(XXXI YEAR.) THE (N° 1595.)

MARYLAND GAZETTE. 53

THURSDAY, APRIL 4, 1776

LONDON, *November 23.*

An authentic copy of the addreſs and petition to his majeſty, moved for by the earl of ABINGDON, *ſeconded by the lord* CRAVEN, *and ſigned by a very great majority of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of* BERKS, *at the meeting held in the town-hall at* ABINGDON, *purſuant to an adverteſement from the high ſheriff, "for taking the general ſenſe of the county on the preſent "unhappy differences between* GREAT-BRITAIN *and "her* COLONIES," *on Tueſday the 7th of November, 1775.*

To the KING's *moſt excellent* MAJESTY.

The humble addreſs and petition of the freeholders of the county of BERKS.

May it pleaſe your majeſty,

YOUR majeſty's moſt loyal and dutiful ſubjects, freeholders of the county of Berks, though deeply affected with the melancholy civil diſſentions which prevail in your empire, have acquieſced, with boundleſs confidence in your majeſty's goodneſs, and in the wiſdom of your parliament, for the reſtoration of internal tranquillity to your dominions, and ſatisfaction and repoſe to the minds of all your ſubjects.

We conceive that the interference of your majeſty's people, otherwiſe than by their repreſentatives in parliament (although it be their undoubted right) ought to be extremely rare, and reſerved for occaſions of the greateſt neceſſity: We have therefore beheld with aſtoniſhment, perſons who profeſs uncommon zeal for your majeſty's government diſcovering a manifeſt diſtruſt in his diſcretion; urging your miniſters to a continuance of the violent meaſures which hitherto have produced none but calamitous effects; and to which the miniſters have ſhewn, and ſtill do ſhew, a diſpoſition which it does not ſeem at all neceſſary to ſtimulate.

Theſe inflammatory addreſſes, we humbly apprehend, have a tendency to diſtreſs your majeſty's paternal feelings, and by urging coercive meaſures as alone effectual and proper in the preſent diſorders, to render ſuch conceſſions as your majeſty's and the public wiſdom may think neceſſary to make, diſhonourable and unſafe to your majeſty, and this nation.

Finding the dangerous and ſeditious attempts to embarraſs your majeſty's councils, and prevent the reſtoration of tranquillity, purſued with an eagerneſs which fills the minds of your majeſty's peaceable ſubjects with horror, we are conſtrained, very reluctantly, with all poſſible humility and deference, to lay before your majeſty our faithful ſentiments on the origin of the preſent troubles; on the meaſures which have been, and ſtill are purſued, in conſequence of thoſe troubles; and on the diſmal effects which we conceive muſt reſult from them.

As the inhabitants of that part of your dominions which is the ſeat of the imperial legiſlature, we have a due ſenſe of the neceſſity of preſerving the ſupreme authority of parliament over all the Britiſh empire: But as Engliſh freeholders, who value ourſelves on our ineſtimable right of granting our own property, either by ourſelves, or repreſentatives of our own chooſing only, we cannot, without diveſting ourſelves of every principle of equity, juſtice, and even of common decency, conſider the complaints of millions of our fellow-ſubjects, ſeparated from us by an immenſe ocean, on being taxed without any voice, directly or indirectly in the grant, to be entirely groundleſs, and the reſult of nothing but a factious ſpirit, aiming at the diſmemberment of the empire.—The ſubſtantial, and not nominal aſſent of the ſubject in the grant of their own money, we can never hold to be a frivolous concern to Engliſh freeholders: It can never be exterminated in one part of the empire without being endangered in all: And we look with juſt indignation at the ſervile and unmanly ſpirit, in which the very principle of that ſacred right is treated with ſcorn and ridicule, by ſeveral publications induſtriouſly circulated; and which, we truſt, receive no countenance from your majeſty's miniſters; becauſe, if ſo countenanced, they can have no other effect, than to raiſe a ſuſpicion, that the government of this country is ſliding from its only firm, natural, and conſtitutional foundations.

We have ſeen, with much concern, the diſorders which have ariſen in America on this ſerious ground. We lament, we blame them; but we cannot think them *unnatural*, in thoſe in whom the love of freedom is united with the ordinary weakneſs and imperfection of human nature.

It is for that principle, joined with that infirmity, that we preſume to ſupplicate your majeſty's clemency.

The diſorders have ariſen from a complaint, plauſible at leaſt, of one right violated; and we can never be brought to imagine, that the true remedy for ſuch diſorders conſiſts in an attack on all other rights, and an attempt to drive the people either to unconſtitutional ſubmiſſion or abſolute deſpair.

Sire, the affairs of your empire are diſtracted, becauſe they are miſconducted. The conſequences of the meaſures purſued are as evident as they are deplorable.

Your majeſty's miniſters, finding the forces of your natural born ſubjects not ſufficiently powerful, for, or not ſufficiently diſpoſed to, the preſent coercive ſervice, have liſtened to the offers of foreign nations, who have thought fit, it ſeems, voluntarily, and therefore in a manner the more alarming to all true Engliſhmen, to interfere in our domeſtic differences.

