

WELL, in West-Breit, Anna...  
is become absolutely necessary  
of American liberty,  
gentlemen, that he makes  
fine metal sword hilts; like  
the s. me. Those gentlemen  
him with their custom, may de-  
their work done with the greatest  
the most reasonable rate, which  
satisfaction to the public in gene-  
regular apprenticeship to the  
don.  
silversmiths work done also;

at Iron-Works, February 6, 1776,  
settling the estate of our father,  
W. D. N. E. of Patuxent Iron-  
request all such as are indebted  
immediate payment, as no longer  
given them. Also all persons that  
Patuxent Iron-Works Company,  
months standing, are requested to  
and make payment; and those who  
power to make immediate pay-  
they will come and settle their  
b. n. d. If the above requests are  
we shall take such methods as will  
with respect to persons, al-  
agreeable to

AMUEL and JOHN SNOWDEN,  
to be sold at the Printing-office,  
E E D I N G S  
O F T H E  
E N T I O N  
O F T H E  
C E O F M A R Y L A N D,  
Annapolis, on Thursday the 7th of  
December, 1775.

GA T I V E O F F I C E,  
March 13, 1776.  
The records of the commissary's office  
to Upper Marlborough, by the  
Council of Safety for the province of  
directed to give this public notice,  
business of that office will from hence-  
at that place.

commissary's courts are by law appointed  
city of Annapolis, where the same  
y be continued, the commissary ge-  
relieve as far as in his power the di-  
the people, from the removal of the  
the place from the capital, hath refused  
places in every court week, which  
second Tuesdays of May, July, Septem-  
ber; and to that end, will hold his  
and Tuesday in said months at the city  
for the convenience of the inhabitants  
more, and others whom it may be-  
l from thence proceed on the Thurs-  
Marlborough, there to sit during the  
week for the dispatch of public busi-

ice, that for the greater ease and con-  
inhabitants of Anne-Arundel county,  
business with me as deputy commissary  
I shall give attendance every Tuesday  
Mr. Cornelius Garretson in the city of  
that purpose.

ELIE VALLETTE, register.  
delivered at the contractor's  
store in Annapolis,  
CITY of potatoes, parsneps, carrots,  
stone beans, or any kind of Indian  
will be given the highest prices, by  
ISAAC M' HARD,  
for MR. ROBERT GUMMING.

Annapolis, March 26, 1776.  
from the subscriber, an indented ser-  
vant, named Edward Burford, born in  
about five feet two inches high, fair  
and brown hair: had with him two cloth  
London brown, the other of coarse  
cloth with waistcoat of the same,  
good buckskin breeches, ribb'd worsted  
English made shoes. He is very fond  
can give no better reason for his es-  
than that he often merited chastisement  
received it. He was seen at Mr. Jacob  
Prince-George's county, pretending  
a ship-mate. Should he be taken  
I will give 40 shillings reward on

J. CLAPHAM.

RAHAM CLAUDE,  
JEWELLER, and SILVERSMITH,  
Mrs. Johnson's tavern, ANNAPOLIS,  
to acquaint the public in general,  
friends in particular, that he still con-  
on the aforesaid trades in all their vari-  
and at the most reasonable rates; also that  
and repairs all sorts of fire-arms, small-  
gers, and cutliss. He also makes boots  
the neatest and most approved maner,  
has several groats of hoot-ers  
reap.

E N.

THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1776

To the PEOPLE of PENNSYLVANIA.  
LETTER VI.  
(Concluded from our last.)

