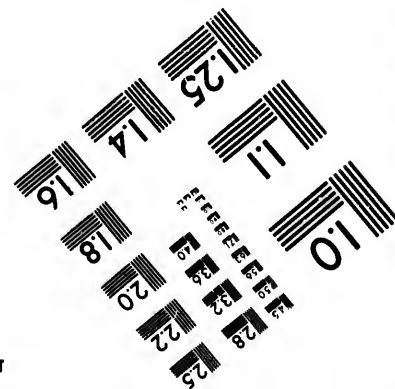
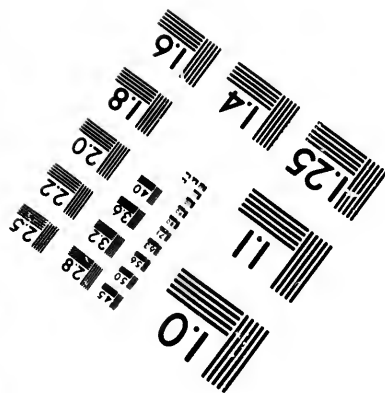
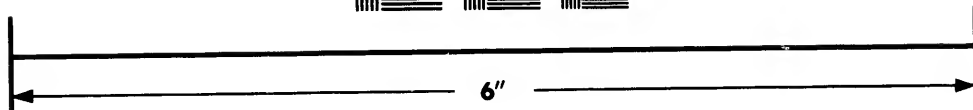
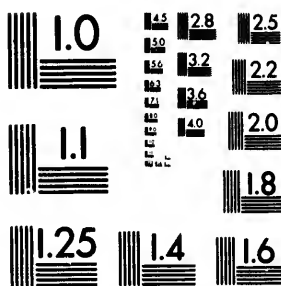


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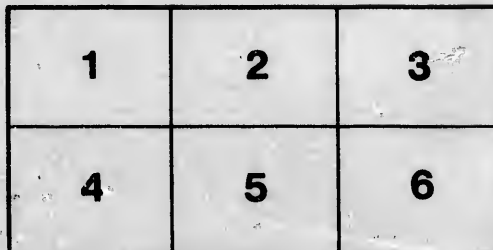
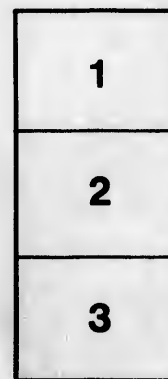
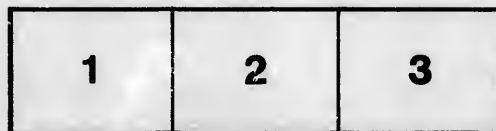
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PLAIN TRUTH;  
ADDRESSED TO THE  
INHABITANTS  
OF  
AMERICA,

Containing, Remarks  
ON A LATE PAMPHLET,  
entitled

COMMON SENSE:

Wherein are shewn, that the Scheme of INDEPENDENCE  
is Ruinous, Delusive, and Impracticable: That were  
the Author's Affeuerations, Respecting the Power of  
AMERICA, as Real as Nugatory; Reconciliation on  
liberal Principles with GREAT BRITAIN, would be  
exalted Policy: And that circumstanced as we are,  
Permanent Liberty, and True Happiness, can only be  
obtained, by HONORABLE CONNECTIONS,  
with that Kingdom.

WRITTEN BY CANDIDUS.

THE SECOND EDITION.

Will ye turn from flattery, and attend to this Side.?  
There TRUTH, unlicenc'd, walks; and dares accost  
Even Kings themselves, the Monarchs of the Free!  
THOMSON on the Liberties of BRITAIN.

PHILADELPHIA:  
Printed, and Sold, by R. BELL, in Third-Street.

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TO

JOHN DICKINSON, ESQUIRE;

**A**LTHOUGH I have not the Honor to be known to You, I am not unacquainted with YOUR native Candor and unbounded Benevolence. As happy as obscure, I am indeed a stranger to the language of Adulation. Flattery I detest; Virtue, I Respect.

BE not offended SIR, if I remark, that YOUR Character, is contemplated with profound Veneration, by the Friends of the Constitution. Those Abilities, which you so illustriously displayed in defence of the Constitution; they now supplicate you to exert, in saving it from impending ruin, under the Syren form of delusive INDEPENDENCE.

STEP then forth; exert those Talents with which HEAVEN has endowed you; and cause the Parent, and her Children to embrace, and be foes no more. Ardous as this extraordinary task may seem, perhaps

YOUR



## DEDICATION.

YOUR Virtue and Talents, may yet effect it. YOUR Endeavors to stop the Effusion of Blood, of Torrents of Blood, is worthy of YOUR acknowledged Humanity.—Even the honest attempt upon recollection, will afford you ineffable satisfaction.

MY PRESUMING to inscribe to you, the following crude Remarks, is to remind you, SIR, what YOUR distressed Country expects, nay, loudly demands from your extensive Capacity.

I BEG YOU will forgive this temerity; and that you may long enjoy the fruits of YOUR Exalted Virtue, and remain an Honor to YOUR Country, and to Mankind; Is the ardent wish of

*Sir,*

*Your most Obedient,*

*and Respectful Servant,*

CANDIDUS.

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## INTRODUCTION.

**I**F indignant at the Doctrine contained in the Pamphlet, entitled **COMMON SENSE**:

I have expressed myself, in the following Observations, with some ardor; I entreat the Reader to impute my indignation, to honest zeal against the Author's Infidious Tenets. Animated and impelled by every inducement of the Human Heart; I love, and (if I dare so express myself,) I adore my Country. Passionately devoted to true Liberty; I glow with the purest flame of Patriotism. Silver'd with age as I am, if I know myself, my humble Sword shall not be wanting to my Country; (if the most Honorable Terms are not tendered by the British Nation) to whose Sacred Cause, I am most fervently devoted. The judicious Reader, will not impute my honest, tho' bold Remarks, to unfriendly designs against my Children—against my Country; but to abhorrence of Independency; which if effected, would inevitably plunge our once pre-eminently envied Country into Ruin, Horror, and Desolation.

---

M E M O R A N D U M.

The first Edition of this Pamphlet, having sold expeditiously, at three shillings, hath encouraged the Publisher to print this second Edition, and to enlarge its number; on which account, he now selleth it, for

TWO SHILLINGS.

Notwithstanding, treble price is charged for Linen, and other Dry Goods.

Double price for Writing, and Printing Paper.

A price and a half, for Rum, Sugar, and Coffee.

Yet the Bookfeller is determined to sell this Second Edition, at the small price of Two Shillings, imitating in this Sale of FOOD for the MIND, the worthy Example of the honest Farmers, who sell the FOOD of the BODY, at the reasonable rate of a SINGLE PRICE.

N. B. Large Allowance to those who buy per the Hundred or Dozen.

If a numerous Third Edition (upon Small Types) should be desired, the Price will then be determined in proportion to its Number; especially to those, who are pleased to engage with the Printer for some certain Quantities, before it again goeth to THE PRESS.

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# PLAIN TRUTH;

CONTAINING,

REMARKS ON A LATE PAMPHLET,  
ENTITLED COMMON SENSE.

I HAVE now before me the Pamphlet,  
entitled COMMON SENSE; on which I  
shall remark with freedom and candour.

It may not be improper to remind my reader, that the investigation of my subject, demands the utmost freedom of enquiry; I therefore entreat his indulgence; and that he will carefully remember, that intemperate zeal, is as injurious to liberty, as a manly discussion of facts is friendly to it.

“Liberty, says the great MONTESQUIEU, is a right of doing whatever the laws permit; and if a citizen could do what they forbid, he would no longer be possessed of liberty, because all his fellow citizens would have the same power.” In the beginning of his pamphlet, the Author asserts, that society in every state is a blessing. This in the sincerity of my heart I deny; for it is supreme misery to be associated with those, who to promote their ambitious purposes, flagiti-

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ously

ously pervert the ends of political society. I do not say that our Author is indebted to BURGH'S POLITICAL DISQUISITIONS, or to ROUSSEAU'S Social Compact for his definition of Government, and his large Tree; although I wish he had favoured his reader with the following extract from that sublime reasoner. "To investigate those conditions of society which may best answer the purpose of nations, would require the abilities of some superior intelligence, who should be witness to all the passions of men, but be subject itself to none, who should have no connections with human nature, but should have a perfect knowledge of it: A Being, in short, whose happiness should be independent of us, and who would nevertheless employ itself about us. It is the province of Gods to make laws for Men." With the utmost deference to the celebrated ROUSSEAU, I cannot indeed imagine, that laws even so constructed, would materially benefit our imperfect race; unless omniscience deigned previously to exalt our nature. The judicious reader will therefore perceive, that malevolence only, is requisite to declaim against, and arraign the most perfect Governments. Our *Political Quack* avails himself of this trite expedient, to cajole the people into the most abject slavery, under

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under the delusive name of independence.  
 His first indecent attack is against the English  
 constitution ; which with all its imperfec-  
 tions, is, and ever will be the pride and envy  
 of mankind. To this panegyric involunta-  
 rily our author subscribes, by granting indi-  
 viduals to be safer in England, than in any  
 other part of Europe. He indeed insidi-  
 ously attributes this pre-eminent excellency,  
 to the constitution of the people, rather  
 than to our excellent constitution. To  
 such contemptible subterfuge is our Author  
 reduced. I would ask him, why did not  
 the constitution of the people afford them  
 superior safety, in the reign of Richard the  
 Third, Henry the Eighth, and other ty-  
 rannic princes? Many pages might indeed  
 be filled with encomiums bestowed on our  
 excellent constitution, by illustrious authors  
 of different nations.

This beautiful system (according to  
 MONTESQUIEU) our constitution is a com-  
 pound of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and De-  
 mocracy. But it is often said, that the  
 Sovereign, by honours and appointments,  
 influences the Commons. The profound  
 and elegant HUME agitating this question,  
 thinks, to this circumstance, we are in part  
 indebted for our supreme felicity ; since  
 without such controul in the Crown, our  
 Constitution

Constitution would immediately degenerate into Democracy; a Government, which in the sequel, I hope to prove ineligible. Were I asked marks of the best government, and the purpose of political society, I would reply, the encrease, preservation, and prosperity of its members, in no quarter of the Globe, are those marks so certainly to be found, as in Great Britain, and her dependencies. After our Author has employed several pages, to break the mounds of society by debasing Monarchs: He says, "The plain truth is, that the antiquity of English Monarchy will not bear looking into."

HUME treating of the original contract, has the following melancholy, but sensible observation, "Yet reason tells us, that there is no property in durable objects, such as lands, and houses, when carefully examined, in passing from hand to hand, but must in some period, have been founded on fraud and injustice. The necessities of human society, neither in private or public life, will allow of such an accurate enquiry; and there is no virtue or moral duty, but what may, with facility, be refined away, if we indulge a false philosophy, in sifting and scrutinizing, by every captious rule of logic, in every light or position in which it may be placed."

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PLAIN TRUTH. 13

Say ye votaries of honour and truth, can we adduce a stronger proof of our Author's turpitude, than his quoting the anti-philosophical story of the Jews, to debase Monarchy, and the best of Monarchs. Briefly examining the story of this contemptible race, more barbarous than our savages: We find their history a continued succession of miracles, astonishing our imaginations, and exercising our faith. After wandering forty years in horrid deserts, they are chiefly condemned to perish for their perverseness, although under the immediate dominion of the KING of HEAVEN. At length, they arrive in the sterile country of Palestine; which they conquer, by exterminating the inhabitants, and warring like Demons. The inhabitants of the adjoining regions, justly therefore held them in detestation, and the Jews finding themselves constantly abhorred, have ever since hated all mankind. This people, as destitute of arts and industry, as humanity, had not even in their language a word expressive of education. We might indeed remind our Author, who so readily drags in the Old Testament to support his sinister measures, that we could draw from that source, many texts, favourable to Monarchy, were we not conscious, that the Mosaic Law, gives way to the Gospel



Gospel Dispensation. The reader no doubt will be gratified by the following extract from a most primitive Christian. "Christianity is a spiritual religion, relative only to celestial objects. The Christian's inheritance is not of this world. He performs his duty it is true, but this he does with a profound indifference for the good or ill success of his endeavours: Provided he hath nothing to reproach himself, it is of little consequence to him whether matters go well or ill here below. If the state be in a flourishing condition, he can hardly venture to rejoice in the public felicity, least he should be puffed up, with the inordinate pride of his country's glory. If the state decline, he blesses the hand of God, that humbles his people to the dust."

Having defined the best government, I will humbly attempt to describe good Kings by the following unerring rule. The best Princes are constantly calumniated by the envenomed tongues and pens of the most worthless of their subjects. For this melancholy truth, do I appeal to the testimony of impartial historians, and long experience. The noble impartial historian Sully, speaking of the almost divine Henry the Fourth of France says, "Thus was this god-like prince represented (by the discontented of

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PLAIN TRUTH. 15

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these days) almost throughout his whole kingdom, as a furious, and implacable tyrant: They were never without one set of arguments to engage his catholic nobility in a rebellion against him, and another to sow sedition among his protestant officers and gentry." HUME says, that the cruel unrelenting tyrant, Philip the Second of Spain, with his infernal Inquisition, was not more detested by the people of the Netherlands, than was the humane Charles, with his inoffensive Liturgy, by his mutinous subjects. The many unmerited insults offered to our gracious Sovereign; by the unprincipled Wilkes, and others down to this late Author; will forever disgrace humanity. For he says, "that monarchy was the most prosperous invention the Devil ever set on foot for the promotion of idolatry. It is the pride of Kings which throws mankind into confusion: In short, continues this Author, monarchy and succession, have laid not this or that kingdom only, but the world in blood and ashes." How deplorably wretched the condition of mankind, could they believe such execrable flagitious jargon. Unhappily indeed, mankind in every age are susceptible of delusion; but surely our Author's poison carries its antidote with it.

Attentive

Attentive to the spirit of his publication, we fancy ourselves in the barbarous fifteenth century; in which period our Author would have figured with his "Common Sense—and blood will attend it."

After his terrible anathema against our venerable constitution, and monarchy; let us briefly examine a democratical state; and see whether or not it is a government less sanguinary. This government is extremely plausible, and indeed flattering to the pride of mankind. The demagogues therefore, to seduce the people into their criminal designs ever hold up democracy to them; although conscious it never did, nor ever will answer in practice. If we believe a great Author, "There never existed, nor ever will exist a real democracy in the World." If we examine the republics of Greece and Rome, we ever find them in a state of war domestic or foreign. Our Author therefore makes no mention of these ancient States. "When Alexander ordered all the exiles, to be restored throughout all the cities, it was found that the whole amounted to twenty thousand, the remains probably of still greater slaughters and massacres. What an astonishing number in so narrow a country as ancient Greece? and what domestic confusion, jealousy,

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P L A I N T R U T H. 17

jealousy, partiality, revenge, heart-burn-  
ings must tear those cities, where factions  
were wrought up to such a degree of fury  
and despair." Apian's history of the civil  
wars of Rome, contains the most fright-  
ful picture of massacres, proscriptions, and  
forfeitures that ever were presented to the  
world.

The excellent Montesquieu declares,  
"that a democracy supposes the concur-  
rence of a number of circumstances rarely  
united. In the first place, it is requisite that  
the state itself should be of small extent; so  
that the people might be easily assembled  
and personally known to each other. Se-  
condly, the simplicity of their manners,  
should be such as to prevent a multiplicity  
of affairs, and perplexity in discussing them:  
And thirdly, there should subsist a great de-  
gree of equality between them, in point of  
right and authority: Lastly, there should  
be little or no luxury, for luxury must  
either be the effect of wealth, or it must  
make it necessary. It corrupts at once,  
both rich and poor: The one, by the  
possession, and the other, by the want of it."  
To this may be added continues the same  
Author, "that no government is so subject  
to CIVIL WARS, and INTESTINE COMMOTIONS,  
as that of the democratical or popular

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pular form; because, no other tends so strongly and so constantly to alter, nor requires so much vigilance, and fortitude to preserve it from alteration. It is indeed, in such a constitution, particularly, that a Citizen should always be armed with fortitude, and constancy; and should every day, in the sincerity of his heart, guard against corruption, arising either from selfishness in himself, or in his compatriots; for if it once enters into public transactions, to root it out afterwards would be miraculous.

Our Author asserts, that Holland and Swifferland are without wars domestic or foreign. About a century ago, Holland was in a few weeks over-run by the arms of France, and almost miraculously saved by the gallantry of her Prince of Orange, so celebrated afterwards by the name of William the Third. Almost from that period, until the treaty of Utrecht, Holland was a principal in wars, the most expensive and bloody, ever waged by human kind. The wounds she then received were unhealed in 1744, when reluctantly roused from her pacific lethargy, she was dragged into war; and losing her impregnable Bergenopzoom, and Maestricht; was again on the brink of becoming a province to France, when happily liberated by the British Nation.

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In the war of 1756. Holland continually insulted in the capture of her ships, by our cruisers; preserved a humiliating neutrality. If victory indeed had not crowned the British banners; the Dutch indubitably would have assisted their natural Allies, in whatever quarter of the globe attacked: For it is incontestibly true; that the existence of Holland, as a State, depends, and invariably will depend, on the prosperity of Great Britain. Since the murder of Barneveldt, and the immortal de Wijs, by the deluded furious people, Holland hath too often been convulsed by anarchy, and torn by party. Unfortunately alas! for the cause of humanity; the rugged and incult defarts of Swisserland, preclude not ambition, sedition, and anarchy. Her bleak and barren mountains do not so effectually secure precarious liberty, as daily vending her sons to the adjoining nations, particularly to France; by whom the thirteen Cantons, could be subjected in as many days, did that court meditate so senseless and delusive an object. Nugatory indeed, if we consider, that France derives more substantial advantage from the present state of Swisserland, than if she exhausted herself, to maintain numerous Battalions, to bridle the Cantons. A moment, let us suppose,

suppose, that our author's asseverations of Holland and Swisserland, are as real as delusive : His inferences do not flow from his premises ; for their superior advantages, do not arise from their popular government, but from circumstances of peculiar local felicity, obliging the princes of Europe, to defend them from the omnipotent land force, if I may so speak of France. After impotently attacking our Sovereign ; and the constitution : He contradicts the voice of all mankind, by declaring, that America " would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power taken any notice of her."

