

Restraining, prohibitory, and penal laws have failed to re-establish the public tranquillity; and the present state of this unfortunate dispute affords reason to believe, that as it commenced without policy, it must be prosecuted by means which the natural and constitutional strength of Great-Britain cannot supply.

In your majesty's justice, we confide for a fair construction of an apprehension we have conceived, that your majesty hath been advised to take foreign troops into British pay, and to raise and discipline papists both in Ireland and Canada, for the purpose of enforcing submission to laws, which your majesty's protestant subjects in America conceive to be destructive of their liberties, and against which they have repeatedly petitioned in vain.

Anxious to vindicate the national honour, we would willingly discredit reports of slaves incited to insurrection, and barbarous nations encouraged to take arms against our American brethren, if they had not prevailed without refutation, and filled the minds of your majesty's faithful subjects with indignation and horror.

If to these circumstances of peril and distress our fears could suggest any addition, we might justly expect it from the resentment of those powerful enemies, who have ever shewn a readiness to take advantage of our internal commotions, and will joyfully embrace the occasion of avenging that disgrace they sustained during the late glorious war, from the united arms of Great-Britain and America—and we should indeed, be reduced to despair, but that we are encouraged to look up to your majesty, the common father of all your people, as the happy instrument in the hands of divine providence, which bringeth good out of evil, for restoring to this distracted empire the blessings of mutual confidence, liberty and peace.

For the speedy effecting of which, we most humbly beseech your majesty to cause hostilities to cease in your majesty's colonies in America, and to adopt such mode of reconciling this unhappy controversy, as may best promote the interest of commerce, and the welfare of all your people.

The number of names signed to this petition were one thousand one hundred.

The humble ADDRESS of the HOUSE OF COMMONS to the KING.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great-Britain in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty the humble thanks of this house, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

Permit us, Sir, to assure your majesty, that we have long lamented the condition of our unhappy fellow-subjects in America; seduced from their allegiance by the grossest misrepresentations, and the most wicked and insidious pretences, they have been made the instruments of the ambition and traitorous designs of those dangerous men, who have led them step by step to the standard of rebellion, who have now assumed the powers of sovereign authority, which they exercise in the most despotic and arbitrary manner, over the persons and properties of this deluded people.

Your faithful commons took a sincere part in your majesty's benevolent and paternal desire, rather to reclaim, than to subdue the most refractory of your colonies; and excited by your majesty's great example, we were anxious 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; we still hoped that your majesty's people in America would have discerned the traitorous views of their leaders, would have considered how ruinous even their success must be to themselves, and been convinced that the constitutional subjection to Great-Britain is the freest and happiest condition of any civil society in the known world; but we now see with indignation, that no other use has been made of the moderation and forbearance of your majesty and your parliament, but to strengthen the preparations of this desperate conspiracy; and that the rebellious war now levied is become more general, and manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire.

We beg leave to assure your majesty of our entire concurrence with your majesty, in thinking that it is now become the part of wisdom, and (in its effects) of clemency, to put a speedy end to these disorders, by the most decisive exertions; and that we learn, with the greatest satisfaction, that, for this purpose, your majesty has increased your naval establishment and greatly augmented your land forces, in such a manner as may be the least buthensome to your kingdoms; and we will cheerfully and effectually support your majesty in such necessary measures, and enable your majesty, when the occasion shall require it, to avail yourself of the friendly offers which your majesty has received of foreign assistance: we thankfully acknowledge the gracious considerations which induced your majesty to send a part of your electoral troops to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, in order that a larger number of the established forces of this kingdom might be applied to the maintenance of its authority, and we are bound in duty to return your majesty our particular thanks for pointing out to us, from the throne, the constitutional resources of our well modelled and well regulated national militia; which upon every great emergency cannot fail of affording security to your majesty's realm, and of giving, at the same time, extent and activity to your military operations.

It is with the highest satisfaction and gratitude we hear the affectionate declaration of the father of his people, that when the unhappy and deluded multitude, against whom this force will be directed, shall become sensible of their error, your majesty will be ready to receive the misled with tenderness and mercy; and your majesty's gracious communication, of your intention to give authority to certain persons on the spot, to grant general and 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 may be disposed to return to its allegiance, demands our warmest acknowledgments, and we shall be ready to give our concurrence to such measures as may best contribute to carry your majesty's wise and humane intentions into execution.

