

PENNSYLVANIA

L E D G E R :

Or the Virginia, Maryland,

Pennsylvania, & New-Jersey

W E E K L Y

A D V E R T I S E R .

SATURDAY,

APRIL 27, 1776.



Philadelphia: Printed by JAMES HUMPHREYS, junr. in Front-street, at the Corner of Black-horse Alley.—Where Effays, Articles of News, Advertisements, &c. are gratefully received and impartially inserted. And Where Subscriptions are taken in for this Paper, at Ten Shillings per Year.

TO THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA. L E T T E R V I I I.

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

Numerous are the evils which spring from dissensions and convulsions in a state, but they are also productive of one advantage which outweighs them all. The civil constitution 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 principles, and made to flourish, with renewed vigour, through many succeeding ages. But as this can only be the work of heroism, conducted by wisdom, virtue and prudence, every writer who, upon such great and trying occasions, seeks to exaggerate, or conceal faults, to state but one side of a question, to warp the judgment by partial representations, to go railing for reason, invents for a guinea, and to urge a people into hasty resolutions, by addressing the inflamed passions, rather than the sober reason of every free writer, I say, insults his country in direct, and is a fellow-worker with his enemies to halter its ruin.

Had the author of *Common Sense* considered this, or were he possessed with the least reverence for the judgement or feelings of a great 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 resemblance of argument, and contained something which had a chance to meet the reason of wise 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 dashed off such an indignity to the public, as to throw out impotent threats (inink of aniers) against the minds of his fellow-citizens (if fellow-citizens he has in this respect 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 safe, let it not be returned to the scabbard; but till 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 ourselves. This happy period to our miseries is still hoped for, and devoutly wished, not only by millions 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 this 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 flattered thine ignis fatuus to draw the unwary into untried regions, full of tremendous precipices and quagmires treacherous in the foot; whether the wise and considerate think it not safe to follow. Couldst thou succeed in this, thou dost effectually confirm all the founders of our miserable loss against it, and instead of America being in *domestic union* and supported by a respectable part of Britain, thou dost 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 holdst up ruin as the sure consequence of the least delay!—Thou sayest the sun, and didst it

threaten the fame, near three months ago, if we hesitated a moment to follow thy advice. Possibly any time may be thy *now*, especially if thou shouldst have nothing to lose, 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 "political characters, connections and dependencies" of my antagonists (which the author of *Common Sense*, in his new character of the Forester, allows to be very essential in such a controversy) I believe it would add little to the credit of their works; especially if upon enquiry it should be found, that they have neither "character nor connections" in this place; and that they are the avowed instruments and dependents of some, who, having no concern in our domestic affairs, are nevertheless constantly intermeddling with them, to the great dilu-bance of the province, and injury of the public cause.

But I have no immediate occasion to enter into such an enquiry, and may perhaps find that, although near a dozen answers have been given in one shape or another to my two or three first letters, nothing has been yet offered worthy of a particular reply. The Forester remains 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 assert independence, we must be considered as a faithless people, in the sight of all mankind, and could scarcely expect the confidence 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 foolish, or art thou both, 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 censorious 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 asserted, that, if ever we effect independence, neither heaven nor earth will judge 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 paragraph entire; and then it will be in these words:—

"In short, (if) thus contradicting all our former public professions (we), would (now assert independence) as our own act, before it appears clearly to the world to have been forced upon us by the cruel hand of the parent-state, we could neither hope for union nor success in the attempt. (We) must be considered as a faithless people in the sight of all mankind, and could scarcely expect the confidence of any nation upon earth, or look up to Heaven for its approving sentence."

