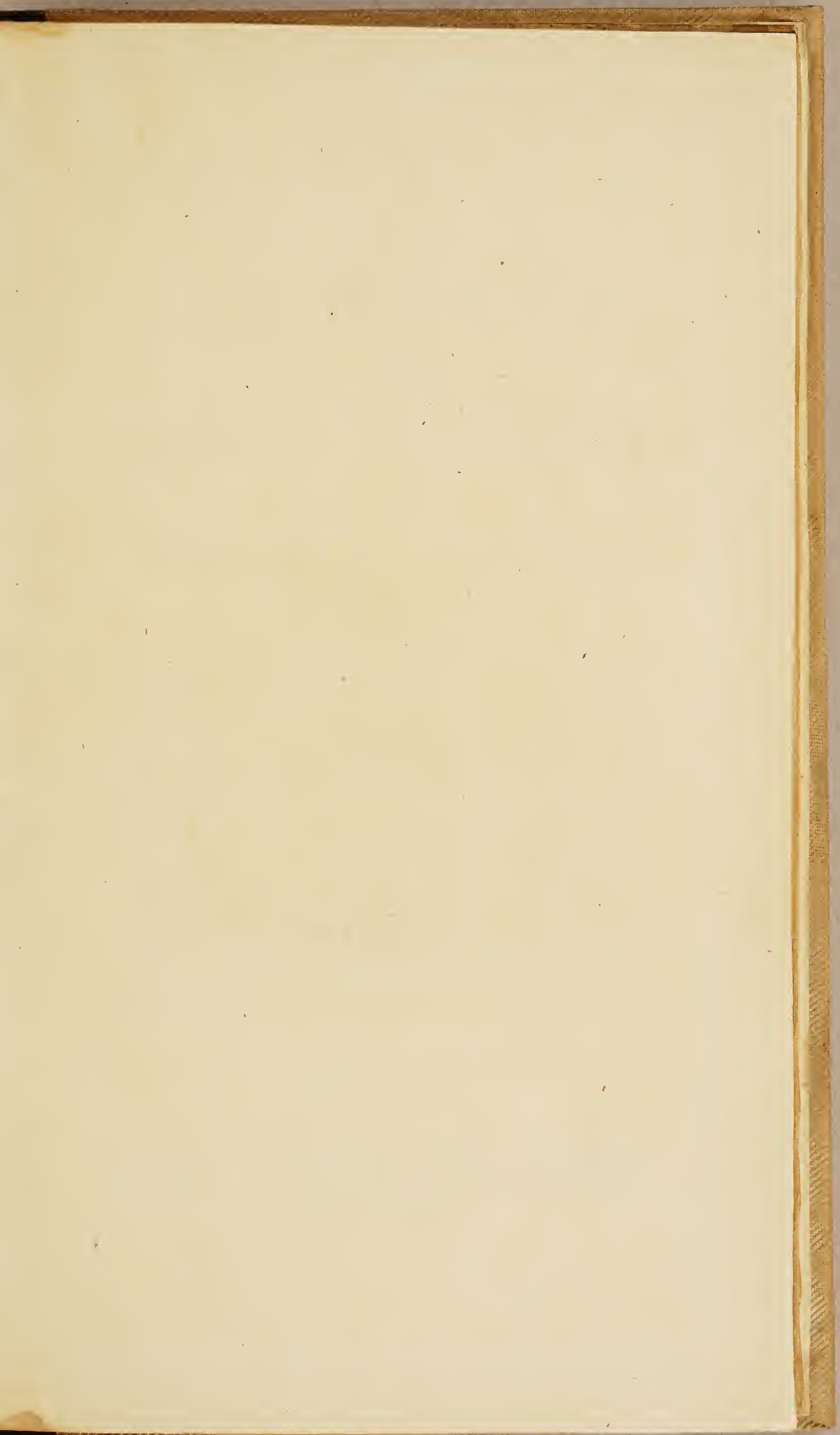


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John Carter Brown.



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L E T T E R
· T O T H E
G E N T L E M E N
O F T H E
C O M M I T T E E of *London* Merchants,
T R A D I N G T O
N O R T H A M E R I C A :
S H E W I N G

In what Manner, it is apprehended, that the Trade and Manufactures of *Britain* may be affected by some late Restrictions on the *American* Commerce, and by the Operation of the Act for the Stamp Duty in *America*; as also how far the Freedom and Liberty of the Subjects residing in *Britain*, are supposed to be interested in the Preservation of the Rights of the Provinces, and in what Manner those Rights appear to be abridged by that Statute.

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. RICHARDSON & L. URQUART,
Bookfellers, under the *Royal Exchange*, *Cornhill*.

M D C C L X V I .



