

Ancelors were engaged, suffer from such Circumstances? To their FEELINGS we may trust, on the REASONING of the Multitude there is little Dependence. For my own Part I think with CARDINAL DE REIZ, "that a Number above one Hundred is at best but mere Mob." [Here the House felt the Expressions as too strong.] It never could be my Intention to apply the Rule to this House, long trained in Form and Discipline, though sometimes there are Doctrines and Proceedings even HERE that would surprize a Stranger into this Belief.

But the noble Lord says, "Why not petition first, and ACKNOWLEDGE the Right, and then we will grant Relief." Have they not petitioned? Is there a Means of Supplication and Prostration they have not tried? I am convinced they went to the Crown merely as a Mode of introducing their Petition here. Now you deny hearing their Agents. An Hon. Gentleman in Administration says, "he wished we had heard their Petitions." Do not then condemn them for NOT PETITIONING, till you have declared your Resolution to HEAR THEM. Can it be expected the Americans will act on the Innuendos of a Minister? If you mean fair, why not declare your Intentions by some binding Act? After the East-India Company, who will trust you? You invited THEM to petition under Hopes and Declarations, and afterwards made Use of this very Petition, to deprive them both of their MONEY and their PRIVILEGES. In the ceded Islands you invited Men to settle under the ROYAL PROCLAMATION, and then levied 4 and a Half per Cent. on their Produce, which Procedure has lately been condemned in the Courts of Law. In Canada you have been guilty of a greater Violation, as Liberty is dearer than Property. Here you have despised the Royal Proclamation, and forfeited your Engagements to Mankind. I repeat it again, what Man, or Society of Men, can trust you?

The next Objection to the Americans is THE CONGRESS. This is now termed an "ILLEGAL MEETING." Government here, lay by with great Expectation, waiting their Resolves. If they had been favourable to their Views, or had any untoward Circumstances broke their Union, we should have had much EULOGIUM on the Congress. Now they have come to Resolves favourable to the Liberties of Mankind, all is ABUSE. I do not know by what Law (except that of common Sense) Mankind can be regulated on these Occasions. What Kind of Meeting can that be called which was held in this Place at the REVOLUTION; Aldermen and old Members of Parliament mixing in Consultation. The Necessity on these Occasions gives Rise to the Case, You wished to know the Sense of the People of America: Was ever the Judgment of a People so fairly taken? First the Occasion is promulgated. The People chuse Representatives. These chuse Deputies. The Deputies in Congress publish their Proceedings, each Member returns to his respective Colony, where his Conduct is again approved! NO PLACE, no PENSION, no BRIBE, to influence his Election, or bias his Vote. But even as to the Legality. The Manner of Meeting is not new. Government itself called a CONGRESS in the last War, to apportion the Quotas of Men and Troops.

One Gentleman has said, "that our Situation is quite new, and there is no Example in History to direct our Steps." I say there is a Case directly similar, but we may be too conceited to profit from such Experience. PHILIP THE SECOND, and his seventeen Provinces, are the COUNTERPART of what WE are acting. The Debates in his Council on sending the DUKE OF ALVA into the Netherlands, are applicable in every Part. He was advised by two sensible Men, to repair thither himself, and hear the Complaints of his People, before he came to such rash Resolves. But the Majority said, as in this Case, that his Glory was compromised. It was not Religion only, but TAXING WITHOUT CONSENT OF THEIR STATES, that brought Matters to the last Extremity: The Duke of Alva, it is true, was victorious every where at first, but his Cruelties were but sowing the Serpents Teeth. The GUES, the BEGGARS of the Briel, esteemed at that Time infinitely more despicable than the New-Englandmen are represented, gave the first Shock to the Power of Spain. In comparing the Probability of Events, can any Man say Great-Britain has such a Prospect of Victory in the Contest as Spain might then have expected? Yet we know the Event, and how that mighty Empire was rent in Pieces. The present Resolution hurries us into that Situation from which there is no retreating. It obliges the Americans immediately TO ACT. By declaring them in REBELLION, they must have Recourse TO ARMS; all Negotiation is cut off. I think the Word REBELLION both impolitic and unjustifiable. I beg to know what Paper on your Table can vindicate that Term? The first Law Officer of the Crown said, "a Number of Men committing TREASON was REBELLION." I differ from him in the Definition: According to my Conception of the Phrase, they must be in MILITARY ARRAY, to effect some Military Purpose. One Hundred Men COINING MONEY are NOT in Rebellion, though committing Treason. Insurrections to pull down Inclosures is not Rebellion, though deemed a Constructive levying War. In

