

NORTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE.

With the latest Advices, Foreign and Domestick

SEMPER PRO LIBERTATE ET BONO PUBLICO.

The following very spirited ADDRESS to his Majesty, is said to be a Pamphlet just published, and intitled, A Summary View of the Rights of British America.

To the KING.

S I R E,

THERE is not a Man of Thought in the whole Nation, who does not suppose bad Measures, from bad Principles, but is justly alarmed, and seriously anxious, for the common Good. Affairs of such Magnitude now employ the Public Attention, as seem to involve in them the Fate of EMPIRE. The Times are big with great Events. What will be the Consequence, it is not in human Sagacity to foretel. But if the same System be pursued, which for a long Time hath employed the Attention of your Majesty's Ministers; they ought to tremble for their Heads.

The present Contentions with America; if not soon happily terminated, must end in such Scenes of Trouble, Bloodshed and Devastation, which, in Contemplation alone, shock us with Horror. But little Time remains for Deliberation or Choice; a-blow will lead on to the decisive Scene; and the Sword must end what Tyranny began. This Era of your Majesty's Reign is likely to be marked with the most important Characters. It is impossible for Subjects to stand by idle, unaffected Spectators, when they see their Sovereign, and themselves, nearly involved in Distresses, which, for aught he can foresee, may end in the Ruin of both; you, Sir, may lose your Sovereignty and Honour; we, our Liberties, Fortunes and Lives.

The Charge of Presumption upon Individuals, for speaking freely upon these important Things, is as once taken off by the Evidence of the Things themselves, and the transcendent Interest that every Man has in them.

Of the Matter of our Complaint, the weighty Affairs of State; of the Artifice, Cunning, Address, and Subtily of Courts, it is the general Lot to be ignorant; but of the great Principles of Government, especially of this free State, of its Laws and Proceedings, that are either substantive or corroborative of the System, many are able to judge as any Minister employed in his Majesty's Service. These, with the first Laws of Nature, the Privileges of Man in human Society, with the sacred and immutable Laws of Justice, Equity, Moderation and Wisdom, Men fully understand, who were never tutored, or well received at Court; where indeed, for the most Part, Men are more likely to lose, than gain, accurate Ideas of these Things. They are not among the Arcana Imperii; we can judge of them; and have a fair, undoubted, constitutional Right, as free Subjects, who claim Liberty by Birthright, and enjoy it by the Laws, to apply these Principles to the present Conduct of your Majesty's Ministers. And, in Justice bound to our Country, and ourselves; and that Fidelity we owe, Sir, to you, as our Sovereign, we openly declare, that the whole Proceedings against our Brethren in America, who are entitled, in common with ourselves, to the Privileges of Men, and the Liberties, Franchises, and Protection of Englishmen, are in open Violation of the unnatural Laws of Equity and Justice; and unparalleled Infractions upon the Principles, and promulgated Laws of this free State; not to say, that every Idea of good Policy is sacrificed to maintain and enforce the most vicious and dangerous System that ever infatuated Despots pursued.

Fruitless were the Hopes that these few Pages will effect, what the sagest Counsels, the most confirmate Wisdom, and plainest Remonstrances, of some of the wisest and best Men of the present Age, have not been able to accomplish. But if the Persuasion, either by your Majesty, or your Ministers, should, for a Moment, suspend their fatal Counsels, or Designs which are now taking, or seem systematically planned to overturn American Liberty, I shall think my Labours well rewarded. God is my Witness, that I write not these Things to excite Sedition, or stir up Rebellion; I should deem my Life well disposed of, if, by the Sacrifice, your Majesty would learn the Wisdom of righteous Government, and your Ministers be taught to counsel good Things. Happy should I be to convince your Majesty where legal Authority ends, and Tyranny begins; and that your Dignity alone consists in the Happiness of your Subjects; and that when Virtue