Every motive and every interest, that can animate the hearts of loyal subjects, call upon your faithful commons to grant to your majesty such supplies as the circumstances and exigency of affairs may require; and being fully convinced that the security of those advantages which are derived to the commerce, the manufactures and the navigation of your majesty's kingdoms, from the American colonies, must ever depend on their being held in that due subordination to the legislature of Great-Britain, in which the constitution has placed them, we should be wanting in the duty which we owe to our constituents, ourselves and our posterity, if we did not engage with our lives and fortunes to support this great and important cause, in which the rights of your majesty's crown, and the interests of your people are so effectually concerned; and we hope and trust, that we shall, by the blessing of God, put such strength and force into your majesty's hands, as may soon defeat and suppress this rebellion, and enable your majesty to accomplish your gracious wish of re-establishing order, tranquillity and happiness, through all the parts of your united empire.

To which his majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

GENTLEMEN,

I return you my hearty thanks for this loyal and dutiful address. I promise myself the most happy consequences from the very dutiful and affectionate assurances of the support of my faithful commons on this great and important conjuncture; and I have a firm confidence that by the blessing of God, and the justice of the cause, and by the assistance of my parliament, I shall be enabled to suppress this dangerous rebellion, and to attain the most desirable end of restoring my subjects in America to the free and happy condition, and to the peace and prosperity which they enjoyed in their constitutional dependence before the breaking out of these unhappy disorders.

HOUSE OF LORDS. PROTEST.

Die Jovis, 26 Octobris, 1775.

THE lord chancellor reported his majesty's speech, and the same being read by the clerk.

Moved, That an humble address be presented to his majesty for his most gracious speech from the throne.

Then an amendment was proposed to be made to the said motion.

Which being objected to,

After long debate,

The question was put, whether the amendment shall be inserted in the motion?

Table with 2 columns: Contents, Proxies, Not Contents, Proxies. Values: 29, 0, 69, 11.

Then it was moved to agree with the said motion as at first proposed.

The question was put thereupon.

Table with 2 columns: Contents, Proxies, Not Contents, Proxies. Values: 66, 10, 33, 0.

Dissentients.

1st. Because we cannot, as Englishmen, as Christians, or as men of common humanity, consent to the prosecution of a cruel civil war, so little supported by justice and so very fatal in its necessary consequences, as that which is now waging against our brethren and fellow-subjects in America. We have beheld with sorrow and indignation, session after session, and notwithstanding repeated warnings of the danger, attempts made to deprive some millions of British subjects of their trade, their laws, their constitution, their mutual intercourse, and of the very food which God has given them for their subsistence. We have beheld endeavours used to enforce these impolitic severities at the point of the bayonet. We have, on the other hand, beheld so large a part of the empire, united in one common cause, really sacrificing with cheerfulness their lives and fortunes, and preferring all the horrors of war raging in the very heart of their country, to ignominious ease. We have beheld this part of his majesty's subjects, thus irritated to resistance, and so successful in it, still making professions (in which we think it neither wise nor decent to affect a disbelief) of the utmost loyalty to his majesty; and, unwearied with continued repulses, repeatedly petitioning for conciliation, upon such terms only as shall be consistent with the dignity and welfare of the mother country. When we consider these things, we cannot look upon our fellow-subjects in America in any other light than that of freemen driven to resistance by acts of oppression and violence.

2dly. Because this unnatural war, thus commenced in oppression, and in the most erroneous policy, must, if persevered in, be finally ruinous in its effects. The commerce of Great-Britain with America was great and increasing, the profits immense, the advantages, as a nursery of seamen, and as an inexhaustible magazine of naval stores, infinite; and the continuance of that commerce, particularly in times of war, when most wanted to support our fleets and revenues, not precarious, as all foreign trade must be, but depending solely on ourselves. Those valuable resources, which enabled us to face the united efforts of the house of Bourbon, are actually lost to Great-Britain, and irrecoverably lost, unless redeemed by immediate and effectual pacification.

3dly. Because Great-Britain, deprived of so valuable a part of its resources, and not animated, either with motives of self defence, or with those prospects of advantage and glory, which have hitherto supported this nation, in all its foreign wars, may possibly find itself unable to supply the means of carrying on a civil war, at such a vast distance, in a country so peculiarly circumstanced, and under the complicated difficulties which necessarily attend it. Still less should we be able to preserve, by mere force, that vast continent, and that growing multitude of resolute freemen who inhabit it; even if that, or any country, was worth governing against the inclination of all its inhabitants. But we fear that, while we are making these fruitless efforts, refusing to give credit to the declarations of our fellow-subjects,

and blindly confiding in the insidious professions of the natural enemies of this country, we are preparing an early prey for those who prudently sit quiet, beholding British forces which, if united, might be in a condition, from their valour, numbers, and discipline, to carry terror into the very heart of their kingdoms, destroying each other. Every event, which ever way it turns, is a victory to them. Our very hospitals furnish them with daily triumphs, the greater as they are certain, without any risque to them of men or money.