the Case of PURCHASE and DEMERCE for pulling down the Meeting House, they were convicted of TREASON, but no one ever thought of saying the Confederates or Associates were in REBELLION. I think we should be very cautious how we criminate Bodies of Men on such Intelligence. I dare say the noble Lord has been deceived himself. But this I affirm, HE HAS HITHERTO CONSTANTLY DECEIVED THIS HOUSE. It appears to me that no Intelligence from GENERAL GAGE can be DEPENDED ON. I beg the House will attend particularly to what I now say, before they engage their LIVES and FORTUNES. It appears GENERAL GAGE has regularly DECEIVED Administration. No Event has turned out as he foretd, or gave Reason to hope; the next Letter constantly contradicts the Expectations raised by the former. He seems never to have known what they were about, no Doubt grossly imposed on himself, but the Facts are undeniable. When he first arrived, he writes, "the Malecontents were abashed, and the Friends of Government would soon appear." Next, "his Expectations from the Assembly were disappointed," and he dissolved them in Surprise; then, "there would be no Congress," next, "though there would be a Congress, they would differ and disagree" in short, led on and led on by vain Expectations, till the very last Letter which denounces a total Disaffection, and which I believe to be the true State of the Provinces.

Singling out the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, can answer no Purpose, but to expose our Partiality. It is the CAUSE of ALL, and the other Colonies can never be so mean as first to encourage and then desert them before the general Right is settled.

The noble Lord talks next of stopping their Fisheries; but he says, "the Act is only to be Temporary." Does the noble Lord think he can turn the Channels of Trade as easily as he can turn the Majorities of this House? To explain the Idea, supposing the New England Fisheries stop, their Utensils must waste and destroy. But will the English Merchant madly increase his Stock, and fit out new Ships, if the Act is merely temporary? If it is perpetual, the People in America are ruined. The Consequence is, that the French must in the End reap the Benefit of all this strange Policy.

*AUTHENTICK EXTRACTS from the most material parts of the several SPEECHES delivered in debate in the House of Commons on Tuesday last, on a motion for filling up the blanks, in an address to his Majesty respecting the present situation of affairs in America; which address was drawn up by the Commons and represented to their Lords at a conference held the same day.*

AS soon as the Lords managers had returned from the conference, the Lord Primate of the Council reported the subject matter communicated by the managers on the part of the Commons at the said conference. Before his Lordship was well seated, the Messrs of R----- and L----- rose to speak; on which the partizans of each noble Lord insisted that their friends should have the preference. In this confusion the Lord K----- put the question, "Is it your Lordships pleasure that the Earl of D----- be now heard? This brought the Duke of R----- on his legs, who contended that it was a most slavish position to say, that any Lord in that House should have a preference of being heard before the other; and that the preference should entirely be directed by determining which of the noble Lords was first up. Lord M----- replied, that he had always understood it was in the option of the chairman, in either House (the Earl in the other, and the Lord Primate in this) to so far decide, as at least to put the first question on which of the two persons he pleased. To prove this, his Lordship adverted to a remarkable instance in a committee of the House of Commons on the Spanish convention in 1739, when two members rising at the same instant to make motions of a direct contrary tendency, Mr. W-----, the chairman pointed to one of them in preference to the other, which gave birth to the witty observation of Mr. P-----, afterwards Earl of B-----, in the course of the debate, "That the chairman had made the dearest point he ever saw in his life. Lord C----- said, it was to the last degree indecent to presume, what either of the Lords intended to move; that they both came equally recommended in point of preference; and that therefore the noble Lord, who, in the judgment of the House, should appear to be first up, should be first heard. Lord C----- insisted that such a mode of proceeding was totally unusual and unparliamentary; that very early in life, much about the period the noble and learned Lord alluded to, he remembered a circumstance which came directly in point; it was on an intended motion of the late Lord H-----, when the Lord K----- decided against him, that another noble Lord should be first heard. In all this hurry and confusion however, the true point on which the preference contended for rested, seemed to have been entirely mistaken, till Lord D----- pertinently observed, that the preference was with the noble Earl, out of the respect due to the other branch of the legislature. The question was at length put, and the motion was carried without a division.

