

NORTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE.

With the latest ADVICES, FOREIGN and DOMESTIC.

SEMPER PRO LIBERTATE, ET BONO PUBLICO.

To the EARL of CARLISLE.

MY LORD,

AS you, in conjunction with your brother commissioners, have thought proper to make one more fruitless negotiatory essay, permit me, through your lordship, once more to address the brotherhood. It is certainly to be lamented that gentlemen, so accomplished, should be so unfortunate. Particularly, my lord, it is to be regretted that you should be raised up as the topstone to a pyramid of blunders.

On behalf of America, I have to entreat that you will pardon their Congress for any want of politeness in not answering your letter. You may remember, that in their last letter they stated certain terms as preliminaries to a negotiation; and I am sure your lordship's candour will do them the justice to acknowledge that they are not apt to tread back the steps they have taken.— In addition to this it so happens that they are at present very indifferent whether or not your king and parliament acknowledge their independence, and still more indifferent as to the withdrawing his fleets and armies.

You mistake the matter exceedingly when you suppose that any person in America wishes to prolong the calamities of war. No, my lord, we have had enough of them in all conscience; but the fault lies with you or your master, or some of the people he has about him. Congress, when Sir William Howe landed on Staten Island, met him with their declaration of independence.— They adhered to it, in the most perilous circumstances. They put their lives upon the issue, nay their honour. Now, in the name of common sense, how can you suppose they will relinquish this object in the present moment?

I am fully of your lordship's opinion when you decline any dispute with Congress about the meaning of the term independence. They would have infinite advantage over you logically; but what is worse, they are politically, in capacity, to put upon the term just what construction they please. Nay, my lord, eventually Great Britain must acknowledge just such an independence as Congress think proper; they are now in the full possession and enjoyment of it. How idle in you to talk of ensuring or enlarging what is out of your power, and cannot be increased!

You give two reasons for not withdrawing your fleets and armies. The first is, that you keep them here by way of precaution against your ancient enemies. Really, my lord, I was at a loss for some time to comprehend the force of this reasoning, or how a body of men in this country, and a large fleet, could protect you against an invasion from France; and I am even now perhaps mistaken when I suppose that your sea and land forces have been kept here to draw the attention of your enemies to this quarter, and leave their coast exposed, that so you may have an opportunity of invading France. If this was the object; it hath had the desired effect. Your armies are doubtless assembled in readiness for the descent, which, considering the unprovided state of that country, cannot but prove successful; and therefore I congratulate your lordship on the fair prospect you enjoy of seeing your sovereign make his triumphant entry through the gates of Paris.

Your second reason for staying here is to protect the tories.—

Pray, my lord, ease your mind upon that subject. Let them take care of themselves. The little ones may be pardoned, whenever they apply. The great ones have joined you from conscientious or from interested motives. The first, in having done what they thought right, will find sufficient comfort. The last deserve none. I offer you this consolation, my lord, because we both know that you cannot protect the tories, and because there is every reason to believe that you cannot protect yourselves.

You have, it seems, determined your judgment by what you conceive to be the interest of your country, and you propose to abide by your declarations in every possible situation. I rather imagine that you are determined by your instructions; but if otherwise, surely, my lord, you are not to learn that circumstances may materially alter the interest of your country and your conceptions of it. The decision of some military events, which you did not wait for, would put you in a situation to speak to Congress in much more decent terms than those contained in your last letter.

But you want to know, my lord, what treaties we have entered into. In pity to your nerves, Congress have kept back this knowledge. It will make the boldest among you tremble. As we are not about to negotiate at present, there is no need of the communication. However, to satisfy your curiosity as far as an individual can, I pray you to recollect, that the marquis de Noailles told you his court, when they formed an alliance with America, had taken eventual measures. You cannot but know that a French fleet is now hovering on the coast near you. Draw your own conclusions, my lord.

It is a most diverting circumstance to hear you ask Congress what power they have to treat, after offering to enter into treaty with them, and being refused. But I shall be glad to know by what authority you call on them for this discovery. The Count de Vergennes had a right to it, but the earl of Carlisle certainly has not. Let me add, my lord, that in making the request there is a degree of asperity not suited to your situation. When you were in the arms of victory, we pardoned an insolence which had become habitual to your nation. We shall reserve it if preserved when you are reduced to the lowest pitch of wretchedness. But in the present moment, when you certainly cannot terrify, and have not suffered so as to deserve pity, such language is quite improper; and it forces from me certain facts which I am sorry to mention, as they show your matters to be wicked beyond all example.

When they found that an alliance was actually on the carpet between his most christian majesty and these states, they offered to cede a part of the East Indies, to give equal privileges to the African trade, and to divide the fisheries, provided they might be at liberty to ravage America. And when that would not do, they told the French ministry that it was absurd to treat with Congress; that they were faithless; nay, that the bargain was actually struck for the purchase of America, and money, to the amount of half a million, sent over to pay the price. These, my lord, are facts—facts which will hang up to eternal infamy the names of your rulers. The French, my lord, laughed at the meanness and falsehood of these declarations. But they suffer