

# NORTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE.

With the latest Advices, Foreign and Domestick.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS, Feb. 27.  
Honourable HENRY TEMPLE LUTTRELL'S  
Speech on AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

**U**PON a former Occasion I presumed to state a few of my Sentiments to the House, relative to the War impending over the American Colonies. I was then, Sir, not answerable to my own Feelings. I thought I could not answer it to my own Country, had I neglected, at the very earliest Moment that might offer, to declare my utter Abhorrence of those unconstitutional, arbitrary, and diabolical Projects, devised by his Majesty's Ministers for the Destruction of that unhappy People.

I flatter myself a certain illustrious Character may soon be left out of this opprobrious List of Projectors; there seems to be a divine Gleam of Radiance shining round his Temples; and I foresee almost, if not altogether, as marvellous a Conversion into the right Path, as that which happened in Days of Yore to the great Persecutor of the Christian Followers on the Plains of Damascus.

To what black Storm in the political Firmament we are indebted for this sudden Change, I, Sir, move in too contracted a Sphere to discover; but the noble Lord will allow me to tender him my hearty Congratulations, that he is at length awakened to that Clemency, and to that Justice, which will best agree with the innate Temper of his Heart. There is a long Line of Statesmen seated in Arm Array not far from your Chair, who have, ever since the Birth of this Parliament, uniformly strook (and I am sure their Consciences always must think, whatsoever their Politics or their Eloquence may do) from the great American Question; they have withheld to deter to the latest Hour possible. Discussions of this critical Topic, in Hopes, as they term it, to learn what is actually doing on the other Side of the Atlantic. Sir, I can inform them, there rises not a Sun in that Hemisphere but sets to such additional Grievances and Outcries, as the most soothing future Concessions, the most exemplary future Sacrifices on your Part, will scarce be able to atone for.

However grating to the Ears of some Individuals the subject may be, I shall take the Liberty, with the Indulgence of the House, to affirm, that these Measures of compelling the Americans by Force of Arms to acknowledge the paramount and unlimited Authority of Parliament, in the Taxation of their Property, a Property created by their Faculties, and by their Industry, are not just, are not politic, are not practicable, but a traitorous Infringement on the Constitution of the Colonies, which rests upon the same fundamental Principles that uphold the Property and uphold the Franchises of every Native of this Island.

Sir, I ever will contend, that the united Parliaments of England and Scotland cannot legally impose a Tax on the Subjects in any other Part of the British Dominions, without the Consent of such Subjects, either by themselves in Person, or by their Representatives. Let the Champions of Despotism avail themselves of all their Knowledge and Sophistry, I will venture to maintain this Proposition, not arrogantly presuming on my Talents or Skill to manage it, but on its own clear intrinsic Merits, and the Conviction that to every dispassionate Mind must naturally result from its Investigation.

The Coercion proposed militates against the Privileges of all Emigrants of their Description, from the Time of the patriarchal Disjunctions to this Day; Emigrants who carried with them (as their *Penates*) certain inherent Rights natural to Mankind, immutable and unalienable; confirmed to them for an Heritage, by that blessed Constitution of Saxon Contexture under which they were born.

Laws established on first Necessity, and Impotence between them and the present State, either by express or tacit Assent, were not of an universal, indefinite Obligation, they were of a *fiduciary* Nature, (of the Nature of a Trust) adapted to the comparative State of the contracting Parties, for the Purpose of temporary Expedience, and must of Course vary conformable to such other relative Alterations as Lapse of Time, and the Vicissitude of human Affairs may effect.

Acts of Parliaments, or other diplomatic Titles, may be produced to shew a formal, and perhaps uncontroverted Assumption of Power at some given

Period of Time, but will not countervail the primeval and indefeasible Rights of Mankind, whenever such Rights shall be asserted by a clear major Part of the Community. On *this* Ground, and *this* Ground only, rests our spiritual Form under Harry the VIIIth, and that most glorious of all civil Revolutions—the Revolution by which James II. lost the Throne of these Realms.

Those Gentlemen who plead for Omnipotence of Parliaments, and the Infallibility of their Codes, should advert to the many absurd, contradictory Positions and Doctrines laid down during the Contention of the several Predecessors of the Plantagenet Line, and afterwards of the Heires of the House of Tudor.

In Fact, Sir, your Statutes of those Days borrowed too frequently their Maxims and Complexion from whatsoever Brow might happen to be encircled with the regal Diadem. In the Reign of King Richard II. a Law passed to transfer the Power of both Houses of Parliament to twelve Barons. By an Act under one of the Henries, the King's Proclamation, with the Consent of his privy Council, was thenceforward to carry with it the Force and Efficacy of a Law of the Land. And we all know that the Parliament of 1641 voted itself perpetual, never to be dissolved or prorogued but by its own Consent; and the Act read by, an honourable Member to the Committee on the present Resolution, and which he treated with so much Deference, because it declared the People of the Massachusetts-Bay in a State of Revolt, was passed by this immaculate Parliament.

Now, Sir, let us suppose (what in these our uncorrupt Days there can be no Reason to apprehend) that a Statute should be procured by some future Minister and Minion of the Sovereign, vesting the whole legislative, as well as executive Power in the Crown, totally to abolish both Houses of Parliament: would such Statute be binding on the Subject throughout Great-Britain and America? All Persons have natural Rights, a free People have legal Rights, independent of Parliamentary Edicts, and of which no Form of Government whatever can deprive them. Laws not founded on constitutional Justice, are in themselves null and void: nor are the Makers of them Legislators, but Usurpers.