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 sense. He gives us only what is included within the above parentheses, and suppresses that essential part which is in Italics. He who can thus pliter from the sense of another, is come to his last shift, and it may be presumed would not stick at any thing to promote his cause. But what can I expect from one who utters the immortal *Altruism* 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 obliging us on to blood, whatever terms may be offered, he has the unparalleled confidence to add as follows:—"For, as MILTON wisely expresses—never can true reconciliation grow, where wounds or deadly hate have pierced to deep."—How unluckily is this quotation! Our author thinks he has intimated a coal from the altar; but it is like that which the toothless eagle holds, 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 copied in the conduct of a churlish people? But look at the place (Parad. Lost, B. iv.) and you will find that it was the *speech of the Devil*, meditating the destruction of mankind; and suited only to the desperate purposes of those, who are in the same dreadful state of mind in which our divines poet describes the Devil to have been at the time.

Horror and doubt distract His troubled thoughts; and from the bottom fell The hell within him. For within him hell He brings, and round about him, nor from hell One fell no more than from himself, can fly—"Get thee behind me" (thou abandoned wretch;—and take back another of thy compliments! For canst thou "have the feelings of a man?"—thou art labouring to fill the heads of thy fellow-mortals with irreconcilable 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 so great among brethren as to preclude reconciliation. "If thy brother repent forgive him"—and it can't not be forgiven, How can't thou lift up thine eyes to thy Heavenly Father for forgiveness of thy sins, or even those of thy single pamphlet? Hadst thou done justice to MILTON, thou mightst have reproved him in his own proper person, upon my side of the question; proclaiming the doctrines of his Heavenly Master.

Oh shame to man! Devil with Devil damned Firm concord holds; men only disagree Of creatures rational, though under hope Of Heavenly Grace: and God profiting peace, Yet live in hatred, enmity and strife - Among themselves, and every cruel wars,

Wading 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 insipid sentiments into thy brethren which would disgrace their churlish profession. But I leave thee on this head; and if thou dost not too much interupt me, shall, in two or three letters more, leave the pencil and I offer finally to judge between thee and me. *Suum cuique decus proferat respondeat*. I protest then, with my remarks upon thy furious antipathy to free governments, in which thou hast impudently said the writers I have met with; nor shall I quote any against thee except those who are acknowledged to be stood for most in their opposition to the encroachments of monarchy. The popular leaders, who overturned the monarchy in the last age, were not themselves friends to republicanism. They only made use of the name to procure the favour of the people; and whenever by such means they had mounted to the popular height, each of them, in his turn, began to kick the people, from him, as a ladder than itself.

Cromwell exercised the power of a King, and of the most absolute King, under the specious name of a Protector. The mitigation of republican government, 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 execute. 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 envied himself, by his own hypocrisy; and in his way to power, had thrown such an ointment upon the name of King, that his own family, apprehensive he would be murdered the moment the shadow should touch his brow, persuaded him to decline that honour.

The great DUMFRIES never meant more, by his celebrated vow, than to reform the abuses of mine government; and to restrain 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 law*. But he did not write against Kings generally, more than other writers who might abuse their power.

"Nobis, say he, is further from my intent on than to speak irreverently of Kings;" and he explains what Kings he means, viz. those who are by

aw, in mix'd governments. He wrote a whole fiction to shew that the best governments in the world have been extirpated (as the English is) of *monarchy, aristocracy and democracy*. He says—God ordained a true government, answering to this in all its parts; and constituting of a single judge or chief magistrate (we contend not for names) a Council of seven chosen men, or Senators; and the *people themselves* for the people. He says, "I know my own former complexion; for I was not a free government, but a mix'd one, the most perfect." "To answer you, I say it is not a mix'd one, but a mix'd one of popular government, that 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 first instance, 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—I may leave, our Knight (Fisher) like Don Quixote, fighting against the phantasm of his own brain, and to say what he pleases against such governments as never were, unless in such a place as San Marino near Senegaglia in Italy, where an hundred men govern a barbarous rock that no man invades. As for democracy, he may say what he pleases of it; and I believe it can last only with the assistance of a small town, accompanied with such circumstances as are fit to be found." He is still so decided upon this subject, that he says, "that every colony in America is already too unwieldy for a true government, and therefore it cannot be a model for an immense continent. In a word, altho' 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 opinion was repealed, and a solemn national compact given to his writings.

