

though he was a soldier, and slaughter was his trade, he delighted not in the effusion of human blood, and shrank with horror from the thought of shedding his brother's blood. He was sensible, from his knowledge of the heart of man, that it was impossible to subvert, much less to conciliate the mind, by racking the body. The means we are taking to fill up, actually widen the breach; and it must, in the nature of things, so long as a single spark of manly ardour and noble freedom existed in the bosom of our brethren. He reverted to the effects that it had already produced. Were the Americans in the least degree conciliated? No. Were they even subjected?—No. We have employed 50,000 men, spent 20,000,000 of money, and in two years we have gained New-York island, Staten island, and had preserved Canada; all which, in his ideas, amounted to nothing. But he begged, in the most pathetick manner, that they should reflect on the present situation of our troops. General Howe has given us no precise intelligence of having effected any one thing; and General Burgoyne was in a situation more truly lamentable than any general perhaps that ever existed. He spoke as a soldier; he said; and from the knowledge he had of military matters, he was sincerely led to fear, that he neither could go backwards nor forwards. This was the situation of our troops—a situation proceeding from the fatal measures of a dominating ministry—a ministry that had exercised more tyranny over America, than ever the duke of Alva, that bane of liberty, had exercised over the Netherlands. He begged the house to reflect on the state of foreign affairs—He dreaded there was more to fear from France and Spain, than the nation was aware of. His majesty, from the throne, had acknowledged that he thought an augmentation of the navy necessary to the security of the kingdom. Two years ago, a decrease of it was deemed proper. The implication was plain, and the conclusion easy. He declared, that the preceding day he did not hear one argument adduced by the noble gentlemen on the other side in the least convincing. It was now become a dispute of the feelings, and not of the judgment—the passions only were addressed, and not the understanding.

[The debate continued till late at night; but we must defer giving any more of the speeches till our next. The ministerialists prevailed, and the numbers in favour of the following address were 175, against it 47.]

*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.

Deeply interested in every event which tends to increase your majesty's domestic felicity, and impressed with the liveliest sentiments of duty and attachment to the Queen, we beg leave to offer your majesty our congratulations on the birth of another prince, and on her majesty's happy recovery.

We assure your majesty, that we take a sincere part in the confidence which your majesty expresses, that the conduct and courage of your officers, and the spirit and intrepidity of your forces, both by sea and land, will, under the divine providence, be attended with important success. But at the same time we entirely concur with your majesty in thinking, that it is necessary to prepare for such further operations as future events and the contingencies of the war may render expedient. And we learn, with much satisfaction, that your majesty is for that purpose pursuing the proper measures for keeping your land forces compleat to their present establishment. And whenever your majesty shall be pleased to communicate to us any new engagements which you may have entered into for increasing your military force, we will take the same into our consideration; and we trust your majesty will not be disappointed in the gracious sentiments which you entertain of the zeal and public spirit of your faithful commons.

We are truly sensible, that your majesty's constant care for the welfare of your people, and your generous concern for the happiness of mankind, dispose your majesty to desire that the peace of Europe may not be disturbed; but we acknowledge, with equal gratitude, your majesty's attention to the security of your kingdoms, and the protection of the extensive commerce of your subjects, in having made a considerable augmentation to your naval force, on which the reputation and importance of this nation must ever principally depend. And we hear with the highest satisfaction, and rely with perfect confidence on your royal declaration, that your majesty will always be the faithful guardian of the honour of the British crown.

We beg leave to assure your majesty, that we will without delay enter into the consideration of the supplies for the ensuing year; and that we will cheerfully and effectually provide for all such expences as shall be found necessary for the welfare and essential interests of these kingdoms, and for the vigorous prosecution of the measures in which we are engaged, for the establishment of that constitutional subordination which we trust, with the blessing of God, your majesty will be able to maintain through the several parts of your dominions.