A very wise and learned Writer (Judge Blackstone) has in his Commentaries the following Passage: "If the Sovereign Power advance with gigantic Strides to threaten Desolation to a State, Mankind will not be reasoned out of the Feelings of Humanity, nor will sacrifice their Liberty in a scrupulous Adherence to those political Maxims, which were originally established to preserve that Liberty."

If the Powers and Pretensions of a few Adventurers and Fugitives, occupying about two Centuries ago a small Corner of a graceless Desert, and possessed of none of the good Things of this Life, are to ascertain the Powers and Pretensions of three Millions of People, spread over a Land flowing with Milk and Honey; and 1000 Leagues in Circumference, they may, with the same Justice and Propriety, be brought two Centuries hence to ascertain the Rights and Pretensions of thirty Millions, when the Inhabitants of this diminutive Isle shall scarce reach a fourth Part of that Number; neither can I own such Disparity in the Calculation of Increase to be at all exaggerated, if we consider the various Drains from this Country, and the daily Influx of Persons of both Sexes at the very Meridian of Life into those inviting Regions; besides, new Settlers usually restrict themselves to Hunting and Agriculture, to Toils which afford Vigour to the Body, and Enterprize to the Mind. They live on plain, wholesome Diet; their Progeny is healthful, and of boundless Increase; whereas in Nations that have reached their full Zenith of Luxury, the Mass of the People are occupied at sedentary Arts and Manufactures, drawing in from Morn to Eve, an impure confined Atmosphere, or brooding over unwholesome Furnaces; hence the vital Stamina are hurt, the Appetites soon appeald, the Spirits easily depressed; they become enfeebled ere the Sand of their mortal Glass be half run out; their Offspring is feeble and emaculate.

America has been loudly charged with Ingratitude towards the Parent Country, from whom she received Protection during the late Conflict of War. 'Tis not quite clear how far the Balance of that Account is in her Disfavour. However, she cannot be so ignorant of the real Springs of War or Peace,

as to persuade herself that your numerous embattled Legions, under triumphant Fleets sent to her Coasts, were supplied purely from Motives of parental Affection, or sympathetic Benevolence. Had, Sir, that vast Territory been planted with Portuguese Scions, instead of those from your own Stock, ponderating as the political Scales of Europe then were, would you not have afforded to a People, in their natural and moral Character as far from Union from yourselves as discord is from Harmony, an equal Supply of Men and Treasure? Remember, Sir, your Prowels at the Eve of that same War, near the Banks of the Tagus.

The Love or Enmity of one People to another, cannot be estimated by their occasional Alliances, Compacts or Guarantees, as a Body Politic. It is but a Century ago that our English Brigades served with unparalleled Ardor in the Army of that arch Enemy to civil and religious Liberty, Lewis XIV. of France; the execrated Revocator of the Edict of Nantz; the Aspirer to universal Despotism. We served, Sir, against a People whose Tolerance and Charity of Religion, whose whole System and Freedom of Government we at that very Time held in emulative Veneration; a People whose Assistance we supplicated and obtained, scarce twenty Years after, to deliver us from monarchical Tyranny.

Such Coercion were highly impolitic, because it is from the Prosperity, Peace and Contentment, of her Colonies, that Resources of Wealth and Laurels of Honour are won to a Mother Country. History teaches us that Populousness and Affluence are the Product of that Clime alone, where the People may reap in Security a full Harvest of their Labour; where they have Affluence in their Leaders and Governors; where no Exactions are inflicted by an alien Hand; where the municipal, if not the imperial Jurisdiction, together with the Power of levying Taxes, are vested in Substitutes of their own free Choice or Approbation.

That saying of a Despot, "*Oderint dum metuant*," may be applicable to the thwarting Sons of the opposite Division of the Globe; but, Sir, it will never accord with the Sentiments of our Brethren in America.

Threats and Violence used against Hearts of the same sturdy Temper with your own, must induce the most calamitous Events to both Parties. There will be Seeds of equal Courage and Perseverance found in the one Battle as in the other, with this Difference at the Onset, that the Arm of the aggrieved is usually braced to bolder, more decisive Efforts of Rage and Despair, than that of the Aggressor. "*Aquila non generant Columbas*." Let us, Sir, rather rejoice that our Breed has not degenerated; that these Colonists have a Sense of rational Freedom, becoming the Sons of such high mettled Progenitors.

Will would it answer your Purpose to bring their Bodies under a short-lived Subjection, and to leave impressed upon their Minds an unabating Rancour and Aptness for Revolt.

Revenge is an unchristian Passion, yet how rarely do we find the human Soul possessed of a sublimer Heroism, without this Alloy.

Neither, Sir, am I altogether unacquainted with the People of whom I am now speaking. Curiosity incited me to travel many Hundreds of Miles along their flourishing and hospitable Provinces. I found in most of them the Spartan Temperance, in many the Urbanity of Athens; and notwithstanding the base and groundless Imputations on their Spirit, which the cankered Tongue of Prejudice and Slander has with so licentious a Virulence here poured forth against them, they will, I am confident, if set to the Proof, evince the Roman Magnanimity, ere Rome fell under sceptered Usurpation. But, Sir, if a foreign Enemy should appear at your Gates, and you need their Assistance, will there then be found among them many a Coriolanus? He stands single as a Prodigy of Forgiveness, in the Annals of a People whose Attachment to their native Land was carried to the utmost Height of Enthusiasm. How soon that foreign Enemy may appear at your Gates, I know not. According to the horological Predictions of a most enlightened State Soothsayer, we have about seven Years more of profound Tranquillity with the House of Bourbon to trust to; but, from the Symptoms of our domestic Distractions, and the improved State of the Government and Finances of our Neighbours, I should judge it prudent to be somewhat better provided than we are at present for an early