

NEW-JERSEY GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26, 1783.

DEBATES in the HOUSE OF COMMONS, December 5, 1782.

As soon as the speaker had returned from the other house, the several members who had been newly chosen, were sworn in at the table, and the annual bill of outlawry, as usual, brought in, and read a first time. After which the speaker produced the copy of his majesty's speech, and read it to the house.

Mr. Yorke (member for Cambridgeshire) then rose and shortly went through the several parts of his majesty's speech, considering them one after another, and pointing out their immediate importance. Mr. Yorke spoke so low, that we could not distinctly hear all he said; the publick however are aware, that the custom of those members, who move an address, is generally to dwell in terms of eulogy upon each particular passage of the speech, and to propose an address, echoing back those passages to his majesty, accompanied with warm professions of loyalty, zeal and support. This task Mr. Yorke performed with great diffidence, but great propriety; and as soon as he had read the proposed address,

Mr. Bankes seconded it in a speech somewhat more distinctly heard. Mr. Bankes began with stating the nature of the first fact communicated to parliament by his majesty in his speech, entering into a discussion of its importance, and shewing the necessity that impelled, and the utility of the measure. He then reminded the house, that in conceding American independence, we, in fact, gave her nothing, for that her own arms had already obtained it. Having started this, he said, that a ray of hope, both rational and probable, was to be looked up to: as his majesty had expressed it, a beneficial connection might yet be preserved between the two countries, in consequence of their having the same religion and language, in consequence of old affections, and the long established habits of commerce that had formerly subsisted between them. He next entered upon the naval successes of the last campaign; and was warm in praise of our victory in the West-Indies, though no man he believed, thought Jamaica would still have been safe, had the enemy's fleet pursued their destination, and not turned back to protect their trade. He next declared the relief of Gibraltar by general Elliot and lord Howe, was equal to any thing. He painted the distress that those successes must have cost the enemy very strongly, but said, great as that undoubtedly was, it was not a circumstance on which we ought too triumphantly to rely, and that splendid and glorious as the last campaign had proved, it ought not to operate so upon the minds of his countrymen, as to induce them to be less ready to treat for peace, or less willing to make some sacrifices to obtain it. He remarked, that we could not now expect to obtain terms of pacification so beneficial as might have been insisted upon at the end of a war more successful; he trusted, therefore, that the nation would not be obstinate, or think that it would be impolitic to concede something as the price of peace, on account of any wild notions of keeping places merely honorary, or fighting solely for a name, without any thing under it substantially advantageous. He said, the real national honour consisted, in his opinion, in a strict adherence to good faith, a rigid preservation of our publick credit, and a just payment of our debts. The war had already cost us eighty millions; the annual interest of which is about three millions—a sort of burden larger than we could have expected to have incurred, or ought to have been incurred. It behoved us not, therefore, from an imprudent and rash desire to ruin other powers, to make ourselves bankrupts, and endanger the interest and the treasures of those, with whose money, we must continue the war, if it was to be continued. He said, to make a separate peace with America was not to be expected; but if to be obtained, he feared it was not under our present circumstances to be wished for. That a durable peace was what alone we should aim at making, and the only means of obtaining it, was, he thought, to remove the cause of war, by conceding some of the objects that had induced the present powers to go to war. Spain once at peace, he imagined would not speedily go to war again. Gibraltar had proved impregnable, and therefore Spain would scarcely make that again her object. With regard to the economy spoke of in the speech, Mr. Bankes dwelt upon it with energy. He alluded to what had been already done, and said it was necessary, not barely to introduce economy, but parsimony, and even avarice, to get rid of our enormous debts. To these remarks he added various others, all tending to recommend peace, and to induce the house to agree to the ad-

dress, which, as soon as he had concluded his speech, was read in the usual form from the chair.

