

THE MARYLAND GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, MARCH 3, 1768.

THIS is to give Notice to all Gentlemen, and others, That the Subscriber, who has, for several Years past, sent Mr. William Reynolds, a Hottler, has now rented his Stables, where he proposes (as he is furnished with every necessary Article in that Way) to keep a LIVERY STABLE; and hopes he will be enabled to give the utmost Satisfaction to any Person that may please to employ him in the above Way.

PETER HARTLAND.

EIGHT POUNDS REWARD.

STOLEN from ONIEL's Storehouse Door, in BALTIMORE-TOWN, on Saturday the 26th Day of December last, after Sun-set, a large roan HORSE, about 15 Hands high, with a Switch Mane and Tail; has lately had the Ailment, and is madd'd thereby under the off Side; he has been rowell'd in the off Flank, where the Hair is not yet grown. He had on a Bridle and Saddle, and Two Wallers, one of which contained 25 lb. of brown Sugar, and 3 Towels.

Whoever takes up said Horse, and brings him to the Subscriber, living in Anne-Arundel County, about 16 Miles from Baltimore-Town, shall receive a Reward of THREE POUNDS, and FIVE POUNDS for the Thief, paid by

NATHAN DORSEY.

WHEREAS a Packet of Letters, directed to Ebenezer Philpot, was, about the Middle of August last, delivered to the Skipper of a Boat, belonging to the Cheptank, bound for Baltimore, by Captain Fox from the West-Indies, then lying in Chester-River; which said Packet has never been received. I shall therefore be obliged to any Person, into whose Hands it may have fallen, that they will send the same to me, as it contains Papers of some Consequence.

MARY PHILPOT.

WHEREAS my Wife, RUTH WRIGHT, hath for some Time eloped from me, and hath frequently complained that I turned her away, and that she was apprehensive of violent Usage from me. I hereby publicly declare, that the last of her own Will, and that her Apprehensions are absolutely groundless, and that I am willing to receive her again, and to live with her in all that Harmony and Concord, which should subsist between Man and Wife.

THOMAS WRIGHT.

STRAY'D or STOLEN from Elk-Ridge Landing, sometime in November last, a small-bay HORSE, about 13 and an Half Hands high. He has a large Star in his Forehead, a Snip on his Nose, and a small Blaze down his Face, a hanging Mane; he trots and gallops, has one of his hind Feet white, and is branded on the near Buttock and Shoulder, thus, PW, (joined together).

Whoever brings the said Horse home, shall receive FORTY SHILLINGS Reward, on applying to the Subscriber, living on Elk-Ridge.

THOMAS WHITE, Son of JAMES.

INTEND to Let, for a Term of Years, (and will give Possession either the ensuing Spring or Fall) about 500 Acres of Land, on the Side of the Eastern Branch of Patowmack River, at navigable Water, five Miles from Bladenburgh, the same Distance from Georgetown, and Eight Miles by Water from Alexandria; about 150 Acres are improveable Tide Marsh, 20 Acres of which are banked in, and has yielded, by Estimation, 100,000 lb. of Hay, yearly, for Four Years, and the Price of Hay, at the Towns above-mentioned, has always been 4 s. per 1000 lb. I shall reserve about 20 Acres to remain in Woods; so that there will be about 170 Acres of level Land to work besides the Meadow. There are 14 Buftels of Wheat, and 15 and an Half of Rye, sowed, and about 30 Acres of fresh ground for Corn. The Buildings are sufficient, and the Fences are in fine Order. I intend also to let five Settlements, of about 100 Acres each, in the Woods, Part of the same Tract. I want to sell 1500 Acres of Land, 30 Miles from George-Town, near Patowmack River; 300 of which is the low Ground, with a large Plantation on it. The rest is Wood Land, good Soil, level, and clear of Stones, and there is no good Spring on the Land. Also about 1500 Acres of Wood Land, 3 Miles higher. The Soil is good, as level as common, and well watered. The Purchaser may have Credit, on paying Interest.

RICHARD HENDERSON.

GREEN, at the PRINTING-HOUSE, 6 d. a Year; ADVERTISEMENTS, 1 Week's Continuance. Long Ones Printed, most kinds of BLANKS, and all Sorts, with their proper BONDS, and of PRINTING-WORK performed

LETTERS from a FARMER in PENNSYLVANIA, to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies.

LETTER XI.