If he means, that had this Continent been unexplored, the original inhabitants would have been happier : For once, I agree with him. Previous to the settlement of these Provinces by our Ancestors, the kingdom of France was convulsed by religious phrenzy. This, and Sebastian Cabot's prior discovery, perhaps, happily afforded the people of England, an opportunity of locating these Provinces. At length, peace being restored to France, by her Hero, Henry the Fourth : His nation in turn, were seized with the rage of colonizing. Finding the English claimed the Provinces on the Atlantic ; they appropriated the

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P L A I N T R U T H. 21

snow banks of Canada, which we dare not suppose, they would have preferred to these fertile provinces, had not the prior occupancy, and power of England interfered. I hope it will not be denied, that the notice taken of us, at this time by an European Power, was rather favourable for us.— Certain it is, had not England then taken notice of us, these delectable Provinces would now appertain to France; and the people of New England, horrid to think, would now be counting their beads. Some years after the Æra in question, the civil wars intervening in England, afforded to the Swedes and Dutch, a footing on this Continent. Charles the Second being restored; England reviving her claim, rendered abortive the Swedish pretensions; and by conquest, and granting Surinam to the Dutch, procured the cession of their usurpation, now New York. I do indeed confess, my incapacity to discern the injury sustained by this second “notice taken of us, by an European Power;” in default of which intervention, the Swedes, to this hour, would have retained their settlement, now the famed Pennsylvania; and the Dutch, consequently, had retained theirs. Some time after this period, the people of New England were employed, in framing and executing



cuting laws, so intolerant and sanguinary, that to us, they seem adapted for devils, not men.

Indeed it is worthy of note, that the inhabitants of Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Virginia, at that very time, enacted laws, breathing the spirit of humanity, and such as men could bear. Soon after the period in question, arrived the great and good WILLIAM PENN, with his philosophic people called Quakers; together with toleration, industry, and permanent credit. The people of England, encouraged by the extension of their laws and commerce to those colonies, powerfully assisted our merchants and planters, insomuch, that our settlements encreased rapidly, and throve apace. It may be affirmed, that from this period, until the present unhappy hour; no part of human kind, ever experienced more perfect felicity. Voltaire indeed says, that if ever the Golden Age existed, it was in Pennsylvania. France disgusted with the unhappy situation of her American Colonies, had long meditated the conquest of one of our middle provinces. To accomplish this purpose, she extended a line of forts on our frontiers, and actually fortified the place now called Pittsburgh. Justly alarmed by these encroachments

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P L A I N T R U T H. 23

encroachments in the hour of our distress, we called aloud on Great Britain for assistance, nor was she deaf to our cries. The English ministry, after in vain exhausting all the arts of negotiation, declared war against France. After spilling torrents of blood, after expending one hundred and ninety millions of their dollars, and four, or five millions of ours; they gloriously reduced the French settlements. Surely it will not be said, that this last NOTICE taken of us by the people of England, was injurious to us. Our enemies indeed alledge, that this last intervention by bloating us with pride, will eventually ruin us, and render the people of Britain objects of derision, for lavishing their blood and treasure, in defence of provinces; "a match not only for Europe, (according to our author,) but for the world."—Our author next remarks, "that the commerce by which she hath enriched herself, are the necessaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe."

I reply, that our exporting grain, is as it were of yesterday, that the recent demand was principally occasioned by the distractions in Poland, and other parts of Europe, and probably will totally or partly fail,

fail, soon as the fertile country of Poland, and more fertile Ukraine shall again become cultivated. I believe the Europeans did eat before our merchants exported our grain, and perhaps will eat, when they cease to export it. I deny, that this momentary commerce hath enriched us; and I could adduce numberless melancholy proofs of the contrary. I shall only remark, that in the most fertile and delectable wheat country in America, bounded by Chesopeak-bay, and almost adjoining that of Delaware; a tract of the best wheat land ten years ago, would hardly have exceeded a guinea and a half per acre, indeed, in 1773, such land covered with wood, would scarcely have sold for four guineas an acre, an undoubted proof of want of PEOPLE, industry, and wealth; particularly so, if we consider that one crop of corn and wheat on such land judiciously cultivated, would actually repay the supposed price. Our author asserts, "that our present numbers are sufficient to repel the force of all the world. That the Continent hath at this time the largest disciplined army of ANY POWER UNDER HEAVEN. That the English navy is only worth three millions and a half sterling." In effect, would reduce it to thirty-

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five ships of the line, twenty ships of forty guns, twenty of thirty-six, and eight of twenty guns. "That if America had only a twentieth part of this force, she would be by far an over-match for Britain, that Independence is necessary, because France and Spain cannot assist us, until such an event;" he also affirms "that Great Britain cannot govern us, and that no good can arise from a reconciliation with her."

I shall humbly endeavour to shew, that our author shamefully misrepresents facts, is ignorant of the true state of Great Britain and her Colonies, utterly unqualified for the arduous task, he has presumptuously assumed; and ardently intent on seducing us to that precipice on which himself stands trembling. To elucidate my strictures, I must with fidelity expose the circumstances of Great Britain and her colonies. If therefore, in the energy of description, I unfold certain bold and honest truths with simplicity, the judicious reader will remember, that true knowledge of our situation, is as essential to our safety, as ignorance thereof may endanger it. In the English provinces, exclusive of negroe and other slaves, we have one hundred and sixty thousand; or one hundred and seventy thousand men capable

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of bearing arms. If we deduct the people called Quakers, Anabaptists, and other religionists averse to arms; a considerable part of the emigrants, and those having a grateful predilection for the ancient constitution and parent state, we shall certainly reduce the first number to sixty or seventy thousand men. Now admitting those equal to the Roman legions, can we suppose them capable of defending against the power of Britain, a country nearly twelve hundred miles extending on the ocean. Suppose our troops assembled in New England, if the Britons see not fit to assail them, they haste to and desolate our other provinces, which eventually would reduce New England. If by dividing our forces, we pretend to defend our provinces, we also are infallibly undone. Our most fertile provinces, filled with unnumbered domestic enemies, slaves, intersected by navigable rivers, every where accessible to the fleets and armies of Britain, can make no defence. If without the medium of passion and prejudice, we view our other provinces, half armed, destitute of money and a navy: We must confess, that no power ever engaged such **POTENT ANTAGONISTS**, under such peculiar circumstances of infelicity. In the better days of Rome, she permitted

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permitted no regular troops to defend her. Men destitute of property she admitted not into her militia, (her only army.) I have been extremely concerned at the separation of the Connecticut men from our army. It augur'd not an ardent enthusiasm for liberty and glory. We still have an army before Boston, and I should be extremely happy to hear substantial proofs of their glory. I am still hopeful of great things from our army before Boston, when joined by the regiments now forming, which WANT OF BREAD will probably soon fill. Notwithstanding the predilection I have for my countrymen, I remark with grief, that hitherto our troops have displayed but few marks of Spartan or Roman enthusiasm. In the sincerity of my heart, I adjure the reader to believe, that no person is more sensibly afflicted by hearing the enemies of America remark, that no General ever fell singly and so ingloriously unrevenge'd before the inauspicious affair of Quebec. I am under no doubt, however, that we shall become as famed for martial courage, as any nation ever the sun beheld. Sanguine as I am, respecting the virtue and courage of my countrymen, depending on the history of mankind, since the Christian Æra, I cannot however imagine, that zeal for liberty will

will animate to such glorious efforts of heroism, as religious enthusiasm hath often impelled its votaries to perform. If the cruel unrelenting tyrant, Philip the second of Spain, had never attempted to introduce into the Low Countries, the infernal tribunal of the Inquisition: It is most probable, that the present States of Holland, would to this time have remained provinces to Spain, and patiently paid the fiftieth penny, and other grievous exactions. Certain it is, that the fanatics of Scotland, and people of England, had never armed against the first Charles, if religious enthusiasm had not more powerfully agitated their minds, than zeal for liberty, the operations of which, on the human mind, hath since the Æra in question, ever been more languid, than the former most powerful passion. These hardy assertions, are supported as well by notorious facts, as by the learned HUME, and other judicious historians. I cannot here omit remarking the inconsistency of human nature. The Scotch, the most furious enthusiasts then in Europe, were slaughtered like sheep, by Cromwell at Dunbar, where their formidable army hardly made any resistance, if we except that made by a handful of loyalists, desti-

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 those enthusiasts, were often cut in pieces  
 by their countryman, the gallant Marquis  
 of Montrose, whose troops (Highlanders  
 and other loyalists,) held Presbyterianism  
 in contempt.

With the utmost deference to the honor-  
 able Congress, I do not view the most  
 distant gleam of aid from foreign powers.  
 The princes alone, capable of succouring  
 us, are the Sovereigns of France and Spain.  
 If according to our Author, we possess an  
 eighth part of the habitable globe, and ac-  
 tually have a check on the West India  
 commerce of England; the French indigo  
 and other valuable West India commodities,  
 and the Spanish galleons, are in great jeopardy  
 from our power. The French and Spaniards  
 are therefore wretched politicians, if they  
 do not assist England, in reducing her co-  
 lonies to obedience.—Pleasantry apart!  
 Can we be so deluded, to expect aid from  
 those princes, which inspiring their subjects  
 with a relish for liberty, might eventually  
 shake their arbitrary thrones.—Natural a-  
 vowed enemies to our sacred cause: Will they  
 cherish, will they support the flame of liberty  
 in America? Ardently intent on extinguish-  
 ing its latent dying sparks in their respective  
 dominions. Can we believe that those  
 princes



princes will offer an example so dangerous to their subjects and colonies, by aiding those provinces to independence? If independent, aggrandized by infinite numbers from every part of Europe, this Continent would rapidly attain power astonishing to imagination. Soon, very soon would we be conditioned to conquer Mexico, and all their West India settlements, which to annoy, or possess, we indeed are most happily situated. Simple and obvious as these truths are, can they be unknown to the people and princes of Europe? Be it however admitted, that those princes unmindful of the fatal policy of RICHIEU's arming Charles's subjects against him, and the more fatal policy of LEWIS the fourteenth permitting our glorious deliverer to effect the revolution. I say, be it admitted, that those princes regardless of future consequences, and the ineptitude of the times, are really disposed to succour us. Say, ye friends of liberty and mankind, would no danger accrue from an army of French and Spaniards in the bosom of America? Would ye not dread their junction with the Canadians and Savages, and with the numerous Roman catholics, dispersed throughout the Colonies?

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Let us now briefly view the pre-emi-  
 nently envied state of Great Britain. If we  
 regard the power of Britain, unembarrassed  
 with Continental connections, and the po-  
 litical balance, we may justly pronounce  
 her what our author does, AMERICA;—  
 "A match for all Europe." Amazing were  
 the efforts of England, in the war of  
 Queen Ann, when little benefited by co-  
 lony commerce, and e'er she had availed  
 herself of the courage, good sense, and  
 numbers of the people of Scotland and  
 Ireland.

That England then prescribed laws to  
 Europe, will be long remembered. Last  
 war, her glory was, if possible, more emi-  
 nently exalted; in every quarter of the globe  
 did victory hover round her armies and  
 navies, and her fame re-echoed from pole  
 to pole. At present Great Britain is the  
 umpire of Europe. It is not exaggeration  
 to affirm, that the Russians principally are  
 indebted for their laurels, to her power,  
 which alone retained France from prevent-  
 ing the ruin of her ancient faithful ally,  
 the Ottoman Porte. Superfluous it were to  
 enumerate her powerful alliances, or men-  
 tion her immense resources. Her raising  
 the incredible sums of eighteen, nineteen,  
 and twenty-two millions sterling for the ser-  
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vice of the years 1759-60, and 61, was more astonishing to Europe, than the victories of her fleets and armies. The annual rents of the kingdom of England only, many years ago, amounted to thirty three millions sterling. Thirty five millions bushels of wheat are annually produced in that kingdom; and perhaps as many bushels of other grain: Twelve millions of fleeces of wool are there yearly shorn. In short, the Kingdom is a perfect Bee-hive, in numbers and industry; and is said to contain more industry, consequently more wealth, than all the rest of Europe. The famed HUME says, "I should as soon dread, that all our rivers and springs, should be exhausted, as that money should abandon a kingdom; where there are people and industry." The British navy, at the close of last war, consisted of nearly two hundred ships of the line, one hundred large frigates, and about one hundred smaller frigates, or other armed vessels. Since the peace, I believe, the navy has been most vigilantly preserved by Lord Sandwich, (said to be as equal to that arduous department, as any man in Europe.) Since the war, several capital ships have annually been built; and it is most certain, that on six months notice, Great Britain could equip fleets, sufficiently formidable, to contend with all the naval force, that could,

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or would act against her. The immense quantity of naval and other stores, in the different arsenals, with the royal navy\* cannot at this time be worth less than twenty millions sterling. The island of Great Britain, between six and seven hundred miles in length, and upwards of two thousand miles circumference; and being every where indented with harbours, forms (with other causes) such nurseries of seamen, as the world cannot produce.

Let us now examine our author's account of the navy of Great-Britain. "It is says he, worth no more than three millions and an half sterling." This in effect will reduce it to ten second rate ships of war, ten third rate, fifteen fourth rate, ten ships of forty guns, ten of thirty six, and eight of twenty. "If America says he, had only a twentieth part of the naval force of Britain, she would be by far an over-match for her, because as we neither have, nor claim any foreign dominion, our whole force would be employed on our own coast; where we should in the long run have two to one the advantage of those who had three or four thousand miles to sail over,

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\* Seventeen capital ships were built from 1763 until 1771.

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before they could attack us ; and the same distance to return, in order to refit and recruit. And although Britain by her fleet, hath a check over our trade to Europe, we have as large a one over her trade to the West Indies, which, by laying in the neighbourhood of the Continent, lies entirely at its mercy."

Were it lawful to joke on so serious an occasion, I would remind the reader of our Author's modesty, in saying, "that we claim no foreign dominion:" Since we have the most numerous, and best disciplined army under Heaven; and a navy sufficiently strong to combat that of Great Britain. For our present naval armament compose a fleet more than equal to a twentieth part of the British navy, (according to our author's estimation.) Notwithstanding our author's delicacy, relying on the well known utility of melasses, to the New England governments: I hope they will order Admiral Manly to seize Jamaica, and the other West India Islands. The Admiral cannot be at a loss for men; since, according to our author, "a few social sailors, will soon instruct a sufficient number of active landmen, in the common work of a ship. I do indeed confess, that the British ships of war, are constantly  
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equipt altogether with very social sailors ;  
and as constantly drub the French ships,  
double mann'd, with active landmen, tho'  
sufficiently instructed by a few social sailors.  
The reader will perceive, that our author,  
has humbled the naval power of Britain,  
with more facility than France and Spain  
could have done : And, has also expelled  
her from our ports with happier success,  
than did Spain; who was compelled to yield  
her Gibraltar and Portmahon, for the con-  
veniency of her fleets and commerce.

We must indeed allow, that Spain, tho'  
possessed of Mexico and Peru, cannot  
maintain the most numerous and best disci-  
plined army under Heaven, nor equip a  
navy fit to contend with the fleets of Bri-  
tain. It must also be confessed, that he  
makes Great Britain, very favourably dis-  
pose of her humbled navy, by employing  
nineteen parts of it in the Mediterranean,  
Asia, Africa, and I know not where :  
When he knows we have so great a check  
on her West India trade, a commerce, of  
the last importance to her.

I would blush for poor human nature, did  
I imagine that any man, other than a bigot  
could believe these ridiculous stories, these  
arrant gasconades, respecting our numerous  
and best discipiined army under Heaven,  
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about our navy, and a few social sailors, and that France and Spain will not assist us, (who by-the-bye, according to our author, are able to conquer them,) until playing upon words, we declare ourselves INDEPENDENT. Can a reasonable being for a moment believe that Great Britain, whose political existence depends on our constitutional obedience, who but yesterday made such prodigious efforts to save us from France, will not exert herself as powerfully to preserve us from our frantic schemes of independency. Can we a moment doubt, that the Sovereign of Great Britain and his ministers, whose glory as well as personal safety depends on our obedience, will not exert every nerve of the British power, to save themselves and us from ruin.

“ Much says our author has been said of the strength of Britain and the Colonies, that in conjunction they might bid defiance to the world ; but this is mere presumption, the fate of war is uncertain.”

Excellent reasoning, and truly consistent with our author. We of ourselves are a match for Europe, nay for the world ; but in junction with the most formidable power on earth ; why then, the matter is mere presumption. The fate of war is uncertain.

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PLAIN TRUTH. 37

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certain. It is indeed humiliating to consider, that this author should vamp up a form of government, for a considerable part of mankind; and in case of its succeeding, that he probably would be one of our tyrants, until we prayed some more illustrious tyrant of the army, to spurn him to his primeval obscurity; from all his ill-got honours flung, turned to that dirt from whence he sprung. "A government of our own, is our natural right," says our author.

"Had right decided, and not fate the cause,  
"Rome had preserv'd her Cato and her laws."

Unfortunately for mankind, those are fine sounding words, which seldom or ever influence human affairs. If they did, instead of appropriating the vacant lands to schemes of ambition, we must instantly depute envoys to the Indians, praying them to re-enter their former possessions, and permit us quietly to depart to the country of our ancestors, where we would be welcome guests. But continues our author, "What have we to do with setting the world at defiance? our plan is commerce, and that well attended to, will secure us the peace and friendship of all Europe; because it is the interest of all Europe to have America a free-port, her trade will always be her protection, and her

her barrenness of gold and silver, will secure her from invaders."

