

Rapture; not entirely to dismantle our Ports and Coasts of Soldiers and Seamen, sent to imolate the Martyrs to Liberty of their own Flesh and Blood, on the distant Continent of America.

It has been made evident to you, that a Defection of the northern Colonies will soon bring on the complete Ruin of your West-India Settlements, which cannot elsewhere affordably provide themselves with Cattle, Lumber, and divers other Articles requisite for the Support of a Plantation.

Let us turn our Eyes to the inland trading Towns here at home; those large Iron Foundries which used to supply the Anchors of Commerce and Implements of Husbandry, and the ingenious Arts, are now set at work in moulding the Sword and the Bayonet to enslave America. From the former Commissions there accrued constant Returns of Profit, and numberless Comforts; from the latter, what can be expected but Poverty, Dejection, and Mourning! Peace with America will make your Thousands of Manufacturers and Artisans a thriving, obedient People; War with America will make them idle, profligate, and tumultuary. In short, the first open Hostilities committed by your Troops on that Continent, will realize to the Race of Man, from one Extremity of the Earth to the other, more fatal Evils than were even contained in the fabled Box of Pandora.

It is well known, through melancholy Observation, drawn from the Fate of the Assyrian, Persian, and Roman Empires, that national Societies, as well as the individual Mortals of whom those Societies are composed, have their Non-age, their adult Vigour, and their Decline. Whatsoever Share of Indulgence and Independency Great Britain shall, in this her florid and athletic Stage, generously bestow on her rising Colonies, they will, no Doubt, amply repay to her in some future Generation, when she is verging towards that awful Goal which must close her Race of Glory.

The military Coercion of America will be impracticable. What has been the Fate of your famous Bills passed in the last Session of the deceased Parliament? I mean, Sir, the Boston Port Bill, and the Bill for altering the Charter of the Massachusetts-Bay. America, as an earnest of her Triumph over the future Labours for which Envy and Malice may reserve her, has, like another Hercules in the Cradle, already grappled with those two Serpents sent for her Destruction. Neither shall we be long able to sustain the unhallowed War at so remote a Distance;—unexplored Deserts, Wood-Land, Ambuscades, Latitudes to which few of our Soldiery have been seasoned;—the southern Provinces, scarce to be endured in the Summer Months, the northern Provinces not approachable in the Winter Season;—Shipwrecks, Pestilence, Famine. The unrelenting Inveteracy and Carnage of York and Lancaster, will here be joined to all the elementary Hardships and Maladies of a bigot Crusade. Shall not such dreadful Eras in our earlier Chronicle, serve us for Beacons at this perilous Crisis? Those rash Expeditions indeed, undertaken by a few martial Zealots on misconceived Piety, began to decline at the Death of the hot-brained, savage-hearted King, under whom they were first enterprized; and the Sluices of kindred Blood, which had long inundated the Land in the red and white Roses, were at length happily put a Stop to, by a single matrimonial Contract. Now, Sir, who can look forward to a probable Epoch in the red Volume of Time; when the Sword drawn in this Quarrel shall be sheathed in Peace! I can see no End, till Slaughter, Proscription, Extirpation, shall totally have annihilated either one or the other People.

Far be it from me to anticipate, by Conjecture to either Country so dreadful a Sentence; but, Sir, without a Gift of preternatural Foresight, I may remark; that there are Features in the Aspect of Infant America, which denote at maturer Years a most colossal Force. The Helvetic and Flemish Confederacies have demonstrated what extraordinary Obstacles a small Band of Insurgents, may surmount in the Cause of Liberty. The Helvetic Confederacy consisted of a few straggling Peasants, bannered against a mighty Prince; yet Firmness and Desperation supplied that Energy, which the best disciplined Numbers could not resist.

The tragic Scenes of Nematta, and of Saguntum, shew to how dire a Catastrophe a spirited People will devote themselves, sooner than submit to an unjust Dominion. It appears from one of the American Letters of a late Date brought to your Table, that the Inhabitants of Boston were inclined to Copy in Part these dire Examples; that they meditated to abandon the Town with their Wives and Families, and the reducing it to Ashes.

Did not we ourselves give a very striking Proof at the Commencement of the 12th Century, to what an incendiary Height the Flame of Vengeance might reach, when we invited over, and received into the very Centre of this Island, a whole Army of Frenchmen to aid us against a Tyrant Monarch and his iniquitous Counsellors? We owe perhaps that sacred Palladium of our Liberty, Magna Charta, as much to a Dauphin of France, as to a King of England.

