

heard no more; and they now sleep
 their sleep undisturbed, and undisturb
 transaction, for illustrious in the eyes of
 finished; the same *malley group* which
 execution, requested the new charter de
diffy their tharke to THE FIRST CITIZEN,
 eloquent, and patriotic opposition to the
 while alive. Thus Mr. Printer, have I
 full and faithful account of the proceed
 sacred to Maryland liberty, and which
 held in everlasting remembrance to the pa
 who thus nobly "stop the career" of the
 nation.

objections, Mr. Printer, may be started
 most laudable measure; and to give uni
 on is impossible. It is not therefore sur
 many who, deaf to all the fierc
 patriotic mind, speak with abhorrence of
 proceeding, and who cavil at this mode
 the legality of the proclamation. They
 shoulders, and with affected wisdom ob
 have a governor "youthful and undegene
 interest it is not, to enslave the people,
 their privileges; that if the proclama
 al, the intention of issuing it, was clearly
 and moreover, that it hath already been
 resolve of the late lower house to be illegal
 national; that it is perfectly inconsisten
 nity of a free and intelligent people, to
 ves to be tossed about by every inflamma
 by the *Annapolitan junta*, who but too
 vour to use the people as a ladder, whereby
 the first offices of the province; and that this
 cial country is perfectly unconnected with
 ubs of the great, nor, can its interest be
 taking part in the political squabbles of
 is, which are plainly fomented by a few
 der the specious covering of patriotism,
 peace and happiness of the province, to
 selfish purposes. Thus do some men
 ak irreverently of those who have stood
 guardians of the laws and the constitution,
 names will be handed down to posterity,
 honour, and with glory. But, to the
 men, who make so light of a measure,
 labished would by its pernicious tendency
 in the most sacred rights of a free people,
 tion is due.

tion of tyranny, not content with renoun
 which might have covered themselves,
 n so glorious a cause, have weakly endeav
 appreciate the merit of the few whose actions
 eternal honour on this country. For, they
 contrary to assert, that of the one hundred
 riots who attended the execution of the
 there were not ten legal voters, exclu
 delegates, and a few others who stoop to see
 farce; that the remainder was nothing
 fortuitous collection of negroes, servants,
 the veriest dregs of the earth. Ye *warrens*
 of *Africa's bench*, and *you* whose merit
 ow to have placed you among the repre
 the people, what think ye of this abomi
 nay? Do not your patriotic breaths burn
 on at so vile an insinuation?

rt I rejoice to find, that since the spirit of
 forsaken the hollow hearts of those, who
 es gentlemen, it hath happily taken up its
 ng the more virtuous mob. That it may
 and raise its dooping head, when every
 shall vibrate languid, in the sinking cause,
 bended knees to heaven devoutly pray.

June 9, 1773. MARK ANTHONY.

continue long in power, they grow fond of it,
 mndly are for enlarging it; a number of it
 powerful, and rich are dangerous to a free ju
 Cato's letters.

e a retrospective view of the state of this
 during the ten or twelve years immedi
 ing the passage of the contested forty per
 shall not find it difficult to account for the
 our ancestors in making that law, consider
 sionate men of the present age, as subver
 principles, on which this colony in particu
 nd, as repugnant to the spirit of coloniz
 inal, and as highly prejudicial to poster
 suitable it may have been to the temper
 es, and to the views of the prevailing par
 the established church and hatred of pop
 ot the sole motives, which actuated those
 we may presume less laudable considera
 me influence on their proceedings, if credit
 en to a report, that the clergy strenuously
 for fixed salaries in lieu of the 40 per poll
 assembly as strenuously insisted on the lat
 ment. In this dispute we see both sides
 the same narrow, and confined principles
 consulting the actual interest of their con
 d wholly unconcerned about their defend
 ergy equally inattentive to, and regardless
 cellors. It is plain they had not the earne
 cur present worth the *theobambis* (Cato's letter
 al truffles, only for posterity. *Ye have the pa
 the church banded down to their successors* on
 as might at a future day, and that not
 tempt an English bishop to wish for
 to a Maryland parish. I am aware of the
 which is often made to fixed salaries; if o
 nable, may be liberal and genteel; it is
 ceels of time they become too scanty from
 ng value of money, and the increasing price
 This objection has not been made to the
 ource in Virginia, or if made, has not de
 d. In that colony the clergy's stipends
 about 16000 pounds of tobacco annually,
 be annexed to each parish, by which means
 sioners increase in number the proportion

