

"Should I take him, please your Majesty, I was afraid all Paris would take me."

In this alarming Crisis, this distracted State of Affairs, I come, my Lords, with this Paper in my Hand (holding out his Motion) to offer you the best of my Experience and Advice, which is, "to beseech his Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to give immediate Orders to Gen. Gage to withdraw his Troops from before the Town of Boston, in order to open the Way for a Plan of Concord and Reconciliation;" and this, my Lords, upon the most mature and deliberate Grounds, is the best Advice I can give you at this Juncture.—Such a Conduct will convince America that you mean to try her Cause in the Spirit of Freedom and Enquiry, and not in Letters of Blood; it will be a Pledge to her, that you mean nothing more than Friendship and Equity, and she, I trust, will meet you half way. But how can she trust you with the Bayonet at her Breast? Nay, how does she know, but after having submitted to the Sword, you mean to forge for her heavier Chains, the general Consequence of ferocious Victory.

I have crawled, my Lords, to this House Today to tell you so—I think it my Duty to give the Whole of my Experience and Council to my Country at all Times, but more particularly when she is in so much Need of it; and having thus entered upon the Threshold of this Business, I will knock at your Gates of Justice, and never stop, except Infirmities should nail me to my Bed, until I have, at least, tried every Means in my Power to heal those unhappy Divisions.

There is no Time to be lost—every Hour is big with Danger—perhaps whilst I am now speaking, the decisive Blow is struck, which may involve Millions in the Consequence; and, believe me, the very first Drop of Blood that is spilled will not be a Wound easily skinned over—it will be *irritabile quibus*; a Wound of that rancorous and fettering Kind, that, in all Probability, will mortify the whole Body.

Let us then, my Lords, instantly begin with this Business, but let us not act, as hitherto has been acted—taking it up by Bits and Scraps, as Exigencies pressed, without any Regard to general Relations and Dependencies. What signifies merely repealing this, or that particular Act? This is but meanly sneaking out of one Difficulty perhaps to get into a worse, and can never answer the Purposes of a wise, amicable, and constitutional System. The mere Annihilation of a few little dirty Skreds of Parchment—can never produce any lasting Effect on the Happiness and Commerce of three Millions of People, hitherto ground down with Miseries and Wrongs, and in hourly dread of having them occasionally reheard.

We must look on this great Business in one large connected View, work on it, Step by Step, with Caution and Liberality, and never lose Sight of it until it is accomplished; this is the Way, not only to obtain Confidence for the present, but solid and lasting Happiness for the future: The Line thus drawn, the Americans will have something to trust to—and we shall be taught not to transgress that Line.—Thus mutual Confidence will be begun, and mutual Benefit must follow. I know that it has been in Circulation, that if the Stamp Act had never been repealed, we should be at this Hour in Peace and Quietness with America; and from this many People urge the Danger as well as Inefficacy of conciliating Measures at present. But though I could readily refute the Falseness and Absurdity of this Assertion, by appealing to the very official Letters from your American Governors at that Period, I shall weave this Ground, and only mention to your Lordships a Circumstance which will set this Matter in a still clearer Light, and shew you the Temper, Firmness and Complexion, of the Bostonians on that Occasion.

Sometime after the Repeal of that Act, I happened to be in Company (at the House of a mutual Friend above 100 Miles from this Town) with one of the most considerable and intelligent Merchants in this Country; in a Conversation I had with him upon this Subject, I begged him to be as explicit as possible in giving me his Opinion of the Repeal. This Gentleman then told me, and confirmed his Account by several written and respectable Evidences, that the People of Boston, previous to the Repeal, waited in sullen Silence the Deliberations of the British Parliament, and were positively determined, if that Day's Victory had not been obtained, immediately to abandon the Town, their Residence, and all the Benefits of Commerce; to the Country they were determined to retire with their Families and Friends, more happy to be *Freemen*, tho' Tillers of the Earth, than *Slaves* under the greatest Prosperity. Does this Resolution look like tamely submitting to Indignities? Or does it shew that it is owing to this *just Relaxation* of Government, that they have been taught to act with that Firmness and Perseverance, they have since that Period pursued?