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN, HAVE several Times, in the Course of these Letters, mentioned the late Act of Parliament, as being the Foundation of future Measures injurious to these Colonies; and the Belief of this Truth I wish to prevail, because I think it necessary to our Safety.

A perpetual Jealousy, respecting Liberty, is absolutely requisite in all free States. The very Texture of their Constitution, in mixed Governments, demands it. For the Caution with which Power is distributed among the several Orders, imply, that each has that Share which is proper for the general Welfare, and therefore that any further Acquisition must be pernicious. Machiavel employs a whole Chapter in his Discourses, to prove that a State, to be long lived, must be frequently corrected, and reduced to its first Principles. But of all States that have existed, there never was any, in which this Jealousy could be more proper than in these Colonies. For the Government here is not only mixed, but dependent, which Circumstance occasions a Peculiarity in its Form, of a very delicate Nature.

Two Reasons induce me to desire, that this Spirit of Apprehension may be always kept up among us, in its utmost Vigilance. The first is this—that as the Happiness of these Provinces indubitably consists in their Connexion with Great-Britain, any Separation between them is less likely to be occasioned by civil Disorders, if every disgusting Measure is opposed singly, and noble in its nature. For in this Manner of Proceeding, every such Measure is most likely to be rectified. On the other Hand, Oppressions and Dissatisfactions being permitted to accumulate—if ever the governed throw off the Load, they will do more. A People does not reform with Moderation. The Rights of the Subject therefore cannot be too often considered, explained, or asserted: And, whoever attempts to do this, shews himself, whatever may be the rash and peevish Reflections of pretended Wisdom, and pretended Duty, a Friend to those who injudiciously exercise their Power, as well as to them, over whom it is so exercised.

Had all the Points of Prerogative claimed by Charles the First, been separately contested and settled in preceding Reigns, his Fate would in all Probability have been very different; and the People would have been content with that Liberty which is compatible with regal Authority. But he thought, it would be as dangerous for him to give up the Powers which at any Time had been by Usurpation exercised by the Crown, as those that were legally vested in it. This produced an equal Excess on the Part of the People. For when their Passions were excited by multiplied Grievances, they thought it would be as dangerous for them to allow the Powers that were legally vested in the Crown, as those which at any Time had been by Usurpation exercised by it. Acts, that might, by themselves, have been upon many Considerations excused or extenuated, derived a contagious Malignancy and Odium from other Acts, with which they were connected. They were not regarded according to the simple Force of each, but as Parts of a System of Oppression.—Every one therefore, however small in itself, became alarming, as an additional Evidence of tyrannical Designs. It was in vain for prudent and moderate Men to insist, that there was no Necessity to abolish Royalty. Nothing less than the utter Destruction of Monarchy, could satisfy those who had suffered, and thought they had Reason to believe, they always should suffer under it.

The Consequences of these mutual Distrusts are well known: But there is no other People mentioned in History, that I recollect, who have been so constantly watchful of their Liberty, and so successful in their Struggles for it, as the English. This Consideration leads me to the second Reason, why I desire that the Spirit of Apprehension may be always kept up among us in its utmost Vigilance.

The first Principles of Government are to be looked for in human Nature. Some of the best Writers have asserted, and it seems with good Reason, that "Government is founded on Opinion."

Machiavel's Discourses—Book 3. chap. 1. The author is sensible, that this is putting the gentlest construction on Charles's conduct; and that is one reason why he excuses it. Allowances ought to be made for the errors of those men, who are acknowledged to have been possessed of many virtues. The education of this unhappy prince, and his confidence in men not so good or wise as himself, had probably filled him with mistaken notions of his own authority, and of the consequences, that would attend concessions of any kind, to a people, who were represented to him, as aiming at too much power.

OPINION is of two kinds, viz. Opinion of INTEREST, and opinion of RIGHT. By opinion of interest, I chiefly understand, the sense of the public advantage which is reaped from government; together with the persuasions that the particular government which is established, is equally advantageous with any other, that could be easily settled.

Right is of two kinds, right to power, and right to property. What prevalence opinion of the first kind has ever mankind, may easily be understood, by observing

CUSTOM undoubtedly has a mighty Force in producing Opinion, and reigns in nothing more arbitrarily than in public Affairs. It gradually reconciles us to Objects, even to Dread and Detestation; and I cannot but think these Lines of Mr. Pope as applicable to Vice in Politics, as to Vice in Ethics.

