

stances of our affairs require. Among the many unavoidable ill consequences of this rebellion, none affects me more sensibly than the extraordinary burthen which it must create to my faithful subjects.

10 *My Lords and Gentlemen,*
"I have fully opened to you my views and intentions. The constant employment of my thoughts, and the most earnest wishes of my heart, tend wholly to the safety and happiness of all my people, and to the re-establishment of order and tranquillity, through the several parts of my dominions, in a close connection and constitutional dependence. You see the tendency of the present disorders, and I have stated to you the measures which I mean to pursue for suppressing them. Whatever remains to be done, that may farther contribute to this end, I commit to your wisdom. And I am happy to add that, as well from the assurances I have received, as from the general appearance of affairs in Europe, I see no probability that the measures which you may adopt will be interrupted by disputes with any foreign power."

As soon as his majesty's speech had been read in the upper assembly by the lord chancellor and clerk of that honourable assembly, lord Cornwallis rose up, and in a very manly and masterly manner went fully into the unhappy disputes between America and this country; at the conclusion of which he moved a humble address to his majesty for his most gracious speech. His lordship was seconded by lord Dudley. The marquis of Rockingham was the next who spoke; he differed greatly in opinion from the two first mentioned lords, and at the end of his speech proposed an amendment to the address, which brought on a very interesting and long debate, in which the following right honourable members assisted with the care above, lord Rochford, lord Coventry, the duke of Grafton, lord Sandwich, lord Lyttelton, the Bishop of Peterborough, lord Dartmouth, lord Ethingham, lord Grosvenor, the duke of Manchester, lord Gower; the duke of Richmond, lord Shelburne, lord Warwick, and lord Ferrers; after which the question was put for agreeing to the amendment, and the house divided, when the numbers were as follow: Not contents 69, proxies 11; Contents, 29, proxies 0.

The house again divided upon the address as originally moved for; Contents 69, proxies 10; Not contents 33.

The house broke up about 11 o'clock, and adjourned till next day.

The arguments in the house of Peers turned entirely on American affairs. The lords in a candidly owned they had been misinformed last year, and that their measures were consequently founded in error, and had therefore failed of success. His concession furnished matter of severe remark to the lords of the minority; the B— of P— pointed out the false policy of continuing the dispute with the colonies, and urged administration to stop the further ravages of fire and sword. The d— of R— followed the r— d p— te's argument with his usual inaccuracy and inelegance of manner, but with much force of matter. Lord S— ne, in a most warm and picturesque flow of words, painted the present ill effects of the contest, and shewed how much more fatal the consequences might be if the unnatural war was pursued. His lordship was extremely severe on administration for the impotency and inexperience of their measures; and after intimating that the introduction of foreign troops without leave of parliament, was high treason to the constitution, hoped that the day would come, when those who put that part of the speech into his m—y's mouth, which mentions their being sent to Gibraltar and Minorca, would be called to a proper account, and undergo an exemplary punishment. Lord G— r spoke to the fallacy of the addresses, and the unfair means used to procure them, which he proved by citing an instance of shameful partiality and undue influence, which fell within his own knowledge. Lord F— rs opposed the address.

The business of parliament was opened in the house of commons by swearing in several members; after which the speaker read twice his majesty's most gracious speech from the throne; whereupon Mr. Ackland, son to Sir Thomas Ackland, moved for a dutiful and loyal address to his majesty in a very elaborate speech, highly commending the lenity and forbearance of government with respect to America, and enforcing the necessity of assuring his majesty of the approbation of the measures already taken against the Americans, and of firm support from his faithful commons in the prosecution of the war.

The motion for an address was seconded by Mr. Lyttelton, late governor of Jamaica, who likewise expatiated on the necessity of strengthening the hands of government.

Lord John Cavendish moved for an amendment, which occasioned a long and warm conversation, in which the ministry were pretty roundly told of the fatal effects of the measures of the last sessions.

The Right honourable the lord-mayor spoke against the address; called the war against the Americans a murderous war; and said, that he should consider every subject who fell on either side as assassinated by the m— r, and their blood to be laid to his charge; he concluded with recommending an address to the king, that he would be pleased to point out some method of conciliating the affections of the subjects of all parts of the empire.

Governor Johnston spoke of the insufficiency of the present forces to carry this favourite point of administration! He averred, that a general dissatisfaction prevailed amongst the king's troops already at Boston; and that three field-officers of the five regiments, lately embarked at Cork, solicited leave to resign; of this he pledged himself to bring evidence to the bar, and dared them to call for it.

General Conway defended the Americans with an unusual warmth of argument: He called for information from the treasury bench, what part of America we might deem our own: Asked whether Canada, whether Halifax, nay, whether Boston itself, owned at this time the superiority of the British arms?—He declared his conscience forbade his assent to the b—y of the provincials; and therefore he firmly protested against the address.