and Justice forsake your Councils, Error and Ruin must inevitably ensue. With your Majesty's Ministers we can keep no longer. At any Time we pity their innocent Infirmitie, that Pity has long ago been converted into Abhorrence from the Wickedness of their Counsels, and the Injustice of their Deeds. By their Breaches upon your Prerogative, Sir! they have broken down the legal Barriers of the Constitution, and have endeavoured to change lawful Possession into arbitrary Dominion; and, in the mad Career, they have endeavoured to make their Sovereign dispend with every Thing that entitles him to Obedience, and by this Means, convert the first Duty of Subjects into an Opposition, which the great and primary Law of Nature, Self defence, makes necessary. These cruel, inexpedient, tyrannical Measures, which first they adopted, respecting America, withstanding the perilous Circumstances into which they have brought both the Colonies and our own Country, they carry violently on; as if they could persuade us that Reverence was Integrity; that open Oppression State Necessary: Their System, not only manifestly repugnant to the Laws of this State, but it runs counter to the whole Stream of Liberty, and Examples derived from the various Histories of the several States of the World. From them they ought to have learned that Confidence is the first and strongest Principle of Obedience, and which once lost, is seldom recovered; and that almost all Struggles for Liberty, against Oppression and Oppression, have been crowned with Success; and, without Impiety, whatever Disasters concerning Providence may prevail at God's Pleasure, such Success to the Interposition of Heaven, and to Heaven the Americans now ascribe, and to God that any Accommodation should be made, or that the Rigours which your Majesty's Ministers have

on for the Affronts which the honest Struggles for Freedom have given; under the Pretence of Law, natural Justice and equity fall defeated; and the Constitution is wounded under the Semblance of a temporary Cure.—Your Ministers, Sir! are total Strangers to those nice Temperaments and Allays to mitigate the Evils and Maladies of the State, in which much of the Wisdom of Government consists. They strain, where they ought to relax; and think to accomplish, by Exertion, what they want Abilities to effect by lenient Measures.—They do not see these happy Mediums, so necessary in the Adjustments of great Affairs, by which Authority is preserved on the one Hand, and Allegiance secured on the other. These impracticable Men renounce all Expedients but Power.—They have recourse to Arms, when they shall only seek Counsel.—They attempt that by Oppression, which Justice, well administered, would more effectually accomplish.—They talk of enforcing the Laws, when they are violating the Constitution; and urge the Necessities of State, when they themselves are the Authors of the very Necessities of which they complain.—They are for doing that in a free State, which the most Despotic, in like Circumstances, if wise, would carefully avoid.—What is there, Sir! to countenance so great a Hazard of ruining America, and distressing ourselves; of exciting them to Arms, and ourselves to the Slaughter of our Sons? Have your Ministers, Sir! discovered Mines of inexhaustible Riches in America, which they wish to plunder, to discharge our enormous national Debt? Alas! they will find no other Riches but what a strenuous Industry has gained; Virtue, which the Love of Liberty has inspired; and a Race of Men not degenerate enough to part with Freedom without a noble Struggle. Before their Charters were violated, their Laws infringed, their Trade oppressed, one of their chief Cities, and its Inhabitants, proscribed, and military Expeditions sent to awe and intimidate them, their Lives and Fortunes were at our Disposal; can Subjects offer, can they give more? I will be bold to declare to your Majesty, that before these fatal Proceedings, no Nation in the known History of the World considering the growing Strength, Grandeur, and Extent of that mighty Empire, though dependent, could ever boast such Confidence and Obedience, as Great Britain did in her Colonies.—These are now in Danger of being irrecoverably lost, not by their Defection, but our own unaccountable Folly.—Quos Deus vult perdere, eos Prius demorat.

Your Ministers, Sir! have never do, justify their Oppressions, by the Plea that they have just with; and perhaps have even been their Principles, by talking of the Satisfaction which the Honour and Dignity of the Crown may receive upon their supposed Violation. Sir! the Dignity and Honour of the Crown; and your Ministers because they do not fear to sacrifice their Honour, and maintain their Equity, I will boldly affirm, Sir, that the Honour and Dignity of the Crown are to be preserved, and the Peace will be held too dear by every virtuous Man in the Nation.

