

MARYLAND GAZETTE

THURSDAY, APRIL 11, 1776

To CATO, CASSANDRA, and all the writers on the independent controversy.

GENTLEMEN

THOUGH it might be deemed absolutely necessary to suppress all publications, which tend to disunite the colonies, in their present spirited opposition to a cruel and unnatural attack from the people of England; yet as the question of independence has been lately started, in a pamphlet entitled Common Sense, and supported by a variety of subsequent authors, I confess I was much pleased on the appearance of a writer on the other side of the question; for as I have no other view, than peace and happiness for myself and posterity, I was determined to give an earnest attention to the arguments on both sides. It is no matter, with me, whether I live under an emperor, a pope, a bashaw, a king of England, or a republic, provided I can be convinced, by irrefragable arguments, that such or such a state contained the greatest quantity of happiness for the people at large, and for individuals in particular; for as I am in the situation of 99 out of every 100 in the world, who have no expectations of ever ascending into office, and riding upon the top of the machine, and have only to expect to contribute my proportion of labour to wheel it along, I therefore think it my business, as well as my fellow-labourers, to see that it is so constructed, as to move with as little labour as possible, and the machinery so contrived as to be the least liable to get out of order in the variety of rough and smooth roads through which we must inevitably pass. Now taking it for granted, that the machine must necessarily be kept in proper motion, I conclude, we are not to consult the ease and convenience of the riders, but that of the draughtsmen, who being the majority, and giving motion to the machine for their own emolument (I know critics the simile wont run upon all fours, but I shall nevertheless stick to it till you call me a better) I say, we move it along for our own emolument; and if the riders should insist on having it built to contain only a single chair for a crowned head, or to spread a larger floor over our heads to support a commonwealth, we who pull, and not they who ride, ought to be the judges of the matter; for that some must pull, and that some will rise, in every community on the face of the earth, must be granted me; therefore, as I have to consider, with the rest of my brethren on the ground, it is to attach me self to that machine or (if you wont let me pursue the simile) to that form of government which will afford me the most ease and give me the least pain.

People in general know so little of the different movements of a state and the complicated connections and dependencies on the other powers of the world, that they are almost unequal to the task of forming a proper judgment of the fitness or unfitness of this or that mode; for this reason it gave me great pleasure to think I was now about to have the matter laid before me in an open and candid manner, that the rest of my unwearied brethren might judge for themselves. The writer signed Cato, should have liked much better, had his actions corresponded with his declarations—says he, "nor need any person be alarmed; for an indecent nor angry expression, shall not dishonour my pen, nor yet a single sentiment, which is not calculated to cement all parties in the province, upon safe and popular grounds, more firmly than ever, in executing the resolves of the congress, and maintaining American liberty"—had this decency prevailed in Cato's breast, why did he, a few lines below, charge the commentators on the conduct of the assembly, with "scurrilous misrepresentation?" Decency and scurrility can certainly have no possible connexion—and unhappily for him, in his second letter he proceeds to term a writer, who styles himself Cassandra, "an enthusiast, a madman, and a barbarian." Language of this kind, can be of no real use to men who are searching for truth, and I will take the liberty to request Cato, in his future essays, to keep up to the decency he professed to set out with. I could have wished to have passed Cassandra unnoticed on this head; but as he also has given too much reason for censure, I will just make free to say, that his arguments have acquired no force with me, by directing personal attacks on Cato, and endeavouring to point out the real man to the public; nay, by introducing the very name of a private gentleman into his essays, and obliquely glancing at him as the writer of Cato's letters. I am sensible it is so guarded, that Cassandra may plead off, and declare, if he pleases, that he had no such person in view; and Cato might find it difficult to disprove his sincerity. Cassandra may also assert, where he hints at the danger which Cato runs of "too far provoking the majesty of the people by the bold flourishes of a pen which pays no respect to truth, lest he may find it expedient to end his days on the principles of dependency," that he meant no such thing as the threatening Cato with the chance of being hanged by a mob; though his marking the word "dependency" in italics, will certainly convey that idea to many minds. Now gentlemen, with all due respect to you both, I would wish you to avoid intensity and personal attacks, however sharp your minds may be set against each other, upon a supposition that you have got at the secret of names on both sides, I would request you to consider, that though you are both voters, yet you are in some measure accountable to the public. If two advocates, pleading a cause of great importance, before a learned court, and an intelligent jury, were to make use of illiberal reflections upon each