of the tax is lessened to each individual: nor is this di
 minution of the tax the only benefit resulting from
 that wise regulation. Clergymen are thereby kept in a
 state of dependence on the civil power, and the dan
 gerous influence of that body, which too large a share
 of wealth would be apt to create, is prevented. The
 primitive ages of christianity prove, that a happy mo
 docrity, suitable to the spirit of our divine religion,
 rendered its pastors humble, patient, and diligent, in
 the discharge of their holy functions. The clergyman
 of moderate fortune seldom foregoes the duties of his
 station; to display his political talents, in order to se
 cond the views of ambition or avarice; life meddling;
 turbulent priest is most commonly wealthy; first per
 verted by affluence, then disgusted with his calling,
 the meek and charitable precepts of the gospel cease to
 guide his actions; he throws off the noblest character,
 and assumes the most contemptible, that of a courtly
 cophang, or ministerial hireling. It belongs not to an
 individual to point out what salaries it would be prop
 er to settle on the ministers of the established church; a
 matter of such consequence must be left to the wisdom
 and discretion of the legislature; thus much however
 a private writer, I hope, may say without being
 thought guilty of arrogance, or presumption, that
 forty pounds of tobacco per poll, all circumstances
 duly weighed, is most certainly an exorbitant provi
 sion, and consequently unreasonable.

That the clergy should endeavour to support so be
 neficial an establishment is not to be wondered at;
 while we blame their too great attachment to worldly
 concerns, we ought to make some allowance for hu
 man frailty, and to consider, that the sanctity of priest
 hood cannot divert priests entirely of their passions. It
 will appear on examination, that at the time of enact
 ing the 40 per poll law, the largest parish was not worth
 more than £. 150 cur. annually; but now it may be
 truly said that our parishes rise from £. 300 or £. 250
 the lowest value to 2000 currency per annum; raising
 tobacco at the average price it has bore for some years
 past. I speak not this at random. What judgment
 then must we form of those men, who espoused from
 policy, not conviction, the unreasonable claim of the
 clergy, who made a shield of that order to defend their
 own usurpations, to obstruct a new regulation of fees,
 and to uphold the old table, which they have endeav
 ured by every artifice to transmit unimpaired to their
 successors in office. Are not the officers in the upper
 house, who unwilling to submit to a new regulation
 of fees, held forth the clergy as an unformidable ob
 stacle thereto, unless their dues should be previously set
 tled, justly chargeable not only with the want of a le
 gal settlement of fees, but also with the loss of an in
 spection law, and the continuance of the 40 per poll,
 should the validity of the act be confirmed by a legal
 determination? If the lower house had coincided with
 the views, and wishes of the officers in the upper, if a
 table of fees had been offered by the former agreeable
 to the craving appetites of those gentlemen, this con
 densation would probably have begot a reciprocal
 compliance, and we have great reason to believe that
 on the death or removal of the present incumbents 39
 per poll on every taxable would have been deemed a
 sufficient support for the clergy. On the expiration of
 the inspection law, matters of the utmost consequence
 to the welfare of this province claimed the attention,
 and called for the interposition of its legislature. What
 regulations would be useful, what would be just, every
 man of common sense could discover; but every friend
 to his country dreaded an obstruction to measures of
 general utility as inconsistent with the particular inter
 ests of some leading men in administration. The ut
 most exertion of political intrigue was expected on
 their part; in this expectation the publick was not de
 ceived. The officers having no other resource left,
 made a merit of necessity; they offered to receive their
 fees in money at 12 1/2 currency per hundred in lieu of
 tobacco. The offer came with a bad grace, and was
 attributed to the agreement entered into by the law
 yers, and published in the Maryland Gazette, to receive
 their fees at the above rate, notwithstanding they were
 by law entitled to tobacco, the value of which was
 more than double that price. The officers not being
 under the same situation, but obliged to have recourse
 to the constitutional trial by jury in a quantum me
 rit, in what did the merit of their offer consist? They
 consented to take, what in justice they only ought to
 have received even under the inspection law, had its
 true spirit and intention been complied with. In 1747
 twelve shillings and six pence cur. was deemed the full
 equivalent of 100 lb. of tobacco; the framers of that
 law neglected to insert a clause in it to this effect, that
 in case tobacco should rise above 12 1/2 per cent. the
 planters might then choose to pay the fees of officers in
 tobacco, or in cash at the rated value; for want of
 such a clause, the officers, lawyers, and clergy have
 pocketed some hundred thousands of pounds more,
 than what was thought by the legislature equivalent to
 their services; and of course intended to be given. It
 is no doubt to be wished that the assembly would hear
 tily unite in framing a law for the regulation of sal
 ries, of officers fees, and clergy's dues; but when a
 salutary law must be purchased by concessions danger
 ous to liberty, we had better submit to a temporary
 inconvenience, resulting from the loss of the law, than
 suffer a galling yoke to be fastened on the necks of
 posterity. Had the different branches of the legisla
 ture, conspired from the settlement of the province in
 promoting the general good, we should have rivalled,
 perhaps have surpassed Pennsylvania in every useful
 improvement. Happy indeed would then have been our
 condition! But happier is our present state; than if
 submission, and concord had been bought by a tame
 submission to the various, unjust, and absurd claims,
 which from time to time have been made by govern
 ment, and have kept the province in an almost con
 stant flame for many years. A recapitulation of those
 claims in the place would be tiresome, disgusting, and
 foreign to the main design of this paper, which is to
 disclose to the publick the exorbitant sums, that have
 been extorted from the plant by the few, contrary to