A

LETTER, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Attention you have been
T pleased to bestow on the Affairs
of *America*, induces me to think,
that you will not be displeas'd at
a few Remarks on the Nature of its Com-
merce, and the Manner in which it may
be affected by some late Restrictions, and
by the Act for the Stamp-Duty, if that Act
be carried into Execution.

Your Knowledge, Gentlemen, of the
Trade of that Part of the World, renders a
minute Examination into its several Branches
altogether unnecessary; I shall therefore only
make a general Remark or two, on the
Article of the *American* Trade, under its
present Limitations, and then offer a few
Considerations on the Stamp Act, to shew

how the Trade and Manufactures of *Britain*, may be affected thereby, and in what manner the *American* Rights may be immediately, and those of *Britain* consequentially, ~~be~~ abridged by the Operation of that Act.

With Regard to the Article of Trade, I have no Doubt, that it will be readily allow'd, that the whole Produce of *North America*, suitable for the *British* Market, notwithstanding the Tobacco, Naval Stores, and Rice, from *Maryland*, *Virginia*, and the two *Carolinas*, does not amount to a Sum sufficient to pay for the Merchandizes and Manufactures of *Britain*, for which the People there have Occasion. It is, I apprehend, not less certain, that our own Islands in the *West-Indies*, have not Occasion for so much of the *North American* Produce, as will pay for the Rum, Sugar, and Molasses, necessary for the Fisheries, and for the Use of the Continent; from which it evidently follows, that unless the parliamentary Restrictions are removed, and the *North American* Trade enlarged, by the Permission of a Circuitry of Commerce, whereby the Merchants may be enabled to make their Remittances to *England*, the Exportation

tation of *British* Manufactures to *America*, must decrease, and the *Americans* be obliged to set up Manufactories of their own.

With Regard to the Act for the Stamp Duty, the large Balance now due from the Provinces in *North America* to *Britain*, and the constant Balance of Trade, which must be always against them, from the continual Demand for larger Quantities of *British* Merchandizes and Manufactures, than the Produce of the *North American* Colonies will amount to in the *British* Markets, are incontestable Proofs, that whatever Sum be collected under that Law, and remitted to the Exchequer, will be a Diminution of so much that otherwise would be remitted, for such Merchandizes and Manufactures: and thus far will they be immediately affected by its Operations: How far they may be consequentially injured by its being carried into Execution, in Prejudice of the Rights of the *American* Subjects, cannot be determined with certainty; though as Liberty is the grand Incentive to Industry and Commerce, it may be supposed, that a Decay of both, would ensue the Loss of it; and as the Trade and Manufactures of *Britain* will
always

always be more or less enlarged and benefited by the Industry and Commerce of *America*, any Law by which the latter are discouraged, must in some Degree be detrimental to the former.

If the People of *Britain*, in Regard to Trade and Manufactures, are interested in the Preservation of the Rights of *America*, I apprehend, that they are not less so, in Respect to their own Privileges; in as much as that any Law, whereby the *American* Rights should be subverted, must evidently in its Consequence, affect the Liberty of the Subject at Home, in that it will greatly lessen its Estimation, by locating it to the Island of *Britain* only. A *Briton*, born in Freedom, and educated in the Principles of Liberty, would think, that Liberty cloged with a disagreeable Condition, were it to be forfeited for going out of the Island of *Britain*; and that if ever Conveniency or Inclination, should induce him to migrate with his Family into any distant Part of the *British* Dominions, he must, for himself and Posterity, exchange Freedom for Slavery.

On the other Hand, it must give Pleasure to a generous Mind, to reflect, that in every Part of *British* Territory, not only *Britons*, but others, labouring under the Weight of Tyranny, may find a Place of Refuge.

That the Interest of the Subjects, who at present reside in *Britain*, is in many Respects concern'd in the Preservation of the Rights of *America*, appears in so many different Lights, that I cannot think it can escape the general Observation.

Should Liberty at any Time hereafter be offended at the ill Treatment she may receive, forsake the Place of her long and antient Residence, and quit her once favourite Isle, it would at least be some Consolation to her afflicted Sons, to know where to find her in some other Clime, where *British* Freedom had not been violated.

I cannot help observing, Gentlemen, whilst on this Article, that the Privation of *American* Privileges, would not only diminish the Extent of those of *Britain*, but might also be regarded as a retrenching
Eventually,

Eventually, in Part the Security for their
 Permanency.