other's characters, and rip up a long list of charges of fraudulent designs and wicked practices, would not both courts and jury think themselves grossly insulted, and would not such advocates deserve the severest censure from the bench? Be pleased to remember, gentlemen, you are pleading at the bar of the public, upon a cause of greater importance than ever came before any tribunal on earth, no less than whether it is expedient or inexpedient to make a total separation in government between the new and the old world. Do you think, gentlemen, that a thousandth part of your readers, either know, care for, or desire to know who are the writers on this popular subject. If John a Nokes and Tom a Stiles should be fixed on as the authors in this city, and should hand forth to the public, every foible and unfavourable incident of each other's life, of what importance, think you, would this be to those who are strangers to them both. If Kouli Khan's gardener's daughter had a child by the grand vizier's brother, what has that to do with the revolution in Persia? 'tis the matter and not the man that the public are concerned with. If Lord North himself was prisoner amongst us, and should issue forth from his confinement, daily lucubrations on the subject now before us, I would give them as earnest a reading, as if they flowed from the pen of a Camden or a Burke; and yet I am a zealous advocate against Great Britain in the present controversy; 'tis truth alone I am hunting for, and this I believe to be the case with nine-tenths of the people, therefore I beg you will behave like gentlemen to yourselves, and to the public; canvass the matter fairly, fully and freely, and don't suppose yourselves of so much importance, as to think we shall be pleased with your calling off our attention from the grand question, to the unimportant discussions of the characters or schemes of either party. I, with a great number of others, should be glad to see you enter deeply into the question, on both sides. State the advantages of an independence—the benefits to be derived from a new mode of government; how it will affect individuals; the additional happiness and freedom it will produce, particularized in a number of plain, clear instances; for though I, and some others, might be satisfied with the general assertion, "that the state will be much benefited by the change," yet there is no gaining admission into some bosoms, one by full and positive demonstration; and the number of such is very great—to make myself better understood, I mean thus—if I, being a shopkeeper in this city, having a tolerable stand for business, though at a distance from the market, was to be advised by B to remove his shop to the outskirts of the town, where he should be sure to make his fortune; A would naturally require of B some proof of its probability, as the proposal might seem a strange one; but if B, being in the secret, should inform him that the corporation had determined to remove the market to that very spot, A would not hesitate a moment about the matter; so with respect to an independence, some people will be satisfied with nothing sort of such clear and demonstrative evidence; you must tell them, also, of the particular new trade, which will be opened to us, the prices our goods will bear at home, to the farmer, and what they will bring at such and such ports, and how much those prices exceed what we have been used to get for them; at the markets we were allowed to trade to; in this you must name the articles, the prices, and the places; you must then tell us, the advantages of buying silks, woollens, cottons, flaxs, and hard ware, in France; Spain and Portugal, and other countries in Europe; and how much cheaper they are than in England, and Ireland; in this too you must name the goods, the places, and prices; and whether these places will take in exchange, our lumber, our naval stores, our tobacco, flax seed, &c. &c. and what prices they will give; what credit it is customary for those several places to allow to foreigners on what we commonly call dry goods; for our country people generally requiring credit, the merchant-importer must have credit too, otherwise trade will be confined to a few rich buyers, who will exact what prices they please, upon the farmer and consumer. Next you must shew, that the charge of supporting government will be less, in a state of independence, than it hath been heretofore, during a connexion; you must name the expenses we now pay, and the expense we shall then pay; you must give an estimate of the charge of supporting such an army and navy, in time of peace; as may always preserve the peace; there are many who wont be satisfied, with your telling them, that "a well regulated militia will save all the expense arising from the score of an army," say they, a man's time and labour, when he inquires, will always be the same to him, as money paid, and that therefore you must fix the number of men that are to be enrolled every year, and the number of times they shall appear; for instance, if in Pennsylvania 25,000 should muster eight times in the year, at 2s. 6d. per day, it would amount to £.25,000, which would be just equal to the present 1s. 6d. tax on all the estates in the province; if they are to receive no pay it will nevertheless be a loss to them, equal to that sum; if they are to be paid the amount of this tax should certainly be estimated, because it must be paid by the community at large in every province, in proportion to the numbers so enrolled as a militia. The expense of building a sufficient fleet should also be ascertained, and also the number of ships, and men necessary to be kept in constant pay, as guarda costa's, occasional convoys, or dispatch vessels, conveying our alladors to the different ports in Europe, and you must also estimate the annual expense of watching, and keeping those vessels in repair, which are laid up; also the expense of maintaining in every court of Europe ambassadors, consuls, messengers, spies, and even bribe money, for intelligence of the designs of their respective countries;—also the expense of the

