

frictions it would unavoidably create, and exhorted the Advocates for that Expulsion, to sacrifice a private Resentment, that actually dishonoured them, at the Altar of publick Tranquillity. Had my Advice been listened to, we should now have been in Peace, our Authority would not have been insulted, our Proceedings would not have been despoiled, nor would the Metropolis of the Empire formally wait upon the Sovereign, to tell him we were Betrayers of the People.

The Gentlemen, Sir, who then fought the Battle of Administration, did not recollect, that while they were striving to punish Opposition, they were actually gratifying the Spirit of their Enemies. When an odious Minister is at the Head of publick Affairs, the Nation, though not injured by any Act of his Illegality, nevertheless enjoys a malignant Resentment—it justifies their Detestation of him—it renders him universally obnoxious—and, in the End, completes the Destruction of his political Character. I am well convinced, Sir, that the Enemies of Government, however they took Fire at the Resolutions of this Assembly, in voting Mr. Luttrell the Member for Middlesex, evertheless rejoice at the Opportunity which it gave them, of attacking the Premier in the most sensible Part of his ministerial Reputation; and I am to the full as much convinced, that they would now rejoice at the heaviest Censure which we might pass on the Remonstrance of London; it is what they wish, it is what they are impatient for, it is what they ardently desire. Their whole Strength consists in their being opposed, and contradictory as it may seem in Terms, it is still undeniably true, that they absolutely gain a Victory every Time they suffer a Defeat.

For this Reason, Sir, if we are desirous of conquering the Spirit of Discord, which so unhappily subsists without Doors, we must not combat it within. You may indeed proceed to Censure; but will that Procedure give Peace to the Kingdom? You may expel the Persons principally concerned in presenting the Remonstrance, but—then you increase the present Confusion; you extend the Grievance, complained of by the County of Middlesex, into the City of London; you verify the Prophecy of your Enemies, and prove what they have repeatedly foretold, that you will go on from Violence to Violence, and, as you have given Middlesex a Member, you will gradually give Representatives to all the other Freeholders of Great-Britain.

But even supposing, Mr. President, for Argument Sake, what I will not admit in Fact, that we have a Right to determine upon a Petition of the Subject to the Throne, still, Sir, have we a Right in this Case to be Parties and Judges at the same Time! Our Dignity and our Justice is arraigned in this Petition; can we therefore be a proper Jurisdiction to examine the Conduct of the Petitioners? Suppose, Sir, that the Proceedings of the King's Bench were at any Time complained of by a Body of the People, and that an Application was made to the Crown for Redress; would it be fair, would it be equitable, to send their Petition to the very Court, against which they had lodged the Complaint? And would it be reasonable to bid the Chief Justice to decide upon the Decency or Legality of a Composition, which reflected intirely upon himself? It therefore the City Remonstrance is contrary to Law, let the Laws punish it, let not a single Branch of the Legislature assume a Power to set aside the solemn Acts of the Three Branches; nor while it is exclaiming at the imputed Illegality of others, set an Example of deliberate Illegality in itself. The best Way therefore is to know nothing about the Remonstrance, to hear nothing about it in our publick Capacity. To bring it before us, is to open Pandora's Box in this Assembly; Evil will spring out after Evil; Hope herself will possibly fly away from the growing Horror of the Prospect, and all be frenzy, Blood, and Desolation. If the Remonstrance is once brought before us, and we proceed to Censure, there is no saying where the dreadful Consequences may end; the People may have expressed themselves intemperately, but who will say they have not been fatally provoked? Let us, as the first Cause of that Provocation, bear a little with a Fury excited by ourselves. It may indeed be spirited to vindicate the Dignity of this Assembly, but will it be prudent at this Time? If we are really Friends to our Country, let us prove our Friendship by healing her Peace, not by rendering her Distraction incurable. Let us nobly sacrifice our Resentment to her Preservation, instead of plunging her into a civil War. The Question now is, not what is rigorous, but what is proper; not how the Authority of this Assembly is to be supported, but how the whole Nation is to be rescued from Destruction. Ireland is now a Scene of Anarchy—America is intirely in an Uproar—and is this a Time to rise in Arms against ourselves? No, Mr. President, this is an Hour which calls for Temper, not for Rage, and in which an absurd Exertion of Severity, to maintain our Authority, will, in all Probability, rob us of the very Constitution.

NEW-YORK, August 6.

