known to every man in the least acquainted with it, to be much higher than that article can possibly bear; and therefore must operate as an absolute prohibition. This will put a total stop to the exportation of lumber, horses, flour, and fish, to the French and Dutch sugar-colonies; and if any one suppose we may find a sufficient vent for these articles in the English West-Indies, he only verifies what was just now observed, that he wants true information. Putting an end to the importation of foreign melasses, at the same time puts an end to all the costly distilleries in these colonies, and to the rum trade with the coast of Africa, and throws it into the Hands of the French. With the loss of the foreign melasses trade, the cod-fishery in America must also be lost, and thrown also into the hands of the French. That this is the real state of the whole business is not mere fancy; neither this, nor any part of it.

it, is exaggeration, but a sober, and most melancholy truth.

View this duty of three-pence *per* gallon on foreign melasses, not in the light of a prohibition, but supposing the trade to continue, and the duty to be paid. Heretofore there hath been imported into the colony of Rhode-Island only, about one million one hundred and fifty thousand gallons, annually; the duty on this quantity is fourteen thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling, to be paid yearly by this little colony; a larger sum than was ever in it at any one time. This money is to be sent away, and never to return; yet the payment is to be repeated every year. —Can this possibly be done? Can a new colony, compelled by necessity to purchase all its cloathing, furniture, and utensils from England, to support the expences of its own internal government, obliged by its duty to comply with every call from the crown to raise money on emergencies; after all  
this,

this, can every man in it pay twenty-four shillings a year for the duties of a single article only ; There is surely no man in his right mind believes this possible. The charging foreign melasses with this high duty, will not affect all the colonies equally, nor any other near so much as this of Rhode-Island, whose trade depended much more on foreign melasses, and on distilleries, than that of any others ; this must shew that raising money for the general service of the crown, or colonies, by such a duty, will be extremely unequal, and therefore unjust. And now taking either alternative ; by supposing, on one hand, the foreign melasses trade is stopped, and with it the opportunity or ability of the colonies to get money ; or, on the other, that this trade is continued, and that the colonies get money by it, but all their money is taken from them by paying their duty ; can Britain be a gainer by either ? Is it not the chief interest of Britain to dispose  
of,

of, and be paid for her own manufactures? and doth she not find the greatest and best market for them in her own colonies? Will she find an advantage in disabling the colonies to continue their trade with her? or can she possibly grow rich by their being made poor?

Ministers have great influence, and parliaments have great power;—can either of them change the nature of things, stop our means of getting money, and yet expect us to purchase and pay for British manufactures? The genius of the people in these colonies is as little turned to manufacturing goods for their own use, as is possible to suppose in any people whatsoever; yet necessity will compel them either to go naked in this cold country, or to make themselves some sort of cloathing, if it be only of the skins of Beasts.

By the same act of parliament, the exportation of all kinds of timber, or lumber, the most natural produce



produce of these new colonies, is greatly incumbered and uselessly embarrassed, and the shipping it to any part of Europe, except Great Britain, prohibited: This must greatly affect the linen manufacture in Ireland, as that kingdom used to receive great quantities of flax-seed from America, many cargoes being made of that, and of barrel staves, were sent thither every year; but as the staves can no longer be exported thither, the ships carrying only flax seed casks, without the staves, which used to be intermixed among them, must lose one half of their freight, which will prevent their continuing this trade, to the great injury of Ireland, and of the plantations: And what advantage is to accrue to Great Britain by it, must be told by those who can perceive the utility of this measure.

Enlarging the power and jurisdiction of the courts of vice-admiralty in the colonies, is another part of the same act, greatly and justly complained  
of

of. Courts of admiralty have long been established in most of the colonies, whose authority were circumscribed within moderate territorial jurisdictions; and whose courts have always done the Business necessary to be brought before those courts for trial, in the manner it ought to be done, and in a way only moderately expensive to the subjects; and if seizures were made, or informations exhibited, without reason, or contrary to law, the informer or seizer, was left to the justice of the common law, there to pay for his folly, or suffer for his temerity. But now this case is quite altered, and a custom house officer may make a seizure in Georgia, of goods ever so legally imported, and carry the trial to Halifax, at fifteen hundred miles distance, and thither the owner must follow him to defend his property; and when he comes there, quite beyond the circle of his friends, acquaintance, and correspondence, among total strangers,

he must there give bond, and must find sureties to be bound with him in a large sum before he shall be admitted to claim his own goods ; when this is complied with, he hath a trial, and his goods acquitted. If the judge can be prevailed on (which it is very well known may too easily be done) to certify, there was *only* probable cause for making the seizure, the unhappy owner can not maintain any action against the illegal seizer, for damages, or obtain any satisfaction ; but he may return to Georgia, quite ruined, and undone in conformity to an act of parliament. Such unbounded encouragement and protection given to informers, must call to every one's remembrance Tacitus's account of the miserable condition of the Romans in the reign of Tiberius their emperor, who let loose and encouraged the informers of that age. Surely if the colonies had been fully heard before this had been done, the liberties and  
 properties

properties of the Americans would not have been so much disregarded.

