

North-Carolina And Wilmington



GAZETTE; Weekly Post-Boy.

Printed by Andrew Stewart; by whom Sub-
per Annum: — Advertisements of a mo-
is for each Continuance. — Blank Inf-

scriptions for this Paper are taken in at a re-
derate Length, inserted at 45 last Time, and
truments of all Sorts done by said Stewart.

From the NEW-YORK GAZETTE.

Our readers always expect to be entertained with the
very freshest advices from England, the late arrivals of
several vessels from thence, have laid us under a necessity
of deferring the publication of several pieces, some of
which are of considerable length, on the rights and op-
pression of the Colonies, this delay has occasioned the
following letter from the author of one of them,

To the PRINTER.

OUR delay in publishing the piece I sent, is
occasion'd, you say, by want of room — I
would just hint to you, that at the same time
you make this apology, many articles of no
great importance appear in your papers;
whereas the subject of my piece is a matter of the utmost
consequence to every man in the English dominions, more
especially in America. When the power which should nat-
urally protect and defend us, is employed to oppress us in
our dearest rights, and deprive us of that liberty which
the constitution of England entitles us to, which God has
established in the very frame of our natures, and made our
indefeasible right of inheritance, which it is our duty to esteem
more than life itself; — When these rights are invaded,
without any other reason than the arbitrary will of the power
that does it, which our present weakness makes us unable to
resist; — at such a time, should we bear our wrongs in sil-
lence? should we suffer the cruel violation without complain-
ing, and remonstrating, and using every effort to awaken
the latent principles of justice and compassion, in those who
have the power in their hands, at present, and will one day
be accountable for every stroke? Would not our silence at
such a time imply a criminal insensibility, or indifference, about
the possession of one of the most valuable gifts of God, and
show us to be unworthy to enjoy it? And would it not be a
great and a mortal breach of duty to posterity, if we by our indol-
ence, suffer those rights which ought to be transmitted to
them inviolate, as we received them from our ancestors, to
be lost in passing thro' our hands? It fills me with the most
anxious concern, to find — not only a general indolence for
the preservation of liberty — but a seeming combination
against it, — while every tongue and pen, and press, should
labour in defence of it — how many do we find as indiffer-
ent as if they had no concern in the matter; and as if be-
cause they are only passengers, they would not be drowned
when the ship sinks, as well as those that are employed in
managing the vessel. How many do we find, who, because
they were not born Americans, seem to interest themselves
against it, as if the attacks made upon their rights, did not
equally wound those of every subject of Great Britain, tho'
they may not all so immediately feel it. How do most of
the letters from the merchants in London show the writers to
be in the interest of the ministry, and give us reason to be-
lieve them to be employ'd as their instruments, to spread in
the Colonies a spirit of acquiescence under the slavery to which
they seem to be devoted: How do they, upon all occasions,
repeat the trivial, absurd, falacious arguments of the mini-
sterial party, — and alas! what a restraint has immediately
taken place upon the freedom of the presses! — At first
they ventur'd a few complaints, but most of them presently
fell into silence, and were heard no more — unless to express
sentiments tending to check the spirit of liberty, and court
the favour of its enemies. However, Sir, I would not let
my censures fall indiscriminately, — from some presses — from
yours in particular, the language of liberty has hitherto
had free utterance, and I hope may still be heard. But I
apprehend the same reason that has hitherto prevented your
publishing my piece, may still prevent it, unless it be by
piece meal, in such a manner that the connection and force
of my reasoning will be lost to the reader. I have therefore
concluded to desist from my first design of publishing my
sentiments at large in your paper, but perhaps I may here-
after let them appear in a pamphlet, where I shall have more
room to explain myself. Mean while, to prevent the mis-
takes of weak people, and of those who will not be as much

pains to think for themselves, I shall in as few words as pos-
sible, give the substance of some parts of the argument I had
drawn up more at large against the ministerial pretences of
taxing the colonies, &c.

I observed that it was admitted in parliament, even by the
greatest enemies to the colonies, that they had in the fullest
sense, a right to be taxed only by their own consent, given
by their representatives. But it was said by these gentlemen,
that the colonies were virtually represented by the English
parliament — Here let the reader note well, That the mi-
nister grounds his pretence of the parliament's right to tax
the colonies entirely upon this, THAT THEY WERE VIRTU-
ALLY REPRESENTED IN PARLIAMENT: If therefore he
fails in the proof of their being so represented, he must, by
his own argument, give up the point, and allow that the
parliament has no manner of right to tax the colonies.

Now, in order to prove this paradox, (upon which the
whole weight of his argument depends) "That the colonies
are virtually represented in the English parliament, it is said,
that they are in the very same situation as the inhabitants of
Leeds, Halifax, Birmingham, Manchester, and several other
corporate towns, some of them much more considerable than
any in the colonies. Also, of the East-India company, the
body of the London merchants, the proprietors of the pub-
lic funds, and of all the monied interest; of all persons un-
der age, and of women: LIKEWISE, of all copy-hold, and
lease-hold estates, under the crown, the church, or private
persons, and all landed property whatsoever, except free-
hold: The right of electing, he says, being annexed to cer-
tain species of property, peculiar franchises, and inhabitancy
in particular places; which descriptions do not comprehend
any of the places or persons before-mentioned, nor above
one tenth part of the people in England, any more than they
do the colonies; and yet that all those places and persons,
together with the colonies, are virtually represented in par-
liament, where the electors are to be consider'd by the mem-
bers chosen, only as the means appointed by law for their
admission into the legislative body of the nation, the object
of whose attention should be the interest of the whole, with-
out any partial regard to the particular persons by whom
they were chosen." — This is the sum of the argument, to
show that the colonies are represented in parliament; and I
observed, that if on examination it appears that the fore-
going cases in England, which are cited to justify the tax-
ation in America, are no way similar to it, nor any thing
at all to the purpose; but that such an encroachment upon
private property is entirely unprecedented by any similar
taxation in England, is indefensible by the principles of the
English constitution, and absolutely inconsistent with it —
then the necessary consequence is, that the taxation is arbi-
trary and tyrannical, and what the parliament in England
have no right to impose.

I observed that the fundamental principle of the English
laws and constitution, is REASON, and NATURAL RIGHT,
which is always, in apparent cases, to controul the errors
and mistakes that human frailty or inadvertency may occasion
in the acts of the legislature; who, tho' they have a power
to make laws, have no power of execution — This it is
that stamps the principal — the inestimable value upon the
English constitution, and makes it worth defending with
our dearest blood. It has within itself a principle of self-
preservation, and correction, and improvement.

I observe that the English laws, especially where our
rights and liberties are more immediately concerned, are al-
ways to be understood in a sense consistent with the princi-
ples and spirit of the constitution, according to reason and
common sense — that our adherence to the English consti-
tution, and obedience to its laws and government is on account
of its real excellency, and the advantages we actually enjoy
under it. It is not the mere name of English Rights and
Property, that can satisfy us. But it is an actual use and
enjoyment of the Reality, that we claim as our inheritance,
and would defend with our lives.

When the minister tells us, "that we have a right to be
"taxed only by our own consent," are we to understand