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**I**f ever a nation was mad and foolish, blind to its own interest and bent on its own destruction, it is Britain. There are such things as national sins, and though the punishment of individuals may be reserved to another world, national punishment can only be inflicted in *this* world. Britain, as a nation, is in my inmost belief the greatest and most ungrateful offender against God on the face of the whole earth: blessed with all the commerce she could wish for, and furnished by a vast extension of dominion with the means of civilizing both the eastern and western world, she has made no other use of both than proudly to idolize her own "thunder," and rip up the bowels of whole countries for what she could get—like Alexander she has made war her sport, and inflicted misery for prodigality sake. The blood of India is not yet repaid, nor the wretchedness of Africa yet requited. Of late, he has enlarged her list of national cruelties, by her butcherly destruction of the Caribs of St. Vincents, and in returning an answer by the sword to the meek prayer for "peace, liberty, and justice." These are serious things; and whatever a foolish, tyrant, a debauched court, a trafficking legislature, or a blinded people, may think, the national account with Heaven must some day or other be settled: all countries have, sooner or later, been called to their reckoning; the proudest empires have sunk when the balance was struck; and Britain, like an individual penitent, must undergo her day of sorrow, and the sooner it happens to her the better. As I wish it over, I wish it to come, but wishal with that it may be as light as possible.

Perhaps your lordship has no taste for serious things; by your connections in England I should suppose not; therefore I shall drop this part of the subject, and take up in a line in which you will better understand me. By what means, may I ask, do you expect to conquer America? If you could, not effect it in the summer, when our army was less than yours, nor in the winter, when we had none, how are you to do it? In point of enterprise you have been outwitted, and in point of fortitude outdone; your advantages: turn out to your loss, and show us that it is in our power to ruin you by theirs: like a game of draughts, we can move out of one square to let you come in, in order that we may afterwards take two or three for one; and as we can always get a double corner for ourselves, we can always prevent a total defeat. You cannot be so inensible as not to see that we have two to one the advantage of you, and that we conquer by a drawn game, and you lose by it. Burgoyne might have taught your lordship this knowledge; he has been long a student in the doctrine of chances.

I have no other idea of conquering countries than by leading the armies which defend them. Have you another, or can you do this? If you have not, it would be civil in you to let your proclamations alone for the present; otherwise, you will ruin more torities by your grace and favour than you will whig by your

Were you to obtain possession of this city, you would know what to do with it more than to plunder it. To hold it, in the manner you hold New-York, would add an additional dead weight upon your hands; and if general conquest is your object, you had better be

your armies, the cities will fall into your hands of themselves, but to creep into them in the manner you propose, Prince, Owen, Fenton, &c. is like robbing a hard in the night before the fruit be ripe, and running away in the morning. Your experiment in the city is sufficient to show you that.

more to do than—baptize to get into other peo-  
ple; and your new converts, to whom you promised  
manner, or protection, and seduced into new guilt by  
denying them from their former virtues, must begin  
have a very contemptible opinion both of your power  
over policy. Your subjects, in the

and to the final circle which your army occupies, your proclamation is no where else seen unless it be laughed at. ) he mighty subduers of the continent are retreated into a nutshell, and the proud forgers of our sins are fled from those they came to punish and all this at a time when there is life to

day. In short, you have managed your jerity ex-  
tremely dexterously, that the dead only are  
victors, because none will dispute the ground with  
all the wars you have formerly been concerned in.

and only armies to contend with; in this case you both an army and a country to combat with. In 1759, the countries followed the fate of their capital: Canada fell with Quebec, and Alibourca with Malouin or St. Philip's; by sudden choice, the errors opened a way into and became masters of the

re; here it is otherwise; if you get possession of a  
cre, you are obliged to shut yourselves up in it,  
and make no other use of it, than to spend your  
money in. This is all the advantage you have  
from New-York; and you would draw less from  
Philadelphia, because it requires more force to keep it

much farther from the sea. A pretty figure you  
 would cut in this city, with a river full  
 and a town full of fire; for the immediate con-  
 of your getting here would be, that you would  
 loaded off again; and the cities be obliged to  
 food the damage; and this, sooner or later, will

... of New York, ...  
... to the city, ... not so much from ...  
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ary is from natural motives. 'Tis the hiding place of women and children, and lord Howe's proper business is with our armies. When I put all the circumstances together which ought to be taken, I laugh at your notion of conquering America. Because you lived in a little country, where an army might run over the whole in a few days, and where a single company of soldiers might put a multitude to the rout, you expected to find it the same here. It is plain that you brought over with you all the narrow notions you were bred up with, and imagined that a proclamation in the king's name was to do great things; but Englishmen always travel for knowledge, and your lordship, I hope, will return, if you return at all, much wiser than you were.