I would not, however, wish, my Lords, by this to encourage America to proceed beyond the Line of Right—I reprobate as much as any of you those Acts of Violence which a few of her Mobility have committed; but when her inherent constitutional Rights are invaded, those Rights she has an equitable Claim to the full Enjoyment of, by the funda-

mental Laws of the English Constitution, and ingrafted on that Constitution by the unalterable Laws of Nature; then I own myself an American; and feeling myself as such, shall, to the Verge of my Life, vindicate her Rights. If America, however, should at any Time lose Sight of this, then I shall be an Englishman, and defend those Rights against any Power under Heaven that would oppose them.

L O N D O N,

January 31. Mr. Woolridge's Oration the other Day at the Bar of the House of Commons has, it is said, embarrassed Administration more than the most celebrated ones delivered by Chatham, Burke and Barre, during the three last Years.

Yesterday a Number of Artificers in the Cloth-working and Hot-pressing Business, sailed with their Families for New-York.

A very eminent Corn-Factor has sent over Commissions for twenty Thousand Quarters of Corn, to be imported in different Bottoms from New-York, Maryland and Philadelphia, by which several American Ships are kept employed, which must otherwise have been laid up.

To the Honourable the COMMONS of GREAT-BRITAIN, in Parliament assembled.

The humble PETITION of the Merchants, Traders, and others, of the City of London, concerned in the Commerce of North-America,

S H E W E T H:

THAT your Petitioners did, on Monday the 23d Instant, present an humble Petition to this Honourable House, stating the Nature and Importance of the Commerce between Great-Britain and America. The repeated Interruptions which of late Years have happened therein; the alarming State to which that Commerce is at present reduced; and the true Cause, as your Petitioners apprehend, of the same: And relying on the Justice of this Honourable House to take the Whole of the weighty Matters to stated, into their most serious Consideration, did humbly pray, That this House would enter into a full and immediate Examination of that System of commercial Policy, which had formerly been adopted, and uniformly maintained to the Happiness and Advantage of both Countries, and would apply such healing Remedies, as can only restore and establish the Commerce between Great-Britain and America, on a permanent Foundation.

Your Petitioners have ever conceived an Opinion, resulting from Education, and confirmed by Reason and Experience, that the Connection between Great-Britain and America, originally was, and ought to be, of a commercial Kind; and that the Benefits derived therefrom to the Mother Country, are of the same Nature. And observing the constant Attention which the British Legislature had for more than a Century given to these valuable Objects, they have been taught to admire the Regulations, by which that Connection had been preserved, and those Benefits secured, as the most effectual Institution which human Wisdom could have framed, for those salutary Purposes; presuming therefore on this Opinion, and supported by this Observation, your Petitioners beg Leave to represent to this Honourable House, that the fundamental Policy of those Laws of which they complain, and the Propriety of enforcing, relaxing, or amending the same, are Questions inseparably united with the Commerce between Great-Britain and America; and consequently, that the Consideration of the one, cannot be entered on without a full Discussion of the other.

Your Petitioners observe, by the Votes of this Honourable House, that a Committee hath been appointed to take into Consideration certain Papers presented to this House by Lord North, on Thursday the 19th Instant; and by the Titles and Dates of said Papers, and in particular of No. 148 and 149, of the same: Your Petitioners are warranted in presuming, that the said Papers contain Matters respecting the present Situation of America, and essentially concerning the mutual Interests of your Petitioners, and that Country.

Under all these Circumstances, your Petitioners find Reason sincerely to lament, that this Honourable House has thought it to refer the Consideration of their said Petition to any other Committee, than that, to which the said Papers had previously been referred: And your Petitioners conceive, that by the Resolution to which this House hath come, respecting the Reference of their said Petition, they are absolutely precluded from the Benefit of such a Hearing, in Support of their said Petition as can alone procure them that Relief which the Importance, and present deplorable State of their Trade require.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray this Honourable House, that they will take the Premises into their immediate Consideration, and will direct, that your Petitioners may be heard by themselves, or their Agents, in Support of their former Petition; and that a Resolution respecting America may be taken by this Honourable House, or any Committee thereof, until your Petitioners shall have been fully heard in Support of their said Petition.

Published by Authority of the Committee,
THOMAS LANE, Chairman.