The following is a Copy of the Protest, which has been signed by a considerable Number of the Inhabitants of New-York, since the 25th Ult.

#### A P R O T E S T.

THE Right of a People to tax themselves is essential to their Liberty; and the Power of imposing Taxes on them, when exercised by others, subjects that People to the most abject Slavery. The former is the undoubted Right of Englishmen, to which therefore his Majesty's American Subjects are evidently entitled. The Commons of Great-Britain, nevertheless, after the Repeal of the Statute, commonly called the Stamp-Act, re-assumed the Power of imposing Duties on the American Colonies, and avowing it as their constitutional Right, and insisting on it as a necessary Badge of Parliamentary Supremacy, passed a Bill in the 7th Year of his present Majesty's Reign, imposing Duties on all Glass, Painters Colours, Paper and Tea, that should after the 20th of November, 1767, be imported from Great-Britain into any Colony or Plantation in America. This Bill, after the Con-

currence of the Lords, obtained the Royal Assent. And thus they, who, from Time immemorial, have exercised the Right of giving to, or withholding from the Crown, their Aids and Subsidies, according to their own free Will and Pleasure, signified by their Representatives in Parliament, do by the Act in Question, deny us, their Brethren in America, the Enjoyment of the same Right, and that in the most ignominious Terms. For in the Preamble of the Statute, is recited the Expediency of a Revenue in America, for making a more certain and adequate Provision for defraying the Charges of the Administration of Justice, and the Support of civil Government in such Colonies, where it shall be found necessary; and towards further defraying the Expences of defending, protecting and securing the said Dominions; plainly intimating that the Colonies are unwilling, in the only constitutional Manner, that is, by their own free Gifts in Assembly, to maintain a due Administration of Justice, and support civil Government: And that, therefore, it is become necessary, against their Will, and at their own proper Charge, to support a standing Army among them. For this notable Purpose the Commons of Great-Britain, our Brethren and Fellow Subjects, born to no greater Stock of Liberty than the Americans; do, in the aforesaid Act declare, that they give and grant to his Majesty, the several Rates and Duties therein enumerated; thereby subjecting us to Impolls unknown in the British Constitution, and unnecessary in themselves; as it is notorious that Justice has ever been as well administered in the Colonies, as in the Mother Country: And that, to speak modestly, we are at least as ready to support righteous Government, as our Fellow Subjects in Britain. It was therefore sufficiently evident, that there could not be the least Necessity, for the Exercise of so extraordinary a Power, other than that which was openly urged by the Servants of the Crown, in the last Session of Parliament; to wit, the Necessity of leaving the Duty upon Tea, as a Test of the Parliamentary Right to tax us. Justly alarmed at a Reputation of the Evils, under which we groaned during the Existence of the above-mentioned ever memorable Stamp-Act, and stimulated by a noble Spirit of Freedom, most of the Merchants and Traders in the ancient and respectable Town of Boston, the Inhabitants of which are descended from those Sons of Liberty, who faced the most unparalleled Dangers, to seek that priceless Jewel in the Wilds of America, betook themselves, in the Year 1768, to an economical Restriction of Imports; and thereafter fully applied that well experienced and effectual Remedy, a Suspension of Commerce with Great Britain, except as to a few Articles, until a total Repeal of the Act now in Question. This Step they warmly recommended to the Merchants and Traders of the City of New-York. These universally, and it was hoped from a sincere Love of Liberty, either expressly or tacitly submitted to the Measure; and received the publick Thanks of the Representatives of this Colony in General Assembly for their publick spirited Conduct; and strenuously urged the Merchants and Traders in Pennsylvania, to enter into the same patriotic Compact; in which, after some Time, they engaged. This Compact was soon rendered more extensive and efficacious, by a Junction of the other ancient and respectable Colonies on the Continent. Nor could the Weight of an Union so glorious, long be felt by the Mother Country; for in the last Session of Parliament, a Statute was passed, repealing all the Duties but those on Tea. Far are we, NEVERTHELESS, from being relieved by this specious Condescension, while the disgusting Preamble and enacting Words of the first Act are still in Force, with an Exception only of such of the Duties thereby imposed as by the subsequent Act are repealed, merely because they were anti-commercial. For some Time the Merchants of this City in general appeared sensible of the Design, and bent on supporting the memorable Union until a total Repeal should take Place. At length, however, from Motives, too apparent in some to need a Mention: But on Pretence that the Non-importation Agreement was not faithfully observed by our Brethren in Boston, our Committee remonstrated against the supposed Breach, exhorted the Bostonians and Pennsylvanians to a firm and punctual Support of the Union; and received, as we apprehended, sufficient Proofs that the above-mentioned Breach was only supposed. Our Committee, soon after, attempted to procure a general Congress, by a Deputation of the several Northern Colonies, who had acceded to the Compact, to take the general Sense on the Question; Whether an Alteration should be made in the Agreement? This Proposal was received with Disgust; and without Hesitation rejected. It, therefore, became necessary, in some Measure to take off the Mask, and the Scheme of obtaining the Sense of this City, on the Question, Whether an Importation of all Goods, except those subject to Duties, should take Place, was projected. But so fearful of the publick Resentment were the Projectors; that they proposed this Question, merely to found the Minds of the Inhabitants of this City; and to reiterate their Attempts upon the Virtue of our Neighbours. They, therefore, annexed to the Question, this proviso, to wit, that if the other Colonies would not consent to it, they would again take the Sense of our Inhabitants on the Question. In this State the Question was proposed to our Brethren in the neighbouring Colonies, and met with the same Fate as the other. But the Abettors of the odious Resolution to rescind, having by this and other indirect Means, discovered the Sense of many of our Inhabitants, resolved to put the Question to the Citizens without any Condition whatsoever. Yet the Co-operation of Interest, Necessity and Influence, notwithstanding it appears from the Ward-Lists, that only 754 Persons in this populous City, including all Ranks, and both Sexes, declared for the Affirmative of the Question. And upon this slender Voice (will Posterity, whose Liberties are in our Hands, believe it!) the glorious and salutary Union of so many Colonies, has been rescinded in this City, without the Privity or Consent of the other numerous Inhabitants of the Colony; and against the express Declaration of the other respectable Parties engag-

