

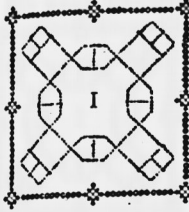
MARYLAND GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 28, 1768.

LETTERS from a FARMER in PENNSYLVANIA, to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies.

LETTER VI.

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,



It may perhaps be objected against the Arguments that have been offered to the Public, concerning the legal Power of the Parliament, that it has always exercised the Power of imposing Duties, for the Purpose of raising a Revenue, on the Productions of these

Colonies carried to Great-Britain; which may be called a Tax on them. To this Objection I answer, That this is no Violation of the Rights of the Colonies, it being implied in the relation between them and Great-Britain, that they should not carry such Commodities to other Nations, as should enable them to interfere with the Mother Country. The Imposition of Duties on these Commodities, when brought to her, is only a Consequence of this her parental Right; and, if the Point is thoroughly examined, they will be found to be laid on the People of the Mother Country. Whatever these Duties are, they must proportionably raise the Price of the Goods, and consequently the Duties must be paid by the Consumers. In this Light they were considered by the Parliament, in the 25th Charles II. ch. 7, §. 2. which says, that the Productions of the Plantations were carried "from one to another, free from all Customs, while the Subjects of this your Kingdom of England have paid great Customs and Impositions for what of them have been spent here,"

Besides, if Great-Britain exports these Commodities again, the Duties will injure her own Trade, so that she cannot hurt us without plainly and immediately hurting herself; and this is our Check against her acting arbitrarily in this Respect.

It may, perhaps, be further objected, "that it being granted that Statutes made for regulating Trade, are binding upon us, it will be difficult for any Persons, but the Makers of the Laws, to determine, which of them are made for the regulating of Trade, and which for raising a Revenue; and that, from hence, may arise Confusion."

To this I answer, that the Objection is of no Force in the present Case, or such as resemble it, because the Act now in Question, is formed expressly for the sole Purpose of raising a Revenue.

However, supposing the Design of the Parliament had not been express'd, the Objection seems to me of no Weight, with regard to the Influence, which those who may make it, might expect it ought to have on the Conduct of these Colonies.

\* If any one should observe, that no Opposition has been made to the Legality of the 4th Geo. III. ch. 15, which is the FIRST Act of Parliament that ever imposed Duties on the Importations in America, for the express Purpose of raising a Revenue there, I answer, first, that though that Act expressly mentions the raising a Revenue in America, yet it seems that it had as much in View, "the improving and securing the Trade between the same and Great-Britain," which Words are Part of its Title: And the Preamble says, "Whereas it is expedient that new Provisions and Regulations should be established for improving the Revenue of this Kingdom, and for extending and securing the Navigation and Commerce between Great-Britain, and your Majesty's Dominions in America, which, by the Peace, have been so happily extended and enlarged, &c." Secondly, All the Duties, mentioned in that Act, are imposed solely on the Productions and Manufactures of foreign Countries, and not a single Duty laid on any Production or Manufacture of our Mother Country. Thirdly, The Authority of the Provincial Assemblies is not therein so plainly attacked, as by the last Act, which makes Provision for defraying the Charges of the Administration of Justice, and the Support of Civil Government. Fourthly, That it being doubtful, whether the Intention of the 4th Geo. III. ch. 15, was not as much to regulate Trade, as to raise a Revenue, the Minds of the People here were wholly engrossed by the Terror of the Stamp-Act, then impending over them, about the Intention of which there could be no Doubt.

These Reasons so far distinguish 4th Geo. III. ch. 15, from the last Act, that it is not to be wondered at, that the first should have been submitted to, though the last should excite the most universal and spirited Opposition. For this will be found on the strictest Examination to be, in the Principle, on which it is founded, and in the Consequences that must attend it, if possible, more destructive than the Stamp-Act. It is, to speak plainly, a Prodigy in our Laws, not having one British Feature.

It is true, that Impositions for raising a Revenue, may be hereafter called Regulations of Trade, but Names will not change the Nature of Things. Indeed, we ought firmly to believe, what is an undoubted Truth, confirmed by the unhappy Experience of many States, heretofore free, that UNLESS THE MOST WATCHFUL ATTENTION BE EXERTED, A NEW SERVITUDE MAY BE SLIPPED UPON US UNDER THE SANCTION OF USUAL AND RESPECTABLE TERMS.

