## MARTLAND GAZETTE.

H U R S D A Y, MAY 9, 1776

To the PEOPLE of PENNSYLVANIA. LETTER VIII.

HE all wife CREATOR having enabled every man to judge, in some degree, what is good for himself, the study of government is a duty of the highest concern to all the members of a free state. But men, in general, may be faid to feel better than they can fee; and therefore feldom take the trouble to employ their thoughts on public affairs, while they are tolerably administered, nor is it till oppression becomes flagrant, and even palpable to the fight, that a people are universally roused into a serious attention to abuses in government.

Numerous are the evils which spring from distractions and convulsions in a state; but they are often produc-tive of one advantage which outweighs them all. The civil onstitution of countries, although long neglected, through the indolence of the people and tottering on the verge of dissolution, have nevertheless been thus purged of their corruptions, brought back to their first prin-ciples, and made to flourish, with renewed vigour, through many succeeding ages. But as this can only be the work of heroism, conducted by wissom, virtue, and prudence every writer who, upon such great and trying occasions, seeks to exaggerate, or conceal facts, to state but one fide of a question, to warp the judgment by partial representations, to give railing for reason, invectives for arguments, and to urge a people into halty resolutions, by addressing the inflamed passions, rather than the fober reason---every such writer, I say, insults his country in diftress, and is a fellow-worker with its enemies to hasten its ruin

Had the author of Common Sense considered this, or were he possessed with the least reverence for the judgment or feelings of a reat and enlightened people, whom he has thought himself fit to address, his performance would have been of a different nature. it would at least have worn the resemblan e of argument, and contained fomething which had a chance to meet the reason of wife men, and to stand the test of their candid examination. He would have listened patiently to their remarks upon his production, and would have coolly replied to their objections. He would not have daren to offer fuch an indignity to the public, as to throw out impotent threats (instead of answers) against the meanest of his fellow-citizens (it fellow-citizens he has in this place) merely for endeavouring, in a country yet free, to detect his misrepresentations, to supply his defect of materials, and thereby enable a people to judge fairly of their own weighty concerns.

The contest in which America is engaged was not lightly undertaken. The sword was drawn in defence of our laws and liberties. Till these are rendered sase, let it not be returned to the scabbard; but still let not the scabbard be thrown away. If our just rights can be best secured by reconciliation with our own flesh and blood---with a yet powerful nation, whose religion, laws and manners, in our former happy days, we gloried to call our own ... God forbid that we should shut the door against it, by any hasty measure among ourfelves. This ha, py period to our miseries is still hoped-for and devoutly wished, not only by multitudes of the zealous friends of America through all the colonies, but by whole colonies in their public capacity, regardless of any thing that has yet been offered to the contrary. While this continues to be the case, he who seeks to disturb the union which we nobly supported on our former ground, is the worst foe to his country. If the British administration has a tool here, labouring to forward their ruinous purposes by divisions and distractions, Thou ART THE MAN---even thou, the author of Common Sense, who hast started thine ignis fatuus to draw the unwary into untried regions, full of tremendous precipices and quagmires treacherous to the foot; whither the wife and confiderate think it not fafe to follow. Couldst thou succeed in this, thou dost effectually confirm all the flanders of our ministerial foes against us; and instead of America strong in domestic anion and supported by a respectable part of Britain, thou wilt give us Britain united, and America rent by divisions, amidst the mighty contest. Thou sayest that Now is the exact time for adopting thy plan, and holdest up ruin as the fure consequence of the least delay I-Thou saids the same, and didst threaten the same, near
three months ago, if we hestated a moment to follow
thy advice. Possibly any time may be thy now, especially if thou shoulds have nothing to lote, and peradventure mayst hope to gain something by the change. But when the Almighty shall be pleased to say now, thy interpretations will be unnecessary. He will send conviction along with it in circumstances so clear and

unambiguous, that they who run may read them. The public will excuse the occasional notice I am forced to take of the answers hitherto given to my letters. Were I disposed to deviate from my plan, or, by immediate retaliation, to draw the attention of the reader to the se political characters connections and dependencies" of my antagonists (which the author of Common Scusse, in his new character of the Forester, allows to be very effectial in such a controversy) I believe it would add little to the credit of their works; especially is provided that they have letters. Were I disposed to deviate from my plan, or, cially if upon enquiry it thould be found that they have neither "character nor connections" in this place; and that they are the avowed inftruments and dependents of fome, who, having no concern in our domestic affairs, are nevertheless constantly intermeddling with them, to the great diffurbance of the province, and injury of the public cause.

Aut I have no immediate occasion to enter into such

an enquiry, and am happy to find that, although near a dozen aniwers have been given in one shape or another

to my two or three first letters, nothing has been yet of-fered worthy of a particular reply. The Forester seems the chief champion against me. He makes me write what he pleases, that he may answer as he pleases.—— The following is a specimen of his justice, in quoting

from me.