Vice is a Monster of so horrid Mein, As to be hated, needs but to be seen; Yet seen too oft, familiar with her Face, We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

When an Act injurious to Freedom has been once done, and the People bear it, the Repetition of it is most likely to meet with Submission. For as the Mischiefs of the one was found to be tolerable, they will hope that of the Second will prove so too; and they will not regard the Infamy of the last, because they are stained with that of the first.

Indeed Nations, in general, are not apt to think until they feel; and therefore Nations in general have lost their Liberty: For, as Violations of the Rights of the governed, are commonly not only species, but small at the Beginning, they spread over the Multitude in such a Manner, as to touch Individuals but slightly. Thus they are disregarded. The Power or Profit that arises from these Violations, centering in few Persons, is to them considerable. For this Reason the Governours having in View their particular Purposes, succeed to preserve a Uniformity of Conduct for attaining them. They regularly increase and multiply the first Injuries, till at length the inattentive People are compelled to perceive the Heaviness of their Burthens.—They begin to complain and enquire—but too late. They find their Oppressors so strengthened by Success, and themselves so entangled in Examples of express Authority, on the Part of their Rulers, and of tacit Recognition on their own Part, that they are quite confounded: For Millions entertain no other Idea of the Legality of Power, than that it is founded on the Exercise of Power. They voluntarily fasten their Chains, by adopting a pusillanimous Opinion, "that there will be too much Danger in attempting a Remedy,"—or another Opinion, no less fatal,—"that the Government has a Right to treat them as it does." They then seek a wretched Relief for their Minds, by persuading themselves, that to yield their Obedience, is to discharge their Duty. The deplorable Poverty of Spirit, that prostrates all the Dignity bestowed by Divine Providence on our Nature—of Course succeeds.

From these Reflections I conclude, that every Free State should incessantly watch, and instantly take Alarm on any Addition being made to the Power exercised over them. Innumerable Instances might be produced to shew, from what slight Beginnings the most extensive Consequences have flowed: But I shall select Two only from the History of England.

Henry the Seventh was the first Monarch of that Kingdom, who established a STANDING BODY OF ARMED MEN. This was a Band of Fifty Archers, called Yeomen of the Guard: And this Institution, notwithstanding the Smallness of the Number, was, to prevent Discontent, "disguised under Pretence of Majesty and Grandeur." In 1684, the Standing Forces were so much augmented, that Rapin says,—"The King, in order to make his People fully sensible of their new Slavery, affected to muster his Troops, which amounted to 4000 well armed and disciplined Men." I think our Army, at this Time, consists of more than Seventy Regiments.

The Method of taxing by EXCISE was first introduced amidst the Convulsions of the Civil Wars. Extreme Necessity was pretended, and its short Continuance promised. After the Restoration, an Excise upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, was granted to the King, one Half in Fee, the other for Life, as an Equivalent for the Court of Wards. Upon James the Second's Accession, the Parliament gave him the first Excise, with an additional Duty on Wine, Tobacco, and some other Things. Since the Revolution, it has been extended to Salt, Candles, Leather, Hides, Hops, Soap, Paper, Paste-boards, Mill-boards, Scale-boards, Vellum, Parch-

the attachment which all nations have to their ancient government, and even to those Names which have had the Sanction of Antiquity. Antiquity always begets the Opinion of Right.—"It is sufficiently understood, that the Opinion of Right to Property, is of the greatest Moment in all Matters of Government." Hume's Essays.

Omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta sunt. SALLUST. Bell. Cat. §. 50.

The republic is always attacked with greater vigour than it is defended: For the audacious and profligate, prompted by their natural enmity to it, are easily impelled to act by the least nod of their leaders: Whereas the HONEST, I know not why, are generally slow and unwilling to stir; and neglecting always the BEGINNINGS of things, are never roused to exert themselves, but by the last necessity: So that through IRRESOLUTION and DELAY, when they would be glad to compound at last for their QUIET, at the expence even of their HONOUR, they commonly lose them BOTH.

CICERO'S Orat. for SEXTIUS. Such were the Sentiments of this great and excellent man, whose vast abilities, and the calamities of his country, during his time, enabled him, by mournful experience, to form a just judgment on the conduct of the friends and enemies of liberty. Rapin's History of England. § 12 Car. II. chap. 23 and 24. § 1 James II. chap. 1 and 4.

ment, Starch, Silks, Callicoes, Linens, Stuffs, printed, stained, &c. Wire, Wrought Plate, Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, &c.