justice and the intention of the legislature. The asser
 tion may appear paradoxical to those, who have never
 been at the pains to investigate the subject. These
 however, to convince my countrymen of its truth, I
 shall lay it down as a principle not to be controverted,
 that the assembly in 1747 rated the value of tobacco at
 12 1/2 currency per cent. this clearly appears from the
 price, which farmers were directed by the law to pay
 for fees charged against them in tobacco. A distinc
 tion in the event so injurious to three fourths of the
 community was certainly never meant by the legisla
 ture, not being founded either in justice, or good poli
 cy. The assembly supposed that the price of tobacco
 during the existence of the law would on an average
 be equal to the abovementioned standard, and conse
 quently deemed, that planters paying fees in tobacco
 would be on an equal footing with farmers, who were
 allowed to discharge theirs in money at 12 1/2 per cent. of
 tobacco, the full value thereof at the time of passing
 the law. Experience has shown how fatal that suppo
 sition has been to the province, and what an excessive
 price my brother planters in particular have paid for
 the inspection law. The following table will serve to
 set this matter in a clear light.

Dr. officers, lawyers and clergy		Contra	
Tobacco		Ct.	
To 30 per poll on	By 1/2 paid	Tobacco	Tobacco
50,000 taxables	by non	1,500,000	1,430,624
yearly	robacc		
To the average a-	makers	4,222,500	4,291,875
mount of officers	By bill		
and lawyers fees	due from		
yearly	planters		
		5,722,500	5,722,500
Ditto Dr. currency	Ct.		
4,291,875	By 4291875		
at 12 1/2 per	at 12 1/2 per	26,824 4 4 1/2	
cent.	cent.	37 ball. due	
	to planters	21,459 7 6	
		48,283 11 10 1/2	