4thly. Because we conceive the calling in foreign forces to decide domestic quarrels, to be a measure both disgraceful and dangerous; and that the advice which ministers have dared to give to his majesty, which they have avowed and carried into execution, of sending to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, the dominions of the crown of Great-Britain, a part of his Electoral troops, without any previous consent, recommendation, or authority of parliament, is unconstitutional. That Hanoverian troops should, at the mere pleasure of the ministers, be considered as a part of the British military establishment, and take a rotation of garrison duties, through these dominions, is, in practice and precedent, of the highest danger to the safety and liberties of this kingdom, and tends wholly to invalidate the wise and salutary declaration of the grand fundamental law of our glorious deliverer, King William, which has bound together the rights of the subject, and the succession of the crown.

5thly. Because the ministers, who are to be entrusted with the management of this war, have proved themselves unequal to the task, and every degree unworthy of public trust. Parliament has given them every assistance they asked; no unforeseen accidents have stood in their way; no storms have disabled, or delayed their operations; no foreign power hath, as yet, interfered, but notwithstanding these advantages, by their ignorance, negligence, and want of conduct, our arms have been disgraced; upwards of ten thousand of the flower of our army, with an immense artillery, under four generals of reputation, and backed with a great naval force, have been miserably blockaded in one sea-port town, and after repeated and obstinate battles, in which such numbers of our bravest men have fallen, the British forces have not been able to penetrate one mile into the country which they were sent to subdue; important fortresses are seized, the governors are driven from their provinces, and it is doubtful whether at this moment we are in possession of a single town in all North-America. Whether we consider its extent or its commerce, England has lost half its empire in one campaign. Nor can we impute the misconduct of ministers to mere inability, nor to their ignorance of the state of America, upon which they attempt to justify themselves; for while some members of administration confess they were deceived, as to the strength and condition of the provinces, we have from others received official information, that the insufficiency of the navy was concealed from parliament, and part of administration, from a fear of not receiving support from its members: We cannot therefore consent to an address, which may deceive his majesty and the public into a belief of the confidence of this house in the present ministers, who have deceived parliament, disgraced the nation, lost the colonies, and involved us in a civil war against our clearest interests; and, upon the most unjustifiable grounds, wantonly spilling the blood of thousands of our fellow-subjects.

TORRINGTON, FITZWILLIAM, ARCHER, THANET, CHOLMONDELEY, KING, PORTLAND, STAMFORD, PONSONBY, ABINGDON,

MANCHESTER, DEVONSHIRE, CHEDWORTH, BOYLE, CRAVEN, SCARBOROUGH, EFFINGHAM, ROCKINGHAM, RICHMOND.

SPEECH of the hon. Temple Lumley, in the House of Commons, on the motion for an humble address to his Majesty, Oct. 27.

Mr. Speaker,

WE might reasonably suppose, that the ministers which had a hand in fabricating this voluminous speech, would be impatient to obtain our approbation and thanks as representatives of the community in general, in the name of the people of Great-Britain, who are our actual constituents; in the name of the people of America, who (as they tell us) are our virtual constituents.

Those evil counsellors who have so long poisoned the ear of their sovereign, would now make us believe they had perverted his principles also; they wish us to consider the speech before you, as conveying his Majesty's own sentiments and resolves. Sir, we know that to be impossible. Our king is too humane, and besides too well acquainted with the history of this country and its constitution, with the memoirs of the Stuart race, and of his own illustrious house, to imbibe the despotic doctrines here imputed to him. His Majesty knows, that when either of the three estates of this empire, or the whole in conspiracy together, shall arrogate power to which they are incompetent, such as infringing the original rights and liberties of the people in any part of the British dominions, it is the exertion of such power, not the resistance to it, which constitutes rebellion. If this be not the case, the glorious revolution was above all rebellions the most atrocious.

We, who are the deputies of the people, assembled together from the different counties, cities and boroughs of the kingdom, ought faithfully to impart to his Majesty the real wishes and dispositions of his subjects. As the first counsellors of the crown, it is our peculiar province to advise and direct his Majesty on every national emergency, like the present. But, sir, in order to qualify us so to do, affection to our king, obligations to our country, and sober wisdom, all combine in requiring the closest and most deliberate discussions, and the deepest researches into the true bias of the times, previous to the offering up any address to the throne whatever. An address at such a crisis as this, upon such important and decisive matters, cannot be considered as a mere point of etiquette, or personal compliment to our sovereign; if it could, there is not a member of this house would be more forward in duty and obsequiousness than myself. Are we not totally ignorant of the real state of Great-Britain and her colonies? Sir, the sense of the society at large is not to be ascertained by the signature of a few

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