And here, Sir! pause, and let your Ministers, and graffy Millions of Subjects—Americans have, not as they have, not thrown off their Allegiance, their Submission is so habitual, that it will be dispensed with. Do them but your Majesty will deem it an Act of Grace. They have now, which heretofore they have not, their Rights. What they now demand, in your Majesty's Pages, which, with all due Respect, your Majesty will declare, they have kept themselves within the Bounds of Prudence, have extended their Requests, and they were countenanced by the Legislature, and Protection, which, from your Majesty, they expect. But from your Majesty, they probably change their Minds, and sometimes, relax their Attachment, and what they do not intermeddle with, and what they do not very nice in.

I am, with all due Submission and Allegiance, Your Majesty's faithful Subject, TRIBUNUS.

Mr. CRUGER's Speech on Friday the 16th of December, in a great Assembly, on American Affairs.

IRISE to deliver my Sentiments on this important Subject, with all the Diffidence and Awe which must strike the Mind on the first Attempt to speak before so august an Assembly. Had I remained silent on this Occasion, I must have condemned myself for deserting a Cause which it is my Duty to espouse. I cannot but be heard with Candour by Englishmen, when what I offer is dictated by a Love to my Country.

I am far from approving all the Proceedings in America; many of their Measures have been a Dishonour to their Cause. Their Rights might have been asserted without Violence, and their Claims stated with Temper, as well as Firmness. But permit me to say, Sir, that if they have erred, it may be considered as a Failing of human Nature; a People animated with a Love of Liberty, and alarmed with Apprehensions of its being in Danger, will unavoidably run into Excesses.

The History of Mankind declares it in every Page; and Britons ought to view with an Eye of Tenderness such Acts of Imprudence, to which their Fellow Subjects in America may have been hurried, not (as has been unkindly said) by a rebellious Spirit, but by that generous Spirit of Freedom which has often led their own Ancestors into Indiscretions.

Acts of Severity are far from having a Tendency to eradicate Jealousies; on the contrary, they must produce new Fears, and weaken that Attachment which Kindness might have ensured. No Country, Sir, has been more happy in her Colonies than Great Britain; cemented by mutual Interests (till the Era of that fatal Stamp Act) they flourished in an Intercourse of Amity, Protection, and Obedience, supporting and supported by each other. Before that Period, we meet with no Disobedience to your Laws, no Denial of the Jurisdiction of Parliament, no Marks of Jealousy and Discontent; but they ever loved Liberty. That Passion is coeval with their first Emigration to America; they were persecuted for it in this Country; they fought a Sanctuary in the unexplored Regions of that; there they peacefully cleared their inhospitable Wilds, cultivated

their Lands; and cheerfully poured the first Fruits of their Industry into the Bosom of their Mother Country: You protected them in their infant State, and they returned it by confining to you the sole Benefits of their Trade; whatever Wealth they derived from Agriculture and Commerce, all centered with you. You regulated their Commerce, for the Advantage of this Country; and they never discovered an Opposition, either to the Authority or the Exercise of it. Are these Evidences of a Spirit of Disaffection to Great Britain, or Ingratitude for its Protection? Are they not rather Proofs, that if the same Line of mild and lenient Government had been pursued, the same Cordiality and Submission would have been continued?

