

Americans !---Liberty or Death !---Join or Die !



THE MASSACHUSETTS SPY

Or, American ORACLE of Liberty.

VOL. V.

WORCESTER, WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1775.

(NUMB. 219.)

To the PUBLIC.

THE good People of this County, at a Meeting some Time since, voted to encourage the Establishment of a Printing-Office in this Place: In Consequence thereof, Application was made to me, then in Boston, to issue Proposals for publishing a weekly NEWS-PAPER in this Town, to be entitled, *THE WORCESTER GAZETTE, or AMERICAN ORACLE of LIBERTY*: This I accordingly did; since that Time, Things have worn a different Face in our distressed Capital, and it was thought highly necessary, that I should remove my Printing Materials from Boston to this Place, and instead of publishing the intended *WORCESTER GAZETTE, &c.* continue the Publication of the well-known *MASSACHUSETTS SPY, or THOMAS'S BOSTON JOURNAL*: I accordingly removed my Printing Utensils to this Place, and escaped myself from Boston on the memorable 19th of April, 1775, which will be remembered in future as the Anniversary of the *BATTLE of LEXINGTON*! I intend publishing this Paper regularly every Wednesday, and have made an Alteration in the Title, in order to take in Part of that intended for the *Gazette*.

I beg the Assistance of all the Friends to our righteous Cause to circulate this Paper.—They may rely that the utmost of my poor Endeavours shall be used to maintain those Rights and Privileges for which we and our Fathers have bled! and that all possible Care will be taken to procure the most interesting and authentic Intelligence.

I am the Public's most obedient Servant,
ISAIAH THOMAS.

Worcester, May 2d, 1775.

PROPOSALS

For continuing the Publication of
THE MASSACHUSETTS SPY,

OR,
AMERICAN ORACLE of LIBERTY.
CONDITIONS.

I. *THE MASSACHUSETTS SPY, or AMERICAN ORACLE of LIBERTY,* shall be printed on good paper, manufactured in this province, with a neat type.

II. It shall contain four pages, large folio, of the same size of the Boston news-papers.

III. To be published every WEDNESDAY Morning, as early as possible, and delivered to the Subscribers in Worcester, at their houses, and sent by the first opportunity to such as are at a greater distance.

IV. Every subscriber to pay Three Shillings and Four Pence, Lawful Money, at the time of subscribing, and Three Shillings and Four Pence more at the expiration of Twelve Months. The price being Six Shillings and Eight Pence per annum, the same as the Boston news-papers.

VI. Advertisements to be inserted in a neat and conspicuous manner at the lowest rate.

SUBSCRIPTIONS are taken in by the Publisher in Worcester, and by the following Gentlemen, viz. Capt. Asa Whitcomb, and Dr. William Dunfmore, Lancaster; Dr. William Jenness, Mendon; Jedediah Foster, Esq; Brookfield; Col. Learned, Oxford; Capt. Jonathan Tucker, Charlton; Capt. Henry King, and Mr. Amos Singletary, Sutton; Col. Joshua Henshaw, and Mr. J. Allen, Leicester; Mr. Jonas How, Rutland; Mr. John Mason, Hutchinson; Capt. Isaac Stone, Oakham; Mr. Levi Brigham, Northborough; Capt. John Maynard, Westborough; Hon. Artemas Ward, Shrewsbury, Dr. John Taylor, Lunenburg;

Capt. David Goodridge, Fitchburgh; Mr. Benjamin Green, Uxbridge; Capt. Samuel Baker, Bolton; Col. Jonathan Grout, Peterham; Capt. Josiah Fay, Southborough; Col. Paul Mendall, Hardwich; Simeon Dwight, Esq; Western; Capt. Timothy Newell, Sturbridge; Mr. Israel Nichols, Leominster; Mr. Abiel Sadler, Upton; Capt. James Woods, New-Braintree; Mr. John Child, Holden; Capt. Samuel Jenness, Douglas; Mr. John Sherman, Grafton; Mr. Naham Green, Royalston; Mr. Nathan Wood, Westminster; Mr. Jonathan Baldwin, Templeton; Mr. William Bigelow, Athol; Mr. Samuel Easterbrook, Princetown; (all in Worcester County) and by many other Gentlemen in several parts of the province.

For the MASSACHUSETTS SPY.

NUMBER VIII.

To the INHABITANTS of the MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

(Continued from our last.)

My Friends and Fellow-Countrymen,

AFTER making some observations which are nothing to the purpose, unless the colonies are annexed to the realm, which is not the case, nor ever will be, and if they were, it would not follow if Guernsey and Jersey are enslaved, that the Americans must be so too.—A clause from our first charter too long to be repeated, respecting incorporation, is recited by our author; upon which he gravely asks this simple question, "Whether it looks like a distinct or independent state?" We may fully answer him by another question equally simple, viz. Is there a single word in it that looks like uniting us to the British empire, or subjecting us to the authority of Parliament? If it has not this look, it does not look to the point: For it is demonstration, as there was a time when the colonies were disunited from the realm, and the supreme authority of the parent state, that they are so now unless there is evidence of a subsequent connexion. It is to be wished that those who keep eternally harping upon our being annexed to the British realm would point out the process that united us.—There is none in nature: I challenge them to produce any.

The two next adduced paragraphs from our first charter, we have examined in our third and fourth numbers, and have shewn the first exactly to correspond with the rights we contend for, and the latter to be absolutely inconsistent with, and repugnant to, every principle and idea of our being a part of the British empire and subject to its sovereign power.—It is therefore unnecessary to take them up in this place.

The last recited clause from this charter, we have also considered, the substance of which is, that all and every of the subjects of the King of England, his heirs and successors, who should go to and inhabit in the Massachusetts colony, and all their children, born in the said colony, or on the seas should have and enjoy all the liberties and immunities of free and natural born subjects within any of the dominions of the King, his heirs and successors to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as if they were, and every of them, born within the realm.

"It is upon this clause, or a similar one in the charter of William and Mary that our patriots have built up the stupendous fabric of American independence." Be it so: The foundation were there no other would sustain the building. It is impossible to undermine it or explain it away.

"I have already, says our writer, shewn that the supposition of our being exempted from the authority of Parliament, is pregnant with the grossest absurdities."—No mortal excepting himself has ever been able to see those absurdities. We have seen what such empty pretensions amounted to in a past paper, and to whom the absurdities were imputable.—Let us now, says he, consider this clause in connexion with

other parts of the charter.—Here we are led to expect some important reasoning: however, a recital of his argument is its best confutation. "If, says he, we suppose this clause to exempt us from the authority of Parliament, we must throw away all the rest of the charter, for every other part indicates the contrary as plainly as words can do." This is considering the clause in connexion with other parts. There is no end in contradicting the mere assertions of one who lets his pen run so freely. Read the charter, and see if any part indicates the contrary, unless profound silence upon the subject is taken for such an indication.

"What is still worse, this clause becomes *self-destructive*, and destroys itself; for if we are not annexed to the realm we are aliens, and no charter, grant, or other act of the crown can naturalize us, or entitle us to the liberties and immunities of Englishmen." This is begging the question; it goes upon the old Jacobinical supposition deteriorated: It supposes, that within the realm the subject holds all his rights and liberties of the King, as the original possessor; and that persons out of the realm, in a state of nature possess no rights and liberties as men.—In short, it supposes Great-Britain to be the grand and only store-house of Freedom, the dispenser of civil Blessings, and that no part of the wide world can be entitled to any liberties or immunities but what she, of her special grace and mere bounty, is pleased to grant them; whereas the truth is, we were entitled to all the rights of Englishmen independent of any charters or realms under Heaven, and surely we are not the less so for having them confirmed by compact.

We shall wave what might be offered respecting aliens' allegiance to the King, and the relation that Wales, Jersey, Guernsey and Ireland stand in to the realm of England, as they do not effect the solution of our present question.