BUT he has not: the candour to compare scrip-  
ture with scripture; nor does he give a single  
passage compleat, and connected with the parts  
necessary to explain it—a clear proof that  
either craft may be employed, as well as king-  
craft and priest-craft, in with-holding the scripture from  
the people, even in protestant countries. Had our author  
proceeded a little further; or given the different passages  
proceeding, as he went along, it would have appeared that,  
notwithstanding the just displeasure of the Almighty,  
and his protest against the Jews for throwing off his righte-  
ous government; yet, as mercy and forgiveness are  
his chief delight, and he knows there is no perfection  
in man, the matter was pretty amicably settled at last;  
and the divine countenance given to the establishment  
of monarchy, even in the person of Saul. God himself  
directed his election and appointment; and to prepare  
him for his office, gave him another heart, and also the  
spirit of prophecy. As to the thunder-storm, which our  
author exults in, as an absolute disapprobation of all  
monarchical governments, it was no more than a sign,  
called for by Samuel, to convince the people that he  
spoke in the name of the Lord. But what did he speak  
in the verses immediately preceding? Not surely that  
God had a particular quarrel with monarchical govern-  
ment, as such, and that "blood would attend it;" but  
rather the contrary—that since the Jews would still in-  
sist upon a government of their own appointment, the  
Almighty would yet give them a blessing under that  
very form, upon condition of their obedience to his  
law. If ye will fear the Lord, and serve him, and obey his  
voice, &c.—then shall both ye, and also the king that reign-  
eth over you, continue following the Lord; to which duty  
of following the Lord, a blessing is always promised in  
scripture. But if ye will not obey, &c.—the hand of the  
Lord shall be against you; so it would have been expressed  
for disobedience, had they not asked a king. And im-  
mediately after the thunder-storm, Samuel confirms this  
doctrine, and comforts the people. Fear not, said he,  
although you have thus sinned, the Lord will not forsake  
his people. As for me, God forbid that I should sin  
against the Lord, and cease to pray for you—But I will in-  
quire you in the good and right way. Thus it seems a  
good way was yet to be found, under monarchical gov-  
ernment. From all which it is plain, that the Al-  
mighty had now pardoned the Jews; and the prophet  
follows the example; promising still to proceed in the  
discharge of his duty among them, as a people yet in  
covenant with God. But, as I hinted before, it did not  
suit our author's purposes to take notice of such passages  
as these; and he has been guilty of still as great a per-  
version of scripture concerning David, whom God undeni-  
ably approved of and appointed to monarchical rule.

"The high exordium given of David takes no notice  
of him officially as a king, but only as a man after  
God's own heart." I know the poor equivocation  
which the author has here in reserve to offer for his say-  
ing that this character was not given to David officially  
as a king, but as a man. It is true, when Samuel first  
applied the character to David he had not yet entered  
on his office, as a king; but it was predicted that the  
kingdom should not be continued in the family of Saul,  
because he had violated the law, and intruded himself  
into the priest's duty, which did not belong to him;  
and therefore the prophet tells him that the Lord had  
sought him a man after his own heart; with the express  
design of making him the successor of Saul, on account  
of his excellent and God-like disposition. The Lord hath  
commanded him (this man after his own heart) to be cap-  
tain over his people, because thou [Saul] hast not kept that  
which the Lord commanded thee. That one man is here  
rejected from being a king, because of his disobedience  
to God, and another chosen as his successor, because of  
his goodness of heart and regard to religion; is true, or  
scripture is false. But one greater than Samuel, even  
St. Paul, puts this beyond all doubt; and appropriates  
the encomium to David, not merely as a king elect, but  
one actually exercising the office. "When he had removed  
him [says the apostle, meaning Saul] he raised up unto  
them David, to be their king, to whom also he gave testi-  
mony and said, I have found David the son of Jesse, a man  
after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will; name-  
ly, in his character of a king.

Numerous are the passages of scripture which might  
be brought to shew that the Almighty approved of  
David officially as a king, on account of his public vir-  
tues, and that a divine blessing was given to the Jewish  
monarchy under his direction. The reader may con-  
sult 2 Sam. chap. v. ver. 10, 12; chap. 8. ver. 6;  
1 Kings, chap. viii. ver. 16. Pf. 78th. ver. 70, 71, 72.  
Pf. 89th. ver. 20, 28.  
I have now done with our author on this head, and  
can return one of his polite expressions—"I despise  
him" equally as a perverter of scripture; and of the fun-  
damental principles of mixt government. "I am threat-  
ened with being "hunted from every lane and lunk-  
ing hole." Hunt on. I skulk in no such places, but  
keep the open streets." "Wait a little," say others—  
"Cato will soon be found tripping and stumbling upon  
Very Doctrines, the divine right of kings, non-resistance,  
and the like." Well, gentlemen, I wait patiently, till it so  
happens; but let me, in the mean time, have fair play.  
I claim it of the public, as being engaged in a cause which  
is of the utmost importance to them as well as to myself;  
and while I handle it decently, I can rely on their candour.  
I have got over what some may have viewed as the  
most thorny part of my way; and upon the whole  
I contend for this—That where a people are left to chuse

their own forms of government, as has been the case of all  
the world for some thousand years, there is no particular  
deunciation of God's displeasure against any FORM, wheth-  
er MONARCHICAL or DEMOCRATICAL, under which  
such a people may think their civil happiness best secured,  
and their duty to God best performed.

ACHERLEY shall again shelter me in this conclusion;  
which is the main purport of the present letter.  
"JESUS CHRIST left all the potentates of this world,  
and their subjects, to decide their several rights by the  
temporal laws of each nation, and never intimated  
WHAT FORM OF GOVERNMENT WAS MOST CONVE-  
NIENT OR ELIGIBLE."  
This directly contradicts our author, who says that  
the Almighty has entered his protest against the parti-  
cular form of monarchy. Yet ACHERLEY was a GOOD  
WHIG, and desired to leave scripture out of the institu-  
tion of modern governments. It might be well for the  
author of *Common Sense* to follow the example in his fu-  
ture works; without stirring up an old dispute, of which  
our fathers were long since wearied.