fleet and army in time of war; for we may reasonably expect to share the same fate of other nations, and of being sometimes unfortunately engaged in war, with some troublesome ambitious prince or other; perhaps they may undertake to stop our trade up the Straights into the Mediterranean, or up the north sea, to Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Russia, we must then either give it up, or fight for it, or pay some subsidy to a foreign power for protection in those seas—the expenses in any, or all, of those cases; you should give to us—also in what proportion the value of our estates in America will increase, so as to defray the necessary charges of government, taking for granted, that an 1s. 6d. tax in the pound, on all taxable estates in America, does now yield 533,773 dollars, being rather more than half a million; which is calculated thus; Pennsylvania is rated by the congress to pay about one eighth of all the expenses of the united colonies; and as a tax of 1s. 6d. in the pound in the said province, heats about £.25,000—we may suppose, an 1s. 6d. tax upon the united colonies, will yield just eight times as much, which is £.200,000 our currency or 533,773 dollars per annum. Lastly you are to consider, after all things are candidly stated, whether the sums annually raised on the one hand to protect ourselves, and the absolute gain in trade (over and above what we used to make) on the other hand, do or do not render it most for our interest to separate from Britain. On the part of those who contend for a connexion, they must shew what are the advantages that result from such a connexion; what were the customary expenses of government in America, before the present usurpation; what are the exclusive privileges we derive from exporting goods to Great Britain; whether there are acts of parliament in favour of the colonies, to the prejudice of other nations; and which we reap the sole advantage of—and whether there are equivalent to any loss we may sustain; by having our trade confined to them; whether our trade is not limited to our great disadvantage; you are to particularly shew the ports we may trade to, under the old regulations; and the different articles of America, which we may carry directly to foreign ports, you must also shew that the principal part of the goods we import from England and Ireland could not be supplied us upon as good terms from any other country, and that those nations, with whom we might incline to trade, would not grant us bounties upon several sorts, and sundry other articles in the same manner as England does, the amount of which annually paid to the colonies, you should sum up. You must also shew, (if you can) why America ought not to take credit to herself, for all the taxes paid by the English manufacturers, before they send their goods to the colonies; it being generally granted, that the consumer ultimately pays all charges; you must also shew, whether taxes on goods imported into America from Holland, France or Spain (where imposts are very heavy) are or are not added to the cost of the said goods, in the same manner as we reckon them on English goods. Also whether the long established credit our American merchants have obtained in England, in the latter part of the kingdom, with the original manuallurers, cannot be as well accomplished in the new countries we may go to; or whether we must take their goods from merchants at the several out-ports, with all the middle men's or intervening dealers profit added to them; and if we should obtain credit at such places for twelve months, as in England, what will be the damage which a Frenchman, a Dutchman, or a Spaniard, will chuse to put on his goods, as an equivalent, for the risk which he will suppose himself to run, by trusting strangers. Whether it is not a general established custom with all trading nations to trust foreigners, with whom they have no legal or political constitutional connexion, as freely as their own subjects in distant parts of the world; if this is not generally the case, you should shew, why America can't make treaties with such powers, in order to obtain credit; either by pledging to them the estates of the community at large, to make good deficiencies that might happen by any vessel's sailing, or neglecting to pay such foreign debts, or by such other means as the American states might think fit to offer. You should also shew, whether the low price of goods, for many years past, was owing to the singleness of the demand, or to the great quantities brought to market, or to the reasonableness and moderation of the importing merchants; and whether, if France, Spain and Holland should refuse to give credit to every young merchant going out for a cargo, with a tolerable recommendation, as the traders in England have been accustomed to do, I say, it this should be the case, and the importation should fall wholly into the hands of a few rich merchants, why might not some mode of restriction be entered into for preventing the exorbitant exactions they might be guilty of, to the great injury of the consumers? You must also convince the farmer, if he bought his goods as low as formerly, occasioned by a re-union with Great Britain, that he would also have the same advantages of shipping off his produce, which he has been used to, without any restriction, laid upon our trade that might lower the price when he brought his crops to market. You must also point out what advantage it would be to England to have tobacco, once more exported to them; and whether this, among other considerations, would be any inducement for them to offer us better terms. Some might possibly think that, nationally speaking, the being deprived of an expensive luxury, would be rather a gain than a loss; for though the tax on this article is only rated at 60c. per annum, yet it is wholly paid by themselves, as well as the neat cost of the tobacco. The public funds, should indeed be less, but the people would be gainers, in a sum just equal to the neat amount paid to the American planter; therefore you must shew