The Americans alledge, that what they now contend for is that reasonable Portion of Liberty with which they were chartered as their Birthright, not by an earthly Potentate, but by the King of Kings,

“to make their Lives happy, in the Possession of which Liberty they do now hourly invoke that King of Kings, or to make their Death glorious in its just Defence.”

What is the Aim and Scope of Resolution before you? To lure some of the less refractory Provinces of America to dissociate from, and betray their fellow Sufferers; to join in raising a Contribution throughout one Half of the Colonies to support your Armaments and Outrages against the other Half, with a View to annihilate Trade, cut off every natural Channel of Livelihood and Subsistence, and butcher the disaffected; and how are these Seceders to be recompensed for such signal Perfidy? Why, by a temporary Exercise of certain empty Forms and Modes of Taxation, confirming at the same Time a Right in the Crown and Parliament of Great-Britain, to fix the gross Amount of all the continental Subsidies whatsoever; that is, in Fact, they are to be still subject to a ministerial Majority in this House, which may levy Imposts on them, not by any fair Scale of Proportion to the Burthen laid on the Mother Country, but the Demand may perhaps be carried beyond their Abilities, or they may be liable to the Discharge of an immense national Debt. By Way of Earnest, however, against the numerous Abuses to which this evanescent Plan lies open, they shall instantly repose entire Faith and Confidence in the present Set of the King's Ministers at Westminster, so remarkable for Consistency, Lenity and Wisdom.

The noble Lord on the other Side of the House puts me in Mind of King Arthur, in our modern dramatic Mask, where that first of the British Worthies stands balancing between Gimbald and Philadel. He has just caught a Glimpse of the cloven Foot of the infernal Fiend, by whose dazzling Snares and Incantations he has been thus long fascinated, and is turning to the fair heavenly Spirit, who would guide him into the Ways of Happiness and Honour. Let him not stop short, but pursue the only Track that can save his Country—perhaps save himself from Perdition.

I should be as strenuous an Advocate for the just Authority of Parliament as any Man; but I think we ought candidly and effectually to relinquish all vain Pretences to supreme Sovereignty, in Cases where they are not maintainable on Principles of Justice, of sound Policy, or the Constitution of the Land.

If you persist in Pride and Error, what will be the Consequence? Intestine Enmities will be encreased—Devastation and Havock must ensue.

When Questions of such Weight and Magnitude as these now in Agitation, concerning America, shall come before you, every Member ought to reflect, that the Fate of a whole Nation may possibly depend on his single Vote.

Whosoever gives the Power of Oppression, is in Fact a Tyrant—whosoever gives the Power of Murder, is in Fact an Assassin.

I am gainst this Resolution; because I think, that so far from extinguishing the Flame, it will only throw Oil upon it to aggravate its Fury; and, however specious, however conciliatory, it may seem at first Sight, when it comes to be analyzed on the other Side of the Water (fashioned as it now stands) it cannot possibly have any other Construction put upon it, than that of adding *Injury to Injury*.

L O N D O N, APRIL II.

Yesterday, pursuant to the resolution of the Livery on Wednesday last, to address his Majesty for the removal of those persons from his service, immediately and for ever, who advised the late fatal measures respecting America, the Lord Mayor met such of the Aldermen and Livery as chose to attend, at Guildhall, soon after twelve o'clock. At about a quarter before one the company was assembled, and soon afterwards left the Hall amidst the shouts of the populace. The Lord Mayor was in the state coach, preceded by the City Marshals, and followed by the Aldermen Bull, Sawbridge, Lewis, Hayley, and Newham, with Messrs Plover and Hart, the Sheriffs, the Town Clerk, Remembrancer, and about 40 of the Common Council and Livery, the Aldermen in their scarlet gowns, the Common Council in their blue mazarines, and the Liverymen in their usual gowns. In Cheapside, Fleet-street, &c. the crowd was large; but at Charing Cross it was immense. The windows, and even the tops of the houses, were crowded. The Duke and Dutchess of Cumberland surveyed the procession from Cumberland House, and were attended by several persons of rank. At about twenty minutes after two the company left the Royal presence. When they came in o Pall-Mall, the shouts of the populace testified their approbation of the petitioners proceedings. Opposite Cumberland House, the Lord Mayor bowed three times most respectfully to the Duke, who returned the compliment with the most manly dignity, yet graceful condescension.