Thus the Caesars ruined the Roman Liberty, under the Titles of the Tribunitia and Dictatorial Authorities,—old and venerable Dignities, known in the most flourishing Times of Freedom. In Imitation of the same Policy, James II. when he meant to establish Popery, talked of Liberty of Conscience, the most sacred of all Liberties; and had thereby almost deceived the Dissenters into Destruction.

All artful Rulers, who strive to extend their Power beyond its just Limits, endeavour to give to their Attempts as much Semblance of Legality as possible. Those who succeed them may venture to go a little further; for each new Encroachment will be strengthened by a former. "That which is now supported by Examples, growing old, will become an Example itself," and thus support fresh Usurpations.

A free People, therefore, can never be too quick in observing, nor too firm in opposing the Beginnings of Alteration, either in Form or Reality, respecting Institutions formed for their Security. The first leads to the last: On the other Hand, nothing is more certain, than that the Forms of Liberty may be retained, when the Substance is gone. In Government, as well as in Religion, "the Letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth Life."

I will beg Leave to enforce this Remark, by a few Instances: The Crown, by the Constitution, has the Prerogative of creating Peers; the Existence of that Order, in due Number and Dignity, is essential to the Constitution; and, if the Crown did not exercise that Prerogative, the Peerage must have, long since, decreased so much, as to have lost its proper Influence. Suppose a Prince, for some unjust Purpose, should, from Time to Time, advance so many needy, profligate Wretches, to that Rank, that all the Independence of the House of Lords should be destroyed, there would then be a manifest Violation of the Constitution, under the Appearance of legal Prerogative.

The House of Commons claims the Privilege of forming all Money Bills, and will not suffer either of the other Branches of the Legislature to add to, or alter them; contending, that their Power, simply extends to an Acceptance or Rejection of them. This Privilege appears to be just; but, under Pretence of this just Privilege, the House of Commons has claimed a Licence of tacking to Money Bills, Clauses relating to many Things of a totally different Kind, and have thus forced them, in a Manner, on the Crown and Lords. This seems to be an Abuse of that Privilege, and it may be vastly more abused. Suppose a future House, influenced by some displaced, discontented Demagogues, in a Time of Danger, should tack to a Money Bill something so injurious to the King and Peers, that they would not assent to it—and yet the Commons should obstinately insist on it; the whole Kingdom would be exposed to Ruin, under the Appearance of maintaining a valuable Privilege.

In these Cases, it might be difficult for a while to determine, whether the King intended to exercise his Prerogative in a constitutional Manner, or not; or, whether the Commons insisted on their Demand factiously, or, for the Public Good: But surely the Conduct of the Crown, or of the House, would in Time sufficiently explain itself.

Ought not the PEOPLE therefore to watch? To observe Facts? To search into Causes? To investigate Designs? And, have they not a Right of JUDGING, from the Evidence before them, on no slighter Points than their Liberty and Happiness? It would be less than trifling, wherever a British Government is established, to make Use of any other Arguments to prove such a Right. It is sufficient to remind the Reader of the Day, on which King WILLIAM III. landed at Torbay.

I will now apply what has been said to the present Question. The Nature of any Impositions laid by Parliament on these Colonies, must determine the Design in laying them: It may not be easy in every Instance to discover that Design. Whenever it is doubtful, I think Submission cannot be dangerous; nay, it must be right: For, in my Opinion, there is no Privilege these Colonies claim, which they ought,

in Duty and Prudence, more earnestly to maintain and defend, than the Authority of the British Parliament to regulate the Trade of all her Dominions. Without this Authority, the Benefits she enjoys from our Commerce, must be lost to her. The Blessings we enjoy from our Dependence upon her, must be lost to us; her Strength must decay; her Glory vanish; and she cannot suffer, without our partaking in her Misfortune.—Let us therefore cherish her Interests as our own, and give her every Thing that it becomes FREEMEN to give, or to receive.