"If we now effect independence, we must be considered as a saithless people, in the sight of all mankind, and could scarcely expectable considence of any nation upon earth, or look up to heaven for its approving sentence;"---and upon this he exclaims,----" Art thou mad, Cato, or art thou soelish, or art thou worse than both?" Now, I can fairly leave those who have read my letters, to apply any or all of these epithets to me as their candour shall direct. But those who read but one paper (in which it is thought proper only to publish the answers to my letters, without the letters themselves) may verily believe I have afferted, that, it ever we effect independence, neither beaven nor earth will smile upon us, It is hoped, therefore, that the publishers of that paper, if they should never insert any other part of my letters (in which they may use their own pleasure) will be so just as to give this mangled pa-

other part of my letters (in which they may use their own pleasure) will be so just as to give this mangled paragraph entire; and then it will be in these words:-
"In short, (if) thus contradicting all our former public prosessions (we) bould (now AFFECT independency) as our own all, before it appears clearly to the world to have been forced upon us by the cruel band of the parent-state, we could neither bope for union nor success in the attempt.

(We must be considered as a faithless people in the success of the sound state of all many and could scarcely expect the confight of all mankind, and could scarcely expect the confidence of any nation upon earth, or look up to heaven

for its approving fentence.")
The discerning reader will easily see that our honest Forester has not scrupled to take part of one sentence and connect it with another; which wholly alters the fenie. He gives us only what is included within the above parentheses, and suppresses all that essential part which is in italics. He who can thus pilfer from the fense of another is come to his last shift, and it may be prefumed would not flick at any thing to promote his

cause. But what can I expect from one who uses the immortal Millen much in the same way?

In the pamphlet called Common Sense, endeavouring to establish his favourite doctrine, that reconciliation with Great-Britain is now impossible, and urging us on to blood: whatever terms may be offered, he has the un-paralleled confidence to add as follows.-- " For, as MILTON wifely expresses-never can true reconcile ment grow. where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd fo deep."---How unlucky is this quotation! Our author thinks he has fnatched a coal from the altar; but it is like that which the foolish eagle stole, and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed herself and her brood. Would not the reader believe that the author had here given us some wise sentiment of Milton, fit to be co-pied in the conduct of a christian people? But look at the place (Parad. Loft, B. iv.) and you will find that it was the freech of the Devil, meditating the destruction of mankind; and fuited only to the desperate purposes of those, who are in the same dreadful state of mind in which our divine poet describes the Devil to have been at the time.

- Horror and doubt diffract His troubled thoughts; and from the bottom stir The hell within him. For within him hell He brings, and round about him, nor from hell One step, no more than from himself, can sy.---

"Get thee behind me" thou abandoned writer; and take back another of thy compliments! For canst theu \*f have the feelings of danan"---then who art labouring to fill the hearts of thy fellow-mortals with irreconcileable hatred, and the feelings of the Devil? As for my feelings-on-this occasion, I-trust they are founded on the doctrines of the SAVIOUR OF MANKIND, who teaches that no offences in this world can be fo great among brethren as to preclude reconciliation. "If thy brother repent forgive him"--- and if thou canst not forgive, How canst thou list up thine eyes to thy Heavenly Father for forgiveness of thy fins, or even those of thy single pamphlet? Hadst thou done justice to MILTON, thou mightest have shewn him in his own proper person, upon my side of the question; proclaiming the doctrines of his Heavenly Master.---

Oh shame to men! Devil with Devil damn'd Firm concord holds; men only difagree Of creatures rational, though under bope Of beavenly grace: And God proclaiming peace, Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife Among themselves, and levy cruel wars, Wasting the earth, each other to destroy

Thou mayst apply this to our cruel oppressors; and I say nothing against thee therein, except where thou urgest thy terrible doctrine of the impossibility of reconciliation; and to make it wholly impossible art striving to inspire sentiments into thy brethren which would disgrace their christian profession. But I leave thee on this head; and if thou dost not too much interrupt me, shall, in two or three letters more, leave the public and posterity finally to judge between thee and me. Suum enique decus posteritas rependit. I proceed then, with my remarks upon thy furious antipathy to mixt governments, in which thou half surpassed all the writers I have met with; nor shall I quote any against thee except those who are acknowledged to have stood foremost in their opposition to the encroachments of monarchy. The popular leaders, who overturned the monarchy in the last age? were not themselves friends to republica. They only made use of the name to procure the favour of the people; and whenever by such means they had mounted to the proper leight, each of them, in his

turn, began to kick the people from him, as a ladder

Cromwell exercised the posterior a king, and of the most absolute king, under the there is a government. The instrument of republican government, which he had at first extolled as the most perfect work of human invention, he became the shought which he had at first extolled as the most perfect work of human invention, he began (as soon as he thought his authority sufficiently established) to represent as a rotten plank upon which no man could trust himself without sinking." He had his eye fixed upon the crown; but when he procured an offer of it from a packed parliament, his courage failed him. He had outwitted himself, by his own hypocrify; and in his way to power had thrown such an odium upon the way to power had thrown fuch an odium upon the name of king, that his own family, apprehensive he would be murdered the moment the diadem should touch his brow, persuaded him to decline that honour.