CASSANDRA will please to excuse the application of Gentlemen, for as she has declared that she Prophets and never be settled. I am under the necessity of disbelieving that the modern Cassandra was a Lady.

REWARD. Subscribers, on Tuesday, mark bay or brown horse, upwards of 40 hands, has a few gray hairs in his gallop; and when rods has a hanging mane, like short back; his tail when raised, was intended for a line of the person who shot a long bob, the broken on the inside, and out half worn, but if he is any probability that one of these horses takes up both sides be contented, and the same Patent iron-works, or 20 shillings for the would be a great distance, allowed if brought home.

JAMES RAWLINGS. s county, May 24, 1775, to all persons indebted to by bond, note, or open and settle their respective to give no longer inquisition will be adverted to, ulfory methods to enforce to persons.

JOSEPH DUVALL. April 10, 1775. S. REWARD. Subscriber, living in Kent st of this infant, two of which has about three

ut thirty years of age, about five feet ten inches dark hair; had on and own broad cloth coat, and shoes; and a pair of black yellow metal buttons, as e sleeves, shirts, shoes and cher or brickmaker.

at 6 years of age, five feet de, fair skin, ruddy com- had on and took with him, or fashion, a purple under or two check shirts, such ck silk handkerchief round ricy breeches, and a pair of air of Scotch Kilmarnock, obed hose mixed black and n shoes, and square steel and; and they have both Pennsylvania. Whoever ve them again, shall receive out of the province, if a or half the above reward for.

RICHARD GRAVES. apico Neck, April 3, 1775. LARS REWARD.

ng a Runaway. Sometimes known by the commonly answers to the abrupt leave of his overcoat not yet returned; he is a 9 inches high, strong made, pitive in conversation, firm to perpetrate villainy, tho' able in speech; he has fre a considerable part of this of Pennsylvania; in the borough, and cons-; joined with Philadelphia; re-visit those places. His me manufactured long cloth breeches, yarn stockings, shoes, nailed with hobs; as with him a blue German cloth vest, two pair of stockings, two white shirt and collar hat with band and raps, with a pair of double has a mark of distinction, some other motive, he is care- (but which is forgot) others. The above reward is taken up out of the pro- Baltimore town in the pro- five pounds if at the dis- pounds if so, and forty for reasonable travelling expens- under the act of assembly.

THOMAS JONES.

old at the Printing- E. D. I. N. G. S.

THE N T I O N

MARYLAND, on Thursday the 9th of ber, 1775.