The testimony of another professor of *WISDOM*, in my independent view (the famous Gordon, in his discourses upon *Treason*) shall come next. "Monarchy, according to Plato, is the best government or the wisest; to which opinion, says he, I subscribe, as I do to that of *Philipp de Comines*, 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 blest with a form of government, which Tacitus mentions as the most perfect, and thinks the hardest to be framed; that happy balance and mixture of interests, that secures every interest."

Polibius (as he is quoted by *Montesquieu*, on the life and fall of republics) agrees with Plato. The best form of government, says he, is that which is composed of a due admixture of *monarchy, aristocracy 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 inborn defects. Montesquieu adds—"I cannot help observing, 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 sight to be formed by that very model." and indeed, in the constitution of mix'd governments, there is nothing more substantial than an attachment to the mythical number *three*, in this triple union of powers. All power lodged, uncontrouled, in one 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 it *scale*, &c. further additions would only be evils.

I have not told you of *Montesquieu's*, 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 men 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 nature of the English constitution, if he expects to serve his cause. For my part I will stand upon my first ground, and have no sentiment in which I wish to hide on this occasion. When it shall clearly appear, that we can be no longer free nor secure in our rights and property, in connection with Britain, or that we can be more secure in any other connection (and the time which will enable us to judge of this cannot be very remote) the author of these letters shall not then slip a word, until whatever measures the sense of the majority of this country, fully taken, shall adopt for the common good; and will be ready to give his best assistance for carrying them into execution. But he must vote, and his testimony against being surpris'd in his office, decisions, his misrepresentations, unwarranted suggestions, and delusive arguments; and I trust, proceeding from prejudice, or pre-determination of a question, in which the happiness of a great continent is involved. C A T O.

CASSANDRA to CATO. "Number III.

I HAVE engaged in the present political controversy with a design to be of service to my country,

On an impartial inquiry into the present state of the British constitution, it appears to me that it is out of the power of the British legislature to give us security for the future enjoyment of our rights and liberties; and on this ground I have oppos'd a reunion. I have examined every thing advanced by you on the subject, and find them void of merit. The point with me has ever been, what will secure our safety? The question of interest is ever determined thereby. National property and national happiness, are incompatible with national slavery. It is of small consequence to America, whether God has granted a King to the people of Britain or not; or whether the constitution of their government answers excellently to the inhabitants of that island, if dependence on that excellent form of government is big with slavery and ruin to America.

If you mean not to hold your countymen in power until the day of salvation is past, I call upon you to prove that Great-Britain can offer any plan of constitutional dependence which will not leave the future enjoyment of our liberties to *lops, hazards, and uncertainty*, as the Forester has finely expressed it. And that if the case there is a probability the will. If the one is impossible, or the other altogether improbable, yourself must acknowledge it is time to part.

By the constitution of Great-Britain the present Parliament can make no law which shall bind its future one. For as the author of *les Parliamentaires* or law of Parliament observes, page 77, when treating of the power and authority of Parliaments, "Tho' it be apparent, what transcendent power and authority the Parliament hath, and though *divers Parliaments* have been competent to *bind, constrain, suspend, qualify, or make void the laws, and the subsequent Parliaments*; yet could they never *abolish* the Law. For the latter Parliament hath ever power to *abrogate, suspend, qualify, explain, or make void the former* in the whole, or in any part thereof, notwithstanding any words of restraint, prohibition, or penalty in the former. For it is a maxim in the law of Parliament, *quod leges posteriores priores contrarias abrogant*." Therefore should any Parliament give up, renounce, and forever quit claim to the right of making laws to bind us in any case whatever; yet it can constitutionally stipulate for no longer than that one sitting. They have as full power and authority to revive and enforce the claim at their next sitting as if such renunciation had never taken place. It is *arbitrary* then, or is there *justice* in entering upon terms of accommodation with a power which cannot stipulate for the performance of its engagements. If we are foolish enough to do this, we must not our future security depend entirely on the will of a British Parliament, &c. of a British Ministry?"