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.
The humble ADDRESS, PETITION and REMONSTRANCE, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery, of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign;
WE, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Livery, of the City of London, beg Leave to approach the Throne, and to declare our Abhorrence of the

Measures which have been pursued, and are now pursuing, to the Oppression of our fellow Subjects in America; these Measures are big with all the Consequences which can alarm a free and commercial People.

A deep, and perhaps a fatal Wound to Commerce; the Ruin of Manufactures; the Diminution of the Revenue, and consequent Increase of Taxes; the Alienation of the Colonies, and the Blood of your Majesty's Subjects.

But your Petitioners look with less Horror at the Consequences than at the Purpose of those Measures, not deceived by the specious Artifice of calling Despotism, Dignity—they plainly perceive, that the real Purpose is to establish ARBITRARY POWER over all America.

Your Petitioners conceive the Liberties of the Whole to be inevitably connected with those of every Part of an Empire, founded in the common Rights of Mankind; they cannot therefore observe, without the greatest Concern and Alarm, the Constitution fundamentally violated in any Part of your Majesty's Dominions. They esteem it to be an essential, unalterable Principle of Liberty, the Source and Security of all constitutional Rights, that no Part of the Dominion can be taxed without being represented. Upon this great leading Principle they most ardently wish to see their fellow Subjects in America secured in what their humble Petition to your Majesty prays for—Peace, Liberty and Safety. Subordination in Commerce, under which the Colonies have always cheerfully acquiesced, is, they conceive, all that this Country ought in Justice to require. From this Subordination such Advantages flow, by all the Profits of their Commerce centering here, as fully compensates this Nation for the Expence we incur, to which they also contribute in Men and Money, for their Defence and Protection during a general War; and in their Provincial Wars they have manifested their Readiness and Resolution to defend themselves. To require more of them would, for this Reason, derogate from the Justice, and Magnanimity which have been hitherto the Pride and Character of this Country.

It is therefore with the deepest Concern that we have seen the sacred Security of Representation in their Assemblies wrested from them; the Trial by Jury abolished; the odious Powers of Excise extended to all the Cafes of Revenue; the Sanctuary of their Houses laid open to Violation, at the Will and Pleasure of every Officer and Servant of the Customs; the Dispensation of Justice corrupted, by rendering their Judges dependant for their Seats and Salaries on the Will of the Crown; Liberty and Life rendered precarious, by subjecting them to be dragged over the Ocean, and tried for Treason or Felony here, where the Distance making it impossible for the most guiltless to maintain his Innocence, must deliver him up a Victim to ministerial Vengeance; Soldiers and others in America, have been inflamed to shed the Blood of the People, by establishing a Mode of Trial, which holds out Impunity for such Murder; the Capital of New England has been punished with unexampled Rigour, untried and unheard, involving the innocent and suspected in one common and inhuman Calamity; chartered Rights have been taken away without any Forfeiture proved, in order to deprive the People of every legal Exertion against the Tyranny of their Rulers; the Habeas Corpus Act and Trial by Jury have been suppressed, and French despotic Government, with the Roman Catholic Religion, have been established by Law over an extensive Part of your Majesty's Dominions in America; dutiful Petitions for Redress of these Grievances, from all your Majesty's American Subjects, have been fruitless. To fill up the Measure of these Oppressions, an Army has been sent to enforce them.

Superadded to this, Measures are now planned upon the most merciless Policy of starving our fellow Subjects into a total Surrender of their Liberties, and an unlimited Submission to arbitrary Government.

These Grievances have driven your Majesty's faithful Subjects to Despair, and obliged them to have Recourse to that Resistance, which is justified by the great Principle of the Constitution, actuated by which, at the glorious Period of the Revolution, our Ancestors transferred the Imperial Crown of these Realms from the Popish and tyrannical Race of the Stuarts, to the illustrious and Protestant House of Brunswick.

Your Petitioners are persuaded that these Measures originate in the secret Advice of Men, who are Enemies equally to your Majesty's Title and the Liberties of your People. That your Majesty's Ministers carry them into Execution by the same wicked and fatal Corruption; which has enabled them to wound the Peace and violate the Constitution of this Country. This is poisoning the Fountain of public Security, and rendering that Body, which should be the Guardian of Liberty, a formidable Instrument of arbitrary Power.

Your Petitioners do therefore most earnestly beseech your Majesty to dismiss immediately, and for ever, from your Councils, these Ministers and Advisers, as the first Step toward a full Redress of those Grievances which alarm and afflict your People.

So shall Peace and Commerce be restored, and the Confidence and Affection of all your Majesty's Subjects be the solid Supporters of your Throne,