Lord George Germaine replied to him in favour of the address, and consequently supported the measure of government; but threw out nothing new, except that he had received a letter from general Burgoyne, who

said that, notwithstanding the distresses and obstacles the king's troops met with, they were zealous and determined in defence of their country.

Col. Barre entered minutely into the consequences of the summer campaign, described the situation of the king's forces as on a wren, or little excrescence of land, blocked up within the walls of Bolton, and the fleet not even master of the river in which it lies: He drew a conclusion, that if an army of 22,000 of our forces, with 20,000 Provincials and a fleet of 22 sail of the line, with more than as many frigates, were three years in subduing Canada, though completed every spring—what little prospect could there be for 10,900 men to effect the conquest of all America?—He told the minister that, as he expected but little information from him, he would give him some:—That he had received a letter from a major Caldwell, who was settled on a large estate in Canada, who assured him, that the Canadians were not by any means to be driven into the war; that he had tried the arts of persuasion in vain; that he assembled about 1200 of them together, who came with large ticks, but had concealed 400 firelocks in the woods, which they were determined to make use of against the English, if they forced them to take either side: Col. Barre further added, that general Carleton and lord Pitt were within a quarter of an hour of falling into the hands of Johnny Herbert, a barber, who was now a major in the Provincial service: He observed, that he and his friends were censured by the ministry as the leaders of faction; that their conversation with each other was, which of them should go to the Tower first; but this they regarded not; oppose the king they could not wish to do, for their ancestors seated his family on the throne, but to carry their point against the present unfeeling administration, he would readily go to the block.

Lord Barrington answered governor Johnston and col. Barre, and denied the disaffection of the officers, &c. assured the house that they would receive satisfactory accounts to the contrary in seven or eight days.

The solicitor general likewise replied to col. Barre, accused him of drawing false inferences from his own premises, entered with great spirit into the present vigorous measures (admitting we had lost all the places they would insinuate) in order to put us upon a proper footing to enter even upon a negotiation with the Americans.

At ten o'clock Mr. Burke rose, and spoke for near two hours. He raised the laugh of the house at lord N—'s expense, by repeating some vaunting expressions (which he declared had fallen from his lordship in parliament heretofore) and placing them in a ridiculous contrast with the unfortunate events which have of late taken place. Speaking seriously of the present situation of affairs, he compared America to a people who had emancipated themselves, and described the Mother Country as a piratical disturber of the ports and the naval trade of the colonies. The disgraceful blocking up our troops in Bolton, he portrayed with his wonted ability of description; and after lamenting the danger of this country, if the dispute with America continued, he advised administration no longer to make England appear like a porcupine, armed at all points with acts of parliament oppressive to the trade and freedom of America, but to shew a friendly countenance, and to meet the Americans with open arms.

Mr. Charles Fox followed Mr. Burke, and with his usual vehemence and asperity aimed his satire personally at lord N—, describing his lordship as the brundering pilot who had brought us into our present difficulties. "Administration (says Mr. Fox) exult at having brought us into such a dilemma as the ablest of men cannot extricate us from; they have reason to cry aloud in triumph, lord Chatham, the king of Prussia, nay, Alexander the great, never gained more in one campaign than the noble lord has lost. He has lost a whole continent—most able adviser, most accomplished general!" Mr. Fox mixed his railery with some very serious observations on the conduct of the ministry, and took occasion to mention the old political distinctions of whig and tory, describing the present members of a—n as enemies to freedom, and rank tories.

As soon as he concluded, lord N—th rose, and after entering into a long justification of himself, and the plan of conduct he had pursued while in office (replying with considerable spirit to the insinuations which had been thrown out against him, by lord John Cavendish, Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, and other speakers in opposition) his lordship justified the measures of administration, shewing, by strong arguments, that they were founded as much in prudence and wisdom as the situation of affairs would allow. His lordship next entered into a disquisition of the terms whig and tory, and proved that the present ministers acted on the true principles of whiggism, and that the measures sketched out in the speech, and echoed back in the address, as proper to be offered to America, were most likely to effect an honourable reconciliation.

At 20 minutes after one, Mr. Duane rose. He pointed out the illegality of introducing foreign troops into any part of his majesty's dominions, without the consent of parliament, and shewed the bad tendency of such a measure, and of what evil consequences it might hereafter be productive, were it now suffered to pass into a precedent. He was replied to by the attorney general.

The house did not rise till past four o'clock on Friday morning. Upon a division there appeared,
For the address without any amendment 278
Against it 108

Majority 170

The following is a copy of the petition of the common council to the house of lords and commons, which was presented to each house by the sheriffs, on Thursday last. They are both in the same words with only a variation of the address.