"This in my opinion must form an insuperable obstacle to reconciliation in the mind of every honest man and sincere lover of liberty on the continent. A second reason against reconciliation is, that the British constitution is so essentially undermined by the influence of the crown, that the people of Britain have no security for the enjoyment of their own liberties, and therefore America can never be safe in being dependent on such a state.

"The author of "an historical essay on the English constitution," printed anno 1771. says, "I shall not hesitate to date the outline of our constitution, from the REVOLUTION. William the 3d and his Parliament began the practice of restraining the elective power of the people, by the legislative authority. A power that might become ten thousand times more dangerous, to the elective rights of the people, than the crown could ever possibly be. For whenever the active parts of a government, founded upon the common rights of mankind, shall usurp a power to refrain, or destroy those rights from whence they derive their authority that state is not far from destruction."

"Thus the primary law of our constitution, the first principle upon which it was founded, which had been the gift of twelve hundred years, and which had been the subject of ages, was destroyed by the common law of the people, to be corrected by acts of Parliament. Our legislative authority is, by its own nature, confined to act within the line of the constitution, because it is only vested with a trust by the people, to the end they may protect, and defend them in their rights and privileges. And, therefore it is a contradiction in terms, to say, they have a right to consent to any that may refrain or destroy them. Their consent to this law was a notorious violation of the trust reposed in them." For,

"Upon this principle our constitution may be "one thing to day, and another thing to morrow. It is this, and that, or any thing that our legislative authority, for the time being, shall think proper to make it." But "the prevailing faction of those days" after sowing divisions among the people to destroy their power and weaken their force, had the law and the practice of restraining, or the dissolving of the power, by which they have lost—now what have they not lost? They have lost the distinguishing character between freemen and slaves! They have lost the distinguishing character of Englishmen! They have lost, what the most tyrannical Kings of England, could never force from them! They have lost, what their forefathers have been spending their blood and treasure to defend, for these thousand years!

"They have lost the greatest jewel that ever any people possessed! They have lost their constitutional and natural liberty, their birth right and inheritance, derived from God and nature! They have lost their constitutional redress, for all their grievances! They have lost their rights, their every thing, by that DAMNABLE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW."

I find, I conclude, my quotations from this invaluable essay for the most part following, as perfectly applicable to America, and the foregoing extracts will not only justify but enforce the doctrine it contains, to every honest heart.

"To deduce our rights from the principles of equity, justice, and the constitution is very well; but equity and justice are no defence against power. You must take your constitutional rights under your own protection, and that quickly too, or they will be lost for ever. Protect and defend them as the apple of your eye, from danger, or, as you would your wives and children, from destruction: And never desist from using every remedy in your power, till you have established them on a foundation never more to be shaken, either by King or Parliament." A constitution that affords no security against its own servants, can yield no security to us.

He who has the nomination of the officers of government, has the whole power of that government in his own hand, and may do with it as he pleases. This is abundantly proved by the present ruinous state of government in every colony, where the King or a Proprietor had the nomination. Liberty will ever flourish in such a government.

By the constitution of the Saxon government, says the author first quoted, in no manner, either civil or military, or even ecclesiastical, could be involved in his office, or exercise any jurisdiction, or authority over Freemen, without the free election of those Freemen over whom he was to exercise such authority; and it is for this reason, more especially, that the people of England were denominated free; for that by the ancient laws and constitution of the kingdom, they had this just and natural right, viz. the free election of their Magistrates and Governors, without which our ancestors thought all our liberties were but a species of bondage. For of what use can liberty be to him, whose person or estate is subject to officers, &c. &c. over him, without his consent? How different from, and how much superior to our present form of government, was the Saxon, or old constitution of England!