Should an aspiring Minister, at any Time in
 full Career of extending his own Power, be-
 yond all legal Limits, and establishing law-
 less Domination, by subverting the Liberties
 of his Country, perceive, that the reigning Vir-
 tue of the Nation afforded him no Hopes of
 Success, by Means of Bribery or Corruption,
 and attempt to avail himself of Force and
 Violence, it is not likely he would begin at
 Home. As no General would think of
 making an Assault on a Citadel, before the
 Outworks were secured, so neither would
 such a Minister, if he had common Pru-
 dence, meditate an Attack on the main
 Body, before he had separated or rendered
 useless, the different Members of the State.
 He might discover the Reasonableness and
 Utility of the Advice lately given by *Pacificus*,
 of sending Troops to *America*, and putting
 the People under Military Government,
 and probably the Plan of Operations against
British Liberty might there be first exe-
 cuted: Slavery being once securely fixed in
 the Colonies, the Minister might readily
 discover the Conveniency of raising an Army
 of

of the conquer'd *Americans*, for opening and carrying on a Campaign in *Ireland*: Liberty effectually subdued there, the Transition to *Scotland* would be easy; thence to *England*, though more difficult, perhaps not impracticable.

Whether an ambitious Minister, who at any Time should be hardy enough to attempt the establishing Tyranny in *Britain*, would pursue exactly such a Plan as this, or whatever other Measures he might take, I believe it appears, that the Rights of *America* may be regarded as a Barrier of *British* Liberty, which will always be of greater or lesser Importance to *Britain*, as the Colonies increase or decline.

However, whether those Rights of the Colonies are infringed or not by the Act in Question, will be best judged of, by considering its Compatibility or Incompatibility with them.

The Provinces claim an exclusive Power of making Laws for their internal Polity and Government, by Virtue of their Charters, and think as *British* Subjects, they cannot

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of

of Right be taxed by a Legislature, in which they are not represented.

As to their Charters, it has been supposed by some, that they contain Privileges which could not legally have been granted, and therefore are in themselves void; but I have met with nothing like Argument or Reason to support that Opinion, which if established, would not only be greatly detrimental to the Revenues of the Crown, but by rendering invalid the Acts of Government, under those Charters, would place the Officers in the Eye of the Law, in the Light of Public Oppressors, and throw the People into Anarchy. The Patents granted for Lands by Virtue of void Charters, could have no legal Efficacy, neither could the Clauses in such Patents, reserving Quit-Rents, be binding on the Patentees; that whatever Right the Freeholders might, from long Possession and Occupancy have to their Lands, they could not be compellable by Law to the Payment of Quit-Rents, in Consequence of any Reservation in void Patents: With Respect to the Officers, were this Opinion to obtain, they, for whatever they have done under such void Charters, though ignorant of their
Invalidity,

Invalidity, in legal Judgment must be regarded as Malefactors, for *Ignorantia Juris non excusat*. However, the Validity of those Charters is too well established, by long and uninterrupted Usage, to admit of an Apprehension that their Legality will be drawn in Question, having met with the Approbation of every Administration since they were respectively granted, as well before as since the Revolution, till in the Time of the late Ministry, when the Act was formed and passed for taxing the Colonies, and subjecting the People to Trials without Jury.

The Colony Charters have however not only been attacked by some on Pretence of their Nullity, as has been already related, but others have thought it convenient to endeavour to undermine and lessen their Importance, by pretending that though not totally void, they ought not to have the Construction, which seems necessarily to result from the Letter of them, for that notwithstanding the Privileges therein expressed to be granted, it was the Intention of the Government in settling the Colonies, that they should always remain subject to the Regulations of Parliament, in all Cases

without Distinction; but as there is no publick Act or Record, by which it appears that there was any secret or mental Reservation, whereby to defeat any of the Privileges or Immunities expressly or by necessary Implication granted by those Charters, it seems most probable, as well as most for the Honour of Government, to suppose that there was none; I therefore apprehend, that they, like other Royal Grants, will be construed in the most ample and beneficial Manner, for the Advantage of the Subject; and if so, I believe it will be thought, that the Power thereby granted to the Colonies, as to their internal Concerns, amounts to an Exclusion of any other Legislation. Indeed this Opinion seems necessarily to result from the manifest Inconvenience that would arise from a different Construction; for should the Parliament, as well as the Assemblies, make Laws for the internal Government of the Provinces, the Subject never could know what was Law, although it is what every Man is to know at his Peril. This insurmountable Difficulty will appear, when it is considered, that in the intermediate Time between the Enactment

ment of a Statute in *England*, and its getting to *America*, Acts of Assembly might be passed, directing Duties and inflicting Penalties, inconsistent with those contained in such Statute, that the People never could be certain that they were not violating some Act of Parliament, whilst they were obeying the Directions of an Act of Assembly; nor would the Judges be less embarrassed in the Discharge of their Functions, from the Difficulty of Cases which might arise from such Duplicity of Legislation. With Regard to the Acts of Navigation, the Case is altogether different, and no such Inconvenience can happen. The Officers of the Ports have no other Rule for their Conduct, than those Acts, and the Instructions of the Commissioners of the Customs, warranted by them. The Assembly therefore having no Right to direct them in their Duty, no Inertitude or Ambiguity can arise from the Exercise of Parliamentary Legislation, relative to the Customs and Ports; wherefore, whatever the Colonies have suffered in their Commerce from some Acts of Trade, they have never pretended that their Rights were infringed by them.