Lord D----- accordingly rose, and after putting in his claim to be heard to the question at large, moved, that the blank in the address presented by the Commons at the conference, and now communicated by

the Lord Primate, should be filled up with the word, "Lords spiritual and temporal, and."

Lord R----- acquainted the House that the matter which he rose to was to present two petitions, one from the merchants of London concerned in the commerce to North America, and the other from the West-India merchants, planters, and factors; that he imagined their contents were of the highest importance, were immediately relative to the business under consideration, and were well worthy of arresting any determination of this House, for at least one day, being certain that within that short period, information of infinite consequence would be laid before their Lordships, perhaps sufficient to alter, or at least soften the rigour of the measures they were madly, hastily, and blindly proceeding to adopt. His Lordship then desired that the petitions might be ready, which being complied with, he observed, as a question was now before the House, that must be first disposed of; and as consequently the subject matter of petitions could not regularly come under the cognizance of the House; and that he still hoped the House would be willing to hear the petitioners, as men suffering under the heaviest misfortune, none of which could be attributed to their own misconduct, he would be under the necessity, as the only means left, of moving the previous question, which would open a door for taking into consideration a general state of the petitioners grievances. The previous question was accordingly put, and his Lordship proceeded. He observed, that until the previous question was first disposed of, he could not regularly enter into a discussion of the address; but he would nevertheless, in this stage of the business, assure the House, that there was one paragraph in it, which he totally disclaimed, and desired to be understood, neither to have act or part in; that was, where both Houses were to assure his Majesty, they would, in support of the measures therein recommended, hazard their lives and fortunes; for he now openly declared, he would neither risque nor hazard life or fortune in such a cause. He said the noble mover adverted to something which he did not perfectly understand, about unanimity. If every man who opposed this address was presumed to be actuated by false notions of popularity or factious motives, he believed four fifths of the nation would fall under that predicament; but this he could answer for himself, at all events, that he should not tread in the steps of his noble, but ill-fated ancestor, (Lord Stafford) who first courted popular favour, and then deserted the cause he embarked in; for as he had set out by supporting the cause of the people against the tyranny and arbitrary measures of ministers, so he should never, for any temptation whatsoever, desert or betray them, but would persevere to the very last in endeavouring to obtain for them a full reparation for all the injuries they had sustained.

Lord C----- rose, and after lamenting the very critical and dangerous situation of affairs, and deploring the cause which unhappily led to them, was of opinion, that there was only one alternative left, which was, to agree with the present motion, and resolve to prosecute the most vigorous and effectual measures for enforcing obedience and submission, or at once to give up the point, and relinquish all sort of political connection with the colonies for ever.

Lord Primate contended, that the sea was our proper element; was against a land war, and strenuously urged the necessity of sending a naval force sufficient to block up their harbours, and by that means to cut off their communication with all other powers, and put a total stop to their commerce.

Lord D----- united in opinion with his two noble leaders on their general principles, but insisted that a military force would be necessary for the protection of his Majesty's loyal subjects, who would be otherwise exposed to the fury and violence of their merciless persecutors.

Lord G----- adhered closely to the immediate question before the House, the propriety of entering into an immediate examination of the matter contained in the petitions, intended to be presented by the noble Messrs. He said, the petitioners were persons who deserved every mark of attention and respect which the House could pay them, consistently with the interests of the empire at large; and although their grievances were imaginary, their complaints were nevertheless deserving of indulgence. He trusted, however, when they maturely considered that the steps now taken were to prevent the return of such evils in future, they would cheerfully acquiesce in the wisdom of Parliament in the present instance, and be gratefully thankful hereafter; for if the supremacy of the legislature was once given up, their trade, commerce, and every possible advantage accruing from either, would soon be annihilated. He therefore hoped, that the Merchants would, on the present occasion, submit to a temporary inconvenience, nay, a short lived distress, to insure the most permanent and important benefits, and manifest that degree of magnanimity which a sense of their own interests, founded in submission and acquiescence to the wisdom of Parliament, must upon mature consideration and past experience, most certainly suggest.

Lord M----- was elegant, persuasive, and diffuse. He said it was impossible to confine the attention of the House merely to the matter of the previous question. He perfectly coincided in sentiment with the noble Earl, who assured, that we were reduced to the alternative of adopting coercive measures, or of for ever relinquishing our claim of sovereignty