We may be surprised by events we did not expect, and in that interval of recollection you may gain some temporary advantage. This was the case a few weeks ago, but we soon ripen again into reason, collect our strength, and while you are preparing for a triumph, we come upon you with a defeat. Such it has been, and such it would be, were you to try it an hundred times over. Were you to garrioon the places you might march over, in order to secure their subjection, (for remember you can do it by no other means) your army would be like a stream of water running to nothing. By the time you reached from New-York to Virginia, you would be reduced to a string of drops, not capable of hanging together; while we, by retreating from state to state, like a river turning back upon itself, would acquire strength in the same proportion as you lost it, and in the mean time, would suffer, but 'tis a day of suffering, and we ought to expect it. What we contend for is worthy the affliction we may go through. If we get but bread to eat, and any kind of raiment to put on, we ought not only to be contented, but thankful. More than that we ought not to look for, and less than that heaven has not yet suffered us to want. He that would ill his birthright for a little salt, is as worthless as he who sold it for porridge without salt. And he that would part with it for a gay coat, or a plain coat, ought never to be a slave in buff. What are salt, sugar and rery, to the inestimable blessings of "liberty and safety?" Or what are the inconveniencies of a few months tributary bondage of ages? The meanest peasant in America, blessed with these sentiments, is a happy man compared with a New-York tury; he can eat his porridge without repining; and when he has done, can sweeten it with a repast of wholesome air; he can take a child by the hand and bless it, without feeling the infamous shame of neglecting a parent's duty.

publishing these remarks I have several objects in view: On your part they are, to expose the folly of your pretended authority as a commissioner; the wickedness of your cause in general; and the impossibility of your conquering us at any rate. On the part of the public my meaning is, to shew them their true and self-interest; to encourage them to their own good, to remove the fears and falterings which bad men had spread among weak men had encouraged; and to excite in all a love for union, and a cheerfulness for duty. I shall submit one more case to you respecting your quest of this country; and then proceed to new ob-

Suppose our armies in every part of the continent immediately to disperse, every man to his home, where else he might be safe, and engage to re-appear again on a certain future day, it is clear that would then have no army to contend with, yet you would be as much at a loss in that case as you are now; would be afraid to send your troops in parties over the continent, either to disarm, or prevent us from assembling, lest they should not return; and while you sit at home, having no army of ours to dispute with, you could not call it a conquest; you might surmount a pompous page in the London Gazette or the New York paper, but when we returned at the appointed time, you would have the same work to do you had

has been the folly of Britain to suppose herself more powerful than she really is, and by that means arrogated to herself a rank in the world she is not entitled to; for more than this century past she has not dared to carry on a war without foreign assistance. Marlborough's campaigns, and from that day to this, number of German troops and officers assisting her have been about equal with her own; ten thousand men were sent to England last war to protect her against a French invasion; and she would have cut but a sorry figure in her Canadian and West-Indian expeditions had not America been lavish both of her money and men to help her along. The only instance in which we engaged singly, that I can recollect, was against rebellion in Scotland in forty-five and forty-six, and even at that time, out of three battles, she was twice beaten; till we reduced their numbers (as we shall your's) and gave them a supply ship that was coming to Scotland with arms and munition (as we have often done), she was enabled to defeat them. England was never so weak as by land; her officers have generally been superior to her soldiers, and by the sample we have taken here we begin to give the preference to ourselves. The strength of late has laid in her extravagance; but her finances and her credit are now low, her finances are nearly ruined, and her credit is sinking; her line begins to fail fast. As a nation she is the weakest in Europe; for were the whole kingdom, and that it is in it, to be put up to sale like the estate of a bankrupt, it would not fetch as much as the owes. Yet our thoughtless wretch must go to war, and with the same indefigable sort of making us beasts of burthen, to bear his riot and debauchery, and to assist her in distressing those nations who are now our