However

However, to support this Opinion, that the Colony Charters are not to be construed in the most beneficial Manner for the Subject, but in a Sense more confined and limited than that which is necessarily implied from the Letter. Arguments have been drawn from the Method of colonizing used by the *French, Spaniards, &c.* and the Servitude of Colonies under absolute Governments, has given Rise to a new kind of Logic, invented for the commendable Purpose of demonstrating the Reasonableness and Justice of reducing to a similar Condition, the Colonies of perhaps, the only free Government in *Europe*. It has been pretended, that the Colonies of these arbitrary States, and those of *Britain*, were all settled on the Model of Roman Colonies: And the Opinions of *Puffendorf*, and others, who have treated of the Power of the *Roman* Government over her Colonies, have been thought essential in discussing a Question relative to the *American* Provinces, and from Inferences drawn from those Opinions, it has been supposed, that the Provinces, in all Cases, without Exception, are to be bound by Laws made by the Mother Country. Those who reason in this Manner, certainly cannot shew that all these

States,

States, or any of them, in settling their Colonies; regarded the *Roman* Plan, as a Model necessarily to be followed, and whatever Similitude of Circumstances there may be in the manner of governing the Colonies of *France* and *Spain*, with those of *Rome*, it does not arise from their having chosen their Model from *Rome*, but from their being absolute States: That the Colonies of the *French*, *Spaniards*, &c. do not enjoy Liberty, is not because it was not enjoy'd by the *Roman* Colonies, more than that the Freedom enjoyed by *British* Colonies, is to be attributed to the Freedom enjoyed by those of *Greece*. The Liberty enjoyed by Colonists, or the Slavery under which they are held, does not depend on *Grecian* or *Roman* Precedents, but on the Freedom or Despotism of the States under whose Government they are: Colonies settled under an absolute Government, will necessarily be Slaves, and there is no Occasion for going to *Rome* to find the Reason why they are so, nor is there a Necessity for travelling to *Greece*, to learn why Freedom is enjoyed by a Colony which is the Offspring of a Free Government.

Should

Should the *Americans* pretend to an equal Power with the Mother Country, because *Thucydides* and other Authors have said, speaking of the *Grecian* Colonies, and their Equality, with the Mother State of *Greece*, “ *Par Jure demittuntur,*” and should they from such Authorities, assert that they have no Dependance on, or Community with *Britain*, farther than a *Reverentia Matricibus*; such Language would be as absurd as treasonable, and yet I believe there will appear as little Propriety in entering into the Learning, respecting the Power of *Rome* over her Colonies, in arguing a Matter relative to the Subjection of those of *Britain* to the *British* Government, as there would be in conning over the Political History of *Greece* and her Colonies, to shew that the *British* Colonies ought to enjoy Freedom.

The Truth is that no Arguments drawn from *Grecian* Colonies, nor from those of *Rome*, *France*, *Spain*, or any other Arbitrary Government, can influence in a Question concerning *British* Liberty; the citing a Number of Foreign Cases from Foreign Authors in such Case, must appear all Parade and Flourish, as it will certainly be found, that
 none

none of them can be applicable, and that the Duty of Subjection of the *British* Colonies, to the Government and the Nature of *British* Freedom, can only be learned from the Laws and Principles of the *British* Constitution; and by an Enquiry into the Nature of the particular Immunities granted them by Charter.

There has been indeed an Argument against the exclusive Right claim'd by the *Americans*, drawn from the Act of Parliament made relative to the Manufacture of Hats in *America*; this Act has been supposed to be a Precedent which takes away the Pretension of such Right in the Colonies, as it has been said to regulate internal Matters in them, and equally with the Stamp Act, to affect the Privileges now claim'd by the Provinces. If the Colonies ought not of Right to be bound internally by Laws in the making of which they have no Part, the shewing that this Right has been overlooked in one, two, or more Instances, by no Means evinces that such Right is thereby lost or forfeited, but might rather be a Foundation for an Application for a Repeal of any Statute which has heretofore interfered there-

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with,

with, than drawn into Precedent to preclude them from an Application for the Repeal of one, in which their Liberty is more essentially interested. If the *Americans*, not perceiving any great Inconveniency from the Act concerning the Manufacture of Hats, regarded it as a Law made solely for the Encouragement of the Hat Manufactory in *England*, and to prevent the Exportation of Hats from *America*, which the Preamble of that Statute clearly imports; and seeing it in this Light, did not apply for a Repeal of it, no Inference can be drawn from their Acquiescence, that can bar any Right they before had, which was of such Nature, that it could not be taken from them without their Consent.