Proſtrated before your throne, with faces ſuffuſed with ſhame, for this apparent nakedneſs of our country, and with hearts oppreſſed with anxiety for its future deſtiny, we ſupplicate, whilſt yet it is in ſuſpence, this moſt pernicious and deſperate proceeding, Engliſh dignity, and Engliſh government, whilſt reſting on their true bottom, can never ſtand in need of Ruſſian aſſiſtance for their preſervation.—They who are neceſſary to the ſupport of government, are the government;—and if we cannot preſerve America without foreign aid, America belongs to foreigners, and not to England.

It has been the uſual courſe of a rebellious people to call in the arms of ſtrangers to diſtract their country. This worſt part of rebellion has not yet appeared in America. Let this one thing right in their conduct atone for many wrong ones; and let your majeſty's clemency permit itſelf to operate in favour of a people, whoſe petitions have not yet appeared before any throne but yours.—Let not England ſet an example which is but too eaſily copied, by drawing into a free country, the inſidious and mercenary aid of foreign forces trained to the ſupport of a barbarous deſpotiſm. The moment that a great army of ſuch, or of any foreigners, ſhall enter your territories, the liberties of your people are at an end; and your majeſty's authority will be the more endangered by their aſſiſtance, than it can be by any rebellion which can ariſe among your own ſubjects.

When we have ſuch terrible objects in proſpect, we forget the millions we are ſpending, and the millions more we are like to ſpend, in this unhappy and fruitleſs conteſt.

Deign, therefore, moſt gracious ſovereign, to attend to manifeſt reaſon delivered by the affectionate voice of duty and fidelity; ſtrenuous as we are for the honour of our country, we cannot be forgetful of its peace and concord. It is therefore we abhor the idea of encouraging foreigners to make a prey of this nation and its dependencies, under the miſerable and uncovered pretext of diſcountenancing faction and ſedition among ourſelves.

Signed by 840.

To the PEOPLE *of* PENNSYLVANIA.

LETTER IV.

ALAS POOR CATO!

WHAT a buzz haſt thou raiſed about thine ears? How canſt thou proceed in thy lucubrations? If the following SOLILOQUY *can yield thee any conſolation, thou art welcome to place it either in front or rear of thy next letter. Thou will perceive thyſelf more indebted for it to* WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *than to*

Thy friend and reader,
HAMLET.

To write or not to write; that is the queſtion—
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to bear
Th' unlicens'd wrongs of furious party-zeal,
Or dip the pen into a neſt of hornets
And ſtill, by teazing, wake them? To write, to anſwer—
No more? And by a ſingle anſwer end
The thouſand ſcorns and heart-aches which an author
Is born to ſuffer—'Tis a conſummation
Devoutly to be wiſh'd! To write, to anſwer,
Reply, perchance rejoin—aye, there's the rub!
For in replies, and anſwers and rejoinders,
Who knows what deadly broils and feuds may come,
When we have ſhuffled off this mortal zeſt
Of mutual forbearance. There's the curſe
That makes calamity of *wordy war*.
For who would bear the ſcoffing of the times,
The TORY's hated name, the *tool of power*,
The contumely of the *penſion'd ſlave*,
When he himſelf might his *quietus* make
With a *dry quill*? Who would endure this Pain*,
This foul diſcharge of wrath from Adam's ſons
Marſhall'd in dread array, both old and Young,
Their pop-guns here, and there their heavy Cannon,
Our labour'd pages deem'd not worth a Ruſh,
But that the dread of ſomething worſe to come,
Some undiſcover'd miſchief, puzzles thought,
And makes one rather court the ancient path
Than fly to others that we know not of!
And thus the native hue of reſolution
Is ſicklied o'er with the pale caſt of fear,
And enterprizes of great pith and moment
With this regard, their currents turn awry.

THE foregoing ſoliloquy, my dear countrymen, was really put into my hands by a friend, and I have beſtowed ſome ſerious thoughts upon its contents. But I had before reſolved upon my part. The *authors*, or if I muſt ſay *author*, of what is called *Common Senſe*, has certainly had fair play. Full time has been allowed him, by the ſale of his pamphlet, to reap the fruits of his labours, and gratify that avidity with which many are apt to devour doctrines that are out of the common way—bold, marvellous, and flattering. What was intended as a compliment to the public—to give them time to gaze with their own eyes, and reaſon with their own faculties, upon this extraordinary appearance—the author's vanity has conſtrued wholly in his own favour. He has called repeatedly for *anſwers*, and announced his ſecond edition to the world in the following ſtrain of ſelf-adulation, "That as no anſwer hath yet "appeared it is now preſumed that none will," and therefore, as may be fairly implied, that he is unanſwerable. Why then, when his challenge is accepted, will not he and his ſeconds fight upon fair terms? Why will they ſeek to draw the attention of the public from *things* to *men*, refuſing that quarter to others which the author of *Common Senſe* craves for himſelf? "Who the author "of this publication is (ſays he) is wholly unneceſſary to "the public, as the object of attention is the *doctrine itſelf*, not the *man*." Can this ſentence be reconciled to all the pother made about *Cato*, who and what he is; or does it not rather betray ſome ſymptoms of fear and cowardice, to beſet him at the threſhold, and ſeek to ſtop him in his march to the field? What although he attempts to walk forth humbly, with his ſtaff in his hand, and has been ſomewhat late in filling his ſcrip with ſtones to meet this GOLIAH! ſhould he therefore be tauntingly defied? If what is called *Common Senſe* be really *Common Senſe*, it is invulnerable, and every attack upon it will but add to the author's triumph. If it ſhould be proved, in any inſtances, to be *Non-Senſe*, millions will be intereſted in the diſcovery; and to them I appeal.