ed in it.—But as it is evident that the aforesaid Union was founded in Wisdom, and concerted for the most important End, the Preservation of American Liberty: As the Necessity for its Continuance cannot cease, until a total Repeal of the Revenue-Act; as it concerned the Common Interest of all the Colonies engaged in it, and therefore could, neither in Justice of Honour be rescinded but by common Consent. As its Breach in this City is grounded on the Sense of a few of the many Thousand Inhabitants of this Colony. As it is highly probable that an unanimous Perseverance for a few Months longer, would have ended in the total Repeal of an Act of Parliament, of which the Voice of all America has so loudly complained. And finally, as such Rescission at this critical Juncture, may be attended with Consequences the most dangerous to American Liberty. We the Subscribers, being of the Number of those who were desirous to support the said Agreement, in Conjunction with the other united Colonies, until such total Repeal, being deeply impressed, with the most distressed Sense of the Mischief of those of our Inhabitants, who resolved to infringe the said Agreement, and being heartily and earnestly desirous, to vindicate ourselves to the other Colonies, to all the World, and to the latest Posterity, from the least Suspicion of a direct, or indirect, tacit or express Acquiescence in the said Resolution; DO hereby solemnly declare, our utter Disapprobation thereof: And that it took Place against our Efforts to prevent it: AND WE DO HEREBY in all publick Manner, PROTEST against the said Resolution; not doubting, that our Sifter Colonies will distinguish in their Censures, between those in this City, who have strained every Nerve in Support of the Non-importation Agreement; and those who, with unwearied Pains and Industry, have at length wrought its Subversion in this Colony.

The 25th of June last, departed this Life, at Kingston, in Jamaica, greatly lamented, Arthur Forrester, Esq; Commodore on that Station, whose gallant Behaviour last War, off Hispaniola, will ever redound to the Reputation of the British Arms, and endear his Memory to Britons in general.

Since our last Five Persons in this City have died suddenly by drinking cold Water.

#### ANNAPOLIS, AUGUST 16.

On Friday Evening last, died, at Upper-Marblehead, in the 56th Year of her Age, Mrs. MARY HEPBURN. Her Death is sincerely lamented by all who had the Pleasure of her Acquaintance, to whom she was endeared by her amiable and exemplary Conduct in the several Relations of Life; she was a faithful and loving Wife, a tender and indulgent Mother, a kind Mistress, and an agreeable and instructive Companion: She gained the Esteem and Respect of her Neighbours by every friendly Office, and the Blessings of the Poor by the Relief she administered to their Necessities. The real Grief of all her Connections and Acquaintance for the Loss of her, attests the Truth of this Character. May her Virtues be not only remembered but imitated!

