

# NORTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE.

With the latest Advices, Foreign and Domestick.

SEMPER PRO LIBERTATE, ET BONO PUBLICO.

Governor JOHNSTONE'S SPEECH in the House of Commons, on Friday last, on the Question for employing 17,000 Men for the Land Service in 1775.

I THINK a true Determination upon this Question can only be made after knowing the Plan which the Gentlemen in Administration are resolved to pursue with Respect to American Affairs. It is now clear that the People of America, actuated with the same firm and resolute Spirit, and tinctured with the same Enthusiasm which enabled our Ancestors to withstand the unjust Claims of the Crown in the Days of Charles the First, are determined to resist the high Doctrines of Parliamentary Supremacy held forth by this Country, which must in its Consequences reduce their Liberties to a Level with the Colonies of France and Spain. If we are resolved to adhere to those incomprehensible Tenets, echoed with so much Applause in the last Parliament, and on the first Day of the present Session, nothing but the Sword can now decide the Contest. In that Event it is in vain to suppose, that the Peace Establishment of the Army now proposed will be sufficient; for every wise Man must foresee, that our Rivals in Europe cannot be idle Spectators in such a Scene. Supposing then a sufficient Force is employed to subdue the Americans, this Country must be left destitute of the necessary Defence. No Man is less desirous of augmenting a military Establishment than myself. I foresee that the Liberties of this Country must in the End fall a Sacrifice to the Power which has annihilated the Rights of Mankind in other States. Between the Danger from abroad, and the Danger from those who are to defend us, according to the present Establishments of Europe, the Situation is very nice. For my own Part, however, while the military System is interwoven into our Constitution in Time of Peace, Citizen and Soldier happily intermixing with each other in equal Privileges, yet upon an Invasion, or a civil War, when Men of high Minds come to assemble in military Camps, with their Weapons in their Hands, the Contagion of Power will soon spread; nevertheless we must maintain, though with a watchful Eye, a necessary Force for Defence in Case of Invasion. I speak as a Seaman, confident, that whenever France shall find an enterprising Officer, capable of conducting such an Attempt with Skill and Resolution, that the landing of an Army in this Country is not to be prevented by all the Ships we can arm, while the Elements continue so various, and the Distance so short. There are several Methods to accomplish this, which I shall not repeat here, from prudential Motives; but I am so convinced of the Truth of my Assertion, that I consider it as the Duty of every Man in this Country to be ready to dispute the Fate of this Kingdom on a Battle; and if we are left without a necessary Strength to support wavering Minds in such a Conjunction, while we are thinking of depriving our fellow Citizens of their just and legal Rights in America, we may, as a proper Punishment, lose our own. It is true, that by the present Vote we do not preclude ourselves from an Augmentation in the Course of the Session, in Case the Exigencies of the State shall require it, and so far I am willing to assent to the present Motion; but I beg Gentlemen in Administration will in the mean Time draw no Merit from proposing so low an Establishment, unless they intend to alter their Measures, since it is undoubtedly inadequate to our Situation; and I would likewise caution the laudable Interest not to plume themselves on the Escape they have made, since it is equally evident, a further Taxation, if not included in the general Vote of this Year, must be demanded by Extraordinaries, or a Vote of Credit to meet them next Session under the multiplied Expences of that Mode of raising Money.

With Regard to the Navy, I confess it to be extremely hard that the noble Lord should be attacked in the last Session of Parliament for too great Profusion, and blamed in this for the Reduction that was then deemed necessary: But I am not one of those who are captivated with a simple Proposition upon Paper, when all the Avenues of Extravagance are kept open; while the Situation of our Affairs, from the worst judged Policy, necessarily leads us to open these Sluices of Expence. It is therefore in vain to hold out economical Resolutions in our Votes, when our Conduct must produce a contrary

Effect. I hope, however, that the Sentiments of Gentlemen on the Subject of American Affairs begin to alter. I hope they will now see what Men, uncorrupted by the luxurious Vices of a great Capital, are capable of suffering in Support of essential Privileges; and that the flattering Expectations of losing America at our Feet, are now vanished.

To those who conceive that Men are to yield their Rights from Oppression and Distress, I would recall to their Memory the Sufferings of the late Parliament of Paris. The haughty Mind of a debauched Minister, and an imperious Chancellor, had induced the late King of France to violate all the ancient and established Privileges of that august Body, the only remaining Check against the Despotism of the Monarch. Even Men of Wit and Genius were found base enough to vilify the Claims of the Parliament; for I am sorry to observe, that Fortitude of Mind does not always accompany excellent Talents; and that many Men possessing those rare Gifts, are too often induced to lend their Ingenuity to the Hand that pays them, in Support of the Doctrines of the Day. Is it possible for any of the People of America to undergo greater Distress than those worthy Patriots in France have suffered? Deprived of their Offices and Subsistence, banished from their Friends, vilified by the Court, no Prospect of a Change, yet supported by Principle and a good Conscience, they have now seen their Day of Triumph, and felt the Reward of Virtue, securing to their Country, by their Perseverance, more essential Rights than have been obtained by three civil Wars. After such Concessions from the King of France, shall the King of Great-Britain be ashamed to yield to the Cries of two Millions of his Subjects.