The resolution that the house of commons came into during the same session of parliament, asserting their right to establish stamp duties, and internal taxes, to be collected in the colonies without their own consent, hath much more, and for much more reason alarmed the British subjects in America, than any thing that had ever been done before. These resolutions have been since carried into execution by an act of parliament which the colonists do conceive is a violation of their long enjoyed rights. For it must be confessed by all men, that they who are taxed at Pleasure by others, cannot possibly have any property, can have nothing to be called their own; they who have no property can have no freedom, but are indeed reduced to the most abject slavery; are in a state far worse than countries conquered and made tributary; for these have only a fixed sum

to pay, which they are left to raise among themselves, in the way that they may think most equal and easy; and having paid the stipulated sum, the debt is discharged, and what is left is their own. This is more tolerable, than to be taxed at the mere will of others, without any bounds, without any stipulation or agreement, contrary to their consent and against their wills. If we are told that those who lay these taxes upon the colonies are men of the highest character for wisdom justice and integrity, and therefore cannot be supposed to deal hardly, unjustly or unequally by any; admitting, and really believing that all this is true, it will make no alteration in the nature of the case; for one who is bound to obey the will of another, is as really a slave, though he may have a good master, as if he had a bad one; and this is stronger in politic bodies than in natural ones, as the former have a perpetual succession, and remain the same; and  
although

although they may have a good master at one time, they may have a very bad one at another. And indeed, if the people in America, are to be taxed by the representatives of the people in Britain, their malady is an increasing evil, that must always grow greater by time. Whatever burdens are laid upon the Americans, will be so much taken off the Britons; and the doing this will soon be extremely popular, and those who put up to be members of the house of commons, must obtain the votes of the people, by promising to take taxes off them, by making new levies on the Americans. This must most assuredly be the case, and it will not be in the power even of the parliament to prevent it; the people's private interest will be concerned, and will govern them; they will have such, and only such representatives as will act agreeable to their interest; and these taxes, laid on Americans, will be always a part  
of

of the supply bill, in which the other branches of the legislature can make no alteration : and, in truth, the subjects in the colonies will be taxed at the will and pleasure of their fellow-subjects in Britain.—How equitable and how just this may be, must be left to every impartial man to determine.

But it will be said, that the monies drawn from the colonies by duties, and by taxes, will be laid up and set apart to be used for their future defence : this will not at all alleviate the hardship, but serve only more strongly to mark the servile state of the people. Free people have ever thought, and always will think, that the money necessary for their defence, lies safest in their own hands, until it be wanted immediately for that purpose. To take the money of the Americans, which they want continually to use in their trade, and lay it up for their defence, at a thousand leagues distant from them, when the enemies

enemies they have to fear are in their own neighbourhood, hath not the greatest probability of friendship or of prudence.

It is not the judgment of free people only, that money for defending them is safest in their keeping, but it is also the opinion of the best and wisest kings and governors of mankind, in every age of the world, that the wealth of a state was most securely as well as most profitably deposited in the hands of their faithful subjects: Constantius, emperor of the Romans, though an absolute prince, both practised and praised this method. “ Dioclesian sent persons on purpose to reproach him  
 “ with his neglect of the publick,  
 “ and the poverty to which he was  
 “ reduced by his own fault. Constantius heard these reproaches  
 “ with patience; and having persuaded those who made them in  
 “ Dioclesian’s name, to stay a few  
 “ days with him, he sent word to  
 “ the



“ the most wealthy persons in the  
“ provinces, that he wanted money,  
“ and that they had now an oppor-  
“ tunity of shewing whether or no  
“ they really loved their prince. Up-  
“ on this notice, every one strove  
“ who should be foremost in carry-  
“ ing to the exchequer all their gold,  
“ silver, and valuable effects, so that  
“ in a short time, Constantius from  
“ being the poorest, became by far  
“ the most wealthy of all the four  
“ princes. He then invited the de-  
“ puties of Dioclesian to visit his  
“ treasury, desiring them to make a  
“ faithful report to their master of  
“ the state in which they should  
“ find it. They obeyed ; and, while  
“ they stood gazing upon the migh-  
“ ty heaps of gold and silver, Con-  
“ stantius told them, that the wealth  
“ which they beheld with astonish-  
“ ment, had long since belonged to  
“ him, but that he had left it by  
“ way of depositum, in the hands  
“ of his people: adding, the richest  
“ and

“ and surest treasure of the prince,  
 “ was the love of his subjects. The  
 “ deputies were no sooner gone,  
 “ than the generous prince sent for  
 “ those who had assisted him in his  
 “ exigency, commended their zeal  
 “ and returned to every one what  
 “ they had so readily brought into  
 “ his treasury.”