More distortions, windings and twistings, were never crowded into so small a compass as in the paragraph we are now considering.—The following is diverting enough: "If a person born in England removes to Ireland, Jersey, or Guernsey, and settles there, he is then no longer represented in the British Parliament, but he and his posterity are, and will ever be, subject to its authority. So that the inhabitants of the American colonies, do in fact enjoy all the liberties and immunities of natural born subjects. We are entitled to no greater privileges than those who are born within the realm: And they can enjoy no other than we do when they reside out of it. Thus it is evident that this clause amounts to no more than the royal assurance that we are a part of the British empire, and natural born subjects, and as such bound to obey the supreme power of the state." Such a concatenation of ideas we never jumbled up together before. The clause grants to all persons, who were born within the realm, and should come and inhabit in this province from time to time, as well as to all their children born on the seas, or in this colony, all the liberties and immunities of free natural born subjects within any of the King's dominions to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as if they were born within the realm of England. The language of this clause then, according to our mysterious interpreter, to all those who come from England here, would be this, viz. You who are born within the realm of England, and shall go and inhabit in the Massachusetts colony shall have and enjoy all the liberties and immunities that those have and enjoy who are born within the realm of England, and shall go and inhabit in America. As great a solecism as ever entered the head of man. If the accidental liberties that those persons enjoy, who are only born within the realm and remove to foreign parts, are to measure and point out ours, how shall we ever know them. Is Ireland, Guernsey, the East and West-Indias, or Turkey, to decide the question and define the rights of all America: For those born in England have gone to, and enjoy different liberties in all these places: And, according to our Logician, if the Americans enjoy as much liberty as those who were born in England enjoy in any of those dominions, even if it be in Turkey, we are entitled to no more.

This News-paper is the first Thing ever printed in Worcester.
—*Spencer*

This clause is so far from being the royal assurance that we are a part of the British empire, and as such subject to its supreme, that it is directly the contrary. Its meaning undeniably is, notwithstanding the violence offered it by the Tories who are pierced to their very vitals by its force, that we should enjoy all the privileges and immunities that the inhabitants of Great-Britain are entitled to: What some of these were we saw in our last number. It can have no other meaning but this, which will support that stupendous fabric of American independence, which we have possessed and practised upon for a century and an half, and which our patriots are struggling to preserve against the storms, the sickness and sapping of the Tories.

Whoever reads the charter, continues he, will meet with irrefragible evidence, that our being within the jurisdiction of Parliament were the very tenures by which they held their estates. It is astonishing that any man will give himself such liberties. Whoever reads the charter with an expectation of finding evidence of this, or any thing of the kind, will most certainly find himself egregiously disappointed. There is nothing from beginning to end that looks any more like it, than what may be found in the Assembly's Catechism, or the Pilgrim's Progress.

From the COUNTY of HAMPSHIRE.

By Capt. Callaban from London, we have received the following Intelligence, viz.

LONDON, February 27.

Ministers in preceding reigns have been more virtuous, it was because they had not wherewithal to purchase the liberties of their country: King William the third said, if he had places and pensions enough at his disposal he would engage to make a Tory of every whig in the kingdom; and Sir William Temple told Charles the Second, that he had too few places in his gift to make himself an absolute monarch.

Extract of a letter from Gofford, dated February 24. "Orders are come down from his Majesty's ship Cerberus, Capt. Chads, to fit for Boston, and she is to carry three Generals out."

February 28. A gentleman of veracity at Paris writes to his friend, belonging to a public office, that the French had landed several thousand troops at the Mauritius; that they have five men of war at that island, and are certainly meditating some important expedition to the Continent.

March 1. No part of the regiments of guards are to be transported to America: But whether this change of measures came from the goodness of heart, or the remembrance that the attempting to remove the Guards from Copenhagen occasioned the catastrophe of the famous Maquerade; and the taking off the Stallion Struensee's head, remains to be determined by the Philosophers of the Royal Society, and other Magicians.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, March 1.

FISHERY BILL.

On Tuesday Mr. ALDERMAN OLIVER presented a petition from the society of the quakers, AGAINST the "bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire, and colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantations, in North-America, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British Islands in the West-Indies; and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a time to be limited; and setting forth, that the petitioners are informed, that in the island of Nantucket, on the coast of New-England, there are about 5000 inhabitants, nine tenths of whom are of the people called quakers; and that the said island is for the most part barren and sandy, not yielding provision for a twentieth part of its inhabitants; and that the inhabitants almost wholly depend on the whole fishery for their subsistence, purchasing with the produce of the said occupation, grain and other necessities from the neighbouring colonies; and that, if the said bill should pass into a law, these people would unavoidably be exposed to all the hardships of famine, as no provisions can be imported from any of the neighbouring colonies, and their trade, by which they subsist, will be totally prohibited; and that the said inhabitants, to the best of the petitioners information and belief, are entirely innocent, in respect to the present disturbances in America: Wherefore, in consideration of the miseries impending over so large a part of their brethren, and others their fellow subjects, in that island and in the neighbourhood, under the like circumstances, the petitioners intreat the house that the said bill may not pass into a law, as thereby a most grievous punishment would be inflicted on the innocent, and a body of men, whose occupation is hazardous, their gains uncertain, and their labours necessary to themselves and the community, would be subjected to inevitable ruin and destruction."

Which petition was referred to the committee of the whole house on that bill.

The speaker then left the chair, and the house went into the committee, when Mr. DAVID BARCLAY was called to the bar, who acquainted the committee, "that he was desired by the North-American merchants, to examine several witnesses, in order to PROVE the allegations of their petition against the fishery bill." He first called to the bar Mr. BROOK WATSON, to prove the state of the New-England fisheries in 1764, by which it appeared, "that 45,000 tons of shipping, and upwards of 3000 men, were employed, and that from a calculation he had then made the net produce of the said fisheries amounted to 220,000l. sterling, that he knew they were since considerably increased. That the greatest part of the cod fish was sent to SPAIN and PORTUGAL, and the produce remitted to Great-Britain to pay for English manufactures used in the fisheries, and by the inhabitants of New-England. That the most inferior fish is exported to the neutral or French Islands, and exchanged for molasses on VERY ADVANTAGEOUS TERMS, as the French are PROHIBITED from distilling. These molasses are sent to New-England, and manufactured into rum, which is sold for about fourteen pence per gallon, and used in the fisheries of New-England and Newfoundland, as also exported to Guinea, and there exchanged for slaves, many of whom are sold to the French, and therefore the fish procured by the NEW-ENGLANDERS; that the rum is likewise exported to the four provinces, and there exchanged for Indian corn, bread, and flour, which are wanted in New-England. That the New-England fish is much better esteemed, and bears a higher price in EUROPE than fish taken at Newfoundland by the west countrymen of England; and that it was his opinion, that if the New-England fisheries were stopped, that a great part of a valuable trade would be lost to this kingdom as there were many reasons why the fishery could not be carried on to the SAME EXTENT and ADVANTAGE from Great-Britain."

Mr. STEPHEN HIGGINSON (a native of Salem in New-England) was then called, and proved, "that the colonies of Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island, did not, collectively, produce sufficient for the subsistence of their inhabitants, and that they received considerable SUPPLIES

from the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New-York. That there is now employed in the cod fisheries about 700 vessels from 15 to 70 tons, which carry about 4,200 men; and that about one half of that number are employed on shore in curing the fish. That about 450 vessels, from 50 to 180 tons, are employed in conveying the fish to market, which carry about 3000 men. That if the cod fisheries are prohibited, about 10,000 men must be under a necessity of seeking employment; and that as the major part of them would not settle at Halifax on account of its being a MILITARY GOVERNMENT, they must either stay at home and want bread, emigrate to the southward, or go to the French at Miquelon and St. Pierre; and as many of the inhabitants at and near Marblehead are Portuguese, Dutch, and other foreigners, it was not unlikely but they might easily be induced thereto. That the fish taken and cured by the New-Englandmen far exceeded that taken at Newfoundland by the west countrymen, and produced a more considerable price at foreign markets, which he accounted for in different ways, to prove it not practicable for ships sent from England to effect."