Every American, who loves America, must wish the Prosperity of England; and that their Union may ever subsist, uninterrupted. If the Parental Trust is injured, the Branches must suffer with it. A Subordination on the Part of the Colonies is necessary to this Union. I acknowledge, Sir, there must exist a Power somewhere to superintend and regulate the Movements of the Whole, for the Attainment and Preservation of our common Happiness; this supreme Power can be justly and adequately exercised only by the Legislature of Great Britain. In this Doctrine the Colonies tacitly acquiesced, and were happy: England enjoyed by it all the Advantages of an exclusive Trade with them. WHY THEN STRAIN THIS AUTHORITY SO MUCH, as to render a Submission to it impossible, without a Surrender of all those Liberties which are most valuable in civil Society, and were ever acknowledged the inestimable Birthright of Englishmen? When Great Britain derives from her Colonists the most ample Supplies of Wealth by her Commerce, is it not absurd to close up these Channels for the Sake of a paltry inexpedient Claim of imposing Taxes; which, though a young Member, I will be bold to aver, never have, and probably never will defray the Expence of collecting them?

The Expediency of coercive Measures is much insisted on by some, who, I am sorry to say, seem to consider more the Distresses into which they will involve the Americans, than the Benefits they can procure to this Country from such vindictive Conduct. Humanity, however, will prompt the generous Mind to weep over Severities, though they may be even necessary; and a prudent Statesman will reflect, that the Colonies cannot possibly suffer without Injury to Great Britain. The Americans are your Customers; they consume your Manufactures; by distressing them; if you do not drive them to other Markets, you will most assuredly disable them from taking your Commodities, and from making proper Returns for what they have taken.

Let us suppose for a Moment, that coercive Measures should reduce them to a Recognition of the Equity of parliamentary Taxation, what are the Advantages which will result from it? Can it be thought that Mankind can be dragged into a Conviction of what is right? Will Severities increase their Affection, and make them more desirous of a Connection with and Dependence on the Mother Country? Is it not, on the contrary, reasonable to conclude, that the Effect will be an Increase of Jealousy and Discontent; that they will seek all Occasions of evading Laws imposed on them by Violence; that they will be restless under the Yoke, and think themselves happy in an Opportunity of flying to the Protection of any other Power, from the Subjection of a Mother whom they consider cruel and oppressive? Sir, I would not be understood to deny the good Intentions of Administration. The Abilities of the Ministers are, it seems, universally acknowledged; but I must add, *Humanum est errare*: Though an American, Sir, I applaud his Jealousy for the Dignity and Authority of Parliament, and think the Impolicy and Inexpediency of the late Measures may be reasonably imputed to the Difficulty of the Occasion, and the unsettled and undefined Nature of the Dependents of the Colonies on the Mother Country; but since, by sad Experience, they have been found totally inadequate; since they have widened the Breach, instead of closing it, diminished the Subjection and Obedience of the Colonies, instead of confirming them; increased the Turbulence and Opposition, instead of allaying them; it may be hoped that a different Plan of Conduct will be pursued; and that some Constitution will be adopted, by the Wisdom of this House, which may secure the Colonists in their Liberties, whilst it maintains the just Supremacy of Parliament.

PHILADELPHIA, FEBRUARY 1.
PROCEEDINGS of the CONVENTION for the Province of PENNSYLVANIA, held at the State-House in Philadelphia, January 23, 1775, and continued by Adjournments to the 28th.

THE Chairman of the Philadelphia Committee opened the Convention, by explaining the Motives which induced said Committee to propose the holding this Convention. Joseph Reed, Esq; was chosen President of this Convention. Messrs. Jonathan B. Smith, John Benzet, and Francis Johnson, Esq; were chosen Secretaries.

On Motion, Resolved unanimously, That the Committee of the City of Philadelphia, and each County Committee, shall have one Vote in determining every Question that may come before this Convention.

Resolved unanimously, That this Convention most heartily approve of the Conduct and Proceedings of the Continental Congress: That we will faithfully endeavour to carry into Execution the Measures of the Association, entered into and recommended by them, and that the Members of that very respectable Body merit our warmest Thanks, by their great and disinterested Labours for the Preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the British Colonies.

On Motion, Resolved unanimously, That it be, and it is hereby recommended to the several Members of this Convention, to promote and encourage Instructions or Advice from their several Counties, to their Representatives in General Assembly, to procure a Law prohibiting the future Importation of Slaves into this Province.