After a short pause, Mr. Fox rose and said, he had rather wished some other person to have taken the lead that day: on account of certain situations in which he had stood, and certain suspicions of some of the present ministry, which he was above denying he entertained, that might induce gentlemen to suppose he meant merely to throw obstructions in the way of government, whether the measures proposed by them met with his approbation or not: Certainly, he had no such view or intention; he rose now merely to make a few remarks that struck him upon hearing the speech, and upon hearing the very extraordinary manner in which the address had been moved and seconded (ably undoubtedly, on both sides, but particularly so on the part of the honourable gentleman who seconded it.) And what struck him first of all was a trifling error, that he could not consider as at all intentional, but really believed to have been an inaccuracy only, and an oversight in those who prepared the speech and the address, but which nevertheless it particularly behoved him to take some notice of. What he alluded to, was the particular period of time, from which all the good that the speech declared to have been done for the country of late, was dated. The speech began with these words, "since the close of the last session;" now, the proposition, to declare the independence of America, the house well know, was agitated long before that period, as well as the attempt to make peace, &c. while some persons then dead, and others still living, with whom he had the honour to have served his majesty, were in administration. It looked, therefore, a little as if it was intended to deprive those persons of that merit, to which they had a fair claim.

The chancellor of the exchequer (honourable W. Pitt) begged pardon for interrupting the honourable gentleman for a moment, but desired leave to assure him, that no deception was intended, and that if he had read the speech, or attended to it with his usual closeness, he would have found, that his suspicions were wholly groundless. Mr. Pitt then caused part of the speech to be read, after which

Mr. Fox rose again, and said, he acquitted his majesty's ministers of all intention of error in the particular in question, he was sure it was merely an inaccuracy; but that nevertheless, it was necessary, for the sake of the other persons with whom he had the honour to serve, that he should notice it, lest it might invidiously be supposed, that they, as well as himself, had not been clearly and decidedly of the opinion, which he trusted his majesty's ministers had now adopted in the provisional terms, viz. That of granting America fairly and in the first instance an avowal of independence: that was, he declared, always his opinion; he spoke it now as no after thought, but was merely repeating what that house had last sessions again and again heard him avow, and what he had ever wished should be done as most consonant to the character of Great-Britain, as a matter of the greatest magnanimity, and the greatest explicitness. Nor was it, as the honourable gentleman, who seconded the address, had well said, giving America any thing; she possessed independence already; her arms had given it her, and experience proved, that we could not wrest it from her. The earl of Shelburne need not therefore be afraid of avowing it; he need not think "the sun of this country had been set" by him, he need not fear sealing the avowal with his blood. He would ensure him from impeachment. No peer should dare arraign him for it; no trial had he to dread from it. With regard to the constitution and construction of the present ministry, he owned he had suspicions, but so far from urging a charge against them from this, they had done well; they deserved praise for it; and knowing and suspecting the sincerity of the earl of Shelburne, as he did, he could not be niggard of what was his due on this occasion, but would apply two lines of a ludicrous poem to him, and would say,

You've done a noble turn, tho' in your nature's spite,
You think you're in the wrong, I know you're in the right.

Having raised a hearty laugh at these lines, Mr. Fox went on to state what had been the difference of opinion upon which he had quitted his majesty's service, and imputed it roundly to lord Shelburne's duplicity. He said he had written a letter to Mr. Grenville at Paris, by his majesty's order, in which he directed him to acknowledge the independence of America in the first instance, not as a reserved condition of any nature whatsoever: that lord Shel-

