

MARYLAND GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1768.

From the LONDON GAZETTE of August 20, 1768.

TO THE REAL ENGLISHMAN.

GIVE me Leave to make some Observations on your Reply, in the PUBLIC ADVERTISER, to my Letter of Thursday Se'nnight (which Reply I see copied into the GAZETTE of last Wednesday) These you must be content to receive from the Paper by which my former Letter was communicated, as I have no cause to be dissatisfied with the Channel of my Correspondence. As to your Apprehensions of Danger to the Printer, from publishing any Reflections on the Justice of our Impositions on the Colonies, because the Right has been asserted by Act of Parliament, I hope our Liberties are not so precarious, as to afford any real Cause for them, as Submission to the Act itself, is not withheld; or, at least, 'til some Penalty is preferred for those who doubt its Justice. Justice, Sir, is an inflexible Principle, which subsists independent of Acts of Parliament, which can by no Means alter the Nature of Things, or convert Wrong to Right. I know, that corrupt Judges, the Creatures of Royalty, have formerly perverted that Power with which they were entrusted; and that Justice which they ought to have distributed, to the Gratification of ministerial Vengeance on the one Hand, and the Protection of ministerial Votaries on the other; but that we have any such Judges at present, I do not believe. As to our Sentiments on the Measures adopted, relative to the Colonies, I find they are widely different, as they must of Necessity be, when we reason from opposite Principles. In my former, and several other Letters, with different Signatures, I have argued from a Supposition, that, conformable to the Constitution of this Kingdom, Representation was indispensably necessary to constitute the Legality of Taxation; and must confess, that I did not expect again to hear the Truth of this Principle controverted; a Principle established by Magna Charta, and confirmed by an invariable Adherence to it, down to the present Period. Nor can one Instance be produced, since that Charter was instituted, where the Legislature has persisted in taxing any County or Principality, without granting them Representatives. It is true, indeed, the Representation is in some Instances unequal; but it depends upon ourselves to correct this Inequality. You will perhaps alledge, as the Partizans of Mr. Grenville have already done, that our Stockholders are not represented in Parliament; but I hope the Proprietors of our Debts are not to be classed with the Proprietors of our Lands. And though neither the Robin-Hood Society, or India Company, send Members to Parliament, yet every Individual among them, who is possessed of real Property (which alone ought to entitle him to a Representation) is represented in a different Capacity; and there is not an Inch of Land, or a Blade of Grass, in this Kingdom, that is constitutionally and actually represented, as being at least included in some County thus represented. But, could it be even proved, which is impossible, that any Individual or Community in this Kingdom, is taxed, without sharing, in any Respect, the national Representations; it could by no Means follow, that, because such Individual or Community, neglected to assert the Rights of Magna Charta, that the Americans ought, of Necessity, to imitate so culpable an Example. You will excuse me, therefore, if I still adhere to the Principle on which my Arguments are founded; and should you again attempt to controvert it, I hope you will support your base Assertion with suitable Facts and Arguments.

In the present Dispute with the Colonies, it is the Right, not Expediency, of Taxation, which ought to be considered. This Right Great-Britain has asserted, and our Colonies have denied: They maintain their Denial by Reasons against its Justice; and we are about to support our Assertions by Arms, which must necessarily prevail against their Reasons. If, however, you, or any other Advocate for the Ministry, mean to justify their Conduct on rational Principles, I beg that the Right may be first made apparent; as Altercation must be endless, whilst we argue from opposite Suppositions, and whilst you deem the Inhabitants of our Colonies Rebels, and I esteem them as Patriots, laudably asserting their Privileges. Before, therefore you proceed any further, I must beg you'll refute the Arguments which they have urged against the Legality of our Pretensions. The Principal of these have been collected, and republished by Mr. Almon, particularly in the *Sentiments of America, &c.* and in the *Farmer of Pennsylvania's*

