

## MARYLAND GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 3, 1782.

For the MARYLAND GAZETTE.  
To the PEOPLE of ENGLAND.

WHATEVER may ostensibly induce your ministry, to continue the war with America, their real design, is your slavery. Thus while your ears are amused at home, with the rattle of foreign conquest, while that enthusiasm which hath hitherto distinguished the admiration of your constitution—which is the Argus of its security, while this is diverted, by fixing your eyes upon this western world, your rulers are forming chains for your liberties, by adding to the influence of that branch of your government, the executive, whose ascendancy above the others, will sink you into ruin.

Expect not to detect their villainy, by the discoveries of a king's evidence; the laws would recognise no such character, in this case, and the sword of justice be found inadequate to his punishment. If the prerogative of your sovereign be not infringed, he never thinks himself injured by a violation of the constitution.

Their lordships at the helm of affairs, may go on to flatter your expectations with hope and false appearances; it is humane in them to indulge you in the enjoyment of this remnant of Pandora's box, after having empty'd on your devoted heads, all the miseries, and diffused through the veins of the nation, every poison which precedes that last ingredient of human vicissitudes. Even this comfort, which Omnipotence hath bury'd under such a heap of ills, your ministry mean to turn against you, by assimilating its effects with those misfortunes, which it was designed to soothe and alleviate: they, you may expect, will continue to feed your imaginations, with those baseless visions of conquest, with which they so long have trifled with your understandings. Such pleasing, gaudy fancies, promote their treasonable designs. Such is the hypocrisy which is assumed by the views of false friendship; but you must not expect such flattery from the lips of an enemy.

The voice of truth, to a people so little accustomed to her language, and so long estranged from the calls of wisdom, must convey the most discouraging, unwelcome advice and information. Her incertainties will be called the formal impertinence of officiousness, and be deemed the false prophecies of suspicion, and timidity. If, in a moment of caprice, she should attract the serious attention of any, he will be indebted for this favour, more to a fashionable rage for novelty, and the singularity of her appearance, than to a passion for profiting by the wisdom of her counsels.

When you first resolv'd on a war with America, there was a hesitation in your behaviour, which arose not from your friendship, but from the enormity of the enterprise. Your first operations against her, were rather partial experiments on the irritability of her nerves, than a vigorous attack upon her whole frame. You acted like men who are afraid of trusting their consciences with an oppression of guilt, until by the practice of evil—its sensibility is destroy'd, and its eye rendered blind to the deformity of vice. This caution arose from the advice of your ministry. The slavery of the whole British empire was their original object; but they were too well vers'd in your history, your revolutions, and your scaffolds, to declare their design openly. The lower parts of this Scilla, it was expedient for them to conceal, and the robe of majesty hath fully answered the decency of their cares.

All oppositions by arms to crowned heads, if unsuccessful in their issue, whether stigmatised with the opprobrium of rebellion, or embellished with the glory of legal resistance, have always in the end, added some precious right of human nature, to the temples of tyranny. Your ministry were resolv'd to have some pretence, by which the liberties of your country were to be attacked, a disguise was necessary, and the cloak of rebellion was most equal to their purpose. America, in becoming your rival, had excited your jealousy—and suspicions. In elegance of living, splendour of fortune, and every circumstance of luxury, she was almost equal to the mother country; nor were the sciences unknown to her, or the arts of government peculiar to Britain; these while they were the ornaments of your empire, should have been its security, and the most binding band of union; but pride, which is eager to blot the efforts of the emulous, will prefer annihilation to equality.

The rights of Englishmen were to be struck at, and America was the destined door of that invasion.

Our liberties were consequently attacked; but you, blinded by the arts of ministry, and your own jealousy, saw not the establishment of a precedent under which in some future hour of misery, you will be treated with similar injustice. By intentionally forcing America to resistance, your administration artfully changed that into rebellion, in your eye, which had it been your own case, would perhaps have altered the line of your protestant succession. It was extremely politic in them, thus to convert by design, the Americans into foes, that in the persons of your enemies, you might forget the defenders of liberty and your own constitution. You knew not the remoter extremities of your own body; and when you madly consented to the war, you opened a mortal vein in the disguised member, whose communication with the heart, will make itself most conspicuously known, by the fatality of its effects.

By thus familiarising your feelings to inhumanity in America, and accustoming your understandings to the specious sophistry of despotism, the deformity of arbitrary power will drop its odium, and your minds be gradually prepared, for the ultimate application of their designs in England.

America saw the application of your principles, and nobly resisted; but with a good sense, and moderation, which, while she shew'd a fatal indulgence to the errors, and dotage of a parent, gave the best symptoms of her firmness. The superficial force of your military parade, and character, had little other effect upon her, than that of enervating her exertions, with the prospects of laurels and renown. In the vigour of that disposition which teaches nations how to prize liberty, she remained unseduced from the charms of virtue, by the effeminate doctrines of a court. Secluded in her local situation from the voice, and presence of tyranny, she could reason with an unbiassed judgment, upon a system of politics, whose evil consequences she traced with facility, and confuted with boldness. She was the only part of your empire who knew with clearness and certainty, the inalienable rights and property of human nature. There she knew, and from experience and reason loved them—and these, while the eye of your parliament hath eagerly waited their dissolution, she, with a prodigality of blood hath defended.