I am perfectly satisfied, that we are in no condition to set the world at defiance, that commerce and the protection of Great Britain will secure us peace, and the friendship of all Europe; but I deny that it is the interest of all Europe to have America a free-port, unless they are desirous of depopulating their dominions. His assertions, that barrenness of gold and silver will secure us from invaders, is indeed highly pleasant. Have we not a much better security from invasions, viz. the most numerous and best disciplined army under heaven; or has our author already disbanded it. Pray how much gold and silver do the mines of Flanders produce? and what country so often has seen its unhappy fields drenched with blood, and fertilised with human gore. The princes of Europe have long dreaded the migration of their subjects to America; and we are sensible, that the king of Prussia is said more than once to have hanged Newlanders, or those who seduced his subjects to emigrate. I also humbly apprehend, that Britain is a part of Europe. Now, *old gentleman*, as you have clearly shewn, that we have a check upon her West India trade, is it her interest to give us a greater check upon

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P L A I N T R U T H. 39

upon it, by permitting America (as you express it,) to become a free port. Can we suppose it to be her interest to lose her valuable commerce to the Colonies, which effectually she would do, by giving up America to become your free port. If therefore it is the interest of all Europe, to have America a free port: The people of Britain are extremely simple to expend so many millions sterling to prevent it. "It is repugnant to the nature of things, to all examples from former ages, to suppose that this Continent can long remain subject to any external power."

Antiquity affords us no elucidement respecting the future government of America. Rome situated in a sterile corner of Italy, long, long, retained the then world in chains, and probably had maintained her dominion longer, had not the cross, removing the empire to Byzantium, weakened the eagles, and in turn, justly been destroyed by the Barbarians. I see no reason to doubt, that Great Britain, may not long retain us in constitutional obedience. Time, the destroyer of human affairs, may indeed, end her political life by a gentle decay. Like Rome, she may be constrained to defend herself from the Huns, and Alaricks of the North. Ingratefully should we endeavour to precipitate her political demise,

demise, she will devise every expedient to retain our obedience; and rather than fail, will participate those provinces amongst the potent states of Europe. "The authority of Great Britain over this Continent, is a form of government which sooner or later must have an end."

This I have granted, and I add, that a million of revolutions may happen on this Continent, for every one of which, I am not indeed so over solicitous, as our Phoenix of Whims, the Author of Common Sense. "The Colonies have manifested such a spirit of good order and obedience to continental government, as is sufficient to make every person happy on that head."

What is this union so highly vaunted off? whence the marching and counter, marching through almost every province to disarm those denominated tories?—I perfectly agree, that glorious is our union.—I exccite those who say, it has been cemented by every species of fraud and violence: Yet notwithstanding I dread its fragility; were an army of Britons in the middle of our country. As the Author of Common Sense is now in the grand monde; and cannot be acquainted with the language of many people in the provinces: I will communicate the general purport of their discourse.— "We, say they, do not see through

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PLAIN TRUTH. 41

through the wisdom of the present times. We remember with unfeigned gratitude, the many benefits derived through our connections with Great Britain, by whom but yesterday, we were emancipated from slavery and death. We are not indeed unaware, that Great Britain is uniformly reproached with defending us from interested motives. In like manner, however, may every ingrate, reproach his benefactor; since all benefactions may be said to flow from no purer fountain. With predilection, we view our parent state, and wishfully contemplate on our late felicity, almost realizing that state of old, so beautifully feigned by the poets. We venerate the constitution, which with all its imperfections, (too often exaggerated) we apprehend almost approaches as near to perfection, as human kind can bear. We shudder at the idea of arming with more virulence, more unremitting ardour, against the parent state, than against France; by whom our RIGHTS, CIVIL, as well as RELIGIOUS, certainly were more imminently endangered. With horror we reflect on the former civil wars, when every crime, odious and baneful to human nature, were alternately perpetrated by the soldiers, particularly by the Independents."

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“Every quiet method of peace has been ineffectual; our prayers have been rejected with disdain.” I do not indeed agree with the people of England in saying, that those, who so successfully laboured to widen the breach—desired nothing less than peace. That they who shortly were to command the most numerous and best disciplined army under Heaven, and a navy fit to contend with the fleets of England, imagining *the time had found us*, disdained to be just. I highly venerate a majority of the Delegates. I have not indeed the honour of knowing all the worthy members; however, I wish the Gentlemen of the Congress, e'er they entered on their important charge, had been better acquainted with the strength of our friends in parliament. I sincerely lament, that the King did not receive the last excellent petition from the Congress; and I as sincerely wish, the Gentlemen of the Congress had not addressed themselves at that juncture, to the people of Ireland. “As to government matters,” (continues our Author,) “it is not in the power of Britain to do this Continent justice: The business of it will soon be too weighty and intricate to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power so very distant from us, and so very ignorant of us;

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us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. The difference between Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, respecting some unlocated lands, shews the insignificance of a British government, and fully proves, that nothing but Continental authority can regulate Continental matters."

Until the present unhappy period, Great Britain has afforded to all mankind, the most perfect proof of her wise, lenient, and magnanimous government of the Colonies—The proofs to which we already have alluded, viz. our supreme felicity, and amazing increase. Than the affair of the Connecticut invaders; Omnipotence only could grant us stronger reasons for praying a continuance of our former beneficent government. Most certainly, every dispassionate person, as well as the plundered Pennsylvanians, must confess, that the Arm of Great Britain alone detained those Free-booters aforesaid, from seizing the city of Philadelphia, to which without all doubt, they have as just a claim, as to those fertile regions in Pennsylvania, which they surreptitiously have possessed themselves of. In wrath to mankind, should Heaven permit our Author's new fangled government to exist; I, as a friend to Pennsylvanians, advise them to explore new settlements, and avoid the cruel mortification of being expelled by the

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*Saints* from their delicious abodes and pleasing fields.—“ But (says the Author) the most powerful argument is, that nothing but independence, (that is a Continental form of government) can keep the peace of the Continent, and preserve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation now with Britain, as it is more than probable, that it will be followed by revolt somewhere; the consequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain. Thousands are already ruined by British barbarity, thousands more will probably share the same fate. These men have other feelings, than those who have nothing suffered: All they now possess is liberty, what they before enjoyed is sacrificed to its service, and having nothing more to lose, they disdain all submission.”

Here we cannot mistake our author's meaning, that if one or more of the middle or southern Colonies reconcile with Great Britain, they will have war to sustain with New England; “ the consequences of which may be more detrimental, than all the malice of Britain.” This terrible denunciation, fortunately for such Colonies, is as futile as its author. Should Great Britain re-establish her authority in the said Colonies by negotiation, surely it

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is not temerity to add, that the weight of Britain, in the scale of those provinces, would preponderate against the power of New England. If Britain should reduce the Colonies by arms, (which may Heaven avert!) The New England provinces will have as little inclination, as ability, to disturb the peace of their neighbours. I do indeed most sincerely compassionate those unhappy men, who are ruined by our unfortunate distractions. I do fervently pray, that Britain, and the Colonies may most effectually consider their peculiar infelicity. Such attention will do infinite honour to the parent state; who cannot view them as enemies, but as men unhappily irritated by the impolitic measures of Great Britain. "The diminution of trade affords an army, and the necessities of an army, create a new trade." (So says our Author) I am surpris'd the ministry, so often reproach'd with ruining the commerce of Britain, never urg'd, (what was never thought or said before.) Our Author's excellent axiom, "that the diminution, &c." Certain it is, the minority had replied, since the commencement of this century; the diminution of the commerce of France hath afforded her nearly one million of soldiers; but the necessities of this prodigious number

number of troops, created her so bad a commerce, that she hath twice proved bankrupt since, and more than once experienced the miseries of famine.

“If premiums (says our Author) were to be given to Merchants to build and employ in their service, ships mounted with 20, 30, 40, or 50 guns, the premiums to be in proportion to the loss of bulk to the Merchants. Fifty or sixty of those ships, with a few guard ships on constant duty, would keep up a sufficient navy, and that without burdening ourselves with the evil so loudly complained of in England, of suffering their fleets in time of peace to lie rotting in their decks.” Yield the palm of ingenuity to our Author, ye DeWits, Colberts, Pelhams, and Pitts. He has outdone ye by constructing a beautiful navy; alas! on paper only.—

First, no nation in Europe depends on such ships for her defence: Secondly, such ships would be unfit to contend with capital ships: Thirdly, in the hour of danger, these ships on their voyage, or return, would alternately be taken by an active enemy: Lastly, six times as many such ships would be unequalled with that part of the naval power of Britain, which she actually could spare to combat on our coasts. This cannot be thought exaggeration, if we consider that

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that the British navy, last war, carried about seventeen thousand guns; and upwards of ninety-five thousand social seamen. "No country (says our author) is so happily situated, or internally capable of raising a fleet as America. Tar, timber, iron and cordage are her natural produce." He speaks of forming a fleet, as if he could do it by his Fiat. A third rate ship of the line fitted for sea, is allowed to cost seventy four thousand pounds sterling, which at the present exchange, is about one hundred and twenty nine thousand pounds. Now, as labour, sail cloth, cordage, and other requisites, are dearer than in Europe, we may reasonably suppose the advanced price, at twenty-five per cent. which makes the amount one hundred and fifty four thousand pounds. We must next suppose our navy equal to that of France, which consists of sixty four ships of the line (fifty gun ships inclusive) twenty-five frigates, with ships of inferior force. In case of independence, we cannot admit a smaller naval force. Indeed, when joined to the fleets of France and Spain, the navies so united, and navigated principally with landsmen, instructed by a few social sailors, will be vastly inferior to the squadrons of Britain. The amount therefore of such our navy, will only

only require the trifling sum of twelve million, six hundred and twenty five thousand pounds currency, which I am very willing to believe we can spare, being scarcely one fourth the value of our property, real and personal. With excellent management, our navy would last eight, nine, or ten years; we therefore would find it extremely convenient to rebuild it constantly at the expiration of that term: Of this there cannot be a doubt, when we remember with our Author, "that ship-building is America's greatest pride. The vast empire of Russia is almost shut out from the sea, wherefore her boundless forrests, her tar, iron, and cordage, are only articles of commerce." I reply, that Russia containing ten times our numbers, is destitute of industry and commerce. She has ports sufficient to build and contain a navy to subdue the world. Destitute as we have remarked of industry and commerce, her navy is inconsiderable, and being equipt with landsmen, cannot figure against ships navigated by social sailors. Who can doubt the ability of Spain to build a navy? The cargo of two or three of her annual galeons were sufficient to build a navy as formidable as that permitted to Great Britain (by the author of Common Sense.) In her Island of Cuba, possessed of an

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an immensity of fine cedar; she might construct a navy as formidable as that of Great Britain, but to what purpose, other than to adorn the triumph of her enemies; unless she could arm her ships, otherwise than by active landsmen, instructed by a few social sailors. Our Author says, "that the Terrible, Capt. Death, stood the hottest engagement of any ship last war, yet had not twenty sailors on board," (tho' her compliment of men was upwards of two hundred.)

We do indeed confess ourselves doubtful on this head, and therefore with our Author had produced his authority. We do apprehend, that naval actions, very generally depend on seamanship, that is, on dextrously working the ship during the combat. Now the judicious reader will remember, that ships of war in engagement cannot be navigated by a few social sailors, nor even by a bare competency, unless such sailors are more invulnerable than was the great Achilles.

"Were the Continent (says our Author) crowded with inhabitants; her sufferings under the present circumstances, would be intolerable, the more sea ports we had, the more we should have both to defend, and to lose." This is rather incomprehensible; I cannot imagine, that we would be less formidable with ten times our present

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sent numbers, if at present we can defend one sea-port; surely, with ten times as many inhabitants, we could equally defend ten. If with our present numbers, we are a match for the world, consequently with ten times as many, we would be a match for ten worlds, which would indeed be prodigious! The infant state of the Colonies as it is called, so far from being against, is an argument in favor of Independence." This assertion is as absurd, as if he had maintained, that twenty is inferior in number to two. "But the injuries and disadvantages we sustain by that connection, are without number, and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourselves, instruct us to renounce the alliance; because any submission to, or dependence upon Great Britain, tends directly to involve this Continent in European wars and quarrels. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no political connection with any part of it." Innumerable are the advantages of our connection with Britain; and a just dependence on her, is a sure way to avoid the horrors and calamities of war. Wars in Europe, will probably than heretofore become less frequent; religious rancour, which formerly animated princes to arms, is succeeded

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ceeded by a spirit of philosophy extreme-  
 ly friendly to peace. The princes of Eu-  
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 experience, that the objects of conquest,  
 are vastly inadequate to the immense charge  
 of their armaments. Prudential motives,  
 therefore, in future, will often dictate ne-  
 gociation, instead of war. Be it however  
 admitted, that our speculations are nug-  
 atory, and that as usual, we are involved  
 in war. In this case we really do not par-  
 ticipate a twentieth part of the misery and  
 hardships of war, experienced by the other  
 subjects of the empire. As future wars  
 will probably be carried on by Britain  
 in her proper element, her success will  
 hardly be doubtful, nor can this be thought  
 audacity, if we remember the great things  
 effected by Britain in her naval wars, then  
 secondary objects to her Germanic con-  
 nections, to which she now politically  
 seems indifferent. Our sailors navigating  
 our vessels to the West Indies during war,  
 are exempted from impressment, and if  
 our trade to any part of Europe is then stag-  
 nated, it flows with uncommon rapidity in  
 the West Indies, nor is the object of cap-  
 tures inconsiderable.

Our author surely forgets, that when in-  
 dependent, we cannot trade with Europe,  
 without

without political connections, and that all treaties made by England or other commercial states are, or ought to be, ultimately subservient to their commerce. "But (says our author,) admitting that matters were now made up, what would be the event? I answer the ruin of the Continent, and that for several reasons." Reconciliation would conduct us to our former happy state. The happiness of the governed is without doubt the true interest of the governors, and if we aim not at independence, there cannot be a doubt, of receiving every advantage relative to laws and commerce that we can desire. Montesquieu speaking of the people of England, says, "They know better than any people on earth, how to value at the same time these three great advantages, religion, liberty, and commerce." "It is a matter worthy of observation, that the more a country is peopled, the smaller their armies are." This indeed would be worthy of observation, did not daily experience contravert it. The armies of Russia, France, Austria, England, and Prussia, are certainly more numerous than those of Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and Sardinia. Now, the first five states contain nearly sixty millions, and the last kingdoms do not contain fourteen millions  
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 reason is evident, for trade being the conse-  
 quences of population, men become too  
 much absorbed thereby, to attend to any  
 thing else, commerce diminishes the spirit  
 both of patriotism, and military defence."

Every man of sense, now rejects the  
 fabulous numbers of the army of Xerxes,  
 and other fabled armies of antiquity. The  
 ancient armies, did not exceed in numbers  
 the armies of the moderns. If so, their  
 states had been desolated by the horrid  
 carnage of their battles, arising from the  
 military spirit of defence, from the nature  
 of their arms, and the arrangement of their  
 armies, which permitted the combatants to  
 buckle together, who seldom gave quarter.  
 The Roman armies never exceeded twenty-  
 five legions, which including auxiliaries,  
 did not exceed two hundred and fifty thou-  
 sand, a number greatly inferior to the  
 armies of France, or perhaps Britain during  
 war. Notwithstanding my ardour for li-  
 berty, I do most fervently pray, that we  
 may never exchange the spirit of com-  
 merce, for that of military defence, even  
 at the price of augmenting our armies.  
 Let us hear the testimony of Montesquieu  
 in favor of commerce: "Commerce, says  
 he,

he, is a cure for the most destructive prejudices, for it is almost a general rule, that wherever we find agreeable manners, their commerce flourishes. Let us not be astonished then, if our manners are now less savage than formerly. Commerce has every where diffused a knowledge of all nations, these are compared one with another, and from this comparison arise the greatest advantages. Peace is the natural effect of trade, &c." The Athenian people, perhaps the most respectable of antiquity, did not long possess a commercial spirit, but were almost continually afflicted by this spirit of military defence. The common people in effect distributed the public revenues amongst themselves, while the rich, were in a state of oppression. According to Lyfius the orator and others, it was their custom, when in want of money, to put to death some of the rich citizens, as well as strangers, for the sake of the forfeiture. In short, could we enumerate the infinite train of misfortunes inflicted on mankind, in every clime and age by this self-same spirit of military defence; our readers will surely join us in opinion, that commerce has most happily humanized mankind. I am not unaware, that there are many declamations  
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against commerce, these I have ever re-  
 garded as trials of wit, rather than serious  
 productions. Our author's antipathy, and  
 extreme aversion to commerce, is easily  
 accounted for. If his independence takes  
 place, I do aver, that commerce will be as  
 useless, as our searching for the philoso-  
 pher's stone. "And history (says he, ) suf-  
 ficiently informs us, that the bravest at-  
 achievements were always accomplished in  
 the non-age of a nation." The Greeks in  
 their early state were pirates, and the Ro-  
 mans robbers, and both warred in character.  
 Their glorious actions were performed,  
 (If I may so express myself) in the man-  
 hood of their empire. Carthage, Greece,  
 Asia, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, were not  
 indeed conquered during the non-age of  
 the republic. Agincourt, Cressley, Oude-  
 nard Ramillies, Blenheim, Dettingen,  
 and Minden, surely were not fought in the  
 infancy of the English Empire. "With the  
 encrease of commerce, England has lost  
 her spirit." This is really a curious disco-  
 very; who is unacquainted, that the English  
 are the lords and factors of the universe,  
 and that Britain joins to the commerce of  
 Tyre, Carthage and Venice, the discipline  
 of Greece, and the fire of old Rome.  
 "The city of London, submits to conti-  
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nued insults, with the patience of a coward. The more men have to lose, the less willing they are to venture, and submit to courtly power with the trembling duplicity of a spaniel." That an inconsiderable part of the people in London, submit to a power not very honorably distinguished in the world is certain, but that the city of London submits to continued insults is certainly a mistake. I suppose our author means, that by submitting to the best laws on earth they submit to continued insults. The rich whom he so very honorably distinguishes, can be at no loss for his meaning. An Agrarian law, would perhaps be convenient for himself and his independents. It may not however be amiss to remind him of that, which in the multiplicity of his projects, he may have forgot, viz. that the richest part of the community will always be an overmatch for the poorest part. "It might be difficult, (says our author,) if not impossible, to form this Continent into a government half a century hence."