We acknowledge, with equal gratitude and admiration, your majesty's paternal declaration, that you will be ever watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of your subjects, and the calamities of war.

Permit us to assure your majesty, that we cannot but still entertain a hope, that a discernment of their true interests, the remembrance of the blessings they once enjoyed, and the sense of their present sufferings under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, will induce the deluded and unhappy multitude to return to their allegiance, and will re-animate their hearts with a spirit of loyalty to their sovereign, and of attachment to their mother country.

The gracious and condescending manner, in which your majesty expresses your desire, that you may be enabled to restore peace, order, and confidence to your American colonies, cannot fail of endearing your majesty to the hearts of all your subjects; and we assure your majesty, that when this great work can be accomplished, and settled on the true principles of the constitutions, your majesty may depend on the most zealous concurrence and support of your faithful commons.

*House of Lords, Nov. 20.*

*Earl of Abingdon.* Unaccustomed as I am to public speaking, and the formalities of parliamentary debate, I should, in other times but these, content myself with a silent sanction to this day's motion of the great and noble earl. But, my lords, our danger is much, and our sensibility very little. We have been misadvised, misled, and deceived. The nation has been made to destroy itself; and, like the vulture, to prey on its own vitals; perhaps as an intended punishment, by those who have brought it to this state, for past offences, but a day of enquiry must come. In the mean time, let us emulate the sage council of that great statesman [Lord Chatham] by whose council this country has been already raised from despair to glory. His doctrine is for fundamental and irrevocable laws, and not for acts of parliament, destructive of fundamental and irrevocable laws; such acts are the laws of tyrants, and not the acts of a free and limited government. The legislature of this country cannot deprive America of life, liberty, and property; and yet all, in subversion of our constitution, is attempted. But, my lords, these laws must be repealed. They must be repealed, whether America be lost to this country or not. They are like Draco's laws, written in blood and will make savages of our posterity, if they be not blotted out. The present motion is for peace; obtain it if you can. I fear we have already clinched the nail of our ruin; but any thing is better than the present nefarious system. My lords, I will not trouble you any longer; this motion meets with my most hearty concurrence.

*Lord Suffolk* endeavoured to answer Lord Chatham. He said, his lordship had granted him premises, from which he drew favourable conclusions; that as his lordship reprobated the independency of America, the Americans had declared themselves independent, and therefore he hoped his lordship would be for agreeing with him in compelling them to a state of subordination. He then averred the account given in by Lord Sandwich was true, and that it ill became a minister to assert a thing so publicly that, if not true, could be so readily disproved.

The *Duke of Grafton* spoke next, and observed, it was usual, it was parliamentary, when any noble lord had any thing official to acquaint the house with, to do it by documents and written papers; that the noble lord who spoke early in the debate had not done either; nor had the noble lord who spoke last. He then compared this conduct with other parts of the present administration, the whole of which he reprobated in very pointed and severe terms.

The *Marquis of Caermarthen* spoke next, and totally disagreed in a cessation of hostilities; he said it was what he could have no conception of towards bringing about a peace, nor did he meet with any state, in all the course of his reading, which did effect it by that manner.

*Lord Camden* further illustrated his noble friend Lord Chatham's amendment by shewing, that by a cessation of arms, it was not meant throwing away the sword, but as the first step towards a reconciliation; that when the Americans saw this, it would beget a confidence in them, which we have never yet given them; that their declaration of independency was forced from them with the bayonet at their breasts, and acts of parliament worse than the bayonet; that they never had been treated properly, or like the descendants of Englishmen; and that nothing but a cordiality, and a wish to conciliate on our part, could ever bring back America to a proper subordination. His lordship concluded by asserting, that of the two, he had rather see America independent, than America enslaved.

*Lord Weymouth* said a few words in vindication of the conduct of France.

The *Bishop of Peterborough*, in a short, sensible, gracefully delivered speech (every word of which might be instantly committed to the press) pathetically lamented the dreadful consequences