CAPT. SETH JENKINS (a native of the Island of Nantucket) was called to prove, "that the said island contained between five and six thousand inhabitants, NINE TENTHS of whom were QUAKERS; that the island did not produce more than would maintain twenty families; and that they received their provisions from North-Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New-York, and Connecticut; that 140 vessels belonged to that port, 132 of which were employed in the whale fishery, and that 28 of them belonged to QUAKERS; that they had no other employment in the island, and that the total number of vessels employed in the whale fishery, belonging to New-England, was 309 sail, from about 50 to 150 tons; that they went out on the whale fishery all seasons of the year, and made two or three trips when they found fish on the coast, but had lately extended their fishery as far as Falkland Island, and were sometimes twelve months on the voyage to their advantage; that he had known ships from England come on their coast, in search of whales, but were always unsuccessful in catching them, though the Nantucket men, at the same time, succeeded well, so much experience is necessary to that business; that they receive all their manufactures from London, as well for the fishery as for their consumption; and send all their oil to Great-Britain, except a trifling quantity to the Continent for their consumption; that in his opinion, if the whale fishery was PROHIBITED, the inhabitants from THEIR PRINCIPLES would patiently suffer as long as they could subsist, in hopes that so, grievous a law could not long continue, but as there was seldom above three months provision in the island, they must be obliged to emigrate to the southward, as they would on no account go to live under the MILITARY GOVERNMENT of Halifax."

Mr. LANE was called to prove, "that a MILLION OF MONEY was now due from the four provinces of New-England to London only, and the greatest part for British manufactures, and that as two thirds of the remittances were from the proceeds of the fisheries, a most grievous loss must fall on the British merchants, if the fisheries should be prohibited, as their other means of remittance consists only in some pot and pearl ash, a few furs, some flax seed, lumber, and ships, which would be very inadequate to the amount of their British debts; that the merchants in New-England have remitted with as much punctuality SINCE the difficulties in those provinces as they have done for some years past, they having for four or five years past overstocked their markets with British manufactures, and the merchants in London are now willing to give them extensive credit if the trade is again opened."

Mr. BARCLAY observed on the above evidences, "that by the evidence of Stephen Higginson and Captain Jenkins, it was fully proved, that by the operation of this bill, should it pass into a law, the inhabitants of the FOUR provinces of New-England may probably be reduced TO FAMINE, by the CLAUSE which is to restrain their trade; and that, by the deprivation of their fisheries, that dreadful CALAMITY will not only be INCREASED, but a great number of INNOCENT subjects will undergo a punishment which they do not deserve, as, by THEIR OCCUPATION, the greatest part of them are, for the most part of the year, AT SEA; and consequently have not been concerned in the disturbances AT HOME.—That, by the evidence of Captain Jenkins, the inhabitants of the Island of NANTUCKET will, in a more particular degree, be affected, from the barrenness of the soil; and they are the more to be commiserated, because, had that island remained within the district of the province of New-York, as it ORIGINALLY was, they would NOT have been included in this bill, it being but about sixty years since the island was made a part of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay." To which he added, "that as the inhabitants are peaceable and industrious subjects, and by the PRINCIPLES of the MAJORITY, and the OCCUPATION, of the WHOLE, are INNOCENT subjects, it was consequently extremely hard that THEY should be included in this SEVERE PUNISHMENT: But he desired to be understood, that the people called QUAKERS have the SAME REGARD for CIVIL and RELIGIOUS LIBERTY as others, their fellow subjects, but that their PRINCIPLES lead them to a MORE PATIENT sufferance of oppression than others, in hopes that their superiors may, by proper and respectful remonstrances, be induced to give them relief; for any other mode of RESISTANCE they CANNOT ADOPT."

By the evidence of Messrs. Higginson and Jenkins it appeared, how terrible were the ideas entertained of the MILITARY government at Halifax; how certain is it that the SEAFARING people of Nantucket will be constrained to emigrate elsewhere for subsistence, and how probable that some of them will settle amongst the French. By the evidence of Brook Watson it appeared, how extensive the fisheries were in 1764; by Huxley and Higginson how much they are since increased.—By the evidence of John Lane it was proved, that a very considerable debt was due to Great-Britain from New-England, and that their other means of remittance.—By Watson, Higginson and Jenkins, the IMPRACTICABILITY of carrying on these fisheries (to an EQUAL EXTENT and ADVANTAGE) from Great-Britain was clearly demonstrated; and it was likewise shewn, how dangerous it will be to divert a CERTAIN trade so beneficial to Great-Britain out of its USUAL channel, as ALL the advantages resulting from that trade, have hitherto centered in THIS KINGDOM.

From these combined circumstances Mr. Barclay declared himself led to believe, "that the honourable committee would be convinced of the IMPROPRIETY of passing the FISHERY BILL into a law; and the house, he hoped, would be convinced, that the merchants and traders of London do not trouble them with petitions, but when the NECESSITY of their case absolutely requires, and that their only anxiety to be heard at their bar, BEFORE MEASURES ARE ADOPTED, is from the belief that they have it in their power to give SUCH INFORMATION to the house, as may enable them to adopt measures the most advantageous for the LANDED and COMMERCIAL interest of the whole British empire."

March 4. Lord N. will not open the budget so soon as has been talked of, for he has not yet had time to fill it on account of being engaged in American affairs. We must not therefore expect to hear of anything till towards the close of the session.

St. James's, March 4. It is his Majesty's pleasure, that all Officers belonging to his Majesty's 22d, 40th, 44th, and 45th regiments of foot, now serving in Ireland, do immediately repair to their respective corps in that kingdom, except such as may be employed in Ireland on the recruiting service.

LONDON, March 6. We hear that another bill respecting America will be presented to the house of commons on Wednesday next, by Lord North.

The whole conversation in Holland is about our disputes with the colonies; and they bestow the worst language upon us imaginable, and positively declare they will, to the utmost of their power, assist the Americans in case of a rupture. Sir Joseph Yorke's account confirms this.

March 7. Many persons are now employed in Ireland in making carriages for the artillery of that kingdom; which will be ready for any service in a short time. There are many conjectures in consequence of these extraordinary preparations; some say Lord Hawcote has lately had certain intelligence that the French intend making a descent upon Ireland, when the troops destined for America, are embarked; and, indeed, there is something very natural in such a suspicion, for those perfidious people can never have a better opportunity to execute such a design, than when the nation is in almost a defenceless state.

March 9. Yesterday the order of the day was read in the house of commons for the third reading of the Massachusetts fishery bill, a clause was proposed, "that the bill should not extend to prohibit the importation of fuel, flour, victual, &c. coming coast wise from any part of the continent." This brought on a short debate, and upon the question being put it passed in the negative, 188 vs 88; the bill was afterwards read a third time, and passed, and will be presented this day to the house of Peers.

It is certain that not less than an hundred thousand people must, in a few months, be reduced to beggary by the conduct of administration against the colonies.

March 10. Yesterday the bill for restraining the fishery, and trade of the Massachusetts-Bay, was presented to the house of peers, read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

Yesterday the order of the day was read in the house of commons, for the house to be put into a committee on the American papers; the speaker then left the chair; & Lord North having spoke for some time on the refractory behaviour of the colonies, moved, "that leave be given to bring in a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British Islands in the West-Indies, for a time to be limited." Sir Charles Whitworth, who was the chairman, then left the chair, and reported the same to the house, and a bill was ordered accordingly.

There are now 52 transport engaged, to carry the troops and military stores to America.

Deputies are sent from hence to Boston to try several persons in America.

Yesterday morning at eight o'clock, fifty-six drafts from the two regiments of light dragoons embarked on board a transport at Deptford for Cork, there to augment Preston's light dragoons, destined for America.

The same number of regiments of foot lately drawn from Ireland to America, is, we hear, ordered there with the greatest expedition.

