

MARYLAND GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1774.

The *History of St. Asaph's Speech* concluded.

WITH regard to the people of *Holston*, I am free to own that I neither approve of their riots nor their punishment. And yet if we insist on a punishment with a consciousness that we were ourselves the aggressors, that we gave the provocation, and that their disobedience is the fruit of our own imprudent and imperious conduct, I think the punishment cannot rise to any great degree of severity.

I own my lords, I have read the report of the lords committee of this house, with very different sentiments from those with which it was drawn up. It seems to be designed, that we should consider their violent measures and speeches, as so many determined acts of opposition to the sovereignty of England, arising from the malignity of their own hearts. One would think the mother country had been totally silent and passive in the progress of the whole affair. I on the contrary consider these violences as the natural effects of such measures as ours on the minds of freemen. And this is the most useful point of view, in which government can consider them. In their situation, a wise man would expect to meet with the strongest marks of passion and impudence, and be prepared to forgive them. The first and easiest thing to be done is to correct our own errors; and I am confident we should find it the most effectual method to correct theirs. At any rate let us put ourselves in the right; and then if we must contend with North America, we shall be unanimous at home, and the wife and moderate there will be our friends. At present we force every North American to be our enemy, and the wife and moderate at home, and those immense multitudes which must soon begin to suffer by the madness of our rulers, will unite to oppose them. It is a strange idea we have taken up, to cure their resentments by increasing their provocations; to remove the effects of our own ill conduct, by multiplying the instances of it. But the spirit of blindness and intemperance is gone forth. We are hurrying wildly on without any fixed design, without any important object. We pursue a vain phantom of unlimited sovereignty, which was not made for man, and reject the solid advantages of a moderate, useful, and intelligible authority. I bat just God, whom we have all so deeply offended, can hardly inflict a severer national punishment than by committing us to the natural consequences of our own conduct. Indeed, in my opinion a blacker cloud never hung over this island.

To reason consistently with the principles of justice and national friendship, which I have endeavoured to establish, or rather to revive what was established by our ancestors, as our wisest rule of conduct for the government of America; I must necessarily disapprove of the bill before us; for it contradicts every one of them. In our present situation every act of the legislature, even our acts of severity ought to be so many steps towards the reconciliation we wish for. But to change the government of a people, without their consent, is the highest and most arbitrary act of sovereignty, that one nation can exercise over another. The Romans hardly ever proceeded to this extremity, even over a conquered nation, till its frequent revolts and insurrections had made them deem it intemperate. The very idea of it, implies a most abject and slavish dependency in the inferior state. Recollect that the Americans are men of like passions with ourselves, and think how deeply this treatment must affect them. They have the same veneration for their charters, that we have for our Magna Charta; and they ought, in reason, to have greater. They are the title deeds to all their rights both public and private. What my lords, must these rights never acquire any legal assurance, and stability? can they derive no force from the peaceable possession of near two hundred years, and admit the fundamental constitution of a powerful state, before ever subject to as capricious alterations as your think fit to make, in the charters of a little mercantile company, or the corporation of a borough? this will undoubtedly furnish matter for a more pernicious debate than has yet been heard. Every other colony will make the case its own. They will complain that their rights can never be ascertained; that every thing belonging to them depends upon our arbitrary will; and may think it better to run any hazard, than to submit to the violence of their mother country, in a matter in which they can see neither moderation nor end.

But let us coolly enquire, what is the reason of this unheard of innovation? Is it to make them peaceable? my lords, it will make them mad. Will they be better governed if we introduce this change? will they be more our friends? the least that such a measure can do, is to make them hate us. And would to God, my lords, we had governed ourselves with as much economy, integrity and prudence as they have done. Let them continue to enjoy the liberty our fathers gave them. Gave them; did I say? they are coheirs of liberty with ourselves; and their portion of the inheritance has been much better looked after than ours. Suffer them to enjoy a little longer that short period of public integrity and domestic happiness, which seems to be the portion allotted by providence to young rising states. Instead of hoping that their constitution may receive improvement from our ill government, the most useful which I can form in their favour is, that they may long preserve them from our vices and our politics. Let me add further, that to make any changes in their government, without their consent, would be to

transgress the wisest rules of policy, and to wound our most important interests. As they increase in numbers and in riches, our comparative strength must lessen. In another age, when our power has begun to lose something of its superiority, we should be happy if we could support our authority by mutual good will and the habit of commanding; but chiefly by those original establishments, which time and public honour might have rendered inviolable. Our posterity will then have reason to lament that they cannot avail themselves of those treasures of public friendship and confidence, which our fathers had wisely hoarded up, and we are throwing away. 'Tis hard, 'tis cruel, besides all our debts and taxes; and those enormous expenses which are multiplying upon us every year, to load our unhappy sons with the hatred and curse of North America. Indeed, my lords, we are treating posterity, very fevourly. We have mortgaged all the lands; we have cut down all the oaks; we are now trampling down the fences, rooting up the seedlings and samplers, and ruining all the resources of another age. We shall send the next generation into the world, like the wretched heir of a worthless father, without money, credit or friends; with a striped, incumbered, and perhaps untenanted estate.

