

in theory; I would answer, that the conduct and experience of other governments is no rule for us; and that the opinion of our own conspicuous and wise senators ought to determine you, without further inquiry. If you will think for yourselves, you may recollect that, before the erection of the intendant's office your public credit was very high; your finances in perfect order; your funds productive; an overflowing treasury, and the interest of your state debt punctually paid; and all your creditors satisfied. You cannot but remember that the reverse took place soon after the establishment of the office, from the want of integrity, capacity and industry in the officer; and that all your pleasing prospects immediately revived on the abolition of the office. If the friends of the late intendant should attempt to point out any advantages to the public from his administration of our finances, I would observe, that the same effects would have happened if any one else, even the most ignorant man in the state, had held the office. It is remarkable, that every speculator in the state (some of whom have shewn their abilities for finance by amassing great wealth) is decidedly and warmly in support of the office, and the officer. Their friendship and good offices to the intendant are the strongest proofs of his integrity and capacity.

The inference and conclusion which necessarily follows from my principles and arguments are, that no man is fit for a senator, who is for an emission of money; or for the office of intendant; or for the gentleman who lately filled that office.

If you will be misled, and will trust men in favour of an emission, against the disinterested advice of the most wealthy gentlemen in the state, of the greatest learning, and abilities, and who have on all occasions exhibited the most striking proofs of political wisdom, you may yet be defeated in your ill judged wishes, by good management and address. You want an emission on loan, but one to exchange for officers and soldiers certificates (which have been engrossed by a few of the knowing ones) will be more preferable, answer every purpose of a medium of commerce, and enable you to pay your debts and taxes. It objected, that such a scheme would make the fortunes of a few worthless adventurers, and that the paper money exchanged for certificates, (which may be purchased at 75, for £.100 principal, exclusive of six years interest) would probably depreciate as much as the certificates; I would answer, that malevolence and envy suggest such appellations; and that an emission on loan would certainly depreciate in the same manner.

If you do not attend to and follow my advice, you shall not hear from me again.

AN ANNAPOLITAN.

Annapolis, August 28, 1786.

To the CITIZENS of ANNAPOLIS.

"Fools that we are, like Israel's fools of yore,  
"The calf ourselves have fashion'd, we adore;  
"But let true reason once resume her reign,  
"This god shall dwindle to a calf again."

THE Citizen some time since made a public appearance in the gazette of the day, to prove to the good people of Annapolis the inconsistency of appointing a person to be elector of the senate, who possessed a seat in the house of delegates, whose political sentiments differed from their own, and whose declarations did not square with their ideas of public good. The conclusion must instantly be drawn, that the Delegate, if he comes within this description, ought not to receive your voice for that critical appointment. From the nature of the publication, it demanded an answer; but candour can never allow, that the author deserved the coarse epithets given by that impolite writer who undertook to answer it. The Delegate thought otherwise, and has the merit of subscribing his own shameful reproach in a series of vain ungenerous invective. With an honest confession, that both nature and education have rendered me his inferior in that respect, I shall decline the unequal conflict, and pursue the original design of the Citizen. I chose the public paper to convey my sentiments to the public, deeming it the more generous method; had I pursued the opposite path, and have used those arguments in private only, the Delegate would have been the first man to arraign that conduct, as below the dignity of a gentleman. No part of my first address can be tortured into a wanton attack of the Delegate's honour and integrity; but this is positively affirmed. There is no man breathing talks more of honour and integrity than the Delegate, and if denied the liberty of seasoning his swollen declamation with self-praise, what a barrenness would appear in all his compositions. There are three things, his honour, integrity, and impudence, which make the creature truly insufferable.

A moderate share of discernment would have discovered the motives of my first publication, but least that vision of myself which appeared to no eyes but those of the Delegate, should also obscure the design of this, I shall be explicit in avowing its views. My fellow citizens, I think the Delegate is an improper person to receive your appointment for the above reasons; 1<sup>st</sup>. That he is a member of the house of delegates; he admits that passions and prejudices may arise, but contends that the oath is a sufficient security, at least against their prevalence in him. I will not distinguish the Delegate from the rest of mankind, as possessing more perfection, and as less liable to all the infirmities of nature.