March 11. Yesterday the bill for restraining the trade and fishery of the Massachusetts-Bay was ordered to be read a second time on Wednesday next in the house of peers, and their Lordships to be summoned.

It is asserted as a fact in the city, that the ministry have lately received some accounts from France and Spain, which have thrown them into great confusion, not knowing what steps are proper to be taken in so critical an affair; for that France have a large body of forces ready to make a descent upon Ireland, as soon as the forces are sent from thence to America, and that the Spaniards have a large fleet ready to attack some of the western Islands, but it is generally believed that Jamaica is their principal object.

Yesterday upwards of 1200 drums were sent down thither to be carried to the Downs, in order to be put on board the transports bound to America; there were one hundred drummers with them that had been drafted from several of the regiments.

March 14. To-morrow the second reading of the bill for restraining the trade and fishery of the Massachusetts-Bay, will come on in the House of Peers, when it is expected to be very full, and sit late, it is imagined Lord Chatham will attend.

Yesterday Mr. Grey Cooper presented to the House of Commons, a bill for restraining the trade of the colonies, of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South-Carolina, under certain restrictions, and for a time to be limited; the bill was then read a first time.

It is said that some fresh instructions are preparing for General Gage at Boston, to be sent to Falmouth, to be forwarded by a packet boat detained for that purpose.

The regiment of light horse destined for America, are all equipping with new accoutrements; on their caps is the following motto, "Death or Glory," and a death's head likewise embroidered.

In Provincial Congress, CONCORD, April 15, 1775.

WHEREAS it has pleased the righteous sovereign of the universe, in just indignation against the sins of a people long blessed with innumerable privileges, civil and religious, to suffer the plots of wicked men on both sides of the Atlantic who for many years have incessantly laboured to sap the foundation of our public liberties, so far to succeed, that we see the New-England colonies reduced to the ungrateful alternative of a tame submission to a state of absolute vassalage, to the will of a despotic minister—or of preparing themselves speedily to defend, at the hazard of life, the unalienable rights of themselves and posterity, against the avowed hostilities of their parent state, who openly threaten to wrest them from their hands by fire and sword.

In circumstances dark as these, it becomes us, as men and Christians, to reflect, that whilst every prudent measure should be taken to ward off the impending judgments, or prepare to act a proper part under them when they come, at the same time all confidence must be withdrawn from the means now used; and resolved only on that God who rules in the armies of Heaven, and without whose blessing the best human counsels are but foolishness and all created power vanity.

It is the happiness of his church, that, when the powers of earth and hell combine against it, and those who should be nursing fathers become its persecutors—then the throne of grace is of the easiest access, and its appeal thither is graciously invited by the father of mercies, who has assured us, that when his children ask bread he will not give them a stone.

THEREFORE, in compliance with the laudable practice of the people of God in all ages, with humble regard to the steps of divine providence towards this oppressed, threatened and endangered people, and especially in obedience to the command of Heaven, that binds us to call in him in the day of trouble.

Resolved, That it be, and hereby is recommended to the good people of this colony, of all denominations, that Thursday, the eleventh day of May next, be set apart as a day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer; that a total abstinence from servile labour and recreation be observed, and all their religious assemblies solemnly convened, to humble themselves before GOD under the heavy judgments felt and feared, to confess the sins that have deserved them, to implore the forgiveness of all our transgressions, and a spirit of repentance and reformation, and a blessing on the husbandry, manufactures, and other lawful employments of this people; and especially that the union of the American colonies, in defence of their rights, (for which hitherto we desire to thank Almighty GOD) may be preferred and confirmed—that the Provincial and especially the Continental Congresses, may be directed to such measures as GOD will countenance. That the people of Great-Britain, and their rulers, may have their eyes opened to discern the things that shall make for the peace of the nation and all its connections—and that America may, from behold a gracious interposition of Heaven, for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of all her invaded liberties, and their security to the latest generations.

By order of the Provincial Congress,
JOHN HANCOCK, President.

...this was transacting a few of our men at Menotomy, a few miles distant, attacked a party of twelve of the enemy, (carrying stores and provisions to the troops) killed one of them, and took possession of their arms, stores, provisions, &c. without any loss on our side. The enemy having halted above an hour at Lexington, found it necessary to make a second retreat, carrying with them many of their dead and wounded. They continued their retreat from Lexington to Charlestown with great precipitation; our people continued the pursuit, firing till they got to Charlestown Neck, (which they reached a little after (sun-set) over which the enemy passed, proceeded up Bunker's Hill, and the next day went into Boston under the protection of the Somerset man of war of 64 guns.

A young man, unnamed, who was taken prisoner by the enemy, and made to assist in carrying off their wounded, says, that he saw a barber who lives in Boston, thought to be one Warden, with the troops, and that he heard them say, he was one of their pilots; he likewise saw the said barber fire twice upon our people, and heard Earl Piercy order the troops to fire the howitzers. He also informs, that several officers were among the wounded who were carried to Boston, were our informant was diminished. They took two of our men prisoners in battle who are now confined in barracks.

Immediately upon the return of the troops to Boston, all communication to and from the town was stopped by Gen. Gage. The provincials who flew to the assistance of their distressed countrymen, are posted in Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, Watertown, &c. and have placed guards on Roxbury neck within gun-shot of the enemy; guards are also placed every where in view of the town to observe the motion of the King's troops: The Council of War, and the different Committees of Safety and Supplies set at Cambridge, and the Provincial Congress at Watertown. The troops in Boston are fortifying the place on all sides, and a frigate of war is stationed up Cambridge river, and a sixty-four gun ship between Boston and Charlestown. Deacon Joseph Loring's house and barn, Mrs. Mulliken's house and shop, and Mr. Joshua Bond's house and shop, in Lexington were all consumed. They also set fire to several other houses, but our people extinguished the flames. They pillaged almost every house they passed by, breaking and destroying doors, windows, glass, &c. and carrying off clothing and other valuable articles. It appeared to be their design to burn and destroy all before them; and nothing but our vigorous pursuit prevented their infernal purposes from being put in execution. But the savage barbarity exerted upon the bodies of our unfortunate brethren who fell, is almost incredible: Not content with shooting down the unarmed, aged and infirm, they disregarded the cries of the wounded, killing them without mercy, and mangled their bodies in the most shocking manner.

We have the pleasure to say, that notwithstanding the highest provocations given by the enemy, not one instance of cruelty, that we have heard of, was committed by our Militia; but, listening to the merciful dictates of the Christian religion, they "breathed higher sentiments of humanity."

The following is a list of the Provincials who were killed and wounded.

KILLED. Messrs. *Robert Munroe, *Jonas Parker, *Samuel Holley, *Jonathan Harrington, *Caleb Harrington, *Isaac Muzzey, *John Brown, *John Raymond, Nathaniel Wyman, and Josiah Munroe, of Lexington. Messrs. *Jesse Russell, *Jabob Wyman, and *Jabon Winslow, of Menotomy. Deacon Haynes, and Mr. Reed, of Sudbury. Capt. James Miles, of Concord. Capt. Jonathan Willows, of Bedford. Capt. Davis, of Haverhill. Mr. James Howard of Andover. Mr. Asael Porter, of Danvers. Mr. Daniel Thompson of Woburn. Mr. James Miller, and Capt. William Barber's son, aged 14, of Charlestown. Isaac Gardner, Esq. of Brookline. Mr. John Hicks of Cambridge. Mr. Henry Putnam of Medford. Messrs. Abednego Ramsdell, Daniel Townsend, William Flint, and Thomas Hadley, of Lynn. Messrs. Henry Jacobs, Samuel Cook, Ebenezer Goldsmith, George Southwick, Benjamin Daland, Junr. *Jabon Wobb, and Perley Putnam, of Danvers. Mr. Benjamin Peirce, of Salem.