However I believe it will clearly appear, that that Act was not intended to affect the *American* Rights, but solely for the Encouragement of the Hat Manufactory in *England*, and for that End to prevent the Exportation of Hats from the Ports of *America*, which might interfere with that Branch of Commerce in *Britain*; and if so, no Parallel can be drawn between that Statute, and the Stamp Act, which in no Respect appears

appears to have been designed for the Encouragement of *British* Manufactures, nor to regulate *American* Exportations, which otherwise might interfere therewith; but stands singly by itself, with Respect to the Effect it may have on the Rights of the Subject; its Consistency or Inconsistency with such Right, I believe therefore can only be considered in the discussing a Question to which that Act solely gave rise.

Wherefore having offered what I apprehend to be necessary to shew the Imbecility of Arguments against *British* Provincial Liberty, drawn from the Regulations of Governments founded in Tyranny, and answered the Objection to the Rights of the Colonies drawn from the Act relative to the Manufacture of Hats in *America*.

I shall now proceed to consider those Rights as founded on the general Principles of the *British* Constitution, and such Objections to them, as have been thought to have been derived from the same Principles. The Privilege claimed by the Colonists then, is as already has been intimated, that of not being to be taxed or bound by Laws made respect-

ing their internal Polity, by a Legislature in which they are not represented. As this Claim seems founded on the natural Rights of Mankind, interwoven in the Genius and Principles of the *British* Constitution; and as no People can with the least Degree of Propriety be said to be free, who have not a Part in making the Laws by which they are governed: It has been thought proper to endeavour to reconcile the Stamp Act with those Rights, on the Supposition of a virtual Representation of the Provinces in Parliament, which some have alledged to be by the Members of Parliament chosen in *Britain*, and others by the provincial Agents.

When the Word virtually was introduced to raise an Idea it had never before convey'd, those who thought they discovered an Advantage in using it for such Purpose, would have done well to have signified what they intended it should import. If by supposing the Colonies virtually represented in Parliament, by the Members of the *British* Parliament is meant, that all or any of the Members of that Parliament are chosen by, or derive their Authority directly or indirectly,

rectly, in the Whole or in Part, from all the Colonies or any one of them, the Supposition is not true; and if it is intended to signify any thing less, it cannot be of the least Aid in supporting an Opinion, that the Colonies are by any Means, or in any Manner whatever, represented in Parliament, and can only be regarded as an Expletive. That the People of *England* virtually consent to an Act of Parliament may well enough signify that the Members by whose Consent such Act was passed, were chosen by and derived their Authority from the People of *England*: But to say that the People of *America* consent to an Act passed by the Members of the *British* Parliament, who are not chosen by them, nor derive any Authority from them, is a Paradox too profound to be rendered intelligible by the Word VIRTUALLY.

Let a *British* Freeholder be seriously told, that he is virtually represented in an *American* Assembly, by the Members of that Assembly, not one of whom had ever received any kind of Authority from him he will have no Doubt that his Understanding is insulted, and yet the Mystery is not greater in one Case, than in the other. As to the
Re-

Representation by the Provincial Agents, it may suffice to observe, that they are not solely chosen by the People, the Concurrence of the Governor and Council being necessary to their Appointment: And besides, not having the Privilege of voting or debating in Parliament, there is as little and there seems no Necessity for saying less Reason for a Supposition of this Representation, than of the other. It being then evident, that the Colonies are in no manner represented in Parliament, and as their Inhabitants, from being born under the League and Obedience of the same King, are entitled to the Privileges of other *British* Subjects, it may not be improper to consider in what Light a Statute would appear to the People of *Britain*, made by an Authority, in which they were not represented, by which Statute they should be taxed, and subjected to Trials, not known to the common Law: Although such a Statute were made by an Assembly ever so numerous, consisting of Personages of the highest Character, and most eminent Rank, it could not miss being regarded as an Infringement of the Peoples Rights, and such an one as destroyed the very Foundation of all Liberty; and there could not be a Doubt, but that such a Law so made and
carried

carried into Execution, would reduce the Nation to what might, with great Truth and Propriety, be called a State of Slavery: If it is impossible then, to distinguish in Respect to Liberty, the State of *Britain*, under the Operation of such a Law so enacted, from the State of *America*, if the Stamp Act be carried into Execution, and I see no Way of differencing the two Cases, the Colonists seem to have great Reason for thinking that Act cannot operate consistently with such Privileges, as of Right ought not to be taken from them: Those People, who from their first Settlement, have been almost continually wading in Blood, in Defence of *British* Rights, and for the Preservation and Extension of *British* Dominion, cannot discover a Difference between the Liberty of the Subject in *Britain*, and that of the *British* Subject in *America*: And as the same Causes are known to produce the same Effects in similar Cases, I do not apprehend there is a Possibility of convincing them, that any Method of Legislation, which if established in *Britain*, would enslave the Nation, can be introduced for the Government of the Colonies, that would not deprive them of their Freedom.