Letters. An Attempt has, indeed, been made in the GAZETTE, to answer the latter; but the Author finding Sophistry unequal to Truth and Justice, eagerly embraced a poor Subterfuge to disengage himself from a Task he had assumed, and to which the greatest Abilities would have proved unequal. You observe, that if Representation be necessary to justify Taxation, it must be so to constitute the Validity of other Laws, binding on the Colonies: And, indeed, between you and I, I believe it would be difficult to demonstrate that we have any other Right to exercise any Kind of Legislation over the Colonies, except what is derived from Precedent, the Concessions of the Colonies, and the Expediency of Things; since his Majesty does, by his Governors, &c. exercise all the legislative Prerogatives in our Colonies, which a People ought to divest themselves of, or which are consistent with the Constitution of a limited Monarchy. But as the Colonies have affectionately yielded to Great-Britain, a Right of making all such Laws as do not take Money out of their Pockets, against their Consent, I think she ought not arbitrarily to deprive them of that Privilege, without which they must necessarily become Slaves. You ask, when the Colonies were emancipated from the Authority of Parliament? Emancipation, tho' susceptible of a more favourable Construction, is usually applied to the setting Slaves at Liberty; and, tho' Slavery has been conferred on the Americans, since the Conclusion of the last War, as a Reward for their Loyalty, during its Continuance, yet I hope you will not pretend, that before that Time, they were Slaves; since, until the Birth of the Grenvillian Ministry, no Attempt was ever made to raise a Revenue from them in any Respect.

I think, therefore, that you might, with more Propriety, have enquired concerning the Origin of their Slavery, than of their Emancipation. 'Til that Time, they enjoyed as ample Privileges as any of his Majesty's Subjects, by right of their several Charters, which they derived from the same Source; from whence we received our great Charter, Liberty, and which ought to have remained equally sacred. Nor can they be taxed by us, as they have been, without a Violation of these Charters. As to their seeking foreign Protection; I see nothing impracticable in it: That we have ambitious and powerful Rivals, who would gladly grant it, is undoubted: That they will ever receive it, I do not believe, unless urged to it by our Oppressions. As to the Impositions of a French Government, they are indeed numerous enough in Europe; but, in America, the Case is different; the Policy of France, in that Particular, being opposite to ours, as the Inhabitants of her Colonies enjoy Privileges which are denied other Subjects. I agree with you, that the present Duties imposed on our Colonies, are trifling, and they are designedly made so, that they may the better escape Opposition, and establish a Precedent for the most exorbitant Exactions. In my former Letter, I asserted that the Time would soon arrive, when other Motives, than Force, would be required, to secure the Dependence of the Colonies. Your Observations on this Particular, certainly were not dictated by a Regard for Posterity. To prevent the Increase of the Colonies, is not in the Power of this Kingdom, unless by exterminating their Inhabitants. We ought therefore to convert this Increase to our Advantage: A sure and only Method of doing this, I have already pointed out, which is not by Violence. As to their paying for the Protection they receive from us; you ought to consider, that the Advantages we derive, by converting their Trade solely to our own Emolument, amply repays the Charges of this Protection. As to the Troops which are ordered to Boston, I wish the Abettors of that Measure, may not do this Kingdom an Injury, which they will never be able to repair. Can any one who reflects on the Temper of the Inhabitants at Boston, imagine that they will tamely suffer Troops to be quartered amongst them, with express Design to intimidate them; and, by their Insolence, repress the Spirit of Liberty? No: These very Troops will but create those Disturbances they were designed to quell; and, before the Expiration of the present Year, occasion obstinate Associations against importing any of our Manufactures. As they are however, ordered, I wish, for several Reasons, that Justice Gillam might accompany them.

From the PUBLIC ADVERTISER, of August 25:
TO THE PRINTER.

SIR,
THREESCORE Years did the oppressed United Provinces maintain a War in Defence of their Liberties, against the then powerful Kingdom of Spain;

with all the Wealth of the Indies at its Command; and finally, obliged to acknowledge their Independency in a formal Treaty, sitting down with the loss of Territory, Treasure, and Reputation, and with a broken Strength, that has never since been recovered.