WOUNDED. Messrs. John Robbins, John Tidd, Solomon Peirce, Thomas Winslow, Nathaniel Farmer, Joseph Comes, Ebenezer Munroe, Francis Brown, and Prince Eslerbrooks (a negro man) of Lexington. Mr. Hemmingway, of Framingham. Mr. John Lane, of Bedford. Mr. George Reed, and Mr. Jacob Bacon, of Woburn. Mr. William Pelly, of Medford. Mr. Josua Felt, and Mr. Timothy Munroe, of Lynn. Mr. Nathan Putnam, and Mr. Dennis Wallis, of Danvers. Mr. Nathaniel Slocum, of Beverly.

MISSED. Mr. Samuel Frog, and Mrs. Seth Russell of Menotomy.

Those Distinguished by this [] Mark were killed by the first fire of the enemy.*

We have seen an account of the loss of the enemy, said to have come from an Officer of one of the men of war, by which it appears that 63 of the regulars, and 49 marines were killed, and 103 of both wounded. In all 215. Lieut. Gould of the 4th regiment who is wounded, and Lieut. Potter of the Marines, and about thirty soldiers, are prisoners.

Mr. James Howard and one of the Regulars discharged their pieces at the same instant, and each killed the other.

The public most sincerely sympathize with the friends and relations of our deceased brethren who gloriously sacrificed their lives in fighting for the liberties of their country. By their noble intrepid conduct, in helping to defeat the forces of an ungrateful tyrant, they have endeared their memories to the present generation, who will transmit their names to posterity with the highest honor.

It is now thirteen days since Boston was entirely shut up. The Sunday after the battle there were but two or three religious assemblies that met in Boston. In the Forenoon there was a town meeting, at which a Committee, consisting of the Select-Men, were chosen to wait upon General Gage, in order to get permission for the inhabitants to remove out of town with their effects. After some consultation, we are told, the General consented with them,—that if the inhabitants of Boston would give up their arms and ammunition, and not assist against the King's troops, they should immediately be permitted to depart with all their effects, merchandise included; finally the inhabitants gave up their arms and ammunition, to the care of the select-men; the General then set a guard over the arms, &c. and on Friday last some of the inhabitants were permitted to go out with their effects, including merchandise: On Saturday they were stopped for half a day, and then were prohibited from carrying out any merchandise whatever. After this they were stopped again, owing to a dispute between Admiral Greaves and General Gage; as some families had crossed the ferry, with their effects; the Admiral insisted, they should not be allowed to do so without his permission; how the matter was settled we know not. After this the inhabitants were again allowed to come out, but none without a permit. In short according to the present method (General Gage acting contrary to his engagement) the inhabitants cannot possibly get out of Boston under five or six months. His intention no doubt is to divert our army till the arrival of more troops. During this time no provisions are allowed to be brought in, and the inhabitants suffering the greatest distress, thousands of women and children are almost driven to despair. Salt Pork sold for eleven pence sterling the pound, and fresh at nine pence.

Last Thursday morning the Hon. John Hancock, Esq. Mr. Samuel Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, Esq. escorted by a number of Gentlemen of this town, set out for Philadelphia to meet the Grand American Congress, of which they are members. And on the afternoon of the same day, John Adams, Esq. another member of the Grand Congress, passed through this town, also on his way to Philadelphia. The Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esq. was seen by the way of Newburyport. Messrs. Chandler and Paine of this town are arrived at Salem from London.

At a meeting of this town on Monday last, it was unanimously voted, That a company consisting of 50 men be immediately

raised and equipped, in addition to the number now in the army, to hold themselves in readiness to march on the first notice to the assistance of their townsmen and fellow countrymen, at Cambridge, &c. about forty of those who were present insisted without the least hesitation. This laudable example of the town is surely worthy imitation, and we doubt not will be followed by all the towns in the province, as all have the good of their country at heart.

All the Post-riders in this province are now stopped. Josiah Quincy, Esq. of Bolton, who lately went to England, returned last week, in a very poor state of health. He lived but two or three days after his arrival, and died at Cape-Ann. All the presses in Bolton are stopped for the present.

Extract of a letter from London, dated February 5, 1775.

"The following extract of a letter from General Gage to Lord Dartmouth, as laid before parliament, we think it our duty to transmit, viz. Dec. 15, 1774, your lordship's idea of disarming certain provinces would doubtless be consistent with prudence and safety; but it neither is nor has been practicable without having recourse to force, and being matters of the country."

The Governor of North-Carolina has forbid, by proclamation, any delegates from that province attending the General Congress.

The city of London has subscribed Thirty Thousand Pounds sterling for the poor of Boston.

The General Assembly are now sitting at Hartford. Marblehead harbour is blocked up by the Lively man of war.

We hear that Joshua Loring, jun. Esq. is appointed sheriff of the county of Suffolk, in the room of Stephen Greenleaf, Esq. who desired leave to resign.

In a London paper of the 13th of January, is the following paragraph. "The King has been pleased to grant to Governor Hutchinson and his Daughter a salary of 400l. each."

DIED.] Mr. Edward Knight.

The following is a copy of a Letter from a Gentleman in Newport, to the commanding Officer of the Provincial Army, at Cambridge.

Newport, April 26th, 1775.

It is with pleasure that I communicate to you by express, the following important intelligence by a vessel just arrived here from New-York. We are informed that the news of the engagement between the regulars and provincials, got to New-York on Sunday last, between the fore and afternoon service; that the people of the city immediately arose, disarmed the soldiers and possessed themselves of the forts and magazines, in which they found about fifteen hundred arms, that they unloaded two transports bound to Boston, Capt. Montague not daring to give them any assistance; that a third transport had failed while they were seizing the two others, and the people had fitted out a vessel in order to take and bring her back; that they had forbid all the pilots from bringing up any King's ships; that Capt. Montague was not able to procure a pilot in the whole city; and that the inhabitants were preparing to put themselves in the best posture of defence. The gentlemen who brings this intelligence left Elizabeth-town yesterday morning, and tells us, that on Monday the committee of that town and county met, and agreed to raise 1000 men immediately, to assist in the defence of New-York, against any attack that may be made upon them. I have the honour to assure that this intelligence may be depended upon, and that I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

JOHN COLLINS, Chairman of the Com. of Inspect.

B O S T O N, April 24.

Friday last the Nautilus [in natural history a simple shell] arrived here from England with dispatches for his Excellency General Gage:—In her came passenger the Quarter-Master of his Majesty's 17th regiment of Light Dragoons; which, with the 35th, 49th, and 63d regiments of foot are said to be soon expected. Yesterday arrived the Otter sloop of war from England.

Yesterday the Falcon sloop of war also arrived here from England.

PHILADELPHIA, April 19.

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF PHILADELPHIA.

COMMITTEE CHAMBER, April 17, 1775.

Whereas it is now under the consideration of the committee, to suspend all trade and intercourse with such colonies as have not acceded to the affluence of the Continental Congress, the committee, therefore have thought it proper to apprise their fellow citizens of this matter, that they govern themselves accordingly, and avoid entering into any engagement with respect to such colonies, from which they may be subjected to great inconveniences hereafter.

By order of the committee,

JONATHAN B. SMITH, Secretary.

New-York, April 24. Our provincial convention met here last Thursday, and next day we hear, the following gentlemen were chosen to represent this province at the Continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia the 10th of May next, viz.

For the city and county of New-York: Philip Livingston, James Duane, John Allop, Francis Lewis, and John Jay, Esqrs. Mr. Isaac Low having refused to serve,

For King's county, Simon Boerum, Esq. For Suffolk county, Col. William Floyd, Esq. For Westchester county, Col. Lewis Morris, Esq. For the county of Albany, Col. P. Schuyler, Esq. For Dutchess county, Robert R. Livingston, Esq. For Ulster county, George Clinton, Esq. For Orange county, Henry Welser, Esq.

The General Assembly of North-Carolina, have chosen their old members to represent them at the next Continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia, viz. William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell.