We are not insensible, that when liberty is in danger, the liberty of complaining is dangerous; yet a man on a wrack was never denied the liberty of roaring as loud as he could, says Dean Swift. And we believe no good reason can be given, why the colonies should not modestly and soberly enquire, what right the parliament of Great Britain have to tax them. We know that such enquiries have by one letter writer, been branded with the little epithet of *Mushroom Policy*; and he intimates, that for the colonies to pretend to claim any privileges, will draw down the resentment of the parliament on

F

them

them. Is then the defence of liberty become so contemptible, and pleading for just rights so dangerous? Can the guardians of liberty be thus ludicrous? Can the patrons of freedom be so jealous and so severe?

Should it be urged that the money expended by the mother-country, for the defence and protection of America, and especially during the late war, must justly entitle her to some retaliation from the colonies; and that the stamp duties and taxes, intended to be raised in them, are only designed for that equitable purpose; if we are permitted to examine how far this may rightfully vest the parliament with the power of taxing the colonies, we shall find this claim to have no foundation. In many of the colonies, especially those in New England, which were planted, as is before observed, not at the charge of the crown or kingdom of England, but at the expence of the planters themselves, and were  
not

not only planted, but also defended against the savages and other enemies, in long and cruel wars, which continued for an hundred years, almost without intermission, solely at their own charge: and in the year 1746, when the Duke d'Anville came out from France, with the most formidable French fleet that ever was in the American seas, enraged at these colonies for the loss of Louisbourg the year before, and with orders to make an attack on them; even in this greatest exigence, these colonies were left to the protection of heaven, and their own efforts. These colonies having thus planted and defended themselves, and removed all enemies from their borders, were in hopes to enjoy peace, and recruit their state, much exhausted by these long struggles; but they were soon called upon to raise men, and send them out to the defence of other colonies, and to make conquests for the crown; they dutifully obeyed the requisition, and with

ardour entered into those services, and continued in them until all encroachments were removed, and all Canada, and even the Havannah conquered. They most chearfully complied with every call of the crown; they rejoiced, yea even exulted in the prosperity of the British empire. But these colonies whose bounds were fixed, and whose borders were before cleared from enemies, by their own fortitude, and at their own expence, reaped no sort of advantage by these conquests; they are not enlarged, have not gained a single acre of land, have no part in the Indian or interior trade; the immense tracts of land subdued, and no less immense and profitable commerce acquired, all belong to Great-Britain; and not the least share or portion to these colonies, though thousands of their members have lost their lives, and millions of their money have been expended in the purchase of them; for great part of which we are yet in debt, and  
from

from which we shall not in many years be able to extricate ourselves. Hard will be the fate, cruel the destiny of these unhappy colonies, if the reward they are to receive for all this is the loss of their freedom ; better for them Canada still remained French, yea far more eligible that it ever should remain so, than that the price of its reduction should be their slavery.

If the colonies are not taxed by parliament, are they therefore exempted from bearing their proper shares in the necessary burdens of government ? This by no means follows. Do they not support a regular internal government in each colony, as expensive to the people here, as the internal government of Britain is to the people there ? Have not the colonies here, at all times when called upon by the crown to raise money for the public service, done it as cheerfully as the parliament have done on the like occasions ? Is not this the  
 most

most easy way of raising money in the colonies? What occasion then to distrust the colonies, what necessity to fall on the present method to compel them to do what they have ever done freely? Are not the people in the colonies as loyal and dutiful subjects as any age or nation ever produced,—and are they not as useful to the kingdom in this remote quarter of the world, as their fellow-subjects are in Britain? The parliament, it is confessed, have power to regulate the trade of the whole empire; and hath it not full power, by this means, to draw all the money and wealth of the colonies into the mother country, at pleasure? What motive, after all this can remain, to induce the parliament to abridge the privileges, and lessen the rights of the most loyal and dutiful subjects; subjects justly intitled to ample freedom, who have long enjoyed, and not abused or forfeited their liberties, who have used them to their own advantage, in dutiful

tiful subserviency to the orders and the interests of Great-Britain? Why should the gentle current of tranquility, that has so long run with peace through all the British states, and flowed with joy and with happiness in all her countries, be at last obstructed, and turned out of its true course into unusual and winding channels, by which many of these colonies must be ruined; but none of them can possibly be made more rich or more happy.