Resolved unanimously, That in Case the Trade of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia shall be suspended in Consequence of the present Struggle, it is the Opinion of this Convention that the several Counties should, and that the Members of this Convention will, exert themselves to afford all the necessary Relief and Assistance to the Inhabitants of the said City and Liberties, who will be more immediately affected by such an Event.

Resolved unanimously, That if any Opposition shall be given to any of the Committees of this Province in carrying the Association of the Continental Congress into Execution; the Committees of the other Counties, in order to preserve the said Association inviolate, will give all the Weight and Assistance in their Power to the Committee who shall meet with such Opposition.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the most earnest Wish and Desire of this Convention to see Harmony restored between Great Britain and the Colonies: That we will exert our utmost Endeavours for the Attainment of that most desirable Object: That it is the Opinion of this Body that the commercial Opposition pointed out by the Continental Congress, if faithfully adhered to, will be the Means of rescuing this unhappy Country from the Evils meditated against it. But if the humble and loyal Petition of said Congress to his most gracious Majesty should be disregarded, and the British Administration, instead of redressing our Grievances, should determine by Force to effect a Submission to the late arbitrary Acts of the British Parliament, in such a Situation we hold it our indispensable Duty to resist such Force, and at every Hazard to defend the Rights and Liberties of America.

WHEREAS it has been judged necessary for the Preservation of our just Rights and Liberties, to lay a Restraint on our Importation, and as the Freedom, Happiness and Prosperity, of a State greatly depend on providing within itself a Supply of Articles necessary for Subsistence, Cloathing and Defence; a Regard for our Country, as well as common Prudence, call upon us to encourage Agriculture, Manufactures and Economy: Therefore this Convention do resolve as follows:

Resolved unanimously, That from and after the first Day of March next, no Person or Persons should use in his, her, or their Families, unless in Cases of Necessity, and on no Account sell to the Butchers, or kill for the Market, any Sheep under four Years old: And where there is a Necessity for using any Mutton in their Families, it is recommended to kill such as are the least profitable to keep:

Resolved unanimously, That we recommend the setting up of Woollen Manufactures in as many different Branches as possible; especially Coating, Flannel, Blankets, Rugs or Coverlids, Hosiery, and coarse Cloths, both broad and narrow.

Resolved unanimously, That we recommend the raising and manufacturing of Madder, Woad, and such other dye Stuffs as may be raised in this Province to Advantage, and are absolutely necessary in the Woollen Manufactories.

Resolved unanimously, That each Person, having proper Land, should raise a Quantity of Flax and Hemp sufficient, not only for the Use of his own Family, but also to spare to others on moderate Terms. And that it be recommended to the Farmers to provide themselves early with a sufficient Quantity of Seed for the proposed increase of the above Articles of Hemp and Flax.

Resolved unanimously, As Salt is a daily and almost indispensable Necessary of Life, and the making of it among ourselves must be esteemed a valuable Acquisition; we therefore recommend the making of it in the Manner used in England and other Countries; and are of Opinion it may be done with Success in the interior Parts of the Province, where there are Salt Springs, as well as on the Sea Coasts.

Resolved unanimously, That Saltpetre being an Article of great Use and Consumption, we recommend the making of it, and are further of Opinion it may be done to great Advantage.

Resolved unanimously, That the Necessity we may be under for Gunpowder, especially in the Indian Trade, induces us to recommend the manufacturing that Article as largely as possible, by such Persons who are or may be Owners of Powder Mills in this Province.

Resolved unanimously, That we recommend the manufacturing of Iron into Nails and Wire, and all other Articles necessary for carrying on our Manufactures evidently in general Use; and which of

Consequence, should our unhappy Differences continue, will be in great Demand.

Resolved unanimously, That we are of Opinion the making of Steel ought to be largely prosecuted, as the Demand for this Article will be great.