Thus a Standing Army and Excise, have, from their first slender Origins, tho' always hated, always feared, always opposed, at length swelled up to their vast present Bulk.

These Facts are sufficient to support what I have said. 'Tis true, that all the Mischiefs apprehended by our Ancestors from a Standing Army and Excise, have not yet happened: But it does not follow from thence, that they will not happen. The Inside of a House may catch Fire, and the most valuable Apartments be ruined, before the Flames burst out. The Question in these Cases is not, what Evil has actually attended particular Measures—but, what Evil, in the Nature of Things, is likely to attend them. Certain Circumstances may, for some Time, delay Effects, that were reasonably expected, and that must ensue. There was a long Period, after the Romans had prorogued his Command to Publius Philo, before that Example destroyed their Liberty. All our Kings, from the Revolution, to the present Reign, have been Foreigners. Their Ministers generally continued but a short Time in Authority; and they themselves were mad and virtuous Princes.

A bold, ambitious Prince, possessed of great Abilities, firmly fixed in his Throne by Descent, served by Ministers who himself, and rendered either venerable or terrible by the Glory of his Successes, may execute what his Predecessors did not dare to attempt. Henry the Fourth entered in his Seat during his whole Reign. Henry the Fifth drew the Strength of the Kingdom into France, to carry on his Wars there, and left the Commons at home, protesting, "that the People were not bound to leave out of the Realm."

It is true, that a strong Spirit of Liberty subsists at present in Great-Britain, but what Reliance is to be placed in the Temper of a People, when the Prince is possessed of an unconstitutional Power, our own History can sufficiently inform us. When Charles the Second had strengthened himself by the Return of the Garrison of Tangier, England (says Rapin) saw on a sudden an amazing Revolution; saw herself stripped of all her Rights and Privileges, excepting such as the King should vouchsafe to grant her: And what is more astonishing, the English themselves delivered up these very Rights and Privileges to Charles the Second, which they had so passionately, and, if I may say it, justly defended against the Designs of Charles the First. This happened only Thirty-six Years after this last Prince had been beheaded.

Some Persons are of Opinion, that Liberty is not violated, but by such open Acts of Force; but they seem to be greatly mistaken. I could mention a Period within these Forty Years, when almost as great a Change of Disposition was produced by the SECRET Measures of a long Administration, as by Charles's Violence. Liberty, perhaps, is never exposed to so much Danger as when the People believe there is the least; for it may be subverted, and yet they not think so.

Public disgusting Acts are seldom practised by the Ambitious, at the Beginning of their Designs. Such conduct silences and discourages the Weak, and the Wicked, who would otherwise have been their Advocates or Accomplices. It is of great Consequence, to allow those who, upon any Account, are inclined to favour them, something specious to say in their Defence. Their Power may be fully established, tho' it would not be safe for them to do whatever they please. For there are Things, which, at some Times, even Slaves will not bear. Julius Caesar, and Oliver Cromwell, did not dare to assume the Title of King. The Grand Signior dares not lay a new Tax. The King of France dares not be a Protestant. Certain popular Points may be left untouched, and yet Freedom be extinguished. The Commonalty of Venice imagine themselves free, because they are permitted to do, what they ought not. But I quit a Subject, that would lead me too far from my Purpose.

By the late Act of Parliament, Taxes are to be levied upon us, for "defraying the Charge of the Administration of Justice—the Support of Civil Government—and the Expences of depending his Majesty's Dominions in America."

If any Man doubts what ought to be the Conduct of these Colonies on this Occasion, I would ask him these Questions. Has not the Parliament expressly AVOWED their INTENTION of raising Money from us FOR CERTAIN PURPOSES? Is not this Scheme popular in Great-Bri-

In the year of the city 428, "Duo singularia hæc ei viro primum contigerunt; prorogatio imperii non ante in ullo facta, et actio honore triumphus." Liv. l. 8. chap. 23, 26.

Had the rest of the Roman citizens imitated the example of L. Quintius, who refused to have his consulship prorogued of magistrates, and then the prolongation of their commands in the army had never been introduced, which very Thing was at length the Ruin of that Commonwealth." Machiavel's Discourses, b. 3. chap. 24.

I don't know but it may be said, with a good deal of reason, that a quick rotation of ministers is very desirable in Great-Britain. A minister there has a vast store of materials to work with. Long administrations are rather favourable to the reputation of a people abroad, than to their liberty.