Once more I repeat the deſign of theſe letters, in which I conceive a queſtion to be involved of the greateſt importance that ever came before us—a queſtion not yet decided, and which ought therefore to be fully diſcuſſed. Opprobrious names can prove nothing here, except that they who uſe them have nothing better to ſay, and are afraid of their cauſe. It is probable that ſome may ſee their intereſt upon one ſide of the queſtion, and ſome upon the other; but that the great body of the people can have any intereſt ſeparate from their country, or (when fairly underſtood) purſue any other, is not to be imagined. If Cato may be believed, he can conſcientiouſly claſs himſelf with this great body, and can aſſure his readers that the gueſſes hitherto made concerning him are rather unlucky.

Great pains have been taken to engage him in a conteſt with our committee, but as nothing has been quoted from him which concerns that body in general, he leaves his letters to anſwer for themſelves; and if his comments on the circular letter to the county committees ſhould appear to the public not to be well warranted, he will ſubmit to their judgment. But he finds it would be endleſs to anſwer all the ſilly *queries*, and daily ſcribble, of his opponents; and has learned better than to be drawn from his main object by indulging them in this way. It would be too great a treſpaſs upon the reader's patience. He has viewed the ground on which he ſtands, and is not afraid to tread it in the ſight of the moſt vigilant ſon of liberty; making that free uſe of the *preſs* which is promiſed to him, without the leaſt violation of any reſolve of this continent, hitherto made.

One ſide of a great queſtion has been held up to us. We are told that it can never be our intereſt to have any future connexion with Great-Britain, and are preſſed immediately to *declare* our total ſeparation, for now is the time! *and the time has found us.* Could it be expected that all America would inſtantly take a leap in the dark, or that any who had not a predilection for the doctrine, or were capable of reaſoning upon it, would ſwallow it in the groſs, without wiſhing to hear the arguments on the other ſide? I am ſure this is the wiſh of multitudes of good men, particularly of thoſe who may be principally concerned in deciding the queſtion; and whoſe earneſt deſire it is not only to know the ſenſe of individuals, but the clear ſenſe of their country upon it; without which they could not think themſelves at liberty to give their deciſion.

Upon this ground, then, I proceed, and ſhall reſt the cauſe with my adverſaries on the preſent *general defence*, which, (although I am ſorry it was neceſſary) I have reaſon to think, will be more acceptable to the public, than the miſpending time in private altercation. Thoſe who oppoſe me, may enjoy for a while (perhaps unnoticed) all the triumph of the anſwers they may give; and if it is found at laſt, as has been already hinted, that I have ſaid nothing to the purpoſe, their ſide of the queſtion will only be ſtrengthened.

In my remarks upon the pamphlet before me, I ſhall firſt conſider thoſe arguments on which the author appears to lay his chief ſtreſs; and theſe are collected under four heads, in his concluſion.

"It is the cuſtom of nations, when any two are at "war, for ſome other powers, not engaged in the quar"rel, to ſtep in as *mediators*, and bring about the preli"minaries of PEACE. But while America calls herſelf "a ſubject of Great-Britain, no power, however well "diſpoſed ſhe may be, can offer her *mediation*."

Is this *Common Senſe*, or common *Non-Senſe*? Surely, *peace* with Great-Britain cannot be the object of this writer, after the horrible character he has given us of the people of that country, and telling us that reconciliation with them would be our ruin. The latter part of the paragraph ſeems to caſt ſome light upon the former, although it contradicts it; for theſe *mediators* are not to interfere for making up the *quarrel*, but to widen it, by ſupporting us in a *declaration*, that we are *not ſubjects* of Great-Britain; a new ſort of buſineſs, truly, for *mediators!*

But this leads us directly to the main enquiry—what foreign powers are able to give us this ſupport? Whether they can be perſuaded to engage with us? What will be their terms? Is an alliance with them ſafe; or is it to be preferred to an honourable and firm renewal of that ancient connection, under which we have ſo long flouriſhed?

Theſe queſtions cannot but employ the moſt ſerious thoughts of men whoſe *all* is at ſtake, in the reſolution of them; and they ought to be anſwered to the general ſatisfaction, before we are launched out into a tempeſtuous ocean, of which we know not the other ſhore. That a continuance of mutual violence and hate may at laſt force us upon ſuch an ocean, is not altogether improbable; and it is poſſible that we may gain ſome port of ſafety, although in a ſhattered condition. Not a word ſhall be drawn from me to diſcredit our own ſtrength or

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* *Some doubters to ſolicitation of our anſwers yet ſtill this word* Payne.