Resolved unanimously, That we recommend the making of different Kinds of Paper, now in Use among us, to the several Manufacturers: And as the Success of this Branch depends on a Supply of old Linen and Woollen Rags, request the People of this Province, in their respective Houses, may order the necessary Steps to be taken for preserving these, otherwise useless, Articles.

Resolved unanimously, That as the Consumption of Glass is greater than the Glass Houses now established amongst us can supply, we recommend the setting up other Glass Houses; and are of Opinion they would turn out to the Advantage of the Proprietors.

Resolved unanimously, That whereas Wool Combs and Cards have, for some Time, been manufactured in some of the neighbouring Colonies, and are absolutely necessary for carrying on the Hosiery and Cloathing Business; we do recommend the establishing such a Manufactory in this Province.

Resolved unanimously, That we also recommend the manufacturing of Copper into Sheets, Bottoms, and Kettels.

Resolved unanimously, That we recommend the making Tin Plates, as an Article worthy the Attention of the People of this Province.

Resolved unanimously, That as printing Types are now made to a considerable Degree of Perfection by an ingenious Artist in Germantown; it is recommended to the Printers to use such Types in Preference to any which may be hereafter imported.

Resolved unanimously, That we recommend the erecting a great Number of fulling Mills; and Mills for breaking, swinging, and softening Hemp and Flax: And also the making of Grind Stones in this Country.

Resolved unanimously, That as the brewing of large Quantities of Malt Liquors within this Province, would tend to render the Consumption of foreign Liquors less necessary; it is therefore recommended, that proper Attention be given to the Cultivation of Barley: And that the several Brewers, both in City and Country, do encourage it, by giving a reasonable and sufficient Price for the same.

Resolved unanimously, That we recommend to all the Inhabitants of this Province, and do promise for ourselves in particular, to use our own Manufactures, and those of the other Colonies, in Preference to all other.

Resolved unanimously, That for the more speedily and effectually putting these Resolves in Execution, we do earnestly recommend Societies may be established in different Parts; and are of Opinion that Premiums ought to be granted in the several Counties to Persons who may excel in the several Branches of Manufactory: And we do further engage, that we in our separate Committees will promote them to the utmost of our Power.

Resolved unanimously, That if any Manufacturer or Vender of Goods and Merchandizes in this Province, shall take Advantage of the Necessities of his Country, by selling his Goods or Merchandize at an unusual and extravagant Profit, such Person shall be considered as an Enemy to his Country; and be advertised as such by the Committees of the Place where such Offender dwells.

On Motion, Resolved unanimously, That the Committee of Correspondence for the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, be a standing Committee of Correspondence for the several Counties here represented: And that if it should at any Time hereafter appear to the Committee of the City and Liberties, that the Situation of Public Affairs render a Provincial Convention necessary, that the said Committee of Correspondence do give the earliest Notice thereof to the Committees of the several Counties.

Ordered, That the Proceedings of this Convention be sent to the Press, and printed in English and German, under the Direction of the President, and Messrs. Jonathan B. Smith and John Benzet.

NEW BERN, March 24.

MR. DAVIS,

I WAS a good deal surprized at hearing the late House of Burgesses accused of being the Cause of their own Dissolution. I was still more so upon afterwards seeing the Resolves which are said to have occasioned it. One would not expect to find such Difference of Opinion on a Matter which entirely depends upon Numbers, and is capable of the clearest Demonstration. And least of all would it be expected betwixt two of the legislative Branches of a Country. They certainly are in all such Cases possessed of every Means of Information, and are supposed to pass no definitive Judgment till after the fullest Investigation. As People whose Pursuits are foreign to such Things, though equally interested with others, cannot be supposed to know the Truth, and must now be at a Loss how to conduct themselves; but more especially, as it has in one of the back County Courts become a Matter of legal Enquiry, I have been induced to try what Light the printed States of the Public Accounts would throw