Contractors, Jobbing mercantile Members of Parliament, Officers starving on Half Pay, and Gunsmiths, who toast, as the Papers tell us, *A speedy and a perpetual War*, may wish, rather than no War at all, for a Civil one, in America. These, in all Conversations, to encourage us in undertaking it, slight the Strength of those distant People, think nothing of that Enthusiasm for Liberty, which in other Countries and Ages has supplied all Deficiencies, and enabled a weak People to baffle the Efforts of a stronger; but tell us that Half a Dozen Regiments are sufficient to reduce, in less than a Year, every Province on the Continent. Half a Dozen being once engaged in this blessed Service, it is easy to write and shew the Necessity for more: The more there are, the greater the Profits to those Gentry. And whatever becomes of us poor Devils, that live by Manufactures or by Trade, that are to pay Taxes, or that have Money in the Funds, they will amass Fortunes, buy our Estates, bribe our Boroughs, and vote in Parliament the Requite of the Measure.

I believe our Officers and Soldiers as brave as any in the World; and from that very Opinion of their Bravery, I conjecture they would not generally relish the being ordered on this murdering Service against their Countrymen; to shed English Blood, to stifle the British Spirit of Liberty, now rising in the Colonies; that LIBERTY, which we should rather wish to see nourished and preserved there, as on a Loss of it here (which from our Vices is perhaps not far distant) we, or our Posterity, may have Occasion to resort to, and participate of; and possibly some of the ablest Officers may chuse, with Sir *Jeffery Amherst*, rather to resign their Commissions. But whatever may be the Bravery and military Prowess of our Troops, and whatever the Zeal with which they would proceed in such a War, there are Reasons that make me suspect it will not be so soon terminated, as some Folks would have us believe.

My Reasons are drawn from a Computation founded on Facts. It is well known that America is a Country full of Forests, Mountains, &c. That in such a Country a small irregular Force, can give Abundance of Trouble to a regular one that is much greater: And that, in the last War, one of the Fifteen Colonies we now have there (and one far short of being the strongest) held out Five Years against Twenty-five Thousand British regular Troops, joined by Twenty-five Thousand Colonists on their own Pay, and aided by a strong Fleet of Men of War. What the Expence was to this Nation, our Treasury-Books, and augmented Debt, may shew. The Expence to America, as their Pay was higher, could not be much less. The Colony we made War upon, was indeed aided by France, but during the whole Contest not with more than Five Thousand Men. Now supposing that the Twenty-five Thousand Colonists, that then joined us, should hereafter be against us, and that this makes no Difference, and considering that instead of one Colony to conquer, we are to have Fifteen, and that possibly some of our good Neighbours may think of making a Diversion in their Favour, I apprehend it not out of the Way to allow Five Years still to a Colony; and this, by my Computation, will amount to Seventy-five Years. I hope Messieurs, the Company of Gunsmiths, will for the present, be so good as to be content with a Civil War of Seventy-five Years, as perhaps we may scarce be able to afford them a perpetual one.

And what are we to gain by this War, by which our Trade and Manufactures are to be ruined, our Strength divided and diminished, our Debt increased, and our Reputation, as a generous Nation, and Lovers of Liberty, given up and lost? Why, we are to convert Millions of the King's loyal Subjects into Rebels, for the sake of establishing a newly claimed Power in us, to tax a distant People, whose Abilities and Circumstances they cannot be acquainted with, who have a constitutional Power of taxing themselves; who have never refused to give us voluntarily, more than we can ever expect to wrest from them by Force; and by our Trade, with whom we gain Millions a-Year!

And is there not one wise and good Man to be found in Britain, who can propose some conciliating Measure that may prevent this terrible Mischief?—I fear not one! For,

Quis Deus vult perdere, dementat prius! N. N.

From the GLASGOW JOURNAL, July 14, 1768.

The following is handed about as the Speech made by a certain Great Lawyer, in a Court of Judicature, at the Time of the Reversal of an Outlawry.

I Have now gone through the several Errors assigned by the Defendant, and which have been ingeniously argued, and confidently relied on, by his Counsel at the Bar: I have given my Sentiments upon them; and if, upon the whole, after the closest Attention to what has been said, and with the strongest Inclination in Favour of the Defendant, no Arguments which have been urged, no Cases which have been cited, no Rea-

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