

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 contained in a Pamphlet just published, and intitled, A Summary View of the Rights of British America.

To the KING.

SIRE,

HERE is not a Man of Thought in the whole Nation, who does not espouse 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 Europe. The Times are big with great Events. What will be the Consequence, it is not in human Sagacity to foresee. 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 second 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 Distress, 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 at once taken off by the Evidence of the Things themselves, and the transcendent Interest that every Man has in them. Of the Abuse of coming on the weighty Affairs of State; of the Artifice, Cunning, Address, and Subtlety 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 supposed as corroborative of the System, many are so liable to judge as any Minister employed in his Majesty's service. Those, 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 Regum; we can judge of them; and have a fair, unobscured, constitutional Right, as free Subjects, who claim Liberty by Birth-right, and enjoy it by the Laws, to apply these Principles to the present Conduct of your Majesty's Ministers. And, in Justice to our Country, and ourselves, and that Posterity 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 Freedoms of Englishmen, are in open Violation of the unalienable Laws of Equity and Justice; and unparalelled Infractions upon the Principles, and constitutional Laws of this free State; that to say, that every Idea of good Policy is sacrificed to maintain and support the most vicious and dangerous System that ever intimated Despotism pursued.

Problems were the Hope, that these few Pages will effect, what the sagacious Councils, the most considerate 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 Perusal, either by your Majesty, or your Ministers, should, for a Moment, suspend their fatal Councils, or Deliberations which are now taking, or seem systematically planned to overturn American Liberty, I should think my Labours well rewarded. God is my Witness, that I wish not these Things to excite Rebellion, 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 wisely. 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. If at any Time we met their innocent Infirmities, that Pity has long ago been converted into Abhorrence from the Wickedness of their Councils, and the Injustice of their Decisions. By their Breaches upon your Prerogative, Sir, they have broken down the legal Barriers of the Constitution; and by the Dissolution of Government; they have changed, or attempted to change lawful Possession into arbitrary Dominion; and, in the mad Career, they may endeavour to make their Sovereign dispense 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. Those cruel, inexpedient, tyrannical Measures, which first they adopted, respecting America, notwithstanding 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 Intolerance was Integrity, and open Oppression State Necessity. Their System is not only manifestly repugnant to the Laws of this State, but it runs counter to the whole Stream of Authority, 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 Violence and Oppression, have been crowned with Success; and, without Impiety, whatever Doctrines concerning Providence may prevail at Court, we attribute such Success to the Interposition of Heaven; and to Heaven the Americans now appeal. And, would to God that any Accommodation could soften those Rigours which your Majesty's Ministers seemed determined to pursue. But it seems that no Equivalent but Liberty will be accepted. Let us then, Sir, for the affronts which the honest Struggles for Freedom have given; under the Pretence of Law, natural Justice and equity all 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 Council.—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! as Tyrants ever do, justify their Oppressions, by the Resistance they have met with; and perhaps have imposed upon their Prince, by talking of the Satisfaction which the Honour and Dignity of the Crown should receive upon their supposed Violation. Sir! the Dignity and Honour of the Crown; but let your Ministers beware that they do not sacrifice your Crown to the vain, and impracticable Schemes of satisfying its Honour, and maintaining its Dignity. I will boldly affirm, Sir, that if the Dignity and Honour of the Crown are to be purchased at the Rate your Ministers seem to estimate them, that the Price will be held too dear by every good and virtuous Man in the Nation.

And here, Sir! pause—Disappoint your Ministers, and graffy Millions of your Subjects.—The Americans have not as yet revolted.—They have not thrown off their Allegiance.—Their Submission is so habitual, that it cannot easily be dispensed with. Do them but Justice, and they will esteem it an Act of Grace. They will call that a Favour now, which hereafter they will claim as their Right. What they now demand, the following Pages, which, with all due Submission, I offer to your Majesty, will declare.—I hereto they have kept themselves within proper Limits; and have extended their Requests no farther than they were countenanced by the Laws, and that friendly Protection, which, from our Country, they had Reason to expect. But further Opinions, Sir, may probably change their Mode of Suit. Allegiance will sometimes relax its Submission. Wisdom itself does not intermeddle in the Regulation of Extremities; and what can moderate the Conduct of Despair?—When Danger surrounds Men, they are not very nice in the Methods of Salvation. And the only Means of extricating themselves, will appear the Right.—When our Brethren rise up to oppress us, it is pardonable and reasonable, to throw our- selves upon the Mercy of our Country for Protection.

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.

Mr. Speaker,

RISE 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 Excess which has often led their own Ancestors into Indiscretion.

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 sought a Sanctuary in the unexplored Regions of that; there they peacefully cleared their inhospitable Wilds, cultivated