Here I humbly apprehend our author's meaning is truly conspicuous. This Continent fifty years hence, infallibly will be richer, and much better peopled than at present; consequently abler to effect a revolution.

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lution. But alas! e'er that period, our author will forever be forgotten; impelled therefore by his villainous ambition, he would rashly precipitate his country into every species of horror, misery, and desolation, rather than forego his fancied protectorship. "But if you have, (says our author) and still can shake hands with the murderers, then are ye unworthy the name of husband, father, friend, or lover, and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the spirit of a sycophant, &c. To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded through a thousand pores, instructs us to detest is madness and folly."

Ye that are not drunk with fanaticism answer me? Are these words dictated by peace, or base foul revenge, the constant attendant on cowards and sycophants? Does our author so perfectly versed in scripture, mean to conduct us to peace or desolation? or is he fit to legislate for men or devils? Nations after desolating each other, (happily for mankind,) forgive, forget, and reconcile; like individuals who quarrel, reconcile, and become friends. Following the laudable example of the CONGRESS; we lately have most readily shaken

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hands with our inveterate enemies the Canadians, who have scalped nearly as many of our people as the British troops have done: Why therefore may we not forgive and reconcile—By no means, it blasts our author's ambitious purposes. The English and Scotch, since the first Edward's time, have alternately slaughtered each other, (in the field of Banneckburn, more men fell, than are now in the New-England provinces) to the amount of several hundred thousand: And now view each other as subjects, despising the efforts of certain turbulent spirits, tending to rekindle the ancient animosity. Many of the unhappy men criminally engaged with the Pretender; reconciled by humane treatment to that family against whom they rebelled; served in their armies a few years after. Indeed the conduct of the Canadians to our troops, as effectually illustrates our doctrine, as it reprobates the Anti-christian, diabolical tenets of our author.—“The unwarrantable stretch likewise, which that house made in their last sitting, to gain an undue authority over the Delegates of that province, ought to warn the people at large, how they trust POWER OUT OF THEIR OWN HANDS. A set of instructions for the Delegates were put together, which in point of sense, and business

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PLAIN TRUTH. 59

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ness would have dishonored a school-boy, and after being approved by a few, a very few, without doors, were carried into the house, and there passed in behalf of the whole Colony. Whereas, did the whole Colony know, with what ill will that house hath entered on some necessary public measures, they would not hesitate a moment to think them unworthy of such a trust." This very insidious charge, we cannot read without indignation. If the Pennsylvanians, had happily adhered to their virtuous resolves, it is more than probable, that a constitutional reconciliation had e'er now taken place. Unfortunately, rescinding their opinion, they perhaps adopted the sentiments of *certain persons*, by no means superior in virtue or knowledge. Those not inebriated with independency, will certainly allow, that the instructions to their Delegates, were dictated by the true spirit of peace, justice, and exalted policy. If inspiration had dictated those resolves, obnoxious as they are to independency, our author had reprobated them. How dare the author of Common Sense say, "that they attempted to gain an undue authority over the Delegates of their province? Who is proper to instruct them, as those chosen by the people; not in the hour of passion, riot and confusion,

sion, but in the day of peace and tranquil reflection. The gentleman, whom our author impotently attacks, in this and other innuendos; will be long revered by his grateful countrymen, and the friends of mankind; as well for his true patriotism and extensive abilities, as his unbounded benevolence. Would we profit by the unhappy examples of our ancestors, (which alas! mankind too seldom do,) let us remember the fate of those illustrious patriots, of the first Charles's time: Allied at first with the independents; they did not suspect those execrable hypocrites, of the horrid design of destroying the King and constitution. When they saw through their abominable views, it was too late to save the King and kingdom; for the independents had seized the sovereignty. Soon as they were firmly possessed of power; they persecuted those illustrious patriots, with more unrelenting virulence, than the professed advocates of arbitrary power. Every virtuous Pennsylvanian, must be fired with indignation at the insidious attack made by this independent on the respectable assembly of his province. Indeed, the Assembly of Pennsylvania in this unworthy treatment have a sure earnest of their future expectations.—“It is the custom of nations, (says our author)

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when any two are at war, for some other powers not engaged in the quarrel, to step in as mediators, and bring about the preliminaries of a peace. But while America calls herself the subject of Britain, no power, however well disposed she may be, can offer her mediation. Wherefore in our present state we may quarrel on forever."

Nations, like individuals, in the hour of passion attend to no mediation. But when heartily drubbed, and tired of war, are very readily reconciled, without the intervention of mediators; by whom, belligerents were never reconciled, until their interests or passions dictated the pacification. If we may use our author's elegant language, mediation is "sarfical." I grant however, that the idea of our forcing England by arms to treat with us is brilliant. "It is unreasonable continues (our author) to suppose that France and Spain will give us any kind of assistance, if we mean only to make use of that assistance for the purpose of repairing the breach, and strengthening the connection between Britain and America; because those powers would be sufferers by the consequences."

Considering "we have the most numerous, and best disciplined army under Heaven; and

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and a fleet fit to contend with the navy of Britain;" we must suppose our Author's brain affected by dwelling constantly on his beloved independency, else he would not have the imbecility to require the assistance of France and Spain. The manner of his prevailing on France and Spain to assist us, is also a strong proof of his insanity. Did those powers, hesitate to succour the Scotch rebels in 1745, because they did not declare themselves independent. It then was their interest to create a diversion, alas! too serious in the sequel for the deluded rebels in that kingdom; and were they now interested in aiding us, they undoubtedly would do it in spite of quibbles. In such case, e'er this time, their armies and navies had joined us without interruption: For we must confess, that the efforts of Britain hitherto, would not have precluded the republic of Genoa from aiding us. Suppose our author, had a son or an apprentice eloped to his intimate acquaintance, and desired to enter into his service: If this person replied to the youth; I know your apprenticeship is unexpired, notwithstanding declare yourself a freeman, and I will hire and protect you. I demand, would such odious, ridiculous duplicity, render our supposed person, less criminal in the eyes of our  
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PLAIN TRUTH. 63

Author, or render the example less dangerous to his own apprentice. "Were a manifesto (says our author) dispatched to foreign courts, &c." This also is a conclusive proof of our author's maniacum delirium. Our author "challenges the warmest advocate for reconciliation to shew a single advantage this Continent can reap, by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge, not a single advantage is derived: Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe:" Were the author's assertions respecting our power, as real as delusive, a reconciliation on liberal principles with Great Britain, would be most excellent policy. I wave similarity of manners, laws, and customs, most friendly indeed to perpetual alliance. The greatest part of our plank, staves, shingles, hoops, corn, beef, pork, herrings, and many other articles, could find no vent, but in the English Islands. The demand for our flour would also be considerably lessened. The Spaniards have no demand for these articles; and the French little or none. Britain would be a principal mart for our lumber, part of our grain, naval stores, tobacco, and many other articles, which perhaps are not generally wanted in any kingdom in Europe. If it is suggested, that the English

glish Islands, impelled by necessity would trade with us. I reply, that it is not uncommon to see English flour for sale in those Islands; as our merchants have more than once found to their cost. Since 1750, flour hath sold in the Islands, at ten and twelve per cent. the price being reduced by flour from England.

Britain is also better calculated to supply us, with woollen goods and other necessary articles, than any kingdom in Europe. Should a separation ensue; Britain will open an extensive commerce to the Baltic, and Russia, for all, or many of the commodities, she now receives from us. The Russians, since their last glorious treaty with the Porte; can now export the commodities of their most fertile Ukraine, through the Mediterranean, until that period, they were constrained to carry their hemp, eight or nine hundred miles to the Baltic, whence by a long and dangerous navigation, it reached the different ports in the Atlantic. I need not inform the reader that such immense land carriage, precluded the subjects of Russia from raising wheat, which generally sold in the Ukraine for ten-pence per bushel, as did rye at five-pence in that extensive region, than which no country on earth is more happily adapted for that grain.

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The British nation, pre-eminently distinguished for industry and enterprise, will establish factories in the provinces of Russia, and animate those people to emulate our productions, which they will transport by the Mediterranean, to the ports of Europe, and the West-Indies.—By these means, and the culture of Poland, our grain would probably be reduced to its pristine price, two shillings and six pence. As our Author is so violently bent against reconciliation; he must either suppose a constant war with the incensed power of England; or admit that he is a proper inhabitant of the domains of Ariosto, (the world in the moon.) Now, admitting “we have the most numerous, and best disciplined army under Heaven; and a navy formidable for that of England;” pray, what are our resources to pay such considerable armaments? Although I do not wish to mortify my countrymen; I must acknowledge, that the neat proceeds of all our produce is inadequate to that end. Our Author allows “that we have a considerable check on the West India commerce of Britain, and that Great Britain has a considerable check upon our European trade.”

In case Great Britain insults therefore our European bound ships, we have only to order

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der our admirals to seize their West India-men. Unfortunately, the Algerines, and other piratical states of Africa, have no West-India commerce; and not having the clearest distinctions of thine and mine; will be apt to seize our vessels. Our author affirms "that our trade will always be our protection." I therefore crave his pardon, and shall believe, that the sight of our grain, and smell of the New England Codfish, will effectually serve as a Mediterranean pass, to the piratical rovers. I do humbly confess my suspicions, lest Portugal extremely dependent on Great Britain, may not insult us. When independent, we no doubt will receive strong proofs of friendship from France and Spain: Nevertheless, with the utmost humility I imagine, could we seize Gibraltar or Portmahon, and there station a formidable squadron of capital ships; we might as effectually protect our commerce, as our trade will protect us. The author of Common Sense confidently affirms, "that our trade will always be its protection." I cannot imagine that his purse or watch would effectually protect him on Hounslow, or Blackheath from footpads or highwaymen. Hitherto we have treated of reconciliation on the principles of our

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being as potent as Great Britain. Let us now consider our army, nearly as I have stated it, and our navy as an object by no means sublunary. It now behoves us well to consider, whether it were better to enter the harbour of peace with Great Britain, or plunge the ship into all the horrors of war:—Of civil war. As peace and a happy extension of commerce, are objects infinitely better for Great Britain; than war and a diminution of her commerce. It therefore is her interest to grant us every species of indulgence, consistent with our constitutional dependence, should war continue, there can be no doubt of the annihilation of our ships, ports and commerce, by Great Britain. The King's ships now in New England, unhappily are more than sufficient to ruin the ports and commerce of these provinces. New York is already secured; and I should be extremely grieved to hear, that a small armament, were destined against Philadelphia. In the opinion of the best officers of the navy; Philadelphia is accessible to a few forty and fifty gun ships, in despite of our temporary expedients to fortify the river Delaware. If such opinion is groundless, the ministry by their imbecility have befriended us; since by guarding the River Delaware with a few frigates on-  
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ly; they had precluded us from arming our vessels and strengthening the river Delaware. I would remind our author of the constant language, and apparent purport of all ranks in opposition to Great Britain: "We have (say they) been the happiest people on earth, and would continue to be so, should Great Britain renounce her claim of taxation. We have no sinister views, we claim not independence; No! Perish the thought." Such I believe also was the tenor of the petitions from the Congress to his Majesty. Now I would ask every man of sentiment, what opinion our friends in Great Britain, nay the whole world will entertain of us, if ingrately, and madly adopting our author's frantic schemes, we reject reasonable terms of reconciliation? Will they not most assuredly believe, that our popular leaders, have by infinite art, deluded the unwary people into their pre-concerted schemes; on supposition, *that the time had found us?* Those acquainted with Britain must confess, that the minority in parliament, hitherto have been our main prop. Now independency for ever annihilates this our best resource. Let us admit a part of the minority, republicans, or what is more probable, bent on removing the present ministry from their power. Our author's

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P L A I N T R U T H. 61

Author's schemes annihilates all their consequence, all their opposition. In case of our independence, should a BARRE, or BURKE, patronise our government; such patrons, would infallibly participate the fate of the great and good DEWITS; be torn in pieces by the furious People.—If my remarks are founded on truth, it results, *that the time hath not found us*; that independency is inexpedient, ruinous, and impracticable, and that reconciliation with Great Britain on good terms, is our sole resource. 'Tis this alone, will render us respectable; it is this alone, will render us numerous; it is this only, will make us happy.

I shall no longer detain my reader, but conclude with a few remarks on our Author's scheme. The people of those Colonies would do well to consider the character, fortune, and designs of our Author, and his independents; and compare them with those of the most amiable and venerable personages in, and out of the Congress, who abominate such nefarious measures. I would humbly observe, that the specious science of politics, is of all others, the most delusive. Soon after the Revolution; the ablest states-men in England, and other parts of Europe; confiden-

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predicted National ruin, infallible ruin, soon as the Public debt exceeded fifty millions sterling. The Nation now indebted nearly thrice that sum; is not arrived at the zenith of her credit and power. It is perhaps possible to form a specious system of government on paper which may seem practicable, and to have the consent of the people; yet it will not answer in practice, nor retain their approbation upon trial. "All plans of government (says HUME) which suppose great reformation in the manners of mankind, are merely imaginary."

The fabricators of Independency have too much influence; to be entrusted in such arduous and important concerns. This reason alone, were sufficient at present, to deter us from altering the Constitution. It would be as inconsistent in our leaders in this hour of danger to form a government; as it were for a Colonel forming his battalion in the face of an enemy, to stop to write an essay on war.

This author's Quixotic system, is really an insult to our understanding; it is infinitely inferior to HUME's idea of a perfect Common Wealth; which notwithstanding his acknowledged greatness of genius, is still reprehensible. It is not our business to examine, in what manner this author's associates, acquired their knowledge in national affairs;

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affairs; but we may predict, that his  
scheme of independency would soon, very  
soon give way to a government imposed on  
us, by some Cromwell of our armies. Nor  
is this sentiment unnatural, if we are atten-  
tive to constant experience, and human na-  
ture. The sublime MONTESQUIEU, so aptly  
quoted by the Congress, unhappily corrobo-  
rates our doctrine, "from (says he) a man-  
ner of thinking that prevails amongst man-  
kind. They set a higher value upon cou-  
rage than timorousness, on activity than pru-  
dence, on strength than counsel. Hence,  
the army will ever despise a senate, and re-  
spect their own officers. They will natu-  
rally slight the order sent them by a body  
of men whom they look upon as cowards,  
and therefore unworthy to command them,  
so that as soon as the army depends on the  
legislative body, it becomes a military one;"  
and if the contrary has ever happened, it  
has been owing to some extraordinary cir-  
cumstances, such as Holland being able to  
drown her garrisons, and the Venetians  
having it in their power to compel their  
troops to obedience by the vicinity of the  
European armies. Resources to which  
we forever must be strangers. If indepen-  
dence takes place, the New England men  
by their consequence therein; will assume  
a superiority

a superiority, impatiently to be born by the other Colonies.

Notwithstanding our Author's fine words about toleration: Ye sons of peace and true christianity; believe me, it were folly supreme, madness, to expect angelic toleration from New-England, where she has constantly been detested, persecuted and execrated. Even in vain would our Author; or our CROMWELL cherish toleration; for the people of New-England, not yet arrived in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, would reprobate her.—It is more than probable to suppose, that the New-England governments would have no objection to an Agrarian law; nor is it unreasonable to suppose, that such division of property would be very agreeable to the soldiers. Indeed their General could not perhaps with safety to his existence as a General, refuse them so reasonable a gratification, particularly, as he will have more than one occasion for their services. Let us however admit that our General and troops, contradicting the experience of ages; do not assume the sovereignty. Released from foreign war; we would probably be plunged into all the misery of anarchy and intestine war. Can we suppose that the people of the south, would submit to have the seat of Empire at Philadelphia,

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delphia, or in New England; or that the people oppressed by a change of government, contrasting their misery with their former happy state, would not invite Britain to re-assume the sovereignty.

A failure of commerce precludes the numerous tribe of planters, farmers and others, from paying their debts contracted on the faith of peace and commerce. They cannot, nor perhaps ought not to pay their debts. A war will ensue between the creditors and their debtors, which will eventually end in a general sponge or abolition of debts, which has more than once happened in other States on occasions similar.

Ye respectable descendants of the planters from Holland and Swisserland; who acknowledge, that your fathers have instructed you to felicitate yourselves in existing under the benign British government. And have taught you to execrate the Government of Holland and other popular states, where the unhappy people unacquainted with trial by jury and other peculiar felicities of British Subjects are, (to use the significant language of your fathers) under the harrow of oppressive Demagogues. Do ye possess the wisdom to continue your happiness by a well regulated connection with Britain?

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Volumes were insufficient to describe the horror, misery and desolation, awaiting the people at large in the Syren form of American independence. In short, I affirm that it would be most excellent policy in those who wish for TRUE LIBERTY to submit by an advantageous reconciliation to the authority of Great Britain ; "to accomplish in the long run, what they cannot do by hypocrisy, fraud and force in the short one."

INDEPENDENCE AND SLAVERY ARE SYNONYMOUS TERMS.

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*The following Publication by RATIONALIS,*  
*is printed in this size, for the convenience*  
*of those Gentlemen, who choose to bind*  
*it with other Pamphlets, in an Octavo*  
*Volume.*

*The Republican Spirit is indeed at Bottom*  
*as ambitious as the Monarchical.*

VOLTAIRE.

**T**HE town has been lately amused with  
a new political pamphlet, entitled  
COMMON SENSE.

This piece, though it has taken a popular name, and implies that the contents are obvious, and adapted to the understandings of the bulk of the people is so far from meriting the title it has assumed, that in my opinion it holds principles equally inconsistent with learned and common Sense.

I know not the author, nor am I anxious to learn his name or character; for the book, and not the writer of it, is to be the subject of my animadversions.