burne, then secretary of state for America, had written the same words to sir Guy Carleton; that at the time his joy had been excessive, conceiving from that moment peace with America to be at hand; that to his utter astonishment a few days afterwards, he heard it endeavoured to be maintained; that the words in the two letters did not mean an avowal of the independence of America in the first instance, but merely an offer of it, as the basis and price of peace. That he saw himself enquired, and compassed round with treachery. He saw he was not safe in such hands, and he quitted his situation. He repeated it, that he thought the avowal of the independence the best part of the whole speech, but he wished it had been more explicit. There seemed to be an aim at expressing personal reluctance in his majesty in the very act of doing that which his ministers should have advised him to have done graciously. He did not also like the not calling America the United States. Why not do it in the speech, as well as in the secretary of state's letter to the lord mayor? He could not conceive the difference was intentional, or that the secretary meant to rob his royal master of the credit of the expression, by adopting it in his own letter, and by another expression's appearing in the speech. Though the provisional treaty did not actually put us at peace with America, Mr. Fox said, he conceived it put us in a state to like peace, that we might now consider ourselves as at war but with three enemies, and therefore we should be the better enabled to direct all our efforts against the house of Bourbon. He descanted on the benefits of such a situation, and then went into a consideration of the propriety of making peace. He said a peace was worth obtaining, if only for so short a space as two years; and for these reasons: we might in that case be assured, we never should have the same four powers combined against us, and we should have leisure to make alliances; he understood there were courts inclined to assist this country, now we were come to our senses, though they would not join us when we were mad. With regard to the successes of the last campaign, he was loud in extolling them, but particularly the conduct of lord Howe before Gibraltar, which he declared was equal to that of any admiral that ever existed. He also with particular warmth reprobated the attempts that had been made to revile and traduce that noble lord's character, by dark, unauthenticated insinuations. Insinuations not more scandalous than ill founded. He had himself, he declared, seen a letter from a foreign nobleman, in which the writer extolled his lordship's conduct to the skies, and said his country refunded with his praise from one end to the other; nay, this noble foreigner wrote over, that his countrymen were so convinced of his amazing skill and good conduct in the affair of relieving Gibraltar, that it was universally expected by them, that when the noble lord arrived in England, he would instantly be brought to a court martial. One great cause of the noble lord's success, in superaddition to his wonderful personal merit, Mr. Fox declared was ascribable to the vigour of the present naval administration, which had done more and deserved more praise, than any that ever had preceded it. Our navy, Mr. Fox said, he had himself described to be in a miserable state, when he had the honour to be in office. His speech had been said to favour of dependency. He nevertheless, did not assure the house, it did not come up to his real feelings upon the subject, nor had he thought it possible that all the exertion, even of the present naval administration, could so soon have recovered our marine. All that the honourable gentleman who seconded the address, had said in panegyric of lord Howe, had pleased him, and had pleased every body who heard it. The house, he was convinced, could have listened to the honourable gentleman, on such a theme forever; but how was his joy damped: what a gloom had been cast over his mind, by what had dropped from the honourable gentleman immediately afterwards! Was he to understand that Gibraltar was to be given up? There might be possible situations of this country, where the parting with that important, that valuable possession, would be justifiable. But was the present one of those situations? The honourable gentleman, for whom he professed the highest personal respect, must be a shallow politician indeed, if he imagined that because Spain had lately found Gibraltar impregnable, she would never more attempt its capture. Had the late ministry left off pursuing the fruitless and fatal American war, because they found the conquest of America impracticable the very first campaign? The honourable gentleman seemed to have no idea of the ambition, the avarice and the absurdity of human na-

ture, when he conceived that ceding Gibraltar would quiet Spain forever. Possession always gave increase of desire for more, and some degree of acquisition excited to the attainment of greater, especially where acquisition was to be had in the manner alluded to. "If Gibraltar was to be parted with, let it be done by way of bargain for something better, or something as valuable to us, but do not throw away so important a post upon a speculative philosophical idea, at once irrational and absurd." Mr. Fox adverted to the reports of large voluntary gifts to government, by private individuals; he said, he admitted and admired the publick spirit and generosity of the persons who made the offers, nor did he blame government for accepting them, but he begged leave to lay in his protest against their legality. He conceived, that according to our constitution, no money could be received by the executive branch, and applied to the publick purposes of the nation, which did not pass through the hands of parliament, and had not the sanction of the commons of England. Towards the close of his speech, he observed, that the present speech, instead of being too general, was too full of professions; hence he took occasion to say, that some good might be expected from the present ministry, since the man, of whom he entertained the suspicions he had avowed, was all profession by long habits, and therefore what he might profess, without any intention of fulfilling, his colleagues, of whose sincerity he had a better opinion, would hold themselves bound in honour to see performed. Mr. Fox also spoke in reply to various other parts of Mr. Bankes's speech, and to different passages of the address, with his customary power and acuteness as a close and brilliant reasoner, but declared he should neither oppose the address, nor offer an amendment.