These three considerations form in my opinion an insurmountable obstacle against a reunion with Great Britain. The man who has not thought upon these points, is ill qualified to judge of the necessity of Independence, or the inevitable ruin attending a reunion.

My objections are radical, reaching to the root of the evil, and if a radical cure cannot be obtained in one way, it ought to be obtained in another. To skin over the wound would be maddest. I therefore once more entreat you either to point out a complete remedy for these defects, and prove more easily attainable than a complete delivery by a Declaration of Independence; or to give no further opposition to the measure. He who cannot see a fair prospect of removing these defects, and yet wishes to see America return to a state dependence, has something else in view than the liberties of his Country. C A S S A N D R A.

N. B. No good man can agree to any terms which will not give perfect security, and a division must therefore be intended by every man who attempts to prepare the minds of the ignorant and unwary to except of any thing else. As every writer on the side of dependence has hitherto studiously evaded the point, it appears they design if possible to effect a division. Take care then ye good people of America, not to be duped by *distressing* TOMES, &c. &c. &c.

Mr. Humphreys, Please give the following a place in your next paper.

I HAVE read with great attention the various productions of the several writers who have favoured the public with their sentiments, on the important subject of Independence. When the pamphlet called *Common Sense* first appeared, I found myself stagger'd with his glorious declarations against Monarchy in general, and of Britain in particular; I view'd the "Royal Brute" with indignation frown, and began to new-mould my monarchical sentiments, into those of a commonwealth, whose virtue should reign triumphant, and vice be expelled from the land; where Liberty like the mighty branches of the spreading oak, should extend her protecting arms, and shelter me from the scorching heats and beating storms of Slavery; and every man I met (with whom I had the least acquaintance) I touch'd upon the theme which was uppermost in my mind, by way of trying, how far they had been convinced by the appearance of the illustrious phenomenon; some I found, like myself, had sunk deep into the firm and forged at the last; but such as of more cautious temper, had perceived the performance, viz. intem. attention, and pronounced it, an artful well wrought deception, calculated to alarm the passions, rather than convince the reason; I read it a second time with more deliberation, and unconvinced by those impressions which are generally made by novelty; for I am one of those, who have a wonderful aptitude to be

smitten with any thing that is grand—a lake, a mountain, a temple, or a capacious thought that includes a thousand worlds. Immediately captivate my fancy, it instantly gets upon the wing, ranges with delight through the extensive scene, and forgets for a moment the real objects around me; such had been my fixation of mind, when I recollect the reigns of my monarch, and the guidance of the ingenious author of Common Sense—we found alike in the wilds of fancy, the old beaten tracks of monarchy, we left far behind us, and found a republic amidst the furs; and though the Sun might seem, to admiring mortals below, the grand monarch of the heavenly bodies, yet we found ether furs and other worlds innumerable, who might only be considered as *Principals*, not *Members*, of the vast system; every where found a republic, the various constellations which enshrine the sky, united upon the principles of perfect equality; and gravitating towards each other, with wonderful adjustment, mutually attracted and mutually repelled; thus, gentle reader, was my imagination led captive, with fiery velocity, through a pleasing, unknown, and mighty expanse, till at length, fatigued with the rapidity of my course, I alighted in my airy chair, and thus I recollect to view of my journey;—and I could not call to mind a single subject which I had given rest to the soul of my foot; the Sun was too hot, Saturn too cold, the Moon tottered with unsteady motion, Venus held forth deceitful pleasures. Mercury was untried, Jupiter had too much the austerity of monarchy about him, and Mars trolled his rivers in torrents of blood; in short, I could not find that any part of my airy progress was fraught with happiness, for a being that had so much of mortality about him; like No. 9's dove I returned to the ark, and began to consider, that it was better to wait till the waters were assuaged, and to hope for a pleasing prospect, of the former verdure, which had spread the plains and crowned the mountains; but by no means to quit the ark, till it had settled on *dry ground*, and till the heavens were serene.—Thus I stood on the second reading of Common Sense—determined to remain in the ark, that is, to continue our present opposition to the British till a firm basis of liberty can be established; and then to renounce those pleasing happy hours, which I frequently had visited in the innocent days of my youth, when joys un molested smiled around me, and plentiful fields broke in upon my wondering fight from every avenue of the covert; surely there were not delusive ideal pleasures that, like visions of the night, have deceived my mind, but were the golden fruits of former days; fruits which may grow again upon the same soil, cherished by the same friendly hand—I know the wild boar of the forest has broken in upon our borders, and carried destruction and devastation before him; but the huntmen are in arms, the sound of the horn is gone forth, and I hope soon to hear of its utter overthrow, for a Rockingham Camden, Richmond, Ponsonby, Fitzwilliam, Abergavenny, Abingdon, Manchester, &c. have joined the chase—with *thee* man, and with every *virtuous* part of Britain mark me in my list, and let me see thee flourish in their influence, and superior abilities, I will hope to see a total detestation of the diabolical yoke of government, established by the present ruling junto, and a happy, perfect harmony, restored to both countries, being convinced, from every observation I have been able to make, as well as from the uniform sentiments of the Honorable Continental Congress, that a reconciliation with Great Britain, upon constitutional principles, is the most certain foundation for American happiness.—