'Tis the glory of a free country to enjoy  
a free

a free press, and of this, that the sentiments and opinions of the meanest, equally with those of the greatest, are brought to view; for we know by frequent instances, that the rich and high born are not the monopolizers of wisdom and virtue.—On the contrary, these qualities are oftener to be found among the middling class in every country, who, being less dissipated and debauched than those who are usually called their betters, apply themselves with more industry to the culture of their understandings, and in reality become better acquainted with the true interests of the society in which they live.

But to my great grief I have too often seen instances of persons in every class of life, whose publications, at the same time they have reflected honor on the parts and genius of the authors, have been so shamefully wanting in candor as to attempt, by the cadence of words, and force of style, a total perversion of the understanding.

The pamphlet in question seems to be plainly calculated to induce a belief of three things.

1st. That the English form of government has no wisdom in it, and that it is by no means so constructed as to produce the happiness

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happiness of the people, which is the end of all good government.

2d. That monarchy is a form of government inconsistent with the will of God.

3d. That now is the time to break of all connection with Great Britain, and to declare an independence of the Colonies.

It must be obvious to every impartial eye, that the author reasons from the abuses of, against the benefits derived from, the English constitution; and after reciting these abuses concludes, very unfairly, that, "it is incapable to produce what it seems to promise."—For if an argument of this sort is to be received, it will prove perhaps rather more than the author would choose—it would even prove that the Jewish theocracy was quite as improper, and as incapable to produce what it aimed at, as the reprobated English government. The records of sacred history inform us, that the law was given to the people from God, and that the great Jehovah himself condescended to call them his chosen people. He signally interposed in their behalf in bringing them out of bondage, in preserving them from the rage of Pharaoh's army, and seating them in a land flowing with milk and honey, under his immediate government

ment and laws, "written with his own finger."

"And he will love thee and bless thee, and multiply thee: he will also bless the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land, thy corn and thy wine, and thy oil; the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep, in the land which he swore unto thy fathers to give thee". Deut. vii. 13.

"Thou shalt be blessed above all people there shall not be male or female barren among you, or among your cattle." Deut. vii. 14.

But what effects did all these extraordinary favors and promises of the Deity himself produce upon that wicked, perverse, stiff necked people? Moses tells them,

"From the day that thou didst depart out of the land of Egypt until ye came unto this place, ye have been rebellious against the Lord." Deut. ix. 7.

"You have been rebellious against the Lord from the day that I knew you. Deut. ix. 24.

Profane as well as sacred history informs us of the ineffectuality of the best governments and the wisest laws among a corrupt, degenerate people. It does not regularly follow

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follow, that if the people are not happy under an excellent form of civil polity, that the fault is in the government, it may be owing to the corruption of the people, and this I take to be the case in Great Britain at this day. When the British parliament is properly balanced, and each branch of the legislature faithfully executes its duty, I think I am safe in affirming there was never yet a form of government in the world so well calculated for the happiness of a free people as this, and yet we are told by the author of the pamphlet, that the "prejudice of Englishmen in favor of King, Lords and Commons, arises as much or more from national pride than reason." The world has already seen numberless instances of fine spun political theories, which, like the quackeries of mountebank doctors, are to cure all the political evils to which human nature is liable — But when the experiment is made, they become astonished at the ill success of their boasted schemes--they find a thousand little passions and interests continually interfering with their designs, and at length retire again to their closets, chagrined they had not thought it necessary to study the great volume of human nature, before they ventured to say what was the best for mankind.

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The author, after venting his spleen against the English form of government, comes next to consider the subject of monarchy and hereditary succession; in treating which he plainly discovers the utmost prepossession in favor of a republic. I shall not follow him through his scripture quotations, which he has so carefully garbled to answer his purpose, but beg leave to oppose some authorities to it.

The celebrated Trenchard, in No. 60, of Cato's Letters, says, "There is no government now upon earth, which owes its formation or beginning to the immediate revelation of God, or can derive its existence from such revelation: It is certain, on the contrary, that the rise and institution, or variation of government, from time to time, is within the memory of men or of histories; and that every government which we know at this day in the world, was established by the wisdom and force of mere men, and by the concurrence of causes evidently human."

"Nor has God by any revelation nominated magistrates, shewed the nature or extent of their powers, or given a plan of civil polity for mankind." (Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy, p. 272.)

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*“There being no natural or divine law for any form of government, or that one person rather than another should have the sovereign administration of affairs, or have power over many thousand different families who are by nature all equal being of the same rank, promiscuously born, and of the same advantages of nature, and to be endued with the same common faculties, therefore the mankind is at liberty to choose what form of government they like.”*

“God’s providence or permission suffered his own peculiar people the Jews to be under divers governments at divers times; as first under patriarchs. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, &c. then under judges, Othniel, Ehud and Gideon; then under high-priests, Eli and Samuel; then under kings, Saul, David and the rest; then under captains and high priests again, “as Zerobabel, Judas Maccabeus, and his brethren; and the government was lastly taken from them, and they brought under the power of Rome. And that God permits such magistrate or magistrates as the community thinks fit to approve, is plain by the testimony of Holy Scriptures; when God said to Solomon, “By me kings rule, even all the judges of the earth.” Prov. viii. 16.

“When the sons of Samuel were judges over Israel, they took bribes and perverted judgment

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judgment, therefore the elders of Israel desired Samuel to make them a king; and though the elders are only mentioned to have asked a king of Samuel, they seem to have been deputed from the whole congregation; for God said unto Samuel, "*Hearken to the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee.*" 1 Sam. viii. 4, 7.

"*And Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord.*" 1 Sam. x. 25. 'Tis plain the manner of the kingdom signifies the constitution of the government, by which was meant the conditions on which Saul was to be king, and they his subjects; for though God had given him the crown, it was to rule the people according to justice and laws."

"After the battle between Saul and the Ammonites, Samuel said to the people, *Come, let us go to Gilgal; and there they made Saul king before the Lord.*" 1 Sam. xi. 1, 5, 6, 7, 14, 15. *Now therefore behold the king, whom ye have chosen, and behold the Lord hath set a king over you.*" Sam. chap. 12. 13.

These latter quotations are taken from the great Lord Sommers's book called the "Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations concerning the Rights of Kings and the People." This nobleman was Lord high chancellor of England in King William's reign, and was

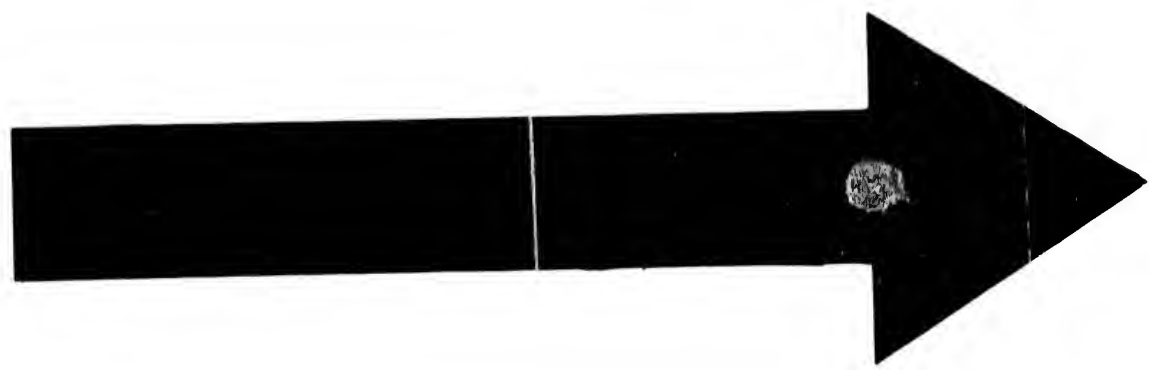
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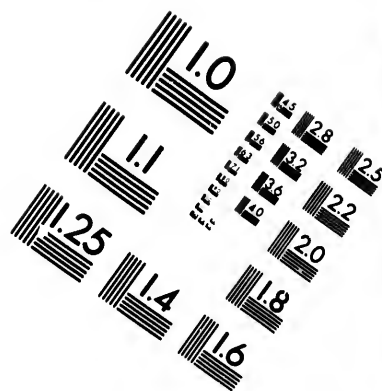
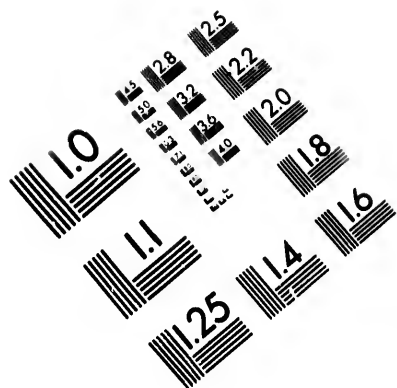
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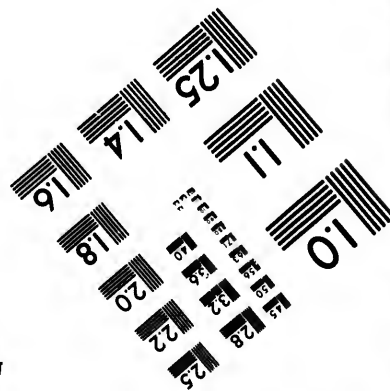
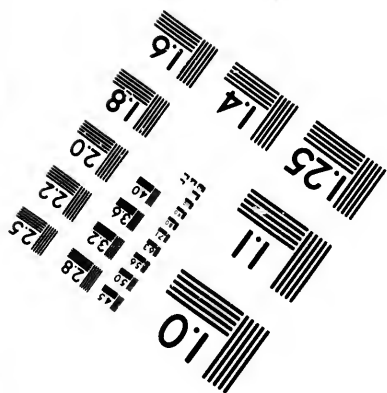
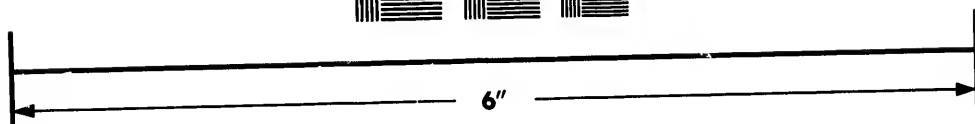
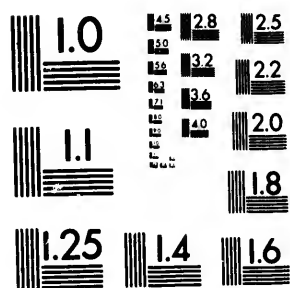
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was remarkable for his revolution-principles, great learning and unshaken integrity, in public and private life.

It does therefore from the foregoing testimonies appear, that monarchy (especially a limited one, such as that of England) is not inconsistent with the Holy Scriptures, as is set forth in said pamphlet, but that it is as pleasing to the Almighty, if agreeable to the people, as any other form of government, even the author's beloved republic.

The writer next proceeds to inform his readers of the numerous wars and scenes of blood acted in England under their kings, and asserts that "*Monarchy and succession have laid the world in blood and ashes. 'Tis a form of government which the word of God bears testimony against, and blood will attend it.*" Here are bold assertions indeed. To the latter part I have already endeavoured to make some reply, so far as he asserts it is contrary to the word of God; but will the author's candor permit him to inform his reader of the infinite distractions and mischiefs which have happened in the ancient and modern republics---Under this form there are always two parties, which divide the whole body of the people, and an eternal warfare subsists between them for power. The *Contest* is dreadful enough, but which soever party *prevails*, there is no rod heavy enough

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enough, no sword sufficiently sharp, to punish those whom they have subdued.— It then becomes a many headed monster, a tyranny of many.

Let any man read with an unprejudiced eye the accounts which historians give us of the famous Grecian Commonwealths, and I will venture to speak for him, that he will not bestow great commendations on them.—The Athenians, a wite and polished people, very often banished their best citizens, from an apprehension of their power—a glorious reward for a virtuous citizen, who, as was the case in more instances than one, had preserved his country from destruction. In the latter times of the Carthaginian and Roman republics, what constant scenes of blood and devastation does history present to us—The multitude in a perpetual ferment like the ocean in a storm—In a storm did I say,—like the waters of the sea, agitated by a dreadful whirlwind, nothing but the fury of one party encountering the rage of another.—Every trace of humanity being thus lost, men change their natures and become as fierce and savage as wolves and tygers.

But let us descend nearer to modern times—let us look for happiness and security in the republic of Holland, so often mentioned, and so little known—let us recol-

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left the fate of the two brothers, Cornelius and John de Wit, Dutch ministers, who were massacred by the people in the year 1672. Holland itself, from being a republic, is become a downright aristocracy. Liberty did not continue long in that country, notwithstanding the blood and treasure that were expended to acquire it. The people, so far from being free, have had no voice for many years past in the election of persons to represent them in the States-General, nor have they any thing to do in the forming of laws by which they are to be governed. Whenever one of them dies, the vacancy is filled up without any interference of the people, and this important change was made in the state, because of the intolerable feuds and animosities which attended the elections of representatives. Had they been to have chosen a king, what dangerous and destructive tumults must it have produced. Founded on the woeful experience of ages, it is now become a general fixed opinion, that hereditary is preferable to elective monarchy, on account of the terrible disorders, outrages and confusion which usually attend the election of a king; a pregnant instance of which, in our times, is the kingdom of Poland.

In our own history, we see what was the effect of the much wished for Commonwealth



wealth after the death of the tyrant Charles—it did not produce liberty—it presently ended in arbitrary power. The moment almost after the reins of government fell from Charles's hands, Cromwell took them up, and governed the nation with absolute sway.

I cannot agree with the author of the pamphlet in opinion, that this is the time to declare an independence of the Colonies. This ought to be the dernier resort of America. Let us not yet lose sight of the primary object of the dispute, namely, a safe, honorable, and lasting reconciliation with Great Britain, until we are under a necessity of doing it. If an advantageous accommodation can be had, and a free constitution for this country be established on mutual agreement and compact, 'twill be better and happier for us. But if justice is still denied us, and we are to contend for liberty by arms, we will meet them in the field, and try our manhood against them, even to spilling the blood of every brave man we have. Should the ministry have recourse to foreign aid, we may possibly follow their example; and, if it be essential then to our safety to declare an Independence, I would willingly embrace the necessity.

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CATO'S LETTER (*being his Second*)  
to the People of PENNSYLVANIA.

*On that reception, which may be proper for*  
BRITISH COMMISSIONERS, *who are*  
*at present (March 11th 1776) supposed*  
*on their Voyage, to treat with the Honor-*  
*able, the American CONTINENTAL*  
CONGRESS.—*With some Observations*  
*against American Independency.*

AS I propose to take my subjects as they  
rise out of the times, I shall leave to  
my next letter the further defence of  
our Assembly, to give room for a matter of  
very great importance, agreeable to what  
was hinted in the conclusion of my first letter.

The account which we have already re-  
ceived of *Commissioners* being appointed in  
England, and ready to embark for America,  
in order to negotiate a settlement of the  
present unhappy differences, has engaged  
the attention, and exercised the speculations  
of many among us. The powers with  
which they are to be invested, the manner  
in which they are to be received, how they  
are to be treated with, or whether they are  
to be treated with at all, have been can-  
vassed agreeably to the different views or  
judgments of individuals.

Among others, a writer under the signa-  
ture of *Cassandra*, in the *Pennsylvania*

Evening Post of March fifth, has held forth sentiments which I conceive highly disgraceful to America, and pernicious to society in general. He pretends to have satisfied himself (but upon what grounds I know not) that the sole view of administration in this commission, is to amuse and deceive, to bribe and corrupt us. And because he supposes all of us so very *corruptible*, he proposes, by way of prevention, to seize the Commissioners upon their first setting foot on shore, and bring them immediately, under a strong guard, to the CONGRESS. I have too good an opinion of the virtue and good sense of my countrymen, to think they will pay any other regard to this advice, than to consider the author as an enthusiast or madman.

The contest in which we are engaged is founded on the most noble and virtuous principles which can animate the mind of man. We are contending, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, against an arbitrary ministry, for the rights of Englishmen. The eyes of all Europe are upon us, and every generous bosom, in which the pulse of liberty yet beats, sympathizes with us, and is interested in our success. Our cause, therefore, being the cause of virtue, it will be expected that all our steps should be guided by it, and that where the stock is so fair, the fruit will be proportionably perfect.

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Let us not disappoint these sanguine expectations by the smallest deviation from those liberal and enlarged sentiments, which should mark the conduct of freemen; and when the faithful HISTORIC page shall record the events of this GLORIOUS STRUGGLE, may not a single line in the bright annals be stained by the recital of a disgraceful action, nor future Americans have cause to blush for the failings of their ancestors.

I trust that there is not such another *barbarian* among us as Cassandra. I am sure there are none such among our savage neighbours. To what is it that he would persuade us? To receive with contempt, and treat with insult, men commissioned to negotiate with us about matters of the highest concern to America, and at least *professing peace*—Persons cloathed with the character of Ambassadors, which has been uniformly esteemed sacred by every nation and in every age!

Can a precedent be produced in any country or at any period which could be proposed for our imitation, or give countenance to such a proceeding? Let this writer turn over the volumes which establish the principles of the *Law of Nations*. Let him search the history of every state both ancient and modern, civilized and uncivilized, he will find none so fierce and rude as not to reverence the rights of Ambassadors, and

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consider any insult of their persons as the grossest outrage that could be committed. Nay, let him enquire among the numerous tribes of Indians that surround our frontiers, for some example to countenance him in his proposal? These untutored savages would stare at the question, and wonder that there could be a person so ignorant as not to know that *public messengers*, with the CALUMET in their hands, are entitled to audience, respect and hospitality. And shall Americans, glorying in their attachment to the rights of humanity, be the first to violate obligations which have been thus universally held sacred? No! Let us never give that advantage to those who have been striving to excite the indignation of mankind against us as faithless people, ferocious, barbarous, and uninfluenced by those humane sentiments and finer feelings, which, in modern times, have, in some measure, softened the horrors of war. We know that such a charge is as malicious as it is groundless. Instances enough might be produced to refute it, since this contest was carried on by arms; and I trust no future ones will be found which might have a tendency to support it.