#### T O T H E P R I N T E R S.

In your last Week's Gazette was a Piece published by the Committee of this City, abounding with many censorious and groundless Insinuations, and Misrepresentations of Facts, &c. &c. upon which I shall take the Liberty of making a few Remarks.

And first, I have the Charity to believe, some of those worthy Gentlemen have been incautiously drawn in to set their Names to it, without being acquainted with all the minute Circumstances in this Controversy, and had their Information of it only from the others.

The very high Price we, and many others, had given for Tea bought here in the Country, occasioned some Committees to assent to the Merchants retailing it at Ten Shillings per Pound, and in many other Parts of the Province at the same Price, and no Notice was taken of it. The Tea we sold at Ten Shillings per Pound cost us very high, and we had not more than the usual Profit on it; which we can plainly make appear: But the abrupt imperious Manner of the first Star-Chamber Demand, to know the first Cost of it, was a sufficient Antidote to a candid Answer at that Time. We expected to have had a Hearing before a full Committee, when we could have cleared up the Matter; but this they absolutely refused hearing. We little expected that Junto of a Committee, Five out of Ten or Twelve, would have had the Assurance to judge, condemn, and execute our Characters in Publick, the second Day after this happened, before they had proved us guilty of any Breach, and without giving us a fair Hearing before the Committee. I deny those Five Men to be a lawful Committee for any Publication; there is Reason to believe the other Five Gentlemen, influenced by the first Five, have unguardedly fallen into the first Partialities, yet without proving us guilty of any the least Breach of the Association; and it is out of their Power ever so to do.

If the Publick duly consider the beautiful, or rather the Bear-garden Language of the first Publication of the Five Men our Accusers, together with that of Penman's Language, in his short Notes to Thomas Williams, after his reading our Piece in the Gazette, where, in the overflowing of his warm Zeal in the Cause of Liberty, he made use of the Words Scoundrel and Coward, with the most dreadful threatening of his Case at the first Meeting with the Penman of our Address, which he knew was Thomas Williams; as though the Cause of Liberty was to be decided by Club Law. Are there any Traces of the true Cause of Liberty appearing in this whole Affair? On the contrary, Do not private Resentment, Envy, Partiality, and low Spight, appear

• Mr. Pace.

through every Circumstance set on foot by a certain selfish Views, the of Liberty, to this State, and introduce precious Characters of popular and common Character quite foreign to the Some Gentlemen of the most glorious Subjects Constituents in Remembrance they are to be made use of, by making such a Delicacy and flowery they no doubt expect of real Facts.

These Committee constituted the several Factors and Co. as they appointed the Word as they were obliged to the Publick, or else We deny there was O to the Committee.

As for the Air of Spha, we leave to the not applied for to us the Street at Mr. Carr and a private Landing legally imported or no made use of, it seems, Affair (but no more in 1768): But there Maccubbin's Vessel at Mr. Chase's House by his Garden Seeds, but it for what the Publick

They tell us, that the utmost Endeavours to Goods before they Truth, and believe otherwise we alleged no Breach those Two Gentlemen selling the prohibited them; which Fact others of the Committee present. But these concealed from the expected they would say no more to prove grant Violators of the used every artful Insinuation.

As to the Rhode Island answer, that both Captain were different that were rejected at Able, in the short Space from thence, to his A been at Philadelphia an Insinuation, like many themselves; several of others out of it, bought Cargo, and in particular Committee.—I now appears to be the shuffling motus, base, and fra Who are the teachers &c. &c.

Our Thomas Charles London to Philadelphia Through purchased at the Philadelphia Resolution appeared in London Goods, by Consent, and at last to be sold a on them, if any, to some charitable Use, any: These Goods were this Time Three hundred The long and tedious sioned a constant Inter ward, in our own B seem to be grievously false and groundless censorious Train, of with the Northward E sures could spring from own malignant Spirits Aetna and Vesuvius, a liquid Flames, to the able Inhabitants near

The Committee blame our last Piece; yet the stronger Argument to by telling the Publick Power to act, until all neither have they pub to those Cargoes, since act as a Committee.

We flatter ourselves to satisfy the Publick, this whole Affair; should appear against us in P our silent Disregard th

RAN away from Man, named J of Age, 5 Feet 7 Inc remarkably pitted with tive, and will endeavor on, and took with his sers, and a Pair of said Servant, so that shall receive a Reward

N. B. All Matters ing him off at their P