It has been asked—why does not Cato come to the  
point? He is but yet in the suburbs—Softly gentlemen!  
If this be true, why do you, who are in the citadel,  
make such a noise, and betray such fears? Cannot you  
let me pursue the siege in my own way? I really  
thought that, if I could sap or overturn your founda-  
tions, the aerial part of your fabric would tumble to the  
ground. You call on me to shew my plan? I have  
done it, and mentioned, as such, a safe return to a con-  
nection with our ancient friends and kindred, accompa-  
nied with all the advantages we have formerly experi-  
enced, and perhaps more; which I trust are things yet  
practicable; or, if it should prove otherwise, we can lose  
nothing by the exercise of deliberation and wisdom in  
the mean while.

But what have you done? Although it was im-  
portant on you to have shewn the advantages of your plan,  
to the great and respectable number of good men, who  
will always be averse to changes, except in the last ne-  
cessity; although you ought to have relieved their in-  
nermost doubts concerning their future safety and peace,  
which have been plentifully thrown out to you; in  
short, although you ought to have counted the cost of  
your work, and have tried to reconcile with your de-  
sign, a multitude of interests, commercial, political, and  
economical—you have only entertained us with some  
loose declamations upon abuses in the English govern-  
ment, and shocked us, for want of better arguments, by  
a perversion of things sacred; filling the papers with  
personal invectives and calumnies against all who cannot  
swallow, at a venture, every crude notion you may cook  
up as the politics of the day. This will as little agree  
with the stomachs of others as with mine: Although I  
have declared that, when the last necessity comes, I have  
no expedient in view but to take my chance with you,  
for better and for worse.

To the PEOPLE of PENNSYLVANIA.  
LETTER VII.

THE author of *Common Sense* does not trust wholly to  
his scripture doctrines for the demolition of monarchi-  
cal government; and indeed how could he? For he  
seems only to have begun his study of the Bible "since  
the fatal 19th of April, 1775." Before that period, as  
he eloquently tells us, "no man was a warmer adviser to  
reconciliation (with monarchical government) than  
himself." It may be proper, then, to take some notice  
of what he offers by way of argument against monarchy,  
and particularly the hereditary kind.

"If hereditary successions" says he (meaning succe-  
sion to monarchical government) "did ensure a race of  
good men, it would have the seal of divine authority."  
Thus we find him; with his own hand, affixing the seal  
of Heaven to what he has before told us, the Devil in-  
vented, and the Almighty entered his protest against.  
A strange inconsistency as well as heterodoxy! for if mo-  
narchy be from Hell and reprobated by Heaven, how  
can a succession to it be sanctified by the authority of  
everlasting goodness?

He finds another curious argument against the English  
monarchy, in particular; by tracing it to the rascally  
original of a French bastard. Yet, in the estimation of  
many, this will prove as little against the institution it-  
self, as it would prove against this author's argument or  
mine, in the present controversy, if both of us were dis-  
covered not only to have sprung from bastards, but to  
be such ourselves. The family scutcheon, that is without  
a blot, must be but of very fresh date. The Roman em-  
pire, by this author's argument, had a double or twin-  
rascality in its original. ROMULUS and REMUS did not  
know their own father. "They were, says SIDNEY, the  
sons of a nun, constuprated (or plumped up) as is pro-  
bable, by a lassy soldier, who was (by the language of  
flattery afterwards) said to be MARS, and for their vi-  
gour and valour were made heads of the people." The  
rest of his arguments appear nothing better than these,  
even where he displays his whole force, in laying before  
us the materials of the English constitution, under dif-  
ferent heads.

"First—The remains of monarchical tyranny, in the  
person of the king. "Secondly—The remains of aris-  
tocratical tyranny, in the persons of the peers. "Thirdly  
—The new republican materials, in the persons of the  
commons. These he intimates, may be virtuous; but  
he should have made them as tyrannical as the others,  
so far as these colonies are concerned; else what are we  
contending for against them?  
Alas! what more than African labour have I under-  
taken, in attempting to answer a writer, who, under the

specious name of *Common Sense*, is constantly dealing out  
paradoxes, and setting himself up, not only in contra-  
diction to the sober sentiments of the wisest of mankind,  
but often in contradiction to himself? Can any man  
expect credit, who will gravely assert that a people, long  
famed for wisdom and love of liberty, would have em-  
ployed themselves for a thousand years, in compounding  
and tearing up a constitution, out of the materials of  
the different simple forms of government, and, all the  
while, have selected nothing but the tyrannical remains  
of each? To reason with such a writer would be lost  
labour. Some assertions are too absurd for the possi-  
bility of refutation. The rules of logic cannot lay hold of  
them.