New-LONDON, April 23. Last Tuesday 400 barrels of flour, which was purchased at Newport, by Mr. Brown of Providence, for the use of our army, and shipped on board two of the Providence packets, was seized, and the two vessels carried longside a man of war in the harbour. The above Mr. Brown was on board one of the packets.

LOST out of a Waggon in Northborough

two PACKS, one of them marked L. P. containing two white Shirts, two Check do. two pair of Stockings, some Provision, &c. &c. whoever shall take up the above and send them to Captain STEADMAN's of Cambridge shall be handsomely rewarded, by

LEMUEL POMEROY.

N. B. It is very likely the Packs were by Mistake put into a wrong waggon.

May 2d, 1775.

WATER TOWN, April 23, 1775.

WHEREAS this Congress, on the 12th day of this instant April, appointed a committee for each county, to receive on the committees of correspondence in each county, a state of the conduct of the towns and districts, with respect to their having executed the Continental and Provincial measures, for the preservation of this country from slavery;—and where the distressed circumstances of the colony may probably render it very inconvenient that so great a number of members should be at vent from the Congress, on the first Wednesday of May next, the day mentioned for their first meeting.

Therefore RESOLVED, That the first meeting of said committees, be postponed to the fourth Wednesday in said month; and it is recommended to the several committees of correspondence, to render a true state of the conduct of their respective towns and districts, on the said fourth Wednesday of May accordingly, and especially with respect to their outstanding provincial rates; any thing contained in the former resolve of this Congress differing herefrom, notwithstanding.

A true extract from the minutes, SAMUEL FREEMAN, Secretary, Pro. Tem.

In PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, Watertown, April 30, 1775.

WHEREAS an agreement has been made between General Gage and the inhabitants of the town of Boston, for the removal of the persons and effects of such of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, as may be so disposed, excepting their fire arms and ammunitions into the country.

RESOLVED, That any of the inhabitants of this colony, who may incline to go into the town of Boston with their effects, Fire-Arms and Ammunitions excepted, have toleration for that purpose; and that they be protected from any injury and insult whatsoever, in their removal to Boston, and that this resolve be immediately published.

P. S. Officers are appointed for the giving permits for the above purposes; one at the sign of the Sun at Charlestown, and another at the house of Mr. John Groaton, junr. at Roxbury.

JOSEPH WARREN, President, Pro. Tem.

A true extract from the minutes, SAMUEL FREEMAN, Secretary, Pro. Tem.

WORCESTER, MAY 3.

AMERICANS! forever bear in mind the BATTLE OF LEXINGTON!—where British troops, unprovoked and unprovoked, wantonly, and in a most inhuman manner fired upon and killed a number of our countrymen, then robbed them of their provisions, ransacked, plundered and burnt their houses! nor could the tears of defenceless women, some of whom were in the pains of childbirth, the cries of helpless babes, nor the prayers of old age, confined to beds of sickness, appease their thirst for blood!—or divert them from their DESIGN OF MURDER AND ROBBERY!

The particulars of this alarming event, will be credibly informed be soon published by authority, as a Committee of the Provincial Congress have been appointed to make special enquiry, and to take the depositions, on oath, of such as are knowing to the matter. In the mean time, to satisfy the expectation of our readers, we have collected from those whose veracity is unquestioned the following account, viz.

A few days before the battle, the Grenadier and Light-Infantry companies were all drafted from the several regiments in Boston, and put under the command of an officer, and it was observed that most of the transports and other boats were put together, and fitted for immediate service. This manoeuvre gave rise to a suspicion that some formidable expedition was intended by the soldiery, but what where the inhabitants could not determine—however, the town watches in Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, &c. were ordered to look well to the landing-places. About 10 o'clock on the night of the 18th of April, the troops in Boston were discovered to be on the move in a very secret manner, and it was found they were embarking in boats (which they privately brought to the place in the evening) at the bottom of the Common; expresses fat off immediately to alarm the country, that they might be on their guard. When the expresses got about a mile beyond Lexington, they were stopped by about fourteen officers on horseback, who came out of Boston in the afternoon of that day, and were seen lurking in bye-places in the country till that day. One of the expresses immediately fled, and was pursued two miles by an officer, who when he had got up with him presented a pistol, and told him he was a dead man if he did not stop; but he rode on until he came up to a house, when stopping of a sudden his horse threw him off; having the perception of mind to hold up the people in the house, "Turn out! Turn out! I have got you of them!" the officer immediately retreated as fast as he had pursued. The other express after passing through a strict examination, by some means got clear. The body of the troops in the mean time, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Smith had crossed the river, and landed at Philip's Farm: They immediately to the number of 2000 proceeded to Lexington, 6 miles below Concord, with great silence: A company of militia, of about 80 men, mustered near the meeting-house; the troops came in sight of them just before sun-rise; the militia upon seeing the troops began to disperse; the troops then set out upon the river, hallooing and huzzing, and coming within a few rods of them, the commanding officer accented the militia in words to this effect, "Disperse you damn'd rebels!—damn you disperse!" Upon which the troops again huzzed, and immediately one or two officers discharged their pistols, which were instantly followed by the firing of four or five of the soldiers, and then there seemed to be a general discharge from the whole body; it is to be noticed they fired upon our people as they were dispersing, agreeable to their command, and that we did not even return the fire: Eight of our men were killed and nine wounded. The troops then laughed, and damned the Yankees, and said they could not bear the smell of gun-powder. A little after this the troops renewed their march to Concord, where, when they arrived, they divided into parties, and went directly to several places where the province stores were deposited. Each party was supposed to have a tory pilot. One party went into the goal yard, and spiked up and otherwise damaged two cannon belonging to the province, and broke and fat fire to the earriages.—They then entered a store and rolled out about an hundred barrels of flour, which they unshaded, and emptied about 40 into the river; at the same time others were entering houses a shops, and unshading barrels, chests, &c. the property of private persons; some took possession of the town-houses, to which they set fire, but was extinguished by our people without much hurt. Another party of the troops went and took possession of the North-bridge. About 150 provincials who mustered upon the alarm, coming towards the bridge, the troops fired upon them without ceremony, and killed two upon the spot!—(Thus did the troops of Britain's king fire FIRST at two several times upon his loyal American subjects, and put a period to ten lives before one gun was fired upon them.)—Our people then returned the fire, and obliged the troops to retreat, who were from joined by their other parties, but finding they were still pursued, the whole body retreated back to Lexington, both provincials and troops firing as they went. During this time an express from the troops was sent to General Gage, who thereupon sent out a reinforcement of above 1400 men, under the command of Earl Piercy, with two field pieces. Upon the arrival of this reinforcement at Lexington, just as the retreating party had got there, they made a stand, pulled up their dead and took all the carriages they could find and put their wounded thereon; others of them to their eternal disgrace be it spoken, were robbing and setting houses on fire, and discharging their cannon at the meeting-house. Whilst

NEW-YORK, April 20.

On Tuesday evening arrived the Albany Snow, Sir William Johnson, Captain Deane, in thirty days from England, and yesterday the ship Samson, Captain Couper, both which vessels left the Downs together, about the 7th of March, and have brought London papers to the 4th. Some accounts by these vessels mention, that the forces destined for, and on their way to America, were eleven regiments of foot, and two of light horse, on board ninety five transports; other accounts reduce the forces and ships to about half the above number. All accounts, however, agree, that the design of their coming, is to dragoon the British colonies into a surrender of their liberty and property, and to destroy the English constitution. *They will refuse to fight for their liberty, defence to be given.*

From the London Evening Post, February 25.

A circumstantial account of the important debates in the American committee on Lord North's motion of Monday last.

ON Sunday evening a treasury letter, desiring an attendance in the House for the next day, was sent to the most active persons in opposition, as well as to all those who support ministry; as Lord North had a motion of importance to make. It is unusual to send such letters to the members who oppose. This message therefore occasioned much speculation. Early on Monday it was universally given out, that Lord North intended to move a conciliatory proposition, which would have a tendency to quiet the troubles that unhappily distract the British empire.