Having spoke so largely against the principle of the bill, it is hardly necessary to enter into the merits of it. I shall only observe, that even if we had the consent of the people to alter their government, it would be unwise to make such alterations as these. To give the appointment of the governor and council to the crown, and the disposal of all places, even of the judges, and with a power of removing them, to the governor, is evidently calculated with a view to form a strong party in our favour. This I know has been done in other colonies; but still this is opening a source of perpetual discord, where it is our interest always to agree. If we mean any thing by this establishment, it is to support the governor and the council against the people, i. e. to quarrel with our friends, that we may please their servants. This scheme of governing them by a party is not wisely imagined, it is much too premature, and at all events, must turn to our disadvantage. If it fails, it will only make us contemptible; if it succeeds, it will make us odious. It is our interest to take very little part in their domestic administration of government, but purely to watch over them for their good. We never gained so much by North America as when we let them govern themselves, and were content to trade with them, and to protect them. One would think my lords, there was some statute law, prohibiting us, under the severest penalties, to profit by experience.

My lords, I have ventured to lay my thoughts before you on the greatest national concern that ever came under your deliberation, with as much honesty as you will meet with from a bolder man; and with a melancholy assurance, that not a word of it will be regarded. And yet, my lords, with your permission, I will waste one short argument more on the same cause, one that I own I am fond of; and which contains in it, what I think, must affect every generous mind. My lords, I look upon North America as the only great nursery of freemen now left upon the face of the earth. We have seen the liberties of Poland and Sweden swept away, in the course of one year, by treachery and usurpation. The free towns in Germany are like so many dying sparks, that go out one after another; and which must all be soon extinguished under the destructive greatness of their neighbours. Holland is little more than a great trading company, with luxurious manners, and an exhausted revenue; with little strength and with less spirit. Switzerland alone is free and happy within the narrow inclosure of its rocks and vallies. As for the state of this country, my lords, I can only refer myself to your own secret thoughts. I am disposed to think and hope the best of public liberty. Were I to describe her according to my own ideas at present, I should say that she has a sickly countenance, but I trust she has a long constitution.

But whatever may be our future fate, the greatest glory that attends this country, a greater than any other nation ever acquired, is to have formed and nursed up, to such a state of happiness, those colonies whom we are now so eager to butcher. We ought to cherish them as the immortal monuments of our public justice and wisdom; as the heirs of our better days, of our old arts and manners, and of our expiring national virtues. What work of art, or power, or public utility has ever equalled the glory of having peopled a continent without guilt or bloodshed, with a multitude of free and happy commonwealths; to have given them the best arts of life and government; and to have suffered them under the shelter of our authority, to acquire in peace the skill to use them. In comparison of this, the policy of governing by influence, and even the pride of war and victory are dishonest tricks and poor contemptible pageantry.

We seem not to be sensible of the high and important trust which providence has committed to our charge. The most precious remains of civil liberty, that the world can now boast of, are now lodged in our hands; and God forbid that we should violate so sacred a deposit. By enslaving your colonies, you not only ruin the peace, the commerce, and the fortunes of both countries; but you extinguish the sacred hopes, that up the last asylum of mankind. I think, my lords, without being weakly superstitious, that a good man may hope that heaven will take part against the execution of a plan which seems big not only with mischief, but impiety.

Let us be content with the spoils, and the destruction of the east. If your lordships can see no impropriety in it, let the plunderer and oppressor still go free. But let not the love of liberty be the only crime you think worthy of punishment. I fear we shall soon make it a part of our natural character, to ruin every thing that has the misfortune to depend upon us.

No nation has ever before contrived, in so short a space of time, without any war or public calamity (unless unwise measures may be so called) to destroy such ample resources of commerce, wealth and power, as of late were ours, and which, if they had been rightly improved, might have raised us to a state of more honourable and more permanent greatness than the world has yet seen.

Let me remind the noble lords in administration, that before the stamp-act, they had power sufficient to answer all the just ends of government, and they were all completely answered. If that is the power they want, though we have lost much of it at present, a few kind words would recover it all.

But if the tendency of this bill is, as I own it appears to me, to acquire a power of governing them by influence and corruption; in the first place, my lords, this is not true government; but a sophisticated kind, which counterfeits the appearance, but without the spirit or virtue of the true: and then, as it tends to debase their spirits and corrupt their manners, to destroy all that is great and respectable in so considerable a part of the human species, and by degrees to gather them together with the rest of the world, under the yoke of universal slavery; I think, for these reasons, it is the duty of every wise man, of every honest man, and of every Englishman, by all lawful means, to oppose it.

L O N D O N, July 27.

It is currently said that the Prince of Orange has now 22,000 troops in the field, and that he is about to perform some very extraordinary manœuvre that will astonish all Europe.

The Spaniards, it is said, have been for some time past employed in stirring up the Algerines to commence hostilities against the English, and have agreed to give them every assistance. This they think, will provoke England to declare war against Spain; by which means the crafty Spaniards think they shall not incur the imputation of breaking the late articles of peace, and make the world believe, if they can, that England has broke faith with them.