I know all the Arguments which are used to entangle weak Men in Support of the present arbitrary Tenets on this Subject, and Men are confounded more than convinced. It is said that Legislation existing in the Parliament of Great-Britain, Taxation, which is a Part of Legislation, must necessarily be included. The various Privileges which subsist in every free State, are hardly to be determined by any reasoning *a priori*. Such Dilemmas occur on every Subject. Can any Position appear more ridiculous to those who maintain the Doctrines of virtual Representation, than that a Borough should send two Members to Parliament without House or Inhabitant? And that there are many who hear me, strenuous Advocates against American Charters, that hold their Seats in this House under such a vicious Representation. At the same Time I confess the Basis of the Constitution depends on preserving their Privileges entire, since no Man can say how far the Reform would reach; and the whole Art of Government consists in preserving to every one his established Rights. The most certain Science we know is Mathematicks; yet if I was to say to many Men, that two Lines may approach nearer and nearer to all Eternity, and never could meet, they would think the Assertion ridiculous and absurd. Nevertheless there is nothing so certain as the Truth of that Theorem. It is equally true that Legislation may exist without the Power of Taxation. The Kingdom of Ireland, within our own Dominion, is a Proof of what these learned Gentlemen assert to be so impossible. A worthy Member in my Eye, being pressed with this Argument in the last Session of Parliament, from the Fairness of his Mind, avowed as his Opinion, that we could tax Ireland. I remember there were some Gentlemen in the Gallery when this Declaration was made, whom I immediately perceived, by the Contortions in their Countenances, to be Irish Members. Next Day the Member chose to make some Apology to his Friends. He said no Parallel could be drawn between Ireland and the Colonies, for Ireland had a *paraphernalia*; and this satisfied both the English and Irish Members. For my Part, I do not see what Difficulty can occur in leaving the different Colonies on the same Footing of raising Money by Requisition as from the People of Ireland. If it is thought this Manner of raising Supplies might throw too much Power into the Hands of the Crown, that Power might be limited, so as not to be exerted except upon the Address of both Houses of Parliament, such as has been lately adopted respecting the Prerogative in regulating the Coin. I am still hopeful that the tense Chords on which our American Creed has been said and sung, will be relaxed. I perceive, I think, the Tone of the noble Lord is not so loud or so lofty as on some

former Debates on this Subject. I hope it does not proceed from Want of Health, in which Case no Man could feel more Sorrow for his Lordship than myself; but I hope it arises from a more serious and deep Reflection on the Subject, where his own good Sense has had Room to operate, free from those violent Associates who seem to have precipitated his Lordship into such rash and cruel Measures, contrary to his own natural good Temper. Here then I shall conclude as I set out, hoping that generous, just, pacific Measures will be adopted; but still insisting, that no Man can determine properly on the Number of Forces to be employed, until we know the Measures that are to be pursued respecting the Americans.

## L O N D O N,

December 21. The Report from the Committee of Ways and Means being made Yesterday in the House of Commons, on putting the Question for agreeing to the Land Tax of three Shillings in the Pound, Mr. Hartley, Member for Kingston, &c. and after remarking upon the alarming Accounts from the Congress in America, wished that the Determination of the Question might be postponed till after the Holidays; as it was impossible to determine what Measures were meant to be pursued with Respect to America, till it was known what Part Administration meant to take; no one could say whether the Peace Establishment, now proposed, and in Part agreed to, was a proper one or not. This introduced a spirited Debate, in which Mr. T. Townshend, Mr. Rigby, Sir William Meredith, and Mr. Cornwall had a considerable Share; but Mr. Burke took much longer than the Rest, and most pathetically lamented the Situation of America, highly ridiculed the Conduct of Administration, and placed the Situation of General Gage in a clear and distinct View. He observed, that he knew not for what Purpose Administration had sent an Army there; but that if it was judged expedient at all, it should have been an Army of Execution, not an Army of Observation. That the General in his last Letters had represented himself as being at once besieged and behewing; that he complained his Cannon had been stolen, and other Insults offered to the Troops; but that he had the Happiness to command a patient Army; on the Idea of a patient Army the honourable Member expatiated with great Freedom, and kept to his Point, that if an Army was at all necessary, it should be executive; but that he knew no Business General Gage had there in so lamentable a Situation; that if he shed a Drop of Blood of his Fellow Subjects, he would open the Sluices for a Torrent on both Sides, and God knows where it might end; while on the other if he did not, he must be exposed with his Army to such a Tameness and Patience as no Army ever shewed before. He observed, that they had a Speech breathing nothing but War with America, for which Thanks were likewise to be given. On the Whole, the Gentlemen on this Side the Question, apprehensive that a Vote of Credit might be moved for at the Close of the Session, were willing to postpone the Resolution concerning the Land Tax till after the Holidays, when being better informed of the State of our own Country, they might be enabled to judge of the Prudence of having reduced the Navy Establishment, and of the Sufficiency or Insufficiency of the proposed Land Tax Aid of 3s.

On the other Hand, Sir William Meredith complained of the Impropriety of the present Conversation tending to inflame the Minds of the People, by furnishing Matter for the Newspapers; wished it had been avoided, as the Gentlemen had no Proposition to offer, and then justifying the Measures already taken by Administration. He observed, in reply to Mr. Burke, that General Gage had been sent to Boston for three very good Purposes; first, to protect the Magistrates; secondly, to protect the Property of the Merchants, which had been grossly violated; thirdly, to enforce the Execution of the Acts of the British Parliament, which Points he had in a great Measure accomplished; and he added, that such Steps would not have been necessary if the declaratory Bill and repealing the Stamp Act had never been brought into that House. Mr. Burke retorted, that if the declaratory Act was the accused Thing that had caused all the Mischief, they had nothing to do but to toss it overboard. For his Part, he was ready to sacrifice every Thing for Peace with America; but he still was of Opinion General Gage and his Troops had no Business at Boston;