About four o'clock, Sir Charles Whitworth took the chair in the American committee. Lord North immediately rose, and having laid open his design in a speech of rather less than an hour, concluded with the following motion:

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that when the Governor, Council and Assembly, or General Court, of any of his Majesty's provinces, or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision, according to the conditions, circumstances and situation of such province or colony for contributing their proportion to the common defence (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the General Court, or General Assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by Parliament) and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government and the administration of justice in the said province or colony; it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear with respect to such province or colony, to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, or to impose any further duty, tax or assessment, except only such duties, as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce. The next produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province or colony respectively."

The motion was supported by Governor Pownall, Mr. Jenkinson, Sir G. Elliott, Mr. Cornwall, and Mr. Wedderburne.

The principal arguments used by these gentlemen and particularly by Lord North in favour of the proposition were the following: "That in the late address of the two Houses, a promise was given to redress the grievances of the Americans. It was indeed impossible to define what parliament ought to deem a real grievance among the many factious complaints of the Americans. But as there was one point upon which they and others were most particularly clamorous, the matter of taxation, it would be proper to come to a fair and indulgent explanation on that subject; and as many new restrictions on the trade of the Americans have been already proposed, and as many more were intended, in that situation, the colonies ought fairly to know what they are to expect and what is expected from them."

Justice and policy, he said, required, that every person under any government should be compelled to become tributary to that government, according to his ability, and to the support he derives from it. This principle ought to extend to the colonies, and to all other dependencies of this empire, just as much as to any part of Great-Britain; and the slightest relaxation of any penal or restrictive statutes, now made or hereafter to be made, in consequence of their disobedience and contumacy, ought not to be so much as listened to, until they come to parliament, and offer such contributions, as that sovereign Judge and legislator should decide to be their just and fair proportion towards the common defence of the whole empire; and that this offer must be understood as the condition upon which we are to accept their allegiance.

This proposition ought not to be settled by a Congress, such a mode could only tend to promote factious combinations in the colonies; who, as colonies, have no sort of relation among themselves. They are all the colonies of Great-Britain; and it is through her alone that they have any relation to each other.

At present the quota which each colony ought to pay, cannot be settled; but the proportions, (when the Americans come to make their offers) must be adjusted upon the following standard;—the wealth and population of each colony;—its advantages relatively to the other colonies;—and its proportion to the wealth and other advantages taken together with her burthens, and necessities of Great-Britain.

There had been much talk of the restrictions on the trade of the colonies: But when the goods which they take from this country only because they are the best and cheapest, shall be deducted from the account of restriction, the Americans will have but little ground for exemption on that account; and they will be found so much on a par with the inhabitants of Great-Britain in commercial advantages, that reason and justice require they should be put on a par with regard to their contributions; and to pay (after the above deduction) full as much in taxes as the people of Great-Britain. Seventy millions of debt in the last war was incurred solely on their security, and in equity the Americans ought to bear at least their fair proportion of it. The army and navy of England are employed for their protection in common with the rest of the empire; they ought therefore to contribute both to the army and navy, and when a fleet is sent to the East-Indies, the colonies ought to pay their share of the charges, just as well as when it is stationed on the coast of North-America. For this force being for the common benefit, the colonies are virtually included in the protection derived from it, wherever it is employed.

As to the mode of taxation, provided the substantial supply is obtained, it is our interest to indulge the colonies in this particular as much as we can; partly because we may not be as knowing in the detail as the American assemblies, and we may oppress when we meant only to tax; and partly, because it has been found almost impossible for parliament to lay taxes there, which would produce any thing in any degree adequate to their purposes.

Lord North confessed that he rather imagined this proposition would not be to the taste of the Americans; and would not be complied with by several of the colonies. However, if but one of them submitted, that one link of the chain would be broken; and if so, the whole would inevitably fall to pieces. This separation would restore our empire; and divide *et impera* was a maxim never held un- fair or unwise in government. If this hope should be frustrated, and that the proposition should do no good in America, it will not however fail of doing good in England. First, it will stand as an eternal monument of the wisdom and clemency of the humanity and justice of British government. Secondly, it will shew to the traders and manufacturers of England, the temper and moderation of parliament,

and the obsequiousness and disaffection of the Americans; and will of course defend them under the decay and loss of trade, and all the miseries of war. They will bear with patience all these temporary losses, when they are assured they are incurred for the sake of a larger revenue, which is to ease them from the many and heavy taxes which at present oppress their industry. Thirdly, it will animate the officers and soldiers we send out to America, to a vigorous and manly exertion of their native courage, without doubt or scruple, when they are assured they no longer fight for phantom, and a vain empty point of honour, but for a substantial benefit to their country, which is to relieve her in her greatest exigence.

That this is putting the quarrel at last upon a proper ground—a dispute for revenue—a dispute to compel America to come to the relief of Great-Britain. That it was no conceding proposition—but what true policy must suggest, if they had actually subdued America, and had her prostrate at their feet. That it is not to abandon the authority of Parliament; but to confirm it; it is to enforce it in the most effectual manner, and for the most essential objects; because the taxing power is, by this resolution in the hands of parliament; and to be exercised merely according to its discretion. All the vigorous measures, either by penal laws, or by the military force, are to go on exactly as before; and no further relaxation whatever is intended. This is the ultimatum.

If it should seem to be abandoning the high ground taken in the address, or to be contrary to the assurances so repeatedly given, "that no terms should be held out to America previous to its submission," this is nothing, (said Lord North) but what is common. The greatest powers have done it. In the war of the succession it was a fundamental point, that no Prince of the house of Bourbon should ever sit on the throne of Spain. This was several times repeated, and in the most solemn manner—such politics are necessary to gain or to animate allies—yet all the powers which composed the confederacy yielded; and a prince of the house of Bourbon did sit, and one of the same house does now sit on the throne of Spain. In the Spanish war of 1759 we declared that we would never treat with Spain until she had given up the point of search. Yet peace was made without her giving up this point and the search continues. Lord North added to these several other instances, in which great powers had abandoned their pretensions, and disappointed the hopes they had held out to their allies.

Such is the substance of the plan, and of arguments used in support of it. The house at first seemed strangely agitated and divided. Almost all of those who usually support ministry, manifested so great a dislike of the measure, that many apprehended, Lord North on a division would be found in a minority. On the other hand, several in opposition seemed unwilling to vote against any thing which carried with it even the name of a conciliation with the colonies. However, as the debate proceeded, the true nature and purpose of the proposition were more fully developed. The opposition to it went different ways, and on totally different grounds. On one side it was opposed by Mr. Welbore Ellis, Vice Treasurer of Ireland; by the Solicitor General of Scotland; by Mr. Adams, Mr. Ackland, and some others of the ministerial members.

Mr. Ellis declared that possibly he might differ from every other gentleman, and stand quite single. But it was his opinion the house would be sunk by the acceptance of the noble Lord's motion, into the lowest state of degradation. A very few days ago no less than three hundred of them had carried up to the Lords an address, declaring all the colonies in a state of disobedience, and one of them in actual rebellion; an address offering their lives and fortunes for the suppression of that rebellion: An address making the previous submission of the Americans, in their humble petition to parliament, and their acknowledgment of its authority, conditions indispensable to all redress of grievances real or imaginary. In a few days after, without any reason assigned, without any known variation of circumstances, without any petition, submission, or acknowledgment whatsoever, for the house to come to a resolution directly contrary to the former, was the most humiliating stroke to the dignity of Parliament, which in his long experience he had ever remembered. Nothing could so highly reflect upon its courage, honour, wisdom and consistency;—but as the subject was full of irritation, and as he was afraid, though a very old member, that he might be betrayed into some improper expressions, he chose to fit down without further discussion of a matter, which indeed spoke so fully for itself.

The same line of argument was taken by the other gentlemen on the court side, who opposed the motion upon the principle of its inconsistency with all the former declarations of administration, and with the late address of both houses of Parliament.