4,291,875 pounds of tobacco paid annually by the
 planters, on an average under the inspection law at
 2 1/2 per 100 wt. current money, taken as the medium
 price during the subsistence of the law, amount to
 £. 48,283 11 10 1/2 currency, from which sum subtract
 £. 26,824 4 4 1/2 currency, the amount of officers, law
 yers and clergy's fees in tobacco reduced to money at
 12 1/2 per cent. there remains a balance of £. 21,459 7 6
 currency due to the planters, being the excess or dif
 ference between the selling price of tobacco, and the
 value rated by the legislature. The last sum being
 multiplied by 22 years, the term of the inspection law,
 amounts to £. 472,105 17 6, extorted from the plant
 ers contrary to justice and the intention of that law.
 By this just state we have at one view the immense sum
 paid by the planters to the clergy, officers, and law
 yers over and above the real value of the service per
 formed by them. When complaints are made against
 the unreasonableness of such excessive fees, the officers
 have always an answer ready: the expence of collec
 tion, and number of insolvencies make, they allege, a
 very great deduction from their bills. The following
 observations will discover what little stress ought to be
 placed on this plea of theirs. The officers, and lawyers
 fees, and clergy's dues being subject by the inspection
 law to execution, it was not only the duty of the sher
 iff, but greatly his interest to compel payment of them;
 we may therefore reasonably conclude, that the sher
 iffs, or their deputies received and pocketed the fees of
 several returned insolvents, or that many were so poor,
 that an execution of their effects would have been ei
 ther impracticable, or ineffectual. If we suppose the
 former, the publick suffered equally; if the money being
 paid, it became a matter of the utmost indifference to
 the people, whether it went into the pockets of the
 superior officers, or was embezzled by their collectors;
 if the latter, we ought to be alarmed at the oppressive
 taxes, which have reduced such numbers to beggary.
 The common people are much involved in law; no
 wonder that many of them staggering with the heavy
 load of 30 per poll should entirely sink under the addi
 tional pressure of fees more than double the value of the
 services done. If the true amount of officers, and law
 yers fees, and clergy's dues could be precisely ascertained
 by an accurate calculation, it would, I believe, ap
 pear that three parts in four of insolvencies are owing
 to the weighty burthen of the 30 per poll, and of ex
 cessive fees. The legislature in providing for the ex
 ecutive officers of government never meant to propor
 tion with scrupulous nicety their rewards to their
 services; a decent, a liberal provision was certainly
 intended; insolvencies and other deductions were fore
 seen, and considered; and for such an allowance was
 made in forming a table of fees in tobacco rated at
 12 1/2 currency per cent. After all deductions on ac
 count of insolvencies, and expences of collection, the
 sums of tobacco paid to the officers, lawyers, and cler
 gy are sufficient to excite the indignation of my bro
 ther planters for having patiently submitted to such
 oppression; and their abhorment at having been able
 to bear up so long against them. In appealing to my
 fellow sufferers on matters of experience, I am sure of
 their concurrence in asserting, that though the price
 of tobacco has rose considerably, the difficulties in
 making crops have likewise increased. An impartial
 state of those difficulties, of the enhanced price of land,
 and negroes, would set this matter in a proper light.
 Were some masterly pen to exhibit to the publick, in
 one comprehensive and distinct view, the sums paid
 yearly by the people to the officers, lawyers, and cler
 gy, the proportion between them, and the amount of
 our exports, the former will appear to have acted from
 the settlement of the province down to this day as a
 weighty only in amazing fortunes for the latter. It
 cannot with justice be said that the additional charges
 of office, and expence of living, bear any proportion

with the rapid increase of fees; the truth of this obser
 vation the following facts will evince.
 By report of a committee, October session 1753, the
 fees of the secretary, commissary general, and land of
 fice for the years 1749, 50, 51, 52, being the first four
 years after the inspection law, appear to have averaged
 one year with another for that time as follows:
 16 lb. of tobacco
 The fees to the secretary in the provincial and
 chancery courts from 1748 inclusive are 155805
 aged per annum
 The fees to the commissary general ditto 200425
 The fees to the registers of the land office ditto 222391
 per annum 578627

By report of a committee September session 1770,
 the fees in the same offices for the years 1763, 64, 65,
 66, 67, 68, 69, appear to have averaged yearly as fol
 lows:
 16 lb. of tobacco
 The secretary's fees in the provincial and
 chancery courts 362594
 Commissary's ditto 220000
 Land office ditto 407276
 Total 989870
 Deduct the average of the first four years 578627
 Remains 331243