It

It has indeed been insisted by some, that the enforcing the Stamp Act is necessary, in order to support the Power of Parliament: I do not see why the extensive Power of that eminent and respectable Body, should at all Events, be drawn into a Dispute, relative to the Propriety of a Statute, or its Consistency or Inconsistency with the Rights of the Subject: Whatever Boundary there may be to the Power of Parliament, it is not easily defined, the Law relative thereto being extremely abstruse, according to an Expression of Lord *Coke*, *Paucis cognita*; on the other Hand, the Rights of the Subject, as they are freely enjoyed in *Britain*, so are they generally well understood; I have therefore, in what I have offered, relative to the Act for the Stamp Duty, confined myself, without entering into the Doctrine of Parliamentary Power, to the Reasons, why I think it cannot consist with the Subjects Liberty, and why, if carried into Execution, it will have Consequences detrimental to the Interest of *Britain*, as well as to that of *America*.

If the Parliament shall be of Opinion, that the Act in Question is subversive of the Rights of the Subject, and there seems no
Way

Way of shewing, that a People governed by Laws made without their Consent, can be free. And, if it shall also be thought, that the Assemblies of the different Provinces, are the best capable of judging in what manner Taxes may be raised in those Provinces respectively, with the greatest Ease to their Constituents : Of which there certainly can be no Doubt. If the Colonies have, with the greatest Chearfulness, hitherto in their Assemblies, raised the ordinary and extraordinary Supplies of Government, in Peace and War ; which their Acts and Journals will abundantly testify. If the Provincials have, in all the *American* Wars, been as free of their Persons as of their Purfes, not only on the *American* Continent, but in the Islands, where the Flower of their Youth has been expended in the Cause of *Britain*, in which they could have had no Interest but hers ; which is well known to those who have been in these Wars, or are acquainted with their History. If a parallel Conduct may be expected from them, should the Interest of *Britain* require it hereafter ; which their known Loyalty and Attachment put past a Doubt. If it is evident that the Act in Question, will in its Consequences

quences be detrimental to the Trade and Manufactures of *England*; of which, you, Gentlemen, are by far the best Judges. And lastly, if the Liberty and Freedom of the People, now residing in *Britain*, will be lessened and diminished in its Value, by a Subversion of Liberty in *America*, which seems a certain Consequence, if the Privilege of a *Briton*, like all other Privileges, is of greater or lesser Estimation, in Proportion as it is enlarged or contracted. On these, and other Considerations, which may occur, without entering into a particular Disquisition, relative to the Boundary of parliamentary Power, the People of *Britain*, as well as those in *America*, may have Reason to hope for a Repeal of the Law.

I beg Leave, Gentlemen, to take Notice of what has been urged against the Expediency of repealing the Act in Question, from a Supposition, that the Continent of *America* ought to be regarded as in a State of Rebellion, from the Riots and Disturbances which have there happened, subsequent to the Enactment of that Law: It has been contended, that whatever Rights the People theretofore had, they are all forfeited by
those

those Commotions and Insurrections. The Weakness and Fallacy of this kind of Reasoning, will obviously appear, when it is opposed by a Maxim universally received, and which never can be rejected, namely, “ that the Innocent ought not to suffer for the Crimes of the Guilty.” There is no Country which has long enjoyed Freedom, in which the publick Tranquility has not, at Times, been interrupted by the Licentiousness of some disorderly Members of the Community : As there is no temporal Enjoyment that is not accompanied with, or followed by something that renders it incomplete ; this Inconvenience seems to be a disagreeable Condition, annexed to Liberty, and a Tax paid for its Enjoyment ; but that the Whole should suffer for the Delinquency of a Few, is equally unjust and absurd. The Loyalty of the City of *Edinburgh* was not questioned, on Account of the Mob which hanged Captain *Porteous*, nor did the Insurrection of the *Spital-Fields* Weavers, reflect the least Suspicion on the loyal City of *London* ; And yet the Conduct of neither of these Mobs can be justified, more than that of those in *America*, and there seems no Reason why the Colonies should be involved

in

in the Guilt of the *American* Mobs, more than that either of these Cities should be chargeable with Insurrections, within them respectively.