The gentlemen of the minority, who had opposed all measures of severity towards America, declared, with a marked solemnity, that they came to the house on the report of the change of measures, with a full resolution of supporting any thing, which might lead in any way towards conciliation—but that they found the proposition altogether infirm in its nature, and therefore purposely rendered to the last degree obscure and perplexed in its language. Instead of being at all fitted to produce peace, it was calculated to increase the disorders and confusions in America;—and therefore that they never could consent to it.

On this side the debate was supported with remarkable force and spirit, by Mr. T. Townsend, Mr. Fox, Col. Barre, Mr. Burke, Mr. Dunning, and Lord John Cavendish.

They readily admitted with Mr. Ellis, and with the solicitor general of Scotland, that the proposition was a contradiction to every thing that Parliament had declared; a shameful pervariation in ministers; and a mean departure from every declaration they had made. They were however willing to purchase peace, by any humiliation of ministers, and by what was of far more moment, even by the humiliation of Parliament. That the measure was mean indeed, but not at all conciliatory. One benefit, however, was derived from it, for (said Mr. Fox) it has re-established the credit, and signified the power, of the true constitutional whiggish principle of resistance. This had already reduced the proudest tyranny; had made it renounce its high declarations, and stoop to meanness and fraud, the sure forerunner of rout and dismay. That as Lord North has already been staggered into this unhealed act of irresolution and inconsistency, there might be some hope of his proceeding to others which might be really lenient; if it were not the nature of inconsistency, not to proceed in any certain track; and that the same want of a fixed principle which led him to renounce his first plan, might induce him perhaps as suddenly to return to it.

That the mode of argument on the side of ministry was the most ridiculous that ever had been known in Parliament. They attempted to prove to one side of the house, that the measure was a concession; and to the other, that it was a strong assertion of authority—just on the flip principles of the tea act, which to Great-Britain was to be a duty of supply, to the Americans a tax of regulation.

They were likewise (they said) astonished at another extraordinary phenomenon. That this day, during the whole course of the American debates, the ministry have daily and hourly denied their having any sort of contest about an American revenue. That the whole was a dispute for obedience to trade laws; and to the general legislative authority. Now they turn short—and to confound our manufacturers, and a imate our soldiers, they tell them for the first time, "the dispute is put on its true footing, and that the grand

contest is, not for empty honour but substantial revenue." But manufacturers and soldiers will not be so comforted, or so animated, because the revenue is as such an empty phantom, as the honour, and the whole scheme of the resolution is oppressive, absurd, and impracticable—and, what it indeed the ministers confess, the Americans will not accept. It is oppressive; because it was never the complaint of the Americans that the mode of taxation was not left to themselves; but that neither the amount and quantum of the grant, nor the application was in their free choice. This was their complaint, and their complaint was just. What else is it to be taxed by act of a Parliament in which they are not represented, but for Parliament to settle the proportion of the payment, and the application of the money? This is the purpose of the present resolution. If an act of Parliament compelled the city of Amsterdam, to raise an hundred thousand pounds, is not Amsterdam as effectually taxed without its consent, as if duties to that amount were laid upon that city? To leave them the mode may be of some ease as to the collection; but it is no thing to the freedom of granting; in which the colonies are so far from being relieved by this resolution, that their condition is to be ten times worse than ever.

For the minority contended, that is a far more oppressive mode of taxing, than that hitherto used. For here no determinate demand is made. The colonies are to be held in duance by troops, fleets, and armies, until they shall offer to a service which they cannot know, in a proportion which they cannot guess, on a standard, which they are so far from being able to ascertain, that Parliament which is to hold it, has not ventured to hint what it is they expect. They are to be held prisoners of war, unless they consent to a ransom, by bidding at an auction against each other, and against themselves, until the King and Parliament shall strike down the hammer, and say "enough."

This species of auction to be terminated not at the discretion of the bidder, but at the will of the sovereign power, was a kind of absurd tyranny, which they challenged the ministers to produce any example of, in the practice of this or of any other nation. What was said to be most like this method of settling the colony assemblies at guessing what contribut. *on* might be most agreeable to us in some future time, was the tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar, who having forgot a dream of his, ordered the assemblies of his wife men on pain of death, not only to interpret his dreams, but to tell him what his dream was.

To let the impracticability and absurdity of this scheme in the stronger light, they asked, in case an assembly made an offer, which should not be thought sufficient by Parliament, was not the business to walk back again to America? and so on backwards and forwards as often as the offer displeased Parliament? And this, instead of obtaining peace by this proposition, all our distractions and confusions will be increased tenfold, and continued for ever.

It was said indeed by the minister, that this scheme will disunite the colonies.—Tricks in government had sometimes, it was admitted, been successful; but never, when they were known, avowed, and hackneyed. That the Boston port bill was a declared cheat, and accordingly far from succeeding; it was the very first thing that united all the colonies against us, from Nova Scotia to Georgia.

As to the pretended justice of this extorted contribution, from the debt incurred on the sole account of America, Col. Barre said, it was false and futile. We must defend our dominions wherever they are attacked by our enemies—but to charge the part attacked as the cause of the burthen brought on by that defence, is ridiculous.—It was not the ambition of the colonies, but the designs of France aiming at an empire in America, which caused that debt.

The idea of deducting the value of goods supposed to be taken by the colonists, because we sold cheap, at a time when we did not suffer the colonies to make the trial; and by such arithmetic, to reduce the property of their paying in nearly an equal proportion with the people of England, (they said) was of a piece with the rest of the policy and the argument of this profound project.

Mr. Burke, strongly declared against any scheme, which began by any mode of extorting revenue. That every benefit, natural, or political, must be had in the nature of things, and in its proper season. Revenue from a free people must be the consequence of peace, not the condition on which it is to be obtained. That if we attempt to assert this order, we shall have neither peace nor revenue. If we are relieved to eat our grapes, crude and foul, instead of obtaining nourishment, we shall only let an edge on our own teeth, and choke of our poverty for ever.

They all urged, therefore, for the reconsideration until it could be brought to some agreement with common sense: They moved, "that the chairman do now leave the chair, and have leave to sit again."

The minister, distracted by an opposition from such opposite quarters, seemed ready to sink under it, his allies seemed on the point of desertion, until the great *Bute* standard was displayed by Sir Gilbert Elliot, when most of them fell again into order, and though ashamed and mortified voted for the minister.

The instantaneous effect of the few words spoken by the standard bearer, after Lord North had been five times on his legs, and only made matters worse and worse, was painted by Mr. Dunning in a vein of the most delicate irony.

The numbers upon the division, were:

Ayes 275.—Noes 88.

(For more London News, see the second Page.)

Silent Wilde, News Carrier,

To Northampton, Deerfield, &c.

NOTIFIES his Customers, that the first six Months of his present Year's Service, ends with the Eighth Day of MAY inst. He desires them to remember that on the Account there will be due to him from each, ONE DOLLAR and ONE QUARTER, or Seven Shillings and Six-Pence, which Sum was to be paid, as by Agreement, on the first Day of said May; and he very earnestly prays, that every one would remember the day and be PUNCTUAL, that so he may be able to continue the Service.

Said WILDE also takes the present opportunity, to entreat those who are in arrears for last year, kindly to consider, that it would be a great favour if each individual would pay him immediately their respective balances, for hereby he would be furnished with more than 150 dollars, a considerable part of which is due to the printers, who have cause of uneasiness that they have not before now, received what is severally due to them.

May 2, 1775.

ALL Persons, who reside out of the town of Boston, that are indebted to the Publisher hereof for NEWSPAPERS, are earnestly requested to make him Payment, in order to enable him to carry on business in this place, which may be attended with some good to the Public.

Worcester, May 2d, 1775.

WORCESTER: (Massachusetts-Bay) Printed by ISAIAH THOMAS,

Near the Court-House, where all Persons may be supplied with this Paper at Six Shillings and Eight Pence, Lawful Money per Annum, exclusive of Postage.—Printing in general performed with Care and Expedition.