In a total separation I behold a tedious and extensive war; the blood of thousands bedewing the ground, and the whole wealth of the continent, the whole labour of a century, waiv'd in air; the fall is an object of trifling importance I grant, but the loss of the lives of my fellow creatures, fills my mind with horror: Whilst England continues bent upon enforcing her mandates, she also continues that I see nothing before me but blood or slavery; but the prosecution of her plan must prove to ruin out to herself, that a day must flourish come, when her eyes will be opened, and then may her vengeance burst on the heads of the contrivers of our mutual ruin! However much we may flatter ourselves with assistance from France, or diversions in our favour from her forces, either in the West-Indies or any other quarter, I cannot but acknowledge that I esteem them too problematical and uncertain for us to depend on. France and Spain are natural enemies to every Englishman and nothing can afford their politics a higher gratification, than viewing our unnatural conduct; every unhappy victim that falls on both sides, must be a political cause of triumph, since the destruction of a such deadly rival, is effected without loss of either blood or treasure to us; that their merchants will furnish us with arms and military stores, and that the courts of France and Spain will wink at the supply, I most firmly believe, but this is all we can look for, and all we have a right to expect; for raging as our passions are at present, against the authors of our calamities, I cannot but think that a day will come, when we shall discriminate between our interests and our retinements; and that we shall reunite as brethren, that have differed through the indignation of mischievous incendiaries,

and, bedewing each others cheeks with tears of sorrow. Shall pour balm into each others bleeding wounds, the aggressor acknowledging his error and the injured with heroic manliness, dropping the curtain of oblivion over the wrong he has sustained.—

That nature must, at last, have its course, and a total separation take place between the new and the old world, I have not a doubt remaining; but, that the time is now come, or as the author of Common Sense has emphatically expressed it, *that the time has found us*, I can by no means assure to, from any thing I have yet seen or heard on the subject—that monarchial governments are destructive of happiness, and that commonwealths are more likely to produce peace, safety, and liberty to a people, were positions equally just half a century ago.—Every argument against the corruptions of Kings, and the English form of government, might have been then urged with equal force; the principle remains invariably the same; the true end of all government is the happiness of the governed.—I despise the doctrines of hereditary succession and divine right to rule, as inherent in *this* or *that* man, I reject from my creed every ordinance that has not the happiness of the people for its ultimate object—but the great questions are, *is a change necessary, and is this the time for it?*