In the Variety of Matter that has been collected in Prejudice of the *American* Cause, which I have endeavoured to shew, and believe to be the Cause of *Britain* also. Some have pretended to have discovered a Spirit of Contempt to the supreme Power of the Realm, in the Representations from the Colonies, on the Subject of the Stamp Act: And as an implicit Obedience is due to every Act of Parliament, it has been alledged, that in Place of giving any Attention to those Applications, they ought to be treated as punishable Acts of Disobedience. Whoever can be prevailed on to think in this Manner, would do well to consider, that there is nothing new in the repealing an Act of Parliament, when it is discovered, that it is not likely to produce the good Effects which had been expected from it, and that the Consequence which a Statute has had, or probably will have, cannot be so well known by any other Means, as by Remonstrances from the People immediately affected

affected by it. Were the People of *Britain* to foresee, that the Act in Question would in its Operation greatly injure their Interest, it could not be thought any Impropriety, or Breach of Duty in them, to apply for a Repeal of it; and if so, the People of *America* who are to be immediately affected by its Operation, if it is permitted to operate, may undoubtedly expect the same Indulgence; and though the Lieutenant Governor of *New York* was pleased to pronounce with the Air of Infallibility of a *Roman Pontiff*, that the Proceedings of the Provincial Commissioners were unconstitutional, before he knew what they were, I have no Apprehension, that any dutiful Representations they may make, will be refused the Attention which their Importance may merit, much less that they will be regarded as punishable Acts of Disobedience. An unnatural Parent may whip a Child till it cries, and then whip it for crying, but the national Justice of *Britain*, will not permit the Infant Colonies to fear a similar Conduct in the Mother Country.

The Objections to the Rights claimed by the Provinces, will, I believe, Gentlemen,
all

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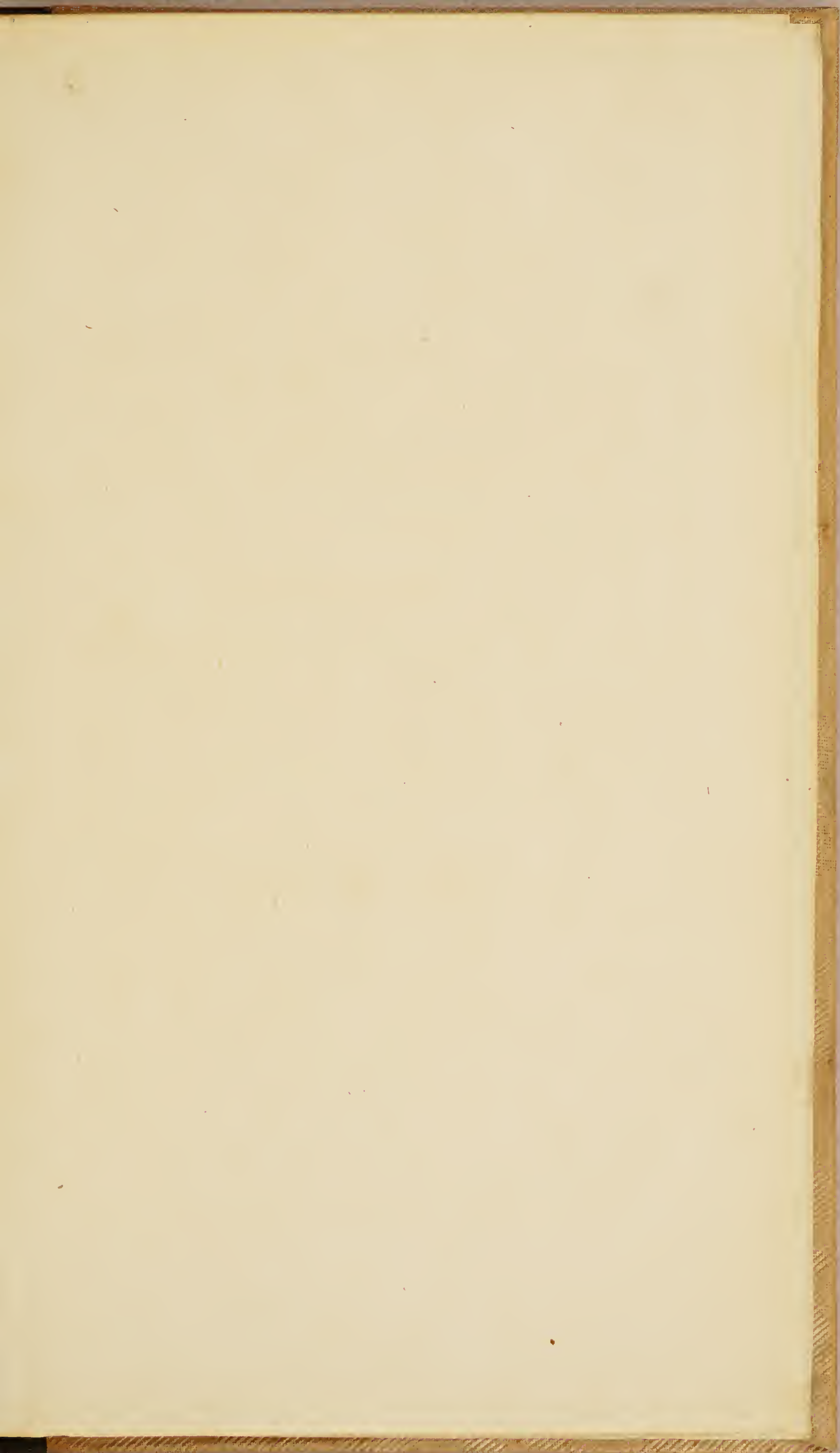
all appear light, and several of them even trivial, but trivial as they are, in treating of those Rights, it might have seem'd an Omission not to have answer'd them, which Consideration, together with the Importance of the Subject, I hope will in some measure apologize for the Length to which they have been the Cause of protracting this Letter.