Governor Johnstone replied to Mr. Fox: he declared, that to him as a plain man, not pretending to eloquence, what the honourable gentleman had said appeared to be a heap of contradictions. He was for giving up independency without reserve and for nothing to America; but when he came to talk of a general peace, he would allow no sacrifice, however inadequate to the value of the exchange to be made. The governor severely reprobated the idea of Mr. Fox's avowing his having granted independency, without the concurrence of that house, and especially as it was sitting at the time; and so far from agreeing that his majesty's expression of personal reluctance at being forced into the measure, was a fit subject of objection: he asked how that prince was to be formed, who with such a numerous family as that of our sovereign, could bear to part so large a portion of the possessions of the crown, without extreme sorrow and concern. The governor said, he never thought himself warranted to discuss what he did know the extent of, but he wished to hear what the terms called provisional, were, and how far they exposed our trade to American cruizers. He greatly applauded governor Elliot, but he was not content to praise lord Howe so highly, as there had been mistakes committed in the Mediterranean, that called for explanation. He pointed out two in particular, and said, if he stood alone, he would persist in maintaining that there was not ground for such extravagant praise, and that the 27th of July, and 20th of October, were both inglorious days for this country.

Mr. Secretary Townshend said, the mover and seconder of the address had so well and so ably supported it, that there remained nothing for him to add, nor did it therefore need the very strong support, which he considered it to have received from his honourable friend over the way, if he would still permit him to call him so. The secretary defended lord Howe, and said, though he could not discuss the minutiae of the affair, from not being a professional man, he was persuaded, by the concurrent voice of his whole fleet, and the opinion of our enemies, that the noble lord acted with singular skill and bravery. Mr. Townshend also took occasion to notice the unjust suspicions of the sincerity of a noble earl then in high office, that noble earl's conduct had been uniformly and invariably consistent; he thought it therefore very hard that unauthenticated and unsupported suspicions should prevail, and added, that they had made the negotiation for peace more difficult than it otherwise would have been.

Mr. Fox rose again, and said, if the suspicions of the earl of Shelburne's sincerity rendered the negotiation difficult, it was a strong reason why he was an improper person to negotiate. The honourable secretary had declared, that from every thing he had seen, he was confident, the noble earl was consistent and uniform. Was he sure he had seen all? When he was in office, he declared, he had not seen all.

Mr. Keith Stuart explained in what manner the first transports had passed Gibraltar, and declared, that the noble lord at the head of the fleet had done his utmost to bring the enemy to battle.

Governor Johnstone again rose, and shewed, that he had personally ascribed no fault to lord Howe, but had stated two mistakes. Were there those mistakes or not?—No answer.

Lord North spoke next, and in a short exordium, apologized for his rising to make a few observations on what had fallen in the course of the day's debate, as well as upon the speech and the address. His lordship said, he meant not to find fault with the speech, to object to the address, nor to propose any amendment: on the contrary, that any amendment that