Before we conclude, it may be necessary to take notice of the vast difference there is between the raising money in a country by duties, taxes, or otherwise, and employing and laying out the money again in the same country; and raising the like sums of money, by the like means, and sending it away quite out of the country where it is raised. Where the former of these is the case, although the sums raised may be very great, yet that country may support itself under  
 them;



them ; for as fast as the money is collected together, it is again scattered abroad, to be used in commerce and every kind of business, and money is not made scarcer by this means, but rather the contrary, as this continual circulation must have a tendency, in some degree, to prevent its being hoarded. But where the latter method is pursued, the effect will be extremely different ; for here, as fast as the money can be collected, it is immediately sent out of the country, never to return but by a tedious round of commerce, which at best must take up much time : here all trade, and every kind of business depending upon it will grow dull, and must languish more and more, until it comes to a final stop at last. If the money raised in Great-Britain in the three last years of the late war, and which exceeded forty millions sterling, had been sent out of the kingdom, would not this have nearly ruined the trade of the nation in three years only ?

Think

Think then what must be the condition of these miserable colonies, when all the money proposed to be raised in them, by high duties on the importation of divers kinds of goods, by the post-office, by stamp-duties. and other taxes, is sent quite away, as fast as it can be collected : and this is to be repeated continually ! Is it possible for colonies under these circumstances to support themselves, to have any money, any trade, or other business carried on in them ? Certainly it is not ; nor is there at present, or ever was, any country under heaven, that did, or possibly could support itself under such burdens.

We finally beg leave to assert that the first planters of these colonies were pious Christians, were faithful subjects : who, with a fortitude and perseverance little known, and less considered, settled these wild countries, by God's goodness and their own amazing labours ; thereby added

G

a most

a most valuable dependance to the crown of Great-Britain, were ever dutifully subservient to her interests; they have taught their children, that no one has been disaffected to this day, but all have honestly obeyed every royal command, and chearfully submitted to every constitutional law; they have as little inclination as they have ability to throw off their dependancy: they have most carefully avoided every measure that might be offensive, and all such manufactures as were interdicted. Besides all this, they have risked their lives when they have been ordered, and furnished their money whenever it has been called for; have never been either troublesome or expensive to the mother country; have kept all due order, and have supported a regular government; they have maintained peace, and practised Christianity. And in all  
con-

ditions, upon all occasions, and in every relation, they have always demeaned themselves as loyal, as dutiful subjects ought to do: and no kingdom, or state, or empire, hath, or ever had colonies more quiet, or more obedient, more serviceable, more profitable than these have ever been.

May the same Divine Goodness, that guided the first Planters, that protected the settlements, and inspired Kings to be gracious, Parliaments to be tender; ever preserve, ever protect and support our present Most Gracious King; give great wisdom to his ministers, and much understanding to his parliament; perpetuate the sovereignty of the British constitution, and the filial dependancy of all the colonies.

*Providence, in New-England.*

*In January will be Published,*

**A**N Application of some general Political Rules, to the Present State of Great-Britain, Ireland, and America, In a Letter to the Right Honourable Earl TEMPLE.

II. An authentic Collection of the Speeches and Debates, made in the British House of Commons, from the Year 1742, to the Peace of Aix la-Chapelle, in 1748. In two Vols. Octavo.

Both printed for J. ALMON, Bookseller and Stationer, opposite Burlington-House, in Piccadilly.

Where may constantly be had,

All new Publications; the best of all Kinds of STATIONARY WARES; a great Variety of the most valuable modern BOOKS, elegantly bound: Likewise the following new ones;

*Just Published,*

I. DUMMER'S Defence of the Provincial Charters, proving the Right which the Colonists claim to their Charters, and concluding with strong Observations on the extraordinary Method of proceeding against them by a Bill in Parliament. Price 1s. 6d.

II. LORD SOMERS'S Security of Englishmen's Lives, or the Duty, Trust, and Power of the Grand-Juries of England. Price 1s. 6d.

III. The PRINCIPLES of the late ministerial Changes impartially examined. In a Letter from a Son of Candor to the Public Advertiser. Fourth Edition. Price 1s. 6d.

IV. The Letter upon Libels and Warrants, &c. In a Letter to the Publisher from the Father of Candor. Fifth Edition, Price 1s. 6d.

V. Considerations on Behalf of the Colonists, Written at Boston in New-England. Price 1s.