331243 pounds of tobacco have therefore been annu
 ally paid to those officers from 1763 to 1769 inclusive,
 more than what was paid to them during the course of
 the first four years abovementioned. On every reader,
 no notice is taken in this state of the tenth paid by the
 county clerks to the secretary, on the gross amount of
 their fees, which is supposed to be 100,000 lbs. of to
 bacco annually. Can it now be said, I mean with
 truth, that the expence of living and charges of office
 bear any proportion with this increase? From the vast
 increase of business, and consequently of fees, arise
 principally the injustice, in contending for the old ta
 ble of fees, and the necessity of a new one. As my bro
 ther planters have smarted most, they will probably feel
 most sensibly the justice of my remarks. However the
 greatest grievance remains to be told, and affecting the
 whole community is of the most consequence. I mean
 the dangerous influence, which our executive offices
 and fat livings give to government. Whenever a
 country has improvidently thrown too much power
 into the hands of administration, it requires the utmost
 exertion of true patriotism, to cure the evil by a judi
 cious choice of representatives; and by a hearty and
 unanimous concurrence with them in opposing the ar
 bitrary and selfish views of interested rulers. Without
 this union and concert between the people and their
 delegates, our situation is truly critical, and alarming,
 I may say, desperate. If the oppressive forty per poll
 act should be supported, if the claim of government to
 settle the fees of its officers by proclamation be sub
 mitted to, why in the general plunder may not the
 lawyers be permitted to retract their engagements to
 the publick, and to receive their fees in tobacco agreeable
 to law? Many severe reflections have been cast on
 those gentlemen during our present political contests;
 some perhaps may have given occasion to censure, but let
 not the private faults of individuals be imputed to the
 whole body. In justice to the lawyers, I take this op
 portunity of declaring, that I think myself and my
 countrymen under the greatest obligations to them for
 having led the way in lessening the heavy burthen of
 our taxes, and for having continued steadily to oppose
 the measures of government at a time, when the united
 force of the country was necessary to save it from po
 verty and slavery. Men, who from lucrative offices
 have in a short time acquired estates without much
 trouble, or risk, will naturally grow at being curried
 off some profits; disappointed avarice will quicken
 their resentment; if arguments fail, they will fly to
 scurrility and abuse; the last and miserable refuge of a
 discomfited faction. Invidious slanders from malice,
 and delivute of truth, deserve contempt, though not
 treated with contempt by the persons attacked; yet
 may they have a very different effect from what was
 intended by the slanderers; they may possibly recom
 mend to publick notice and regard those who are stig
 matized for espousing the cause and interest of the pub
 lick. Were it my intention to rouse the indignation
 of the people, and to render the officers, and clergy ge
 nerally obnoxious, a strong, lively, and genuine nar
 rative of facts would be sufficient for my purpose.
 But I appeal to the understanding, not to the passions
 of my countrymen. I wish abuses and grievances may
 be reformed, though I wish not the corporal punish
 ment of those, who have committed them; let justice
 be tempered with mercy; let the influence and power
 of our oppressors be so effectually restrained as not to
 become dangerous, or buth some a second time. I
 shall close this paper with a quotation from Cato's let
 ters, which is applicable to my subject, and ought to
 make a deep impression on every man in a publick and
 conspicuous station. "Of this we are sure, that the
 least publick guilt is greater than the greatest pri
 vate guilt. Let every man in publick full consider
 this, and examine his heart; every step, which a
 publick man takes, every speech, which he makes, and
 every vote, which he gives, may affect millions. Who
 ever acts in a great station against his conscience
 might perhaps with more innocence carry a dagger,
 and like old Muly stab twenty men a day."

A PLANTER.
 It hath been said, that I may well feel the force of
 the proverb, "an unjust friend is worse than
 an avowed enemy." When I published a defence
 against the malicious aspersions of *Clergy and Plant
 ers*, I very faithfully and innocently related a