The cause of freedom, is the cause of human nature in general; but in this struggle were involved the rights of Englishmen, in particular. You did not foresee the general conclusions of slavery which would be forced from particular violations of liberty; but this fatal sophistry, experience should have taught you, to be the logic of tyrants. You did not suspect that an issue which the politicians of St. James's would term happy, would bear an equivocal meaning, and be true only, when apply'd relatively to the completion of their schemes. But this so much wished for victory over the freedom of America, will finally prove a painted sepulchre to your own liberty; and to your nation, a splendid triumph over her own ruins.

Your history is an exhibition of kings meditating slavery against a people, and a people fighting against their kings! I thought the latter have often failed in their plans of usurpation, and the former been sometimes fortunate in repressing the arm of despotism, for that salvation, you are more indebted to the undissembling impolicy of their measures, than to the infallibility of your constitution, or the acuteness of your penetration.

Those liberties, which have been ever viewed with a jealous, envious eye, by the minions of the court, you can no longer, at this late hour of depravity, hope to defend or preserve. A universal spirit of corruption and venality, by enfeebling the nerves of patriotism, hath added a boldness and security to the machinations of ministry. Destitute of that vigilance, which is essential to the citizens of a government, composed of three distinct powers—each one of which is to be watched with a jealous attention, you will at length fall victims to that branch, which by acquiring an influence disproportioned to that of the other two, will derange the whole system of your theoretical constitution.

You must not expect that your suspicions are to be alarmed by those appearances of evil designs, which in former times set you on your guard: nor must you look for a violation of your forms, and rights, from those open, awkward, and boisterous politics, which formerly awaked the most drowsy sentinel of freedom, and threw the nation into arms. The maxims drawn from your experience, will be found inapplicable to modern refinement.

Political casuistry accommodates itself to times, to the views and intrigues of interest; and your ministry will no longer catch at words and forms, the shadow of liberty, while they can without danger, seize upon the substance.

In former, more uncultivated ages, when the passions of your kings, were the rulers of their conduct; when an open sincerity, was more the effect of an incapacity to restrain the violence of the passions, than an honesty of heart; when that procrastination, which is necessary to true politics, was outrun by an impetuosity, which made force the great instrument of enterprise; and when the designs of tyranny were not secured from detection, by the impenetrable shield of dissimulation, from the conviction of your senses, you easily discovered, and successfully evaded the impending ruin of slavery, and misery.

The present enemies to your liberties advance their attacks more by sap, than assault. Those schemes, which an undissembling enmity had formerly blasted, they will accomplish, by remote consequences; and a silently gaining perseverance. Thus the encroachments made by your present ministry, will be known more from the malignancy of their effects, than the notoriety of their adoption.

A seven years war, void of every permanent success, and eminent in disgrace, must have convinced you, by this time, of its impolicy. A war, in its prosecution so repugnant to humanity, full of the deepest wounds to your national pride, replete with chastisement, and chequered with naught but the variety of misfortune, such a war, must have convinced any ministry of their duty, but such whose views extended beyond the mere emoluments of conquest.

Whenever a motive is apparently wanting for the conduct of a man, it is even charitable in a spectator, to attribute his actions to some secret design, which though it may draw censure upon the honesty of his heart, preserves his understanding from the imputation of idiotism. Some design must be given from probability, rather than suppose your ministry to act from no design. Could you view things through their proper medium you would detect that design. In penetrating ministerial scenery, you would recognise the old exile. Domestic slavery artfully disguised in the habiliments of the American war: you would find the hands of Englishmen to have been consue't in the formation of chains, which you so generously would have bestowed upon the Americans.

The policy of your administration, aiming at an encroachment of royal prerogative, which already hath swelled to an alarming influence, will continue the American war as long as your deluded house of commons will furnish the means. Upon this principle, throwing out of the scales, the honesty, or wickedness of their real, ultimate designs, they are good politicians; as the means which they have made use of, aided by your unaccountable blindness, seem fully adequate to the end proposed. Attributing to them this motive, and they must have this, or none, we must allow that credit to their ingenuity, which otherwise could not be claimed by their stupidity and madness.

The form of your government hath a considerable analogy, with the oeconomy of the human body. That limb which is most exercised, while it improves in dexterity, will enlarge its veins, encrease its strength, and robbing the other parts by an appropriation of the juices, will become superior both in size and health. Your executive, is this disproportioned limb; war is the season of its predominance; and while the deliberative cryes no farther symptom of life, than a mistimed loquacity, this, is invigorated by the richest supplies of power and active exercise.

In limited monarchies, whose form, as yours, admits the restraints of three powers, each one of which is designed reciprocally to curb the encroachments of the other, a time of foreign war, is to the two deliberative branches, a period of imminent danger. It is then, that a wakeful suspicion becomes the first virtue of a patriot; for if ever the scales of your government, lose that equilibrium so essential to the just independency of each, it will be in time of a foreign tedious war, when the executive acquires a greater share of confidence and power, command and exertion, than the other parts. This at present is the case. Your executive is the only member of your government, which strikes the eyes of the people with any degree of veneration; as it is that quarter from whence their immediate wishes