We are informed from Scotland, that since the month of April, 52 people, on an average, embarked at the port of Greenock every week for America.

Three families of fortune in the province of Leinster, in Ireland, have actually sent a person to New-York and Maryland, to bring over an account of the land, the purchase of an estate, soil, and situation, as they intend going over to settle there. These families will be a considerable loss to that part of Ireland, as they maintain a number of dependents, and employ many labourers.

August 4. We hear from Dantzic that his Prussian Majesty has laid a new tax on all the corn mills in that country, which has caused much disturbance.

August 4. Yesterday a chapter of the noble order of the Bath was held at St. James's, when his Majesty was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on General George Howard and Col. John Blaquiere, and they were each accordingly invested with the ensigns of that most noble order.

They write from Petersburg, that her Imperial Majesty has lately signed an order to recall eleven noblemen from their banishment in Siberia, two of whom are upwards of four score years of age, and had resided there ever since 1748.

The king of France, as a proof of his intention to preserve the best understanding with our court, has lately given orders for all the subjects of Great Britain, who are imprisoned in any part of his dominions (except for debt) to be immediately discharged; and these orders are sent to all his most Christian Majesty's governors in the West Indies, America, and Asia, which are to be strictly complied with.

B O S T O N, Sept. 19.

The committee of the delegates from the several towns in the county of Suffolk, who presented the address to the governor (inserted in our last) on receiving his answer, met together, and having carefully perused the same, were unanimously of opinion, that his excellency's answer could not be deemed satisfactory to the county. And further, that his Excellency in his reply had been pleased to propose several questions, which, if unanswered by the committee, would leave on the minds of persons not fully acquainted with the state of facts, some very disagreeable impressions concerning the conduct and behaviour of the people in this county and province. And the following address was unanimously voted to his excellency.

May it please your Excellency.

THE answer you have been pleased to favour us with, to the address of this day presented to you, gives us satisfaction so far as it relates to your own intentions, and we thank your excellency for the declaration which you have made, that it is your duty and interest to encourage an intercourse between town and country, and we trust your indulgence whilst we modestly reply to the questions proposed in your answer. Your excellency is too well acquainted with the human heart

ent to year, or for a term of years.
beautiful seat of the honourable Fairfax, Esq; lying upon the Fairfax county, Virginia, about Alexandria. The mansion house is high, with four convenient stages on the lower floor, five on the second, and a servants' convenient offices, stables, and also a large and well furnished a great variety of valuable Appertaining to the tract on land, and which contains near in a manner by navigable double fisheries, and a good different parts, which may be ately, as shall be found more may be known of colour near the premises, or of me in S FRANCIS WILLIS, Jun.

REWARD.

erick county, August 3, 1774. from the subscriber, a centinel Joseph Barker, an English age; he is a well looking fellow, about 5 feet 10 inches high, with a reddish colored coat with a velvet cape, two white and with red, two pair of nan of old leather breeches, a pair of a pair of thread ditto, old e wears his own dark hair tied e is gone in company with e to me, as I have missed two, one of which is a large f, paces naturally; the other 4 hands and a half high, paces, low before, crest fallen, and the horses are both shod before. a half worn fiddle and curb is gone off the fore part of side. Whoever takes up said home to the subscriber, shall from home, 10 dollars, and an and the two horses, and for distance for the servant and f. RICHARD CRABB.

by give notice, that they in the veltry room near the church Calverton county, on Tuesday next, by eleven o'clock in and agree with any person or take to build, and in a work-leat and finish a new parilla and where the old church now should prove rainy on the day we will meet the next fair day. THOMAS JOHN CLAGETT, EDWARD GANTT, THOMAS REYNOLDS, CHARLES GRAHAME, WILLIAM IRELAND.

BLISHED.

William Aikman, bookseller and Mr. Annapolis, on the Boston port-bill; civil society and standing ard. Like wife,

LE, or the history of the husband Mr. Brooke, price 10s. It is monthly reviewers as a novel of merit, abounding with interesting kind, animated with the

of the best quality to be 35s. per dozen each; where, of a large assortment of

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on the 22th day of October vendue, at the plantation deceased, formerly lived, near the river,

slaves, consisting of men, women, cattle, horses, and household

WORTHINGTON, executrix.

Annapolis, August 29, 1774. this method to acquaint the bath declined the baking business to leave this province as soon as settled, requests all persons to speedy payment, and all those against him to send in their accounts settled by

JORDAN STEIGER.

een the 14th and 20th of July, on's ferry, opposite Alexandria, are, 5 or 6 years old, about 14 and canters well, her hind legs dragging them as the winks, takes up the said mare, and deam Herbert, merchant at Alexandria guinea; if stolen, for her and ion, three guineas. A

George-Town, in May last, a white star on her forehead on the tail, she was near cald with a large good strap fixed being broke hung down. Information of the said dog, to gain, to Mr. William Deakin, own, shall receive 20 Dollars. BAR. BOOTH.

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and SON.