The great Sidney never meant more, by his celebrated work, than so reform the abuses of mixt government; and to reftrain the rapid progress which the nation was making, in his time, towards absolute monarchy. And he was as much a foe to Cromwell as to Charles the First, considering both as governing above the laws. But he did not write against kings generally,

more than other rulers who might abuse their power.

'Nothing, says he, is farther from my intention than to speak irreverently of kings," and he explains what kings he means, viz. those limited by law, in mixt governments. He has wrote a whole section to the what the hast governments in the world have been shew that the best governments in the world have been composed (as the English i.) of monarchy, aristocracy, and dimocracy. He says God ordained a mixt government. answering to this in all its parts; and consisting of a single jndge or chief captain (we contend not for names) a council of seventeen chosen men, or sanhedring; and the general assemblies of the people. Is not this our own form compleat? When he speaks of popular governments he uses the utmost precision. "To avoid unnecessary disputes (says he) I give the name of popular governments to those of Rome, Athens, Sparta, and the like; but improperly, unless the same may also be given to many that are usually called monarchies, since there is nothing of violence in either. As to popular governments, in the strict sense, that is pure democracy, shew that the best governments in the world have been governments, in the frict fenfe, that is pure democracy, where the people in themselves, and by themselves, perform all that belongs to government, I know of no such thing; and if it be in the world. I have nothing to say for it." And more explicitly still he says, " being no way concerned in the defence of democracy -- 1 may leave our knight (Filmer) like Don Quixote, fighting against the phantasm of his own brain, and to say what he pleas s against such go ernments as never were, un-less in such a place as an Marino, near Senegaglia in Italy, where an hundred men govern a barbarous rock that no man invades. As for democracy, he may fay what he pleafes of it; and I believe it can fait only with the convenience of a small town, accompanied with such circumstances as are seldom to be found." If Sidney understood any thing of the matter, we see that every colony in America is a ready too unwieldy for such a government, and therefore it cannot be a model for an immense continent. In fore it cannot be a model for an immense continent. In a word, although this great man lived before the revolution, he laid its foundation, died a martyr to its principles, and by one of the first acts of parliament made under it, his attainder was repealed, and a solemn national sanction given to his writings.

The testimony of another professed Whio, nay an INDEPENDENT WHIO (the samous Gordon, in his discourses upon Tacitus) shall come next: "Monarchy, according to Plato is the best government or the worst.

according to Plato, is the best government or the worst; to which opinion, says he, I subscribe, as I do to that of Philip de Commines, that England is the place in the world where the public is most equally administered, and where the people suffer the least violence. We are blessed with a form of government, which Tacitus mentions as the must perfect, and thinks the hardest to be framed; that happy balance and mixture of inte-

reffs, that fecures every interest."

Polybius (as he is quoted by Montagu, on the rife and fall of republics) agrees with Plato. "The best form of government, fays he, is that which is composed of a due admixture of menarchy, ariflocracy and democracy."--- Of all legislators he prefers Lycurgus, whom he looks upon rather as divinely inspired, than as a man. To perpetuate the Spartan government, he united the peculiar excellencies of the best forms into one, that neither of the three parts, by swelling beyond its just bounds, might ever be able to deviate into its original bounds, might ever be able to deviate into its original inborn defects. Montagu adds--- I cannot help obferving, on this occasion, that our own constitution, as settled at the revolution, so nearly coincides with Lycurgus's general plan, that it seems at first fight to be formed by that very model." And indeed in the constitution of mixt governments, there is something more substantial than an attachment to the mystical number three, in this triple union of powers. All power lodged, an every many, has been shown to be full uncontrouled, in see or many, has been shewn to be full of danger; lodged in two distinct bodies, they may chance to disagree long; but the addition of a third turns the scale, and further additions would only be

I have not lost fight of Mestefacies, whose sentiments, as applicable to the English constitution, in practice as well as theory, shall be briefly introduced in my next, to close this part of my work; and then let the author of Common Sense combat the arguments of these great mea as well as he can; for he has yet said nothing that is any way applicable to them, and must look for better arguments than those drawn, from the intrict of the any way apprearie to them, and must construct arguments, than those drawn, from the nature of the English constitution, if he expects to serve his cause. For my part I full stand upon my first ground, and have no sentiment which I will to hide on this octation. When it shall clearly appear, that we can be no longer.

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