The first question, with respect to the rudiments of government, I have before said, was as necessary fifty years ago as at this day; but the second question, which was to carry it into execution, was to determine them both: Had our forefathers sat in council on the debate, they undoubtedly would have thought it too early, in the day—they would have weigh'd their then present certain situation with the uncertain future; every connection and enjoyment, separation and deprivation, would have been canvass'd with earnestness and attention, and to which ever side happiness preponderated, that would have been their choice. We, it seems, fifty years after, have taken up the important question—*I ask pardon of the Hon. Continental Congress and the Assemblies and Conventions of the several colonies, for using the term* *W*, I only mean the political writers on the question, for some of those writers have been modest with it, but with all deference I presume to hope, they will not deem the arguments on both sides unworthy of their notice: Fire may be struck from flints, and honey extracted from a poppy. I may have taken up the important question; it certainly then behoves us with the utmost deliberation to consider every probable consequence; to view the ground well on which we are to erect this amazing fabric; we must expect the storms will beat, and the tempests blow upon our building—our foundation should be fixed upon a mighty rock; which rock is the happiness of the people; for unless the change will produce us more real happiness, than we have heretofore enjoyed we shall long repent the change. I should therefore be glad to be informed by the writer of *Common Sense*—

Whether in a new form of government, I shall enjoy a greater portion of religious liberty than I do under the present; whether I shall have fuller security than heretofore in profling with this or that sect of christians, of going to this or that place of worship of paying this or that minister of the Gospel, or not paying at all if I should join myself to such sects as have no regular established preachers; whether in matters of personal liberty, I shall have a safer and more enlarged protection against men in power, than the *habeas corpus act*, or a trial by jury has always given me; whether in matters of property I shall be better guarded than by the present laws of the land, determined by a jury of 12 honest men; whether I shall have laws more fitted to my real happiness, than I now have by the men chosen to represent me by an impartial ballot. Whether the acquisition of property will be more easy for me than heretofore, and whether the expenses of supporting governments, will be diminished.—In short, I should be glad to have it clear'd to me, that, I am to enjoy a greater liberty of conscience, a greater degree of personal security, more natural freedom, to possess more largely the means of acquiring a comfortable subsistence, and not to have the expenses of government call on me for taxes overproportioned to the additional benefits to be derived from the change—if there can be cleared up to my satisfaction—here's my hand and here's my heart.—I am divested of all prejudices in favour of our old connection, except what are founded in a recollection of the blessings we once enjoyed, and in the belief of a possibility of a happy reunion.—At any rate I can discover no immediate necessity for coming to a decision on the point—I should rather prefer dispatching truly ambassadors to France and Spain, to know what dependence we can have on their friendship, at the same time to keep up a perfect harmony and union amongst ourselves—every day adds strength to America, and England alone can suffer by the delay; the ports are now as open to all the world as they would be by an actual declaration of independence; for even then we should have to combat the powers of England, just as we have now; and they finding us determined to cast off all connection, might exert their forces more destructively than it is their interest at present to attempt; as to France or Spain's waiting for the form of a declaration of independ-

dence, I conceive no gentleman can seriously assign that as an argument; when nation inclines to raise against nation, it is their interest and their ability, not their puntillio, which they have to consult.—No flate ever yet was deterred from military enterprises, by the influence of modesty and decorum—they may be motives with private persons, but never with States.—At the next meeting we shall be trying the experiment of exporting our own produce, of importing the manufactures of Europe, and of softening the temper of the European powers—some favourable change may happen in England, that may give us a greater share of liberty, as we ever enjoyed; life is uncertain to the great as well as the least; a kind protecting arm of Providence may be held forth to our relief, and a happy stop may be put to the sanguinary tide.—

"He feels alike, as equal God of all,
"A hero perish or a parrow fall."

These my Countrymen are the sentiments of a man, who has no interest, but what is wound up in your interest, who has not a wish but for the happiness of mankind, and who would think his little all, too small a price for the purchase of the peace, liberty, and safety of America.

M O D E R A T O R.