Feb. 2. It is the Fashion at the Court End of the Town, in most Companies to represent the Americans as despicable Poor, and little better than a Banditti; but does the Ministry think that a military Force is the best Method of civilizing a People? And, if the Americans are so poor, why should the Ministry contend with so much Zeal to load them with Taxes? But however his Creatures may talk, the Minister well knows that the Mother Country did receive two Millions a Year from the poor uncivilized Banditti of America.

Feb. 3. The King of Spain has taken up a Number of Dutch Vessels of Burden in the Texel, for the Purpose of exporting Stores to the Mediterranean and West-Indies; and has ordered the Island of Majorca, in the Mediterranean (about twenty Leagues from Minorca) to be fortified and repaired, great Quantities of building Materials and Stones having lately been exported from Spain for that Purpose.

Feb. 4. An intelligent Correspondent assures us, that the Spanish Court have offered the French an extra Present of 2,000,000*l.* besides the Loan of 3,000,000*l.* for twelve of their third-rate Ships of War.

Sir J—y A—t, we are well informed, has been applied to to supercede General Gage, who, from the Dread of spilling human Blood on the one Side, and the Contempt shew'd him and his Army on the other, begs to be recalled. Sir J—y, in Consequence of this, has been twice closeted; but that General positively refused to embark till he has 20,000 Men sent with him, beside the Army already in America.

Feb. 6. Two clean Sloops of 18 Guns each are ordered from Chatham to the West-Indies immediately, to serve as Advice Boats under Command of the English Admiral at Jamaica.

Feb. 7. All our Advices from the West-Indies agree that the French and Spaniards were never so busily employed in fortifying their Settlements as at present.

Feb. 10. The Merchants, &c. of Whitehaven, trading to America, have forwarded a Petition to Sir James Lowther, and Henry Fletcher, Esq; in order to be presented to Parliament.

Feb. 11. We hear that a great General Officer's refusing to undertake the Reduction of the Bostonians to Obedience, without the Aid of so large a Body of Forces as 20,000 Men, was only a Feint to get off the Appointment, he having privately declared, no Command should tempt him to meet those Men in Hostility, whom he had for such a Number of Years lived with on the greatest Terms of Friendship and honourable Confederacy.

February 22. At a Court of Common Council held Yesterday at Guildhall, (after the Matters to be objected to in the Massachusetts-Bay Bill were referred to a Committee, who are to make their Report Tomorrow at another Court of Common Council to be then holden) the following Resolutions were come to:

Resolved, That the Measures of Administration, respecting our fellow Subjects in America, adopted by the late Parliament, appear to this Court in the highest Degree dangerous and alarming, and demand our most serious Attention.

Resolved, That as the Opinion of this Court hath already been very fully and particularly declared against an Act of the late Parliament, intituled, An Act for the making more effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec in North-America; we think it equally our Duty to bear Testimony also against four other Acts of the said Parliament, which we esteem highly injurious to our fellow Subjects in America, viz. An Act for the better regulating the Government of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay; also an Act for the impartial Administration of Justice in the Cases of Perions questioned for any Acts done by them in the Execution of the Law, or for the Suppression of Riots and Tumults in the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and also an Act to discontinue the landing and discharging, &c. of Goods, Wares and Merchandizes, at the Town and in the Harbour of Boston; and also an Act, intituled, An Act for providing suitable Quarters for Officers and Soldiers in his Majesty's Service in North-America; they appearing to this Court to be not only contrary to many of the fundamental Principles of the English Constitution, and most essential Right of the Subject, but also apparently inconsistent with natural Justice and Equity; and we are therefore of Opinion, that our fellow Subjects the Americans, are justified in every constitutional Opposition to the said Acts.

The Friends of Government among the Merchants consider Lord North's conciliatory Plan in a very disagreeable Light, not on Account of any Advantage it really gives up in Favour of the Americans, because there is no Concession made without the Americans acknowledging the Power of the Mother Country, and submitting the Money they raise to her Disposal, but on the Account of the Effect that such a Disposition at home will have in America. Thus whatever is done from Principles of Prudence and Moderation, will be construed to arise from Cowardice and Timidity, and the real Friends of Government in America will have to lament the Instability and fluctuating State of our Proceedings at home, as they had before when the Stamp Act was repealed.