In such a case, the best answer that can be given, is to  
lay before the reader a true account of the English con-  
stitution; the praises of which have adorned and filled  
the volumes of the greatest men in our own and other  
countries. In this part of my work, therefore, I shall  
have little more to do than to copy them; and as the  
sentiments of foreigners may be deemed more impartial  
than our own, I shall take one of the greatest of them—  
the illustrious MONTESQUIEU, for my chief guide. But  
as this truly enlightened genius, with the dignity of a  
profound lawgiver, delivers himself almost in the concise  
style of aphorisms, that he may be more useful to men,  
whose clear and comprehensive understanding renders  
them fit for the like office themselves, in the service of  
their country; I shall endeavour to convey the substance  
of his doctrines in the most familiar style, retaining, as  
far as I am able, his sense and spirit, I shall likewise  
venture sometimes to make a few additions, either for  
illustration, or to bring his general principles more  
closely home to the English constitution.

There is certainly something too venerable in a fabric  
built up with so much care by our ancestors, cemented  
with so much blood, and to which they have adhered  
for so many ages, to be lightly given up, upon the partial  
reprisements, or general invectives, of any writer,  
or number of writers, arguing from the abuse of things  
against the use of them. We would not lock ourselves  
out of an old habitation, till we had provided a new and  
better one; nor part with a common friend, upon the  
passionate accusations of an avowed enemy, without hear-  
ing what he could say in his defence, and giving him a fair  
trial. For, at this rate, we could have nothing of the least  
stability or permanency upon earth; and our whole lives  
would be employed in making and unmaking, building  
up and pulling down, without ever reaping the smallest  
fruit of our labours.

The author of *Common Sense* stands singular in his  
rage for condemning the English constitution in the  
lump, and the administration of it from the beginning.  
The immortal SIDNEY himself gives it a different cha-  
racter, and speaks with reverence of the wisdom of our  
ancestors. "They evidently appear, says he, not only  
to have intended well, but to have taken a right course  
to accomplish what they intended." I his had effect as  
long as the cause continued, and the only fault which  
can be ascribed to that which they established is, that it  
has not proved to be perpetual, which is no more than  
may be justly said of the best human constitutions that  
ever have been in the world. If we will be just to our  
ancestors it will become us, in our time, rather to pursue  
what we know they intended, and by new constitutions  
to repair the breaches made upon the old, than to accuse them  
of defects, that will for ever attend the actions of men."

MONTESQUIEU, in the cool moments of philosophi-  
cal reflection, unbiassed by local prejudices, and remote,  
both in time and place, from the scenes he describes,  
has given us an instructive lesson on this head.  
"A very droll spectacle (says he) it was in the last  
century, to behold the impotent efforts the English made  
for the establishment of democracy or republican govern-  
ment. The spirit of one faction was suppressed only by  
that of a succeeding faction. The government was  
continually changing. The people, amazed at so many  
revolutions, sought every where for a democracy, without  
being able to find it" any where. "At length, after a  
series of tumultuary motions and violent shocks, they  
were obliged to have recourse to that very government,  
which they had so odiously proscribed."

Every government, in order to be compleat, must  
have within itself the power of preserving its being, as  
well as pursuing its will being. And such a power ne-  
cessarily implies three things.—1st. Legislation, or the  
making laws and regulations for the good of the com-  
munity. 2dly. The execution of these laws. 3dly. The  
judging when they are duly executed, and punishing of-  
fenders. The great object of the whole is political li-  
berty, which Montesquieu defines—"That tranquillity  
or peace of mind arising from the opinion each person  
has of his safety. In order to have this liberty, it is  
 requisite that the government be so constituted, as one  
man need not be afraid of another," either in respect  
of his person or property. Every man's own feelings  
can tell him that this is a true definition.

But the union of these three powers, the legislative,  
the executive and judicial, in one man or any number of  
men, is not liberty but tyranny compleat; because there  
can be no safety for individuals in such a case, unless  
goodness were always united with power; which is not  
to be looked for, except under the perfect government  
of Heaven. "It is, a mistake, says the great Mr.  
LOCKE, to think that this fault (the abuse of power) is  
proper only to monarchies. Other forms of govern-  
ment are liable to it as well as that; for wherever the  
power, that is put into any hands, for the government  
of the people, and the preservation of their properties,  
is applied to other ends, and made use of to impoverish,  
harrass, or subdue them to the arbitrary and irregular

\* Montesquieu, b. xi. ch. 6.