How often is it the case that men of impetuous tempers are hurried away by their prejudices, even to a belief, that all of an adverse party are destitute of principle? Can virtue be reflected in its native colours by the treacherous mirror of passion? Does it not daily occur in private life, that men of the purest character, barely from a casual difference of sentiment, and a persevering obstinacy on either side, have entertained prejudices, which at length have increased into mutual suspicions of dishonesty? They become blind to all the virtues of their opponents, and can never be esteemed impartial judges; so it is with the prejudiced Delegate, his senses are shut against the virtues of a senator, and he ought not to be concerned in the forming that body.

2<sup>dly</sup>. The delegate ought not to be your elector, because his political sentiments differ from your's. I have had the honour of conversing with many respectable characters of this city on the subjects of paper money, exoneration of British debtors, and continuing the former intendant in power. Upon the two last I think I may be justly warranted in saying, that the citizens, almost to a man, condemn the part taken by the Delegate, and it is well known that a petition was presented to the general assembly, signed very generally by the citizens, against the issuing paper money. But the Delegate has never heard these opinions, and insinuates, that they are confined to particular circles. What circles he means, 'tis impossible to conjecture. The Citizen is honoured with a very general acquaintance in Annapolis, to whose society he has the pleasure of feeling himself much attached. If the Delegate alludes to this circle of acquaintance, I will be bold to say, that his superior excellence would not have been very considerably degraded by such intimacies, and if he had ever visited them, it is probable he would have heard the sentiments the Citizen has avowed. The Citizen never had the most distant idea of entering into a train of reasoning on those important questions, already settled in the minds of most men. He knew the citizens differed from the Delegate, and conceived, that the Delegate's political sentiments might have some influence on his proceedings in forming the senate; and where was the illiberality of such a suspicion? What is to guide the elector in his choice of senators? Is it not his duty to appoint those persons who will pursue that policy he thinks beneficial to the community? And do not the citizens rest the whole power of judging what is beneficial to the community in their elector? The question is brought to this, whether the Delegate thinks the happiness of the state so far involved in these questions, as to justify him in excluding the opposing members? And all his reasoning avails but little, unless he had also declared, whether or not he thought these subjects of that serious consequence. But here he chole to throw a veil over his design, but had not the wit to discover its tenuity. For my part, I am satisfied, and always was in my own mind, that the Delegate would consider one or the other of these questions as sufficiently involving the happiness of the state to justify his conscience in excluding certain members; and then my fellow citizens, the Delegate, if your elector, will shut out from the senate approved members, because he thinks the happiness of the state involved in carrying measures, which heretofore to you have appeared impolitic. As to one or two senators, he says, 'tis possible to conceive, that they voted against paper money on unworthy motives, and these no doubt will be the objects of his exclusion; we all know whom the Delegate intends. The Delegate never wanted assurance, under the protection of privilege, to charge any gentleman with unworthy motives. He is one of those characters that condemn all the world as knaves and fools who do not coincide with him in sentiment; the thing has become so common, that the world pities and laughs at his folly. I am far from thinking the emission of money is the most considerable object with the Delegate. For the re-appointment of the former intendant, and renewal of his powers, is he equally concerned, and at those who opposed that measure is his design principally levelled.

The Delegate, in his reasoning, puts these words into the mouth of the Citizen, "your delegate is for an emission of paper money, and therefore he is not fit to be an elector of the senate." Where the Delegate could have found this in my first address, God in Heaven can only tell. I would advise every one who shall read these papers before he gives credit to the extracts of the Delegate from the Citizen, to compare the two! What was my observation; "Should you conceive that a paper money is necessary, it would be well seriously to consider within your own breasts, the propriety of discharging valuable members of the senate to effect that particular purpose, members who, from a series of judicious conduct, have gained the grateful applause of an approving public;" these are expressly my words, and what could induce the Delegate to misrepresent them, I know not, except the expectation of inducing a belief, that the Citizen was averse to the emission of a paper money. What the Citizen humbly intended as an admonition, the Delegate has construed into a direct allegation, and concludes with a seeming anxiety to commend the heart of the Citizen at the expense of his head. This is one of the Delegate's standing compliments, and, I venture to pronounce, has been paid to almost every man with whom he ever had to contend. The Delegate is very desirous

to know the sentiments of the Citizen on paper money; let him turn to my first address, and there he will find them.