The humble petition of the lord-mayor, Aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled,

SHewETH,

THAT this court having taken into its most serious consideration the present distressed situation of our fellow subjects in America, are exceedingly alarmed for the consequences of those coercive measures which are pursuing against them—measures that must (notwith-

standing the great uncertainty of their success) eventually be productive of new and more burthenome to the increase of an enormous national debt; and that, we fear, the loss of the most valuable branch of our commerce, on which the existence of an infinite number of industrious manufacturers and mechanics entirely depends.

That his majesty having been graciously pleased, in answer to a late humble and dutiful address and petition to the throne, praying a cessation of hostilities with America for the purpose of obtaining time, and thereby giving an opportunity for a happy and lasting reconciliation with his majesty's American colonies, to declare, that he should abide by the sense of his parliament, this court conceive it to be their indubitable duty, thus early in the session, in the most respectful manner, to apply to this right honourable house, that it will be pleased to adopt such measures for the healing of the present unhappy disputes between the mother country and her colonies, as may be speedy, permanent, and honourable.

FRIDAY, October 27.

The lord chancellor acquainted the house that his Majesty had been waited on pursuant to their order, to know when he would be attended with their address of thanks; and that his Majesty had appointed two o'clock. The chancellor and several of the members accordingly proceeded to St. James's, and presented the following

Humble Address of the right honourable the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled.

"*Most gracious Sovereign,*

"WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

"With the utmost abhorrence and indignation we see the real design of those desperate men who, by the grossest misrepresentations, have deluded and precipitated our unhappy fellow-subjects in America, into measures no less subversive of their own happiness and true interests, than dangerous to the prosperity and safety of Great-Britain. The powers they have assumed, and the arbitrary and oppressive acts which they have done, leave no doubt of their traitorous purpose to induce the colonies to shake off the controul of the supreme legislature, and to bury in an ungrateful oblivion, the remembrance of the great industry with which they have been planted; the fostering care with which they have been nursed; the many advantages which they have enjoyed, and the expence of blood and treasure with which they have been protected by this nation.

"We cannot avoid expressing our concern, that the great tenderness with which your Majesty has proceeded, and the conciliatory disposition which appeared in the last session of parliament, instead of having the desired effect of undeceiving the misled, and establishing a confidence in the present state, have been turned to the advantage, and made instrumental to the purposes of this dangerous attempt; and whilst we acknowledge this to be the consequence of the difference of intention which prevailed here and in America, we are penetrated with a just sense of the motives which have regulated your Majesty's endeavours to prevent, if it had been possible, the effusion of the blood of our fellow-subjects, and the calamities which are inseparable from a state of war; but since the rebellion is now become more general, and manifests the purpose of establishing and maintaining an independent empire, we cannot but applaud your Majesty's resolution to vindicate the rights, the interests, and the honour of this kingdom, by a speedy and most decisive exertion; and for this purpose, we think it our indispensible duty to declare, that we will support your Majesty with our lives and fortunes; and being fully persuaded, that in the present state of these disorders, the most active will, in its effect, be the most merciful mode of proceeding, we hear with pleasure that your Majesty has increased your naval establishment, and also greatly augmented your land forces. We are sensible of your Majesty's kind consideration, in having done it in such a manner as may be the least burthenome to your kingdoms; and your Majesty may be assured that we shall cheerfully concur in whatever may be necessary to enable your Majesty to profit of the friendly dispositions of foreign powers.

"We are deeply impressed by the gracious motives which induced your Majesty to send a part of your electoral troops to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, by which assistance this country will be enabled to employ a larger number of its own established forces in the maintenance of its authority; and we return your Majesty our sincere thanks for having so providentially pointed out to us a further resource in that national body of men, so constitutional in their nature, and so zealous in their duty, the militia of this kingdom.

"We cannot sufficiently admire your Majesty's benevolent declaration, that when the wished for period arrives, that the unhappy and deluded multitude, against whom this force will be directed, shall become sensible of their error, your Majesty will receive the misled with tenderness and mercy; and we are fully sensible of the wife and compassionate sentiment which has determined your Majesty to delegate authority to certain persons upon the spot, to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities, in such manner, and to such persons as they shall think fit, and to receive the submission of any province or colony which shall be disposed to return to its allegiance; and we will most readily concur in granting to the persons so commissioned such farther powers as may best tend to promote and effectuate your Majesty's salutary measures.

"Permit us, Sir, to offer our grateful acknowledgments to your Majesty for the full and explicit communication which your Majesty has been pleased to make to us, and at the same time to express the just sense we entertain of the numerous blessings we enjoy, flowing from the source of never-ceasing attention with which your Majesty is occupied for the safety and happiness of all your people; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we participate the same desire which animates your royal breast, and feel no other wish than to re-establish order and tranquillity through the several parts of your dominion, upon the basis of a close connection with, and constitutional dependence upon, Great-Britain."

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