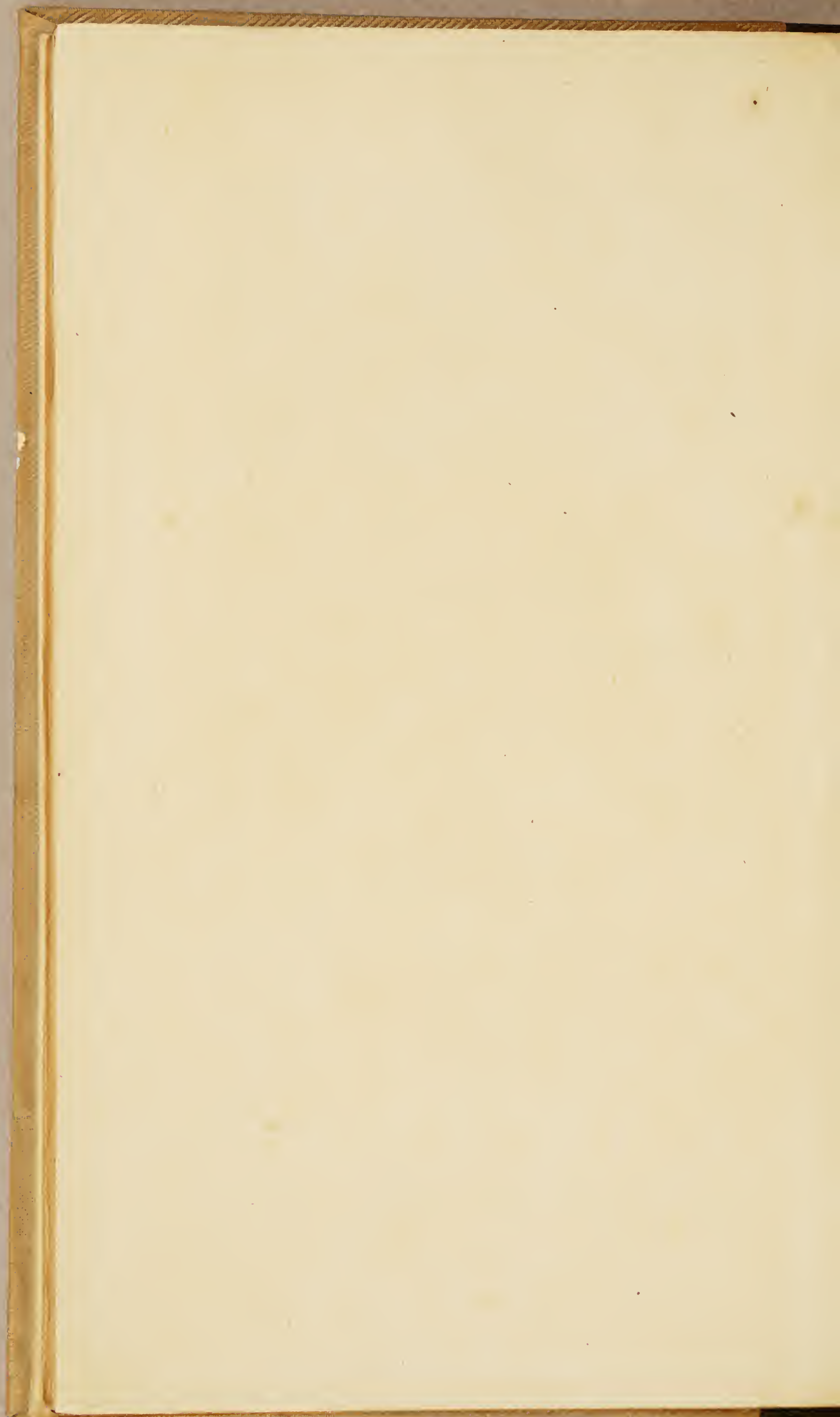
I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Yours, &c. &c.

F I N I S.





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