3<sup>dly</sup>. The Delegate is an improper person, because his declarations do not square with your ideas of public good. The citizens of Annapolis, to ensure the public good, conceive it necessary that the member of the senate who was remarkable for his censure of the intendant's conduct, should be continued in office, and the Delegate has declared him an improper person for that department of government. It has then come to this, whether the Delegate should govern entirely, or the citizens have some share in the government of themselves? Whether the citizens should vote their sentiments, or the sentiments of the Delegate? Can a freeman hesitate on such a question; or does he deserve to have freedom in his power, who will resign it into the hands of any individual breathing? None but the vainest fool in existence could expect it. What shall the glorious struggle for independence, and its attainment, terminate in the exaltation of the Delegate to supreme power? Wherein has the Delegate approved himself superior, either in honour, integrity, or ability, to that conspicuous senator? I hope I shall obtain the pardon of the senator for introducing, on this occasion, his political relation to the community; the freedom may be great, but the same privilege which gives to every citizen the liberty of condemning the conduct of one legislator, will also give authority to point out the virtues of another; and further, the mind is more at ease with itself when tracing merit, than unfolding the causes of censure. With an extensive fortune, with more at stake than any other man in this community, did he embark in the revolution at the earliest moment; a determined and fixed purpose to persevere marked the conduct of this man in the gloomy hour of danger, when, on a conquest, he would have been the very first object of British resentment. His fortune and religion would have drawn on him the most bitter persecution. 'Tis true he has not been twenty years in the service of his country; for, previous to the revolution, the illiberality of religious difference caused his exclusion; is it possible to conceive that man not interested in the welfare of this community? It is for the preservation of ourselves and property we enter into government, and who more likely to guard against the imposition of impolitic burthens upon the people, than the one who will feel their greatest weight? Has the senator any interest to pursue incompatible with that of the state? He never purchased confiscated British property, nor is he indebted to the state; the man who is indebted, has an interest opposed to that of the state, so far as the difference between debtor and creditor can create an opposition of interest, and the most liberal casuists agree, that on every man it has an insensible bias. The Delegate is known to have purchased confiscated British property to a considerable amount, for which he did not pass his bonds till after the day stipulated, and yet remains indebted. And here again the Delegate will bellow forth as it were through a trumpet, the malevolence of the Citizen's heart to suppose a man of his honour and integrity should basely be under the guidance of interest; the same argument would tend to prove the Delegate a proper witness in a court of justice, though interested.

And now my fellow citizens turn your eyes over this address, and can you reconcile it to your own feelings, to give your voice to that man, who is first a member of the house of delegates, and may, through the infirmity of nature, be swayed by his prejudices? 2<sup>d</sup>. who differs with you in political sentiments? 3<sup>d</sup>. who declares he will not consult your ideas of public good, in re-electing particular members whom you approve? 4<sup>th</sup>. whose interest may insensibly have an influence on his conduct? Shall this man receive your voice to exclude from the senate the first characters of the state? God forbid that my countrymen should be so blind to their peace and happiness.

The Citizen is charged with a wilful breach of veracity, in asserting, that the Delegate solicited the Annapolitan interest; this is not the language of a gentleman. The world will believe me, when I declare, on my honour, that the report was current in town that the Delegate was solicited by his friend, and I took it for granted. But even admitting, that the Delegate had never solicited, or expressed an intention of serving, it plainly appears, from the tenor of his publication, that it was his design, and it would have answered the Citizen's purpose, in the first publication, to have asserted the probability of the Delegate's standing, and every argument he used against the appointment, would have stood just as well. The Delegate declares he will accept of the place if offered, but means not to ask a single voice. I would not advise him; his conduct answers two purposes, his solicitors take the drudgery from off his hands, and he expects to persuade the citizens by this proceeding, that he is not anxious to be appointed; such glaring artifice will never prevail; the Delegate never had a wish more at heart than that of being elector.

It may be presumed by the Delegate, from the tenor of this publication, that he hath happily conjectured, that the hopes, fears and affections, of the Citizen, are confined to one member of the senate. An unhappy fatality attends all the Delegate's conjectures. The Citizen has been thus particular on that senator's subject, as the Delegate has expressly

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