As we have long professed an ardent desire of peace, let us meet those who bring the terms, with that virtuous confidence, which is inseparable from an upright con-

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duct. Let us hear their proposals with patience, and consider them with candor; remembering how deeply the happiness of millions may be concerned in the issue. If what they offer be such as *freemen* ought to accept, my voice shall be for an immediate reconciliation; as I know of no object so worthy of a patriot as the healing our wounds, and the restoring of peace, if it has for its basis an *effectual* security for the liberties of *America*. If on the contrary, the terms, which may be offered, should be such as we cannot accept, we have only to say so, and the negotiation will be at an end.

But this writer is greatly concerned for our virtue, lest we should be cajoled, deceived, and corrupted. I confess these fancies appear to me so groundless, that I suspect their reality. Is it possible, in good earnest to entertain so ill an opinion of those, who have staked their lives and fortunes on this contest, as to believe that they will suffer themselves to be flattered out of their liberties, or, induced to sell their birthright for a *mess of pottage*?

When I consider that this treaty is to be managed, on the part of *America*, by men delegated for their integrity and abilities by the voice of their country, I feel myself quite easy on that score. If the scheme of the ministry be to try the *arts of corruption*, where their arms cannot prevail, there are



other and less suspicious ways of carrying it into execution, than by Commissioners, in the face of America, where they will have the eyes of all fixed upon them, and their conduct diligently watched and severely scrutinized.

Upon the whole, it appears that this writer is more an enemy to the business on which the Commissioners are to be sent than really apprehensive for our virtue. He seems to have drank deep of the *cup of independency*; to be inimical to whatever carries the appearance of *peace*; and too ready to sacrifice the happiness of a great Continent to his favourite plan. Among such writers I pretend not to class myself; for I am bold to declare, and hope yet to make it evident to every honest man, that the true interest of America lies in *reconciliation* with Great-Britain, upon *constitutional principles*, and I can truly say, I wish it upon no other terms.

Why the many publications in favor of *independency*, with which our presses have lately groaned, have passed hitherto unnoticed, I am not able to determine. But there are certainly times when public affairs become so interesting, that every man becomes a debtor to the community for his opinions, either in speaking or writing. Perhaps it was thought best, where an *appeal* was pretended to be made to the Com-

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MON SENSE of this country, to leave the people for a while to the free exercise of that good understanding which they are known to possess. Those who made the *appeal* have little cause to triumph in its success. Of this they seem sensible; and, like true quacks are constantly pestering us with their additional doses, till the stomachs of their patients begin wholly to revolt. If little notice has yet been taken of the publications concerning independence, it is neither owing to the popularity of the doctrine, the unanswerable nature of the arguments, nor the fear of opposing them, as the vanity of the authors would suggest. I am confident, that nine-tenths of the people of Pennsylvania, yet abhor the doctrine.

If we look back to the origin of the present controversy, it will appear that some among us at least, have been constantly enlarging their views, and stretching them beyond their first bounds, till at length they have wholly changed their ground. From the claim of Parliament to tax us, sprung the first resistance on our part. Before that unjust claim was set on foot, not an individual, not one of all the profound legislators with which this country abounds, ever held out the idea of independence. We considered our connection with Great-Britain as our chief happiness---we flourished, grew rich, and populous, to a degree

not to be paralleled in history. Let us then act the part of skillful physicians, and wisely adapt the remedy to the evil.

Possibly some men may have harboured the idea of independence from the beginning of this controversy. Indeed it was strongly suspected there were individuals whose views tended that way; but as the scheme was not sufficiently ripened, it was reckoned slanderous, inimical to America, and what not, to intimate the least suspicion of this kind.

Nor have many weeks yet elapsed since the first open proposition for independence was published to the world.—By what men of consequence this scheme is supported, or whether by any, may possibly be the subject of future enquiry.—Certainly it has no countenance from the Congress, to whose sentiments we look up with reverence. On the contrary, it is directly repugnant to every declaration of that respectable body. It would be needless to quote particular passages in proof of this, as they are to be met with in almost every page of their proceedings. I will refer to a few only, viz. their Resolves, March 5, 1775—their Declaration, July 6.—their Address to the King, July 8—-their Letter to the Lord Mayor of London—-and more especially their Declaration for a fast, June 12, in which with the deepest marks of sincerity they call upon all America to

join with them in addressing the great Governor of the World---“humbly beseech-  
 “ing him to avert the desolating judgments  
 “with which we are threatened, to bless  
 “our rightful Sovereign, &c.---that so  
 “America may soon behold a gracious in-  
 “terposition of Heaven for the redress of  
 “her many grievances, the restoration of  
 “her invaded rights, and reconciliation  
 “with the parent state, on terms con-  
 “stitutional and honorable to both.”

Will any one be so hardy as to say, that either the appointment or observation of this solemn day was a mere mockery of Heaven and earth, or even that any American joined in it, who was not sincere?---I trust not. But if multiplying authorities were of any use, I might add the sentiments of our own representatives in assembly expressed in the instructions to their Delegates; the sentiments of Maryland in similar instructions; the Resolves of New Jersey and New-Hampshire; nor shall the much injured province of Massachusetts Bay be left out of the catalogue, whose Provincial Congress, while yet bleeding with the wounds received at Lexington, thus addressed the inhabitants of Great Britain---“These are marks  
 “of ministerial vengeance against this Colony,  
 “but they have not yet detached us from  
 “our royal Sovereign, &c. trusting that in  
 “a *constitutional* connection with the mother-

“country, we shall soon be a free and happy people.” These were the sentiments of the Colony of the Massachusetts, signed by that great Martyr to Liberty, Dr. WARREN, and soon after sealed with his blood.

The sentiments of sundry other Colonies might be shewn to have corresponded with these.---But this letter has already reached its full length. I shall take some future opportunity to examine the arguments which have been offered to induce a change of these sentiments; and upon the whole I doubt not to make it appear that independence is not the cause in which America is *now* engaged, and is only the idol of those who wish to subvert all order among us, and rise on the ruins of their country! C A T O.

PHILADELPHIA, March 11th, 1776.

*Just printed and published, at the desire of several Members of the honorable the Continental Congress, and some of the Military of the Association, and is now selling*  
By ROBERT BELL, Printer in Third street,  
(Price Three Dollars, two volumes, in neat bindings.)

**T**HE MILITARY GUIDE FOR YOUNG OFFICERS, by THOMAS SIMES, Esq. This work is a large and valuable compilation from the most celebrated military writers—Marshal Saxe—General Bland—King of Prussia—Prince Ferdinand, &c. &c. Containing the experience of many brave heroes in critical situations, for the use of young warriors; including an excellent military, historical and explanatory DICTIONARY. To which is now added, extracts from a military essay, containing reflections on the raising, arming, cloathing and discipline of the British infantry and cavalry. By Campbell Dalrymple, Esq; Lieutenant Colonel to the King's own regiment of dragoons. The whole is illustrated with Eleven Copper-plates.

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Extract, from the Journal of the proceedings of the honorable the American Continental Congress, held at Philadelphia, September fifth 1774. Being that part of their Address to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec, which enumerates, the glorious RIGHTS of Englishmen, and English subjects:

Among which are included,

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

The Committee, to whom the Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec was recommitted; reported a draught, which was read, and being debated by Paragraphs and amended, was approved, and is as follows.

TO THE INHABITANTS  
OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

*Friends and Fellow-Subjects,*

WE, the DELEGATES of the Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of Newcastle Kent and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South Carolina, deputed by the inhabitants of the said Colonies to represent them in a general Congress at Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania, to consult together concerning the best methods to obtain redress of our afflicting grievances, having accordingly assembled, and taken into our most serious consideration the state of public affairs on this continent, have thought proper to address your province, as a member therein deeply interested."

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THE AMERICAN CONGRESS ON THE

“When the fortune of war, after a gallant and glorious resistance, had incorporated you with the body of English subjects, we rejoiced in the truly valuable addition, both on our own and your account; expecting, as courage and generosity are naturally united, our brave enemies would become our hearty friends, and that the Divine Being would bless to you the dispensations of his over-ruling providence, by securing to you and your latest posterity the inestimable advantages of a free English constitution of government, which it is the privilege of all English subjects to enjoy.”

“These hopes were confirmed by the King’s proclamation, issued in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for your full enjoyment of those advantages.”

“Little did we imagine that any succeeding ministers would so audaciously and cruelly abuse the royal authority, as to withhold from you the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which you were thus justly entitled.”

“But since we have lived to see the unexpected time, when ministers of this flagitious temper have dared to violate the most sacred compacts and obligations, and as you, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from discovering the unspeakable worth of *that* form you are now undoubtedly entitled to, we esteem it our duty, for the weighty reason

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## RIGHTS OF ENGLISHMEN:

herein after mentioned, to explain to you some of its most important branches."

"In every human society," says the celebrated Marquis *Beccaria*, "there is an *effort, continually tending* to confer on one part the height of power and happiness, and to reduce the other to the extreme of weakness and misery. The intent of good laws is to *oppose this effort*, and to diffuse their influence *universally and equally*."

"Rulers, stimulated by this pernicious *effort*," and subjects, animated by the just *intent of opposing good laws against it*," have occasioned that vast variety of events, that fill the histories of so many nations. All these histories demonstrate the truth of this simple position, that to live by the will of one man, or set of men, is the production of misery to all men."

"On the solid foundation of this principle, Englishmen reared up the fabric of their constitution with such a strength, as for ages to defy time, tyranny, treachery, internal and foreign wars: And as an illustrious author (*Montesquieu*) of your nation, hereafter mentioned, observes,— "they gave the people of their colonies the form of their own government, and this government carrying prosperity along with it, they have grown great nations in the forests they were sent to inhabit."

THE AMERICAN CONGRESS ON THE

"In this form, the first grand right is that of the people having a share in their own government by their representatives chosen by themselves, and, in consequence, of being ruled by *laws*, which they themselves approve, not by *edicts* of *men* over whom they have no controul. This is a bulwark surrounding and defending their property, which by their honest cares and labours they have acquired, so that no portions of it can legally be taken from them, but with their own full and free consent, when they in their judgment deem it just and necessary to give them for public services, and precisely direct the easiest, cheapest, and most equal methods, in which they shall be collected."

"The influence of this right extends still farther. If money is wanted by rulers who have in any manner oppressed the people, they may retain it, until their grievances are redressed, and thus peaceably procure relief, without trusting to despised petitions, or disturbing the public tranquillity."

"The next great right is that of trial by jury. This provides, that neither life, liberty nor property can be taken from the possessor, until twelve of his unexceptionable countrymen and peers, of his vicinage, who from that neighbourhood may reasonably be supposed to be acquainted with his character, and the characters of the wit-

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face to face, in open court, before as many  
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their sentence upon oath against him; a  
sentence that cannot injure him, without  
injuring their own reputation, and probably  
their interest also; as the question may  
turn on points that, in some degree, con-  
cern the general welfare; and if it does  
not, their verdict may form a precedent,  
that, on a similar trial of their own, may  
militate against themselves."

"Another right relates merely to the liber-  
ty of the person. If a subject is seized and  
imprisoned, though by order of govern-  
ment, he may, by virtue of this right, im-  
mediately obtain a writ, termed a Habeas  
Corpus, from a judge, whose sworn duty it  
is to grant it, and thereupon procure any  
illegal restraint to be quickly enquired into  
and redressed."

"A fourth right is that of holding lands by  
the tenure of easy rents, and not by rigorous  
and oppressive services, frequently forcing  
the possessors from their families and their  
business, to perform what ought to be done,  
in all well regulated states, by men hired  
for the purpose."

"The last right, we shall mention, regards  
the freedom of the press. The importance  
of this consists, besides the advancement of  
truth, science, morality, and arts in gene-

THE AMERICAN CONGRESS, ON THE  
RIGHTS OF ENGLISHMEN.

ral, in its diffusion of liberal sentiments on the administration of government, its ready communication of thoughts between subjects, and its consequential promotion of union among them, whereby oppressive officers are shamed or intimidated into more honorable and just modes of conducting affairs."

"These are the invaluable rights, that form a considerable part of our mild system of government; that, sending its equitable energy through all ranks and classes of men, defends the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their superiors."

"These are the rights, without which a people cannot be free and happy, and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which, these colonies have hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased. These are the rights, a profligate ministry are now striving, by force of arms, to ravish from us, and which we are, with one mind, resolved never to resign but with our lives."

"THESE ARE THE RIGHTS, YOU ARE  
ENTITLED TO, AND OUGHT AT THIS  
MOMENT IN PERFECTION TO EXERCISE."

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A D D R E S S E D T O T H E  
I N H A B I T A N T S  
O F  
A M E R I C A ,

Containing, farther Remarks  
ON A L A T E P A M P H L E T ,  
entitled  
C O M M O N S E N S E :

W H E R E I N ,  
Are clearly and fully shewn, that American Independence,  
is as illusory, ruinous, and impracticable, as a liberal  
reconciliation with Great Britain, is safe, honorable,  
and expedient.

WRITTEN BY THE AUTHOR OF PLAIN TRUTH.

The enjoyment of Liberty, and even its support and  
preservation, consists, in every man's being allowed  
to speak his thoughts, and lay open his sentiments.  
Quotation of the American Congress, in their Address  
to the Inhabitants of Quebec, from that friend to  
Mankind, M O N T E S Q U I E U .

P H I L A D E L P H I A :  
Printed, and Sold, by R. BELL, in Third-Street.  
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A D D I T I O N S  
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P L A I N T R U T H:  
C O N T A I N I N G,

*Further Remarks on a late PAMPHLET,*  
*entitled COMMON SENSE.*

**T**HE writer of PLAIN TRUTH, grieved at the insidious purpose of the Pamphlet, entitled COMMON SENSE, ardently wished to see its Antichristian tenets exposed to public detestation. After in vain, waiting several weeks in expectation of its being answered, he at length hastily endeavoured to refute its pernicious doctrines; and therefore wishes the judicious reader to peruse the following observations, intended as additional to his former remarks.

In our former observations, we intimated that many pages might be filled with encomiums on our excellent constitution, by illustrious authors of different nations. We hope the candid reader will be gratified with the following extracts on that subject, by that universal genius Voltaire,

N and



and by the almost inspired Montesquieu, so honorably distinguished by our respectable Congress.

“ The English nation are the only people on earth, who, resisting prerogative, happily restrained it : Who, by efforts to efforts, at length established that *wise government*, where the Prince all powerful to do good, has his hands tied from doing evil ; where the nobility great without insolence, and vassals, and where the people partake the government without *confusion*. The House of Peers and House of Commons are the arbitrators of the nation ; the King is the umpire. This balance was wanting to the Romans ; the Patricians and people were always divided at Rome, without a mitigating power to reconcile them. The Senate of Rome, who had the unjust and punishable pride to share no part of their power with the Plebeians, knew no other secret to remove them from government, than to employ them continually in foreign wars ; they regarded the people, as a beast of prey, whom it was necessary to let loose on their neighbours, lest he should tear his master. Thus, the greatest fault of the government of the Romans made them conquerors ; it was, because they were wretched

wretched at home, that they conquered the world."

Montesquieu also affirms that "the British government is the *wisest in Europe*, because, there is a body which examines it perpetually, and is perpetually examining itself; and its errors are of such a nature, as *never to be lasting*, and are frequently useful by rousing the attention of the nation." In short, the man who in preference to these authorities, and the testimony of ages, can believe our author's criminal assertions against the constitution, in our very humble opinion, is incapable of being reasoned with.

The reader, often accustomed to hear our numbers exaggerated, will with surprise be told, that the free people in the British Colonies do not exceed 1,500,000.

The writer of *Common Sense*, and his partizans, to promote their flagitious purposes, endeavour to make the world believe, that the number of our free people amount to three millions. These persons who have so excellent a knack of creating armies, and navies, suppose 900,000 people in Virginia and Maryland, although these provinces only contain 280,000 white people.

By *examining*, the list of *taxables* in Virginia

Virginia and Maryland, and the battalions now on foot in these provinces, such, as doubt our computations, may satisfy themselves, that we are not widely mistaken. If I am told that 72 counties are included in Virginia and Maryland, I reply, that they do not comprehend half the number of people contained in Yorkshire. The number of white people therefore in the different provinces, may be truly stated in the following manner; in the southern colonies, 450,000, in the middle colonies, 550,000, in the New England colonies, 500,000. Thus extensively disjointed, these numbers form not so great a national strength, as would half that number united in a compact territory. Now, a state, containing 1,500,000 people, cannot *prudently* keep up more than 15,000 soldiers. A person possessed of £1000 may indeed for some time display the expence of him seized of £1000 yearly revenue, but he will affect such imprudent parade at the expence of his *ruin*. On such, and no other principle, may a community of 1,500,000 arm more than 15,000 men.

When by the lust of his ambition, Lewis the Fourteenth was constrained to defend himself against his redoubtable adversaries, despotic as he was, he never at  
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once brought into the field one tenth part of his subjects capable of bearing arms: If he had, his kingdom had been forever undone, seeing the loss sustained by an army, even in an inactive campaign, is indeed almost incredible. Least those more zealous than informed, doubt these simple truths, we here subjoin the opinion of that friend of mankind, Montesquieu; who, reflecting on the cause of the rise and fall of the Roman Empire; observes, "that experience has perpetually shewn, that an European Prince, who has a million of subjects, cannot without destroying himself, keep up and maintain above ten thousand soldiers, consequently, *great nations* only are possessed of Armies.\* "It is observed (continues the same author) that the immoderate labour which soldiers are obliged to undergo, destroys our armies."

I would ask those who assert we are to be aided by France and Spain, on what assurance do they ground their hopes of such assistance? Did Britain retain Manilla, Havana, Martinico, Guadaloupe, or Belleisle? Did

\* Let the reader judge how this corresponds with the writer of Common Sense; who asserts, "that it is a matter worthy of observation, that the more a country is peopled, the *smaller* their armies are."