best friends. This ingratitude may suit a tory, or the unchristian peevishness of a fallen quaker, but none else. 'Tis the unhappy temper of the English to be pleased with any war, right or wrong, be it but successful; but they soon grow discontented with ill fortune, and it is against all chance that they are as clamorous for peace next summer as the king and his ministers were for war last winter. In this natural view of things, your lordship stands in a very ugly critical situation. Your whole character is staked upon your laurels; if they wither, you wither with them; if they flourish, you cannot live long to look at them; and, at any rate, the black account hereafter is not far off. What lately appeared to us misfortunes, were only blessings in disguise; and the seeming advantages on your side have turned out to our profit. Even our loss of this city, as far as we can see, might be a principal gain to us: the more surface you spread over, the thinner you will be, and the easier wiped away; and our consolation under that apparent disaster would be, that the estates of the tories would become securities for the repairs. In short, there is no old ground we can fall upon, but some new foundation rises again to support us; "We have put, sir, our hands to the plough, and what will come, we know not."

Your king, in his speech to parliament last spring, declared to them, "That he had no doubt but the great force they had enabled him to send to America, would effectually reduce the rebellious colonies." It was not, neither can it; but it has done just enough to lay the foundation of its own next year's ruin. You are sensible that you left England in a divided distracted state of politics, and, by the command you had here, you became a principal prop in the court party; their fortunes rest on your's; by a single express you can fix their value with the public, and the degree to which their spirits shall rise or fall; they are in your hands as stock, and you have the secret of the ally with you. Thus situated and connected, you become the unintentional mechanical instrument of your own and their overthrow. The king and his ministers put conquest out of doubt, and the credit of both depended on the proof. To support them in the interim, it was necessary you should make the most of every thing; and we can tell, by Hugh Gaine's New York paper, what the complexion of the London Gazette is. With such a list of victories the nation cannot expect you will make few supplies; and to confess your want of them would be the lie to your triumphs, and impeach the king and his ministers of treasonable deception. If you make the necessary demand at home, your party sinks; if you make it not, you sink yourself; to ask it now is too late, and to ask it before was too soon, and, unless it arrive quickly, will be of no use. In short, the part you have to act cannot be acted; and I am fully persuaded that all you have to trust to is to do the best you can with what force you have got, or little more. Though we have greatly excelled you in point of generosity and bravery of men, yet, as a people, we have not entered into the full soul of enterprize; for I, who know England and the disposition of the people well, am confident that it is easier for us to effect a revolution here than you a conquest here: A few thousand men landed in England with the declared design of deposing the present king, bringing his ministers to trial, and putting up the duke of Gloucester in his stead, would surely carry their point, while you were groveling in the ignorance of the matter. As I send all my papers to England, this, like COMMON SENSE, will find its way there; and though it may put one party on their guard, it will inform the other, and the nation in general, of our design to help them.

thus far, Sir, I have endeavoured to give you a picture of our present affairs: You may draw from it what conclusions you please. I wish as well to the true prosperity of England as you can, but I consider independence as America's natural right and interest, and never could see any real disservice it would be to Britain. If an English merchant receives an order and is paid for it, signifies nothing to him who governs the country. — This is my creed of politics. If I have any where exercised myself overwarmly, 'tis from a list immovable as I have, and ever had, to cruel men and cruel measures. I have likewise an aversion to monarchy, as too debasing to the dignity of man; but I never misled others with my notions till very lately, nor published a syllable in England in my life. What interests pure nature, and my pen and my soul have gone together. My writings I have always given up, reserving only the expence of printing and paper, sometimes not even that. I never courted either or interest, and my manner of life, to those who will it, will justify what I say. My study is to be useful, and if your lordship love mankind as well as I do you would, seeing you cannot conquer us, cast about and a hand towards accomplishing a peace. Our dependence, with God's blessing, we will maintain till all the world; but as we wish to avoid evil ourselves, we wish not to inflict it on others. I am never inquisitive into the secrets of the cabinet, but I have some notion, that if you neglect the present opportunity, that it will not be in our power to make a separate peace with you afterwards, for whatever treaties or covenants we form, we shall most faithfully abide by: therefore you may be deceived if you think you can do it with us at any time. A lasting independence is my wish, end and aim; and to a country with this aim I say God the AMERICANS "may never be divided" and I trust, while they have good officers, and are well commanded, and willing to be commanded, they never will.

COMMON SENSE.

# COMMON SENSE