On Sunday the 30th of June, 1840, April 15, from St. Easton, with 83 barrels of gunpowder, 21 barrels of dry goods, and two hogsheads of medicines, was taken by a trader, the cargo of the *Philadelphia*, and carried into New-York by the *Capitan*, a small vessel, of 100 tons, with 100 men. The mate elected, by the crew, was Augustus, who were 7000 British troops, making preparations to sail to some part of the continent.

W A T E R T O W N. April 15.

Last Thursday three boats, with 16 hands, took a new bound from Grenada to Boston, James Fuz, master, and carried her into Cobbley. Her cargo consisted of 336 pounds of rum, 40 barrels of flour, 100 lbs of sugar, 100 lbs of coffee, one wood, and about 10 barrels of pork and beef, a valuable prize.

N E W L O N D O N, April 19.

By Capt. ———, on the 19th inst. were sent to New-York, 15 Gul of French tins; 1 of 1 and 10 several fringes, laid over at Martine, from Old-France, five days betw. the land.

N E W Y O R K, April 24.

Exam'd a letter from a gentleman at Albany, to which is joined a New-York.

"I have been told that General Wooster is gone to Quebec, and that he had fail, when he left Montreal, that he would take the title of that place if there was space sufficient between them and the heavens."

P H I L A D E L P H I A.

Extract of a letter from Virginia dated April 15.

"It is certain that Archibald Gwynn's wife, and a number of Scotch patriots, who were taken by the British, and sold by the crediting of justice, to the amount of fifty thousand pounds, which, if commuted, will be no bad gift (save to your resolution for reprisal). The vessel being Godwin's property, I suppose will be sold for the benefit of the patriots, and the proceeds, as arranged, was mostly collected for the prisoners in Scotland."

A letter from New-York, dated the 24th inst. says, "I served me well where I'm in the men of war at the Head, to get water, but, being attacked by our people, they flew into the light house, where they are tarrounded."

"A Settled Citizen, *Advertisements, &c.* omitted this week, for want of room, shall have a place in our next."

T O B E S O L D,

A LOT of GROUND, adjoining the town of Manheim, in the county of Lancaster, containing two acres and one hundred and four perches, being that lot, which in the plan of the said town, is marked and called Number ten.

Also, one other LOT, in or near the said town of Manheim, containing ten acres and forty perches, adjoining the lots of *Frederick Leffler, Nicholas Galtman*, and others, being that part of a tract of seven hundred acres of land divided into lots, which in the plan of the said division is marked and called Number thirty. The title and terms may be known by applying to

M I E R S F I S H E R.

RUN-A-WAY the 23d inst. from the Subscriber, in the County of Northampton, Philadelphia county, an Evil-thing SERKANT MAN, named THOMAS SALTAR, of middle age and middle size, pretty broad and strong build, light hair, a full face, red and some little raw in his eye, had one of his legs broken, which is now a flannel and sticks to the shoe, and gives him a limp in his walking. He hid an old coat &c. with a very narrow rim, an old canvas shirt, a light cloth upper jacket had worms, having curls, and the sleeves a little dirty; he wore four brown shoes, and a pair of old shoes under his old leather breeches light blue stockings and old hose. He ever goes to get in liquor and when he very noisy and unruly. Who ever knows him in any town, or that his name may have him again, shall have T. B. & P. D. N. 12a New-York.

pad by **R O W L A N D E V A N S.**

FOR Sale sperm candles and train Oil, by the cask. Apply to William BARRILL, at his store, the north east corner of Market and Second Streets, where he has a variety of DRY GOODS, the remains of his last general importations, which he will fill on reasonable terms.

N. B. Peppercorn at six fillings and sixpence per pound by the half dozen or upwards.

CAME to the plantation of the subscriber, on the 30th of March last, in the township of Northampton, in the county of Bucks. A bright bay HORSE, about 14 hands high, a large ear in his forehead, not a canker well; the hind horse had a laceration on the inner side of the lower jaw, and in moving his property, trying charges, may have him again, by applying to

April 7, 1776. **JOHN BLAKE**, junr.

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