Did Britain interfere in the conquest of Corsica? Did she take part directly or indirectly with the subjects of France, when late in revolt in the rich island of St. Domingo, commonly called Hispaniola? Did not Great Britain with incorruptible integrity adhering to the spirit of her treaties with France, refuse to aid these islanders, though more than *once* solicited and IMPORTUNED by them for that end? Has France recovered the tone of her power, weakened by so many signal defeats? Are not her finances in deep disorder, and likely so to continue for many years? Did not these *weighty* considerations lately retain France from succouring the Turks, tho' brought to the verge of perdition by the victories of Russia? The Turks, her ancient *natural allies*, whose very beneficial commerce she almost exclusively enjoyed; a commerce more valuable than that she could carry on with us, were we raised to independence by her power.

Circumstanced as France and Spain are, would they not act extremely impolitically to aid or create a civil war in the dominions of Britain? Such procedure on the part of France would probably again rouse the martial ambition of the *proud islanders*, so as to recal to her memory the age of Henry the 5th. or the delivery of Dunkirk to Cromwell.

Montesquieu

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Montesquieu very justly remarks, " that no state threatens its neighbours with conquest so much as that which is involved in the horrors of civil war : In such a season, the nobility, the citizens, the artizans, the peasants, and in short the whole body of the people become soldiers." Can we believe that the Sovereigns of France and Spain, charmed with our author's encomiums on monarchs and monarchy, will in *gratitude* raise him to his beloved, his passionately desired *protectorship*? Let us however suppose that these monarchs jealous of the power of England, would gladly depress her, even at the certain price of creating in the independent states of America, a very dangerous power to their colonies. Let us next examine the probable consequences. In such war, *Holland*, perhaps *Denmark*, and *Russia*, would take part with their *natural* ally, Great Britain. It is indeed incumbent on these powers to preserve, inviolate the British power in America and the West Indies, which alone maintains the stability of the political balance in Europe. It consequently will behoove France and Spain to arm with the utmost vigour, which cannot be effected at less annual expence than fifteen millions sterling to each of the said belligerents. Now should this war

prove

prove unsuccessful on the part of Great Britain, we cannot imagine that it will terminate, e'er many bloody fields are lost and won; I say, it probably will not end in less than 10 years. This war therefore would cost to France and Spain at least 300 millions sterling, and consequently 3, 4, or 500,000 subjects.—Methinks I hear the writer of Common Sense exclaim, Britain divested of her American commerce, cannot so long maintain war. I would remind him that Britain and Ireland contain nearly ten millions of people. If therefore there is the least foundation in his assertion "that the diminution of *trade creates an army*, and the necessities of an army create a trade," the candid reader will surely allow that Great Britain may arm and maintain a most redoubtable army, possessed of nearly a million of manufacturers (according to our author, and his congenial frantic declamators) in danger of starving. Let us suppose that in the course of this war, unhappily for mankind the glory of Great Britain is stained by repeated disgraces and defeats, and that she is forever stripped of her colonies, who become independent.

Ye that are not dead to humanity and every generous emotion of the human heart, feel ye not compassion for human kind destroyed in these bloody scenes? Do ye feel

no remorse for the ruin of the British empire, the scourge of tyrants, the protector of nations and our sacred religion? are ye not petrified with horror, indignation and amazement, when informed, that a principal cause of such bloody and ever deplorable scenes is the restless ambition of the writer of Common Sense and his partizans: impelled I say by their turbulent ambition to anticipate an event which the fulness of time would probably produce without bloodshed.

Here let us pause, and dispassionately examine the advantages accruing to France and Spain from the expenditure of *so much blood, so much treasure*. These advantages we must candidly resolve into humiliation to Great Britain, and eventual and final ruin to *their colonies*.

“ But our commerce (says the author of Common Sense) our commerce will repay them.” Famed as we are for gratitude, I sincerely believe that France and Spain may securely rely on exclusively enjoying our commerce for ages, many ages. After this sacrifice to truth, I must however acknowledge, that were we to present those powers with the total of our produce for two centuries to come, we should not nearly repay to those powers, the said expenditure of blood and treasure. Let us now view the other

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side. If we consider the powerful efforts Britain has heretofore made to support Austria, and the balance of power in Europe, we may readily imagine the stupendous efforts she will perform to save herself from impending destruction. Her navies covering the ocean would rapidly destroy the fleets of her enemies. France and Spain overwhelmed with the destruction of their commerce and colonies, like a tree stripped of its branches, would pine and languish. Soon would they again implore Britain for peace.—The French and Spanish colonies once more, and perhaps forever would receive laws from Britain. The very fertile island of Hispaniola, of much more value than all the British islands, only awaits a *summons* to surrender to Great Britain. OPPRESSED BY EVERY SPECIES OF DESPOTISM, the planters of Hispaniola lately flew to arms, but alas! were defeated by the regular troops of their arbitrary Prince. Those rich planters being in the vicinity of Jamaica, are charmed with the felicity of the British subjects, and languish to partake the happiness of the British constitution. The surrender of this island (and its reduction would be infallible) would afford to Great Britain as real a monopoly  
the

of sugar and indigo, as the Dutch possess of the spice trade. Britain by moral and physical causes habituated to glory, would rapidly prevail, and triumphantly returning to our devoted shores.—I draw a veil over the event. Is it not a melancholy symptom that many, too many respectable persons in the colonies have attended to our “visionary’s tale of foreign aid? Is it not humiliating to consider, that such persons have been misled by our *would be protector*.”

Can we be so credulous to believe what our author has asserted about our creating a navy, &c? We are not ignorant that Spain enjoys more commerce than the colonies, consequently more seamen than America. We are not uninformed that Spain possessed of Mexico and Peru (mines not indeed so easily worked as our very valuable paper mines) would purchase seamen, if unhappily for the peace of mankind, gold could purchase sailors; perhaps only to be obtained in Britain or Holland.—This our assertion is expressly confirmed by *the friend of mankind* Montesquieu, who says, “in this age, the whole life of a prince is scarce sufficient for the raising and equipping a navy capable to make head against a power already possessed of the empire of the sea.” This perhaps may

may be the only thing which MONEY CANNOT EFFECT. I apprehend that this very excellent authority, independent of our humble reasons, will assuredly evince, to every candid reader, that in our days we cannot form a navy to contend with the pride and mistress of the main. If the writer of Common Sense is still inflexibly bent on building a navy, I advise him to construct it on his native plains of the moon.— There, indeed may it defy the power of Great Britain, which alas! it cannot brave on the Blue mountains, or any other part of British America. Seriously, the man's judgment must be strangely depraved who can give the least faith to our visionary's navy, and his other rhodomontades!

I apprehend that our planters, farmers, and others, who cannot obtain a shilling for wheat, who in barter for two bushels of that article, cannot acquire one bushel of SALT; who cannot procure other articles almost indispensibly necessary to life; I say, such persons, as well as every other rank of inhabitants, will, I dread soon experimentally find, that the writer of Common Sense has insulted their understanding, in bantering them about their grain selling, "*while eating is the custom in Europe,*" concerning a navy and such like extravagancies.

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PLAIN TRUTH. 109

We have already observed, that our au-  
 thor remarks, "that commerce diminishes  
 both the spirit of patriotism and military  
 defence."\* The Hottentots, the people  
 (if they may be so called) of Kamchatka,  
 of Greenland, and a considerable part of  
 Siberia, know not commerce. They are  
 as remarkable no doubt for *patriotism, as*  
*elegance of manners.* The Algerines, and  
 other pirates of Barbary, the numerous  
 tribes of Arabs, the many hords of Tartars,  
 have no other commerce than *robbery and*  
*murder.* They indeed possess the genuine  
 spirit of *military defence,* and doubtless  
 therefore are excellent patriots. The na-  
 tives of Florida, and New Zealand, who  
 ravenously feed on human flesh, have no  
 idea of commerce. I cannot indeed of my

own

\* The eloquent Ferguson treating of the most respecta-  
 ble nations of antiquity, has the following observation.  
 "They granted quarter only to a slave, or to bring the  
 prisoner to a more solemn execution; and an enemy  
 when disarmed, was for the most part, either sold in the  
 market or killed, that he might never return to strengthen  
 his party." When this was the issue of war, it was no  
 wonder that battles were fought with desperation, and  
 that every fortress was defended to the last extremity.  
 The game of human life went upon a high stake, and was  
 played with a proportional zeal. To the *military spirit*  
*of defence* were mankind indebted for such detestable  
 manners. Can any reasonable being therefore, wish for  
 independence *at this time,* which effectually destroying  
 our commerce and our agreeable manners, would without  
 all doubt plunge us into brutality and the grossest bar-  
 barism."

HISTORY OF CIVIL SOCIETY.

own knowledge say much of their patriotism, tho' they certainly possess the *true spirit of military defence* in its native colours. I believe our honest Indian neighbours are unskilled in commerce, tho' acquainted with the mode of broiling prisoners, and well versed in the *spirit of military defence*. With the utmost submission, do I propose to the *real author* of Common Sense, and his votaries of the true *military spirit of defence*, and to him who lately so learnedly arraigned luxury; I say, with entire deference do I propose to those worthies to pass the remainder of their *precious lives* amidst these humane nations, and enjoy patriotism, and the true spirit of military defence undefiled by *commerce*, undefaced by *luxury*.

I do not mean to expose the many absurdities with which the misled public has too long been deluded by many of our *deluded* and *deluding* writers. I shall however remark, that we are unacquainted with the West India Islands, if we believe that they solely depend on us for provisions and lumber. In Jamaica, flour is perhaps an article of luxury, and as bread, is rather inferior to *plantains*, with which that island amply abounds. Jamaica also produces large quantities of the best Indian corn on earth, and without injuring the sugar canes, in  
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the intervals or rows of which it is planted, and arrives at maturity before the canes become so vigorous as to demand much nourishment from the earth. Large quantities of yams and other ground provisions are there also produced. An hundredth part of mountainous Jamaica is not cultivated in sugar canes: that island consequently affords plenty of timber for hoghead staves. Punccheon staves may be obtained from Hamburgh, from Canada, or Mississipi, from which last colony, several of the French islands were plentifully supplied with lumber.

Ever since the settlement of the French in Hispaniola, nine tenths of their sugars have been shipped in hogheads made of wood the growth of that island.—If it is said that the windward islands (particularly Barbadoes) are destitute of the resources peculiar to Jamaica, I reply that it were perhaps advantageous for the Barbadians to remove from their worn out island \*a considerable number of their slaves to the newly ceded islands, or to Jamaica, where their labour would probably turn to better account than in their island demanding rest to recover its pristine fertility. As large quantities of rum and other produce formerly wont to

be  
 \* In 1772, 25000 hogheads of sugar were shipped from Grenada: and in that year, 5000 hogheads only from Barbadoes.

117 ADDITIONS TO

be consumed in America will now be sent to Britain, it will effectually prevent the distilling of spirituous liquors from grain which will answer many happy consequences to that kingdom and her islands. In fine, were it possible for the present unhappy convulsions to continue for two or three years, I do verily believe Great Britain would be highly advantaged by forever prohibiting intercourse between those colonies and her islands—nor is it probable Britain would omit this politic measure. I know it will be re-echoed that the West India islands cannot do without America. The contrary is nevertheless true. Most assuredly Britain is as capable to support her islands, as is France, whose islands as we have already observed are much more considerable, consequently require larger supplies.

Since the publication of my first remarks on Common Sense, I have seen an appendix to it, which I am inclined to think the production of the PUTATIVE, rather than the real author.

We know that the author of Common Sense for some time past has been anxiously busied in negotiating a match between Mademoiselle Borgio, a descendant of Pope Alexander the sixth, vulgarly called the Scarlet Whore of Babylon, and a great grandson of John Calvin. It is more-  
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over rumoured, that accompanied with a PRIEST, he is gone to an estate late the grand monarch's, to celebrate the nuptials. The true descendants of John Calvin and John Knox, even at this time trembling for the consequences, dread this alliance: Nay, we ourselves are sensible of her coquetry, to give it no harsher epithet, and really apprehend the deceitful hussy will jilt him. The author of the Appendix, or rather Summary of the pamphlet called Common Sense, says, "that America has a large and young family, whom it is more her duty to take care of, than be granting away her property, &c. I most ardently wish that her family were all well employed, and that it did not comprehend this author, and too many of his cast, who were better employed in mauling rails, than teizing their distressed parent to take care of them.

"In support of independency adds this author, I could if I judged it proper, produce some of the ablest and most experienced men on this continent, and whose sentiments on that head are not yet publicly known. We lament he had not judged it proper to favour the public with the names of *his able* and *experienced men* who wish their country plunged into every species of misery.

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In the Pamphlet, the author speaks of the trade by which America has enriched herself. In the Appendix it is said, America doth not yet know what opulence is. This is surely contradictory. "Because, that it is the interest of America to be separated from Britain, because it will come to that one time or other; because the longer it is delayed, the harder it will be to accomplish." This is devoid even of the semblance of truth, and no man in his senses can believe it. Let us however for argument sake admit it. Are we to precipitate ourselves into ruinous measures, because our remote descendants are to be involved in war? We may honestly answer no; whatever political quacks allege to the contrary in support of their criminal designs. If an assembly of 100 opulent persons were told that according to human affairs it were 4 million to one, that none of their descendants one or two thousand years hence would possess one shilling of their property, would they do well to afflict themselves? Surely not. In fine, existing a moment between two eternities, our designs are frail as ourselves.

"The continent (says the author) by that time would not have had a general, or even a military

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a military officer left; and we, or those  
 who may succeed us, would have been as ig-  
 norant of martial affairs, as the ancient In-  
 dians: and this single position closely at-  
 tended to, will unanswerably prove, that  
 the present time is preferable to all others."  
 Here I do the author justice to suppose, that  
 he really means to joke. If he is in earnest,  
 his invention is rather fertile; for I can  
 safely say, that he has adduced a reason for  
 arming, which no one else would have  
 thought of. I believe my countrymen,  
 who last war carried arms, will candidly  
 own, that had we no better reason for  
 taking up arms than that just assigned, we  
 very safely might postpone the war 50 or  
 100 years longer. If our troops gathered  
 laurels, the Britons also acquired glory.  
 Certain I am, that our experienced officers  
 will most chearfully allow, that the addi-  
 tional number of 150 or 200,000 men,  
 (which additional number, in that remote  
 period, the continent will at least possess)  
 would be an EQUIVALENT for their military  
 skill. Why may not our descendants then  
 expect foreign generals? Will not soldiers  
 of fortune then have stronger inducements  
 to explore military fame and fortune than  
 at present? Why may not our youthful de-  
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scendants courting glory in the well fought fields of Europe, return with laurels, and instruct their countrymen to acquire honor and fame in defending America. The author of the Appendix next remarks, "that the value of the back lands which some of the provinces are clandestinely deprived of, by the unjust extension of the limits of Canada, valued only at five pounds sterling per hundred acres, amount to upwards of twenty five millions, Pennsylvania currency, and the quit-rents at one penny sterling per acre, to two millions sterling."

"It is by the sale of *those lands* that the debt may be sunk, without burthen to any, and the quit-rent reserved thereon, will always lessen, and in time, will wholly support the yearly expence of government. It matters not how long *the debt is in paying*, so that the lands when sold be applied to the discharge of it, and for the execution of which, the Congress for the time being, will be the continental trustees." This is perhaps the most glaring insult ever offered to mankind, and as he evidently means to betray the cause he pretends to serve, I will therefore chearfully detect his duplicity. First, I observe that his back lands are only 480 millions of acres, or a territory BUT 82 times larger than Pennsylvania, which

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which comprehends all the space, even to the polar circle (land or seas of ice matters not to him) three fourths of which will forever remain a dreadful desert. I am not ignorant that our author will allege the precession of the equinoxes, which in the course of a million of years, by changing every climate on earth, *may render his back lands habitable*. Secondly, this project of his back lands will exterminate every Indian in North America; nor can this assertion be thought rash if we remember the RESPECT with which our frontier settlers very generally treat their Indian neighbours. Now such murderous ambition is rather too barefaced in our statesman so conversant in *scripture, in justice, and our NATURAL RIGHTS*. Thirdly, the habitable part of our author's provinces, will not be peopled (if ever) in less than 1000 or 1500 years. China, *by every cause*, is as favourable to population as any region or empire on earth. Yet doth it not contain one twentieth part of the inhabitants our provinces ARE to comprehend in the short space of one or two centuries. In fine, there is no example on earth of such population. War, famine, and pestilence will ever prevent it. Mankind ever were and ever will be the same. Nor doth Providence seem solicitous to crowd the earth

earth with inhabitants, else such amazing numbers of human kind would not perish in infancy, and every stage of life, as well by natural and acquired maladies, as by their passions rousing them to war, and deluding them a prey to the accursed ambition of designing leaders. Let us however admit those ridiculous tales about population are realized. Can we believe that our numerous descendants will be happier than their less numerous ancestors? I reply we dare not believe it. I have not the least doubt that modern Rome with her priests and violins, is not happier than ancient Rome with her triumphs, seditions, and proscriptions. Now will any reasonable person pretend to deny that the APPENDIX STATESMAN doth not mean to stab our credit by telling the public creditors, that they are to have unexplored, uninhabitable wilds, or seas of ice as a pledge for money? Will any one affirm that the proffered security is in any degree preferable to the planet Saturn?

Well doth he know, that only naming such security to the monied men is an effectual method of shutting their purses: "It matters not (continues the appendix writer) how long the debt is in paying, &c." Our author's sincerity on this head, I most sincerely believe. The

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PLAIN TRUTH. 119

The author more than once mentions, "the sufferers, whose *all* is already gone, and the soldier who has quitted his *all* for the defence of his country." I say, he attempts to terrify us with those who have no fortunes but their SWORDS. I have already expressed my ardent wishes, that Britain, and those provinces may effectually commiserate the unfortunate situation of the unhappy sufferers. Surely those soldiers, who on principles of virtue and glory defend their country; will, on the re-establishment of peace, cheerfully return to their families and avocations. Most certainly, the reader will not be bullied by such impotent menaces, but will readily perceive the true cause of our author's aversion to conciliatory measures, viz. that in such case he would no longer be able to fish in troubled waters; that peace would reduce him and his associates to their native insignificance. Peace doth not suit such men: Anarchy and war—civil war is their grand resource: They know, and perfectly agree with Swift, "that in party as in bad wine, the DREGS always mount highest."