might have been proposed, must have been very important, indeed, to have met with his concurrence and support, and that, because, considering the purport of the speech, to convey an information to parliament, that his majesty was engaged in a treaty for peace, already far advanced; but that nevertheless, in case of France's making any improper, unjust, or unreasonable demands of concession from Great-Britain, it was his royal intention, with their assistance, to carry on the war in the most vigorous manner, he thought it a matter of consequence, and infinitely superior to every other consideration, for that house to go to the feet of the throne unanimously with an address, pressing, in the most explicit terms, their zeal for the honour of his majesty, for the dignity of his crown, and the just rights of his people, and declaring, without reserve, their readiness to support his majesty with their lives and fortunes in the prosecution of the war, unless such a safe and honourable peace could be obtained, as this country had an undoubted right to expect, under the circumstances in which she then stood. That his majesty's ministers had proceeded some length in a negotiation for peace, was a matter, which, in a general point of view, gave him the highest satisfaction, his lordship said, he made no scruple to acknowledge; peace, he knew enough of the affairs of the country, to be aware, was a matter earnestly to be fought after, and well worth attainment; as far therefore as his majesty's ministers turned their attention towards an object of so much importance, without meaning to court their favour, he assured them, they should have his support, and he thought every man, who really wished well to his country, ought at such a crisis, to use his utmost, to strengthen the hands of government, to forward their efforts, and to render their aims effectual. In the moment, however, that a speedy peace was, and must be the general wish of that house, he begged leave to remind them that we were in a state of actual war, and that every proceeding of parliament, however directed towards the furtherance of a treaty of pacification, ought to be grounded on the circumstance of our being yet at war, since the only probable means of bringing that war to a safe, a happy, and an honourable issue, was to assure his majesty, and by that assurance to convince the world, that the parliament of Great-Britain were determined to stand by their sovereign, and support him at all hazards sooner than accede to any terms of pacification, that were in the least degree disgraceful or dishonourable. With regard to the provisional articles, that had been agreed upon with America, his lordship said, the matter did not appear to him altogether in the same point of view, in which it was evident it had struck others. It put us not into any precise situation either of war or peace, which to him was neither very agreeable nor very auspicious.

An honourable gentleman, who had spoken early in the debate, had said, that the acceding to the provisional terms took America off our hands, and left us but three powers, France, Spain, and Holland, to contend with. He wished sincerely, that such might prove to be the fact; but he could not regard it as extremely probable. Impossible as it was for him to enter upon a discussion of terms, with the nature and extent of which his majesty's ministers had not acquainted the house, he could not argue in what manner America could be considered as no longer engaged in a war with us, when she declared, she could make no definitive peace, till France had agreed upon the terms; he was in hopes his majesty's ministers had proceeded with a treaty for a general peace; as that was not the case, he feared this country had tied herself down to make a concession of considerable importance, whenever the war should be brought to a conclusion, without having any equivalent concession on the part of any other of the belligerent powers with whom Great-Britain was engaged in hostilities. A matter far different in his idea from the description given it, by the honourable gentleman to whom he had alluded, who had called the acknowledgment of the independence of America a matter little short of a present peace with America. His lordship observed, that the honourable gentleman had complained of the address for the personal reluctance which it spoke in his majesty: on account of his avowal of the independence of America, and another honourable gentleman behind him, had said that monarch must be very extraordinarily formed, who could at once have forgotten his heirs and his family, and parted with so capital a portion of his empire without compunction and sorrow. He saw the matter, his lordship protested, in a light extremely different from that in which it had struck both these gentlemen. He agreed not by any means with the construction put upon the part of the address in question, by the first gentleman who had noticed it; America was not only one of the brightest and most splendid jewels in his majesty's crown, but a possession the most important, the most useful, and the most beneficial of any belonging to Great-Britain. His majesty, therefore, could never think of agreeing to the dismemberment of so considerable and so valuable a part of his dominions, but with the deepest regret and the sincerest sorrow: nor was that sorrow, as the honourable gentleman behind him had conceived, excited by any personal or family feelings, though no man living had a more fatherly affection for his children, a true love of his family, or more of the purest spirits of humanity about him, than the sovereign of these realms, nor

had any man greater reason to rejoice in his domestic happiness; but his majesty's sorrow, he was persuaded, sprung from a nobler and a more distinguished source. His Majesty felt, like a patriot king, he felt for his people! he regretted the loss of America as the loss of his subjects, and, without the smallest concern for his own personal mortification, his feelings were actuated solely by a regard for the interests, and a regret for the severe misfortune his people had suffered by so capital a calamity!

Considering his majesty's sorrow, in that point of view, and in no other his lordship contended, could it be justly considered, it was consonant with the general tenor of his majesty's conduct, which had been uniformly parental to his people, and tender to all their distresses. Before he left the situation which he had for some time had the honour to hold in his majesty's councils, he had not, he owned, thought he should be able to bring the war to a conclusion, without giving up the independence of America, but he had always regarded the concession of it in a very different light, from that in which it had been described by the honourable gentleman who seconded the address. The honourable gentleman had declared, that this country gave up nothing, when they conceded the independence of America, but what America was