The Nature of any Impositions she may lay upon us, may, in general be known, by considering how far they relate to the preserving, in due Order, the Connexion between the several Parts of the British Empire. One Thing we may be assured of, which is this; whenever a Statute imposes Duties on Commodities, to be paid only upon their Exportation from Great-Britain, to these Colonies, it is not a Regulation of Trade, but a Design to raise a Revenue upon us. Other Instances may happen, which it may not be necessary now to dwell on. I hope these Colonies will never, to their latest Existence, want Understanding sufficient to discover the Intentions of those who rule over them, nor the Resolution necessary for asserting their Interests. They will always have the same Rights that all free States have, of judging when their Privileges are invaded, and of using all prudent Measures for preserving them.

"Quocirca vivite fortes  
"Fortiaque adversi opposte Peiora Rebus."

Wherefore keep up your Spirits, and gallantly oppose this adverse Course of Affairs.—

A FARMER.

WARSAW, October 7.

THE Day before Yesterday the extraordinary Dyet was opened here, with the usual Formalities. The King began with addressing the Assembly in a pathetic Speech, wherein he exhorted them to Concord. This was followed by another, spoken by the Bishop of Cracovia. They have not proceeded to the Nomination of a Marshal, but it is agreed that Prince Charles de Radzivil shall perform the Functions of that Dignity.

HAGUE, Oct. 13. The Prince Stadtholder having notified in Form, the Completion of his Marriage, with the Princess Wilhelmina of Prussia, to the different Colleges of the Government residing here; that agreeable Event was Yesterday made known to the Town, by the firing of Cannon, displaying of Flags, and by other Demonstrations of Joy; and Prince Lewis of Brunswick gave an Entertainment upon the Occasion, to a great Number of the principal Persons of the Country. Their Serene and Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange were to leave Berlin Yesterday; and, as they will rest at Potsdam, Brunswick, Loo, and Soefdyck, in their Way home, they are not expected at the House in the Wood before the 3d of November, when the Rejoicings here will begin again. The States of Friesland have set the Example to the other Provinces, by voting an Annuity to the Princess of Orange; and, it is probable, that other Presents will be made, by other Provinces, to shew their Satisfaction upon this Occasion.

WARSAW, Oct. 14. The Aspect of Public Affairs, in this Kingdom, becomes every Day more alarming. The Dyet sat on the Day fixed, but proved extremely tumultuous. The Bishop of Cracovia, the Bishop of Kiovia, some other Prelates, and some of the Magistrates, declared that they would never consent to the Establishment of a Commission furnished with full Power to enter into Conference with the Russian Ambassador, and at the same Time, spoke with more Vehemence than ever against the Pretensions of the Dissidents. Some of the Deputies replied to this, with great Warmth; and the Animosity among them rose to such a Degree, that the Marshal of the Dyet prorogued the Meeting to the 16th Instant.

The Day after the tumultuous Meeting above-mentioned, the Bishop of Cracovia, the Bishop of Kiovia, Count Rzewulski, the Marquess of Cracovia, and his Son, and some other Deputies, were carried off by some Detachments of the Russian Troops, and have not since been heard of. We have likewise received Advice, that other Detachments of the same Troops have marched into the Estates of those Noblemen, and live there at Discretion.

October 14. It is not yet known to what Place the Bishops of Cracovia and Kiovia and the other Noblemen, who were carried off by the Russian Troops, are carried. Very strong Representations are made to the Prince de Reppin, to get them set at Liberty.

MOSCOW, Oct. 5. The Ministers of the Court have repeatedly declared to the Deputies of the Two general Confederacies of Poland and Lithuania, that the Emperor, in taking Part in the Affairs of the Polish Nation, had only Two Objects in View; one of which is to re-establish the Dissidents in the Possession of their Rights; the other; its maintenance the ancient Form of Government in the Kingdom.

Oct. 21. It is said that the Bishop of Cracovia is carried through Lithuania into Russia; along with the

ANNAPOLIS, October 29, 1767.

S C H E M E

OF THE

MARYLAND LIBERTY LOTTERY.

THE Lower House of Assembly of MARYLAND, have constantly, and ineffectually, hitherto, since fifteen Hundred and Thirty-nine, RESOLVED, that his Lordship hath no Right to collect Twelve-pence per Hoghead on Tobacco exported.

CONSTITUTIONAL Tax on the People to support Agent of the Appointment of the Lower House, been greatly desired, frequently attempted, and as refused by the Upper House.

THE Lower House of Assembly contend, That the Work of the Council his reasonable Reward, as well every other Expence necessarily attending the Execution of the Powers of Government, ought to be paid out of the FINES, FORFEITURES, AMERCEMENTS, and OTHER MONIES, received by the Government for the Support thereof; and, "That the Sentiment being directly opposite to the Opinion of the Upper House had, on mature-Consideration, formed upon the Subject of the Clerk of the Council's Claim," principally occasioned the Non-payment of the Public Debt for upwards of Ten Years; the Distress of Trade for Want of a Circulating Medium, and the extreme Necessity of Public Creditors, impelled the Lower House to agree to an Appeal to Majesty in Council, on the Subject Matter of Distinction, without the Allotment of any Public Money that Purpose, as the only Means to settle Disputes, and lay a sure Foundation for the future Ease and Good of the Province.

A SUBSCRIPTION therefore, by RESOLVE of Lower House, has been open'd, and Subscriptions taken in by every Member, for maintaining an Agent, and supporting the Appeal on the Part of the People, as well as obtaining Redress of their other Grievances; and, by RESOLVE also of the Lower House, as an additional Means of raising Money for the same Purposes, the following SCHEME of a LOTTERY, by which to raise ONE THOUSAND POUNDS Common Money, is submitted to the PUBLIC.

Table with 4 columns: Prize, Amount, Odds, and Value. Includes entries for 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th prizes and blanks.

2500 Prizes. £. 6500

2500 Blanks. £. 7500

Tickets, at Thirty Shillings each, amount to £. 7500

From which deduct - 1000 £. 6500

Two and an Half per Cent to be deducted from the Prizes, to defray the Expences of the Lottery.

THE Drawing to be in the Court-House at ANNAPOLIS, in the Presence of the Managers, and as many of the Adventurers as shall be pleased to attend.

THE Managers are, WILLIAM MURDOCK, Esq; EFFIEURS THOMAS SPRIGG, WILLIAM PACA, JOHN FEMS, THOMAS GASSAWAY, South-River, THOMAS INGOLD, B. T. B. WORTHINGTON, HENRY HALL, JOHN HAMMOND, THOMAS JOHNSON, JOHN HALL; Annapolis, and SAMUEL CHASE, or such of them as all chuse to act.

The said Managers to give Bond to the Honourable SPEAKER, and be upon Oath for the faithful discharge of their Trust.

A LIST of the PRIZES to be published in the MARYLAND GAZETTE, and the Prizes paid as soon as the Drawing is finished; and those not demanded in six Months after the Drawing, to be deemed as generously given to the above Use.

THE SCHEME to be made public in the MARYLAND and VIRGINIA GAZETTES, and PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL.

LIFE, without LIBERTY, is worse than DEATH. TICKETS may be had of any of the Managers, and of most of the Members of the Lower House of Assembly.

\* There not having been such a full Return of the SALE of TICKETS as could have been wished; rather too many TICKETS to lie on the Risk of the SCHEME, being still unsold; and as the Winter Season will be too far advanced after the November County Courts, the MANAGERS have resolved to begin the Drawing, certainly, on the Thursday after the Third Tuesday in May next, when many of the Adventurers may attend, with Convenience.—It is hoped by that Time all the TICKETS will be sold, but if they should not, the PUBLIC may rely on the LOTTERY's being then drawn.

THE MANAGERS take this Opportunity to return their hearty Thanks to those Gentlemen, who have assisted in the SALE of TICKETS, and beg they will return any they may have unsold, at least a Week before the Drawing.

M GREEN, at the PRINTING-Office, 6d. a Year; ADVERTISEMENTS, 1s. a Week's Continuance. Long Ones 2s. Printed, most kinds of BLANKS, and all Sorts, with their proper BONDS, and every other of PRINTING-WORK performed.

\* Tacitus. 2 Cor. iii. 6. November 5: 1688.