"But if it were, says our author, and even should be granted (that is our former happy situation) I ask as a reasonable question, by what means is a corrupt and faithless court

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court to be kept to its engagements?" Would not one imagine he is speaking of the court of Lewis the 14th? If Britain, ever renowned for good faith, should in any future period violate the compact, we then indubitably, can defensively or offensively, war against her more advantageously and effectually than at present. This axiom is as true as that light flows from the sun. If we adopt reconciliatory measures, our numbers and wealth will probably augment in a greater degree than the people and riches of Britain circumscribed in territory. In fine, considering the present situation of Europe, we must confess that a future period cannot present a juncture more unfavourable to the designs of our author and his independents.

"The birth day of a new world is at hand" (says our author.) I sincerely wish the old one a happy delivery from such mischievous persons so little acquainted with the political obstetric art, as the author of Common Sense, and his colleagues.

"There are reasons to be given in support of independence, which men should rather privately think of than be told of." Every man of sense engaged in our present measures, will despise this inuendo as insidious as groundless.

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between English soldiers, and an inhabitant of America taken in arms, the first are prisoners, but the latter traitors." Can we without horror, read this detestable charge; to murder our deluded citizens? Britain, as famed for humanity, as arts and arms, has not treated, and I trust never will treat as traitors, those, who are only contending for their constitutional rights and liberties. "The artful and hypocritical letter which appeared a few months ago in two of the New York papers, is an evidence, that there are men, who either want judgment or honesty." Every man of understanding will perceive, that this last daring menace is thrown out, to deter Printers from virtuously asserting the liberty of the Press. If an absolute freedom of the Press, if the liberty either of speaking or writing on matters of state is permitted uncontrollably in the government of Britain, which we are taught so strongly to reprobate: Shall any reasonable being dare to assert, that these supreme felicities are not as essentially necessary in America, the land of freedom, or in any republican country. I am afflicted, by remarking that the committee of New York \* as

\* At Rome, where the Inquisitor General constantly resided, the horrors of the inquisition were unknown, when at the same time, it raged with detestable and unremitting fury in the Ultra Mountain Provinces, where the deputies resided. The first, were of exalted understandings, the last, only fitted to fill their eternally memorable infamous places, by their determined ignorance.

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it is said, have a great aversion to PLAIN TRUTH, they have at present interdicted and prohibited it from appearing among them, by seizing a number of that pamphlet which were sent from Philadelphia, although published with the printers name on the title page, and are daily selling here under the immediate eye of the Congress. If such doings are the first fruits of REPUBLICAN LIBERTY? Grant me Heaven, our former mild and limited Government, where the prerogative is ascertained by law, and where every man is at liberty to speak and print his sentiments.

In PLAIN TRUTH, having too precipitately considered commerce, I shall here reconsider that subject. And first, I observe the restrictions of Britain on our commerce so often held up to us, as a grievance of the first magnitude, is, I humbly apprehend rather ideally, than really so. Here, I ask those merchants trading to Hamburgh, Holland, France, or other parts of Europe; to the Spanish, French, Dutch, and West India settlements; do they hesitate to import into our provinces, the commodities of these different kingdoms and colonies? I dare say, they will not answer in the negative, but the risque exclaims the superficial observer, I believe, the risque is a bugbear, not very terrific to commercial adventurers.

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A seizure I apprehend, is an event, that doth not happen to one in a thousand such speculists; if it does, it must arise from the transactors misconduct. Great Britain, as already observed, is without doubt our best market for our lumber, naval stores, ships, part of our grain, for our iron, train oil, flax seed, furs; I may include indigo, tobacco, if not rice. No doubt, I shall be told, that rice and tobacco would sell better in other parts of Europe than Britain. I reply, that we legally transport rice to any country in Europe, south of Cape Finisterre; and if the rice vessels bound to Holland and the Baltic, call at England, they generally have indigo and other articles to land in that kingdom.

France is well adapted to raise tobacco, where it soon will probably be cultivated; such design some time since hath been in agitation. "It is well known, that the French might raise tobacco at home if they would, much cheaper than they can import it. The fact is this: The farm of tobacco is one of the great five farms, which make up the chief part of the Royal revenue; and therefore, the farmers general, for bye ends of their own, have hitherto had interest enough with the court, to prohibit the cultivation of it in old France, under the severest penalties. But nevertheless the real

French patriots, and particularly the Marquis de Mirabeau, have fully demonstrated, that it is the interest of the French government to encourage the cultivation of it, and have pointed out a sure and easy method of collecting the duties; which was the sole pretence of the farmers general for soliciting a prohibition: So that it is apprehended, that the French government will at last open their eyes in this respect, and allow the cultivation of it."

In case of separation says the Dean of Gloucester, "The ceasing of the payment of bounties on certain colony productions will be another great saving, perhaps not less than £200,000 a year: and it is very remarkable, that the goods imported from the colonies in consequence of these bounties, could not have been imported into any other part of Europe, were there a liberty to do it; because the freight and first cost would have amounted to more than they could be sold for; so that in fact, we give premiums to the colonies for selling goods to us, which would not have been sold at all, any where else."

In short, evident beyond a dispute it is, that were we independent of Great Britain, it were our interest to carry a very considerable part of our produce to her without *bounties*, and receive from that kingdom

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18 twentieths of the articles we now take from her. It will be said, if this is admitted why doth Great Britain annually expend 3 or 400,000 sterling to keep armies and navies in America, and at this time appear so willing to recover our allegiance. With the utmost deference to the Dean of Gloucester, I humbly imagine, that our independence would endanger the West Indies, according to the present system of insults consequent to Great Britain, and the other powers of Europe. I again repeat, that were we independent, the Princes of Europe, by enacting persecutive laws to restrain their subjects in Europe would only increase the evil, since every one knows that persecution eternally defeats its own purpose.

I say, that this event would encourage many emigrants from Europe, incited as well by the natural levity of mankind, as the hopes of one day visiting Mexico. The event we now describe is doubtless a principal motive, which prevents Britain from dissolving the connection. Perhaps American independence if effected at this juncture, might afford materials to light the torch of republicanism so powerfully in Britain, as to destroy the monarchy. But some may reply, are not such future prospects of grandeur sufficient inducements for independence:

independence: I reply, that they are not, even could we effect it, without wading through seas of blood. Every sensible person will acknowledge, that a well regulated connection with Britain, will afford us more real happiness, than independence, supported at an intolerable expence of money, and perhaps of blood. Without doubt, a happy mediocrity is preferable to a dangerous, tho' brilliant condition; as we have partly remarked in the instance of ancient and modern Rome.

In Plain Truth, we observed, that independence, or a democratical government would soon give way to a military system imposed on the colonies, by some Cromwell of our armies. I am not ignorant that such usurpation would not take place, while our virtuous citizen, General Washington commands. But let us remember, that the person whose turbulent ambition, and extensive talents would enable him to erect a tyranny, is perhaps at present a subaltern; whose talents I say, for war, &c. gradually unfolding will prompt, and enable him to ruin his country. To illustrate this simple truth, let us transiently view the late civil wars. When the patriots of those days virtuously endeavoured to restrain prerogative, and ascertain liberty; they raised armies  
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for that noble purpose ONLY: The command of which, were given to the Earl of Essex, Lord Fairfax, and other presbyterians as truly virtuous, as any men then on earth. It is notorious that those leaders, as well as every virtuous patriot in the kingdom, reprobated the thought of destroying that constitution, which they so often bled to defend. At the commencement of those unhappy times, Cromwell possessed of no fortune, scarcely ranked as a field officer. This execrable hypocrite, possessing extensive military talents, and a most perfect knowledge of mankind, saw with pleasure, that soldiers accustomed to a life of every species of dissipation, would not willingly return to their ploughs, looms, &c. He also knew, that nine tenths of his officers, being a sort of Demi-Gentry, (if I may so express myself) had still a stronger aversion to resign their fastidious profession (unhappily for mankind) more pleasing than their former peaceable departments. Cromwell, and his congenial associates, by degrees acquainted the soldiers with their real strength and interests. It must also be confessed, that in such unhappy times, victorious soldiers are very readily tutored by a Cromwell, Cæsar, Pompey, or an Octavius. The Earl of  
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Essex, Lord Fairfax and others, as we have already remarked, of the most approved patriotism and virtue, disdain to enslave their country, and scorning to command those military hypocrites, were succeeded by Cromwell, whose crimes and tyranny it were superfluous to enumerate. In short, virtuous generals do not suit soldiers, who are determined to enslave their country: The same causes ever produce the same effects. Hawks were ever birds of prey; **AND MEN WILL STILL BE MEN.**

The elegant Ferguson remarks, "that a specious government may be formed on paper, which in execution may prove extremely arbitrary." Let us however suppose six of the first sages of antiquity, and join with them the most respectable names of our times, and in this venerable Assembly, let Trajan, who was the best qualified to do honor to human nature, and to represent the divinity on earth: I say, let the almost divine Trajan preside in this august Assembly, who, in the hours of calm retirement, are to form a democratical government for us. In theory, perfect as such government would seem, let us not delude ourselves, by supposing it would long remain unconvulsed by ambitious men striving to lord it over their equals. Let us remember the dangerous influence obtained by demagogues

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demagogues in every age, debauching the deluded people. Suppose a dangerous war, domestic or foreign, victoriously terminated by an able general. He is adored as well by the people, as the soldiery; if his abilities equal his fortune, what may not he then effect? Innumerable are the ways to accomplish his ambitious purposes. History affords him too many examples to pervert the laws of his country. Our ambitious general impels his emissaries in the senate, to promote unjust wars, laws, and taxes; to destroy their unhappy country. The wretched people, worn out; and tossed in seas of anarchy and sedition, at length gladly repose in the shade of arbitrary sway, where they are sure to find themselves no less wretched.

It is a melancholy truth that such as delude mankind constantly represent our race infinitely more perfect than they really are. This hackneyed expedient enables them speciously to inveigh against the best government on earth: Too many of the human race give into the snare, forgetting that mankind, according to SOLON, and the unerring experience of ages, can BEAR none other than imperfect laws.

Let us remember that the Chinese, the most ancient respectable and polished people on earth, have at LEAST for 4000 years been governed by Monarchs. Yet surely the arbitrary government of China cannot be placed in competition with our happy limited government. I finally ask the partic-

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zans of the pamphlet called Common Sense if all the moments of ease peace and liberty could be selected and united which democracies have enjoyed from the origin of government until this hour, would they equal that portion of felicity enjoyed by the Chinese during the *reign only* of one of their princes? Impelled by exalted truth, we answer in the negative. Eternally true as this assertion will remain, must not such partizans blush to remember they believed the absurd paradoxes and continued falsehoods of that despicable production? Will they not I say blush they believed that all the blood spilt on earth, that almost all the miseries of mankind originated from kings? And will they not forever blush to have said that such a miserable production as the pamphlet in question was unanswerable?

In short, let us remember, that by our connection with Great Britain, we have been the happiest people on earth; and by a just agreement with her we may long continue so. Let us dispassionately consider, that in a connection with Great Britain, we may possess all the *ROSES* of independence, without being cursed with its innumerable *THORNS*.

We shall take little notice of the virulent abuse with which the Appendix writer impotently bespatters the respectable people, called Quakers. His scurrility on this occasion reminds us of the fable of the dog and the moon. Well has Hume said "that

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there is *no virtue* or moral duty, but what with facility may be refined away, if we indulge a false philosophy, sifting and scrutinizing by every captious rule of logic, &c. In this sort of logic lies our author's fort. Speaking of their virtuous testimony, he has the following words, "it tends to the decrease and reproach of all religion whatever, &c." Need I remark, that his assertion is the most impudent prostitution of language that ever disgraced the Press, or ever polluted paper.

The conduct and morals of this most respectable society, is their defence, and I hope will ever as effectually protect them, as they have benefitted *their province of Pennsylvania*, and adorned mankind by their excellent example. We must confess that the advancement of the adjoining middle colonies in industry and morality, was principally owing to the very laudable and powerful example of those real practitioners of christianity. This honest truth is dictated in gratitude for the signal blessings derived to the community at large in the virtuous example of those industrious and peaceable moralists. Utterly unconnected with any of the society is the writer, who is possessed of property, and if he knows himself, of a natural independence of spirit. He execrates flattery as ardently as he venerates truth. He therefore hopes the reader will peruse Voltaire, and other celebrated authors on the subject of this estimable

society. This philosopher treating of that people, seems to forget that he is writing the history of mankind, which according to him is almost a continued succession of crimes. Were not the facts as modern as notorious, we might imagine he is speaking of beings superior to men.

According to Voltaire, "they began by making a league with the Indians their neighbours. It is the ONLY TREATY between those people and the christians which was not confirmed by OATH, and which has not been BROKEN or INFRINGED. The original inhabitants instead of flying into their forests, insensibly accustomed themselves with the peaceable Quakers. As much as they detested the other CHRISTIAN DESTROYERS and conquerors of America, as much did they LOVE these new comers. In a little time, those pretended savages charmed with their new neighbours, came in crowds to request WILLIAM PENN to receive them in the number of his vassals. It was a spectacle entirely new—A sovereign whom all the world thee'd and thou'd, and address'd with their heads covered, a government without priests, a people without arms, citizens all equal, except in magistracy, and neighbours without jealousy. WILLIAM PENN might have boasted of bringing on earth the golden age of which so much has been said, and which probably never existed but in PENNSYLVANIA." We cannot indeed

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view this pleasing happy picture of morality, without receiving as much pleasure, as we do grief, from his narration of the horrid civil wars in the first Charles's time: Enumerating all the ever detestable acts of the fanatics, and military hypocrites of that age, he says they perpetrated all their abominations while they were SEEKING THE LORD.

I believe I have proved that we have not numbers nor wealth to support a considerable army for a length of time, and that we have not the most distant prospect of foreign aid. Evident it is beyond a dispute, that we cannot in our days construct a navy to raise us to independence, or protect our trade——I therefore hope we shall not be so dazzled by false views of grandeur, as to reject honourable terms, and rush to assured destruction.

I have remarked, that the event of which some persons seem so passionately fond, may in the fulness of time be naturally accomplished, without costing one drop of blood to Britain, or our descendants. If such event, by the misfortunes or concurrence of Great Britain could be immediately effected, it would indeed plunge us into inextricable difficulties. Many weighty considerations might be offered in support of this allegation; suffice it at present to remark that we are not arrived at sufficient maturity for this important event. Let us view matters through a serene medium, and not through

a glare of deceitful passions. Let us not then put bridles into our mouths, nor permit ambitious men to ride us to ruin.

On this occasion, perhaps it may not be amiss to remind the public, that great patriots have more than once been caught napping. Let us hear what the Dean of Gloucester says on this head.

“When the duty on stamps was first proposed, the Americans made as little objection to it, as could be expected to be made to any new tax whatever. Nay, several of their popular orators and leaders used considerable interest to be employed as agents in the distribution of these stamps: and one among the rest, whom I NEED NOT NAME, was more than ordinary assiduous in his application on this head: so that had the act passed within the usual time, instead of being a flaming American patriot, he would probably have acted the part of a tax-gatherer and an American publican. But when the outs and the pouters on this side the water, saw the advantage which the minister gave them by a whole year’s delay, they eagerly seized the opportunity; emissaries and agents were dispatched into all quarters; the newspapers were filled with invectives against the new intended tax. It was injudicious! it was ill-timed! oppressive! tyrannical! and every thing that was bad! Letters upon letters were wrote to America to excite the people to associate, to remonstrate, and even to revolt. The

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most ample promises were made from hence of giving them all the assistance which faction and clamour, and mock-patriotism, could muster up. And then it was that this very man, this self intended publican, changed sides, and commenced a zealous patriot. Then he appeared at the bar of the house of commons to cry down that very measure which he himself had espoused; and then as the avenging Angel of America.

He rode in the whirlwind to direct the Storm."

Even sincere Patriots are fallible, and at some periods, do not see the true interests of their country in the clearest light. Those who wish to understand the true interest of America would reap useful knowledge, by perusing the pamphlet from which the last paragraph is extracted, it is entitled, "The true interest of Great-Britain, set forth in regard to the Colonies; and the only means of living in peace and harmony with them; in which are included FIVE different PLANS for effecting this desirable purpose. By Josiah Tucker, D. D. Dean of Gloucester."

I have been the more particular in mentioning this piece, because I am persuaded (notwithstanding the ministerial attempts to ruin this Country) that the interest of Britain and America are so nearly related, and their commercial felicity so dependent upon reciprocity of kindnesses to each other, THAT HONORABLE CONNECTIONS,

AND POLITICAL HAPPINESS;  
ARE SYNONYMOUS TERMS.

In short, let us remember, that reconciliation on generous principles with Great Britain, is our true and only road to permanent happiness. Above all, let us seriously consider, that this (when the Commissioners arrive to treat with the Congress) is the juncture, this the moment, when we may receive every thing we can reasonably desire.

I conclude these remarks; by observing, that if they are founded in truth, they will instruct you to keep a good look out, that ye may not be surprized into AMERICAN INDEPENDENCY; without a thorough examination, both of it, and its consequences.

THE END.

*Philadelphia. April 10th. 1776.*

In a few days will be published by ROBERT BELL,  
in Third Street.

O B S E R V A T I O N S  
ON THE  
R E C O N C I L I A T I O N  
OF  
G R E A T - B R I T A I N  
AND THE  
C O L O N I E S.

By a FRIEND of AMERICAN LIBERTY.

Let the GOOD of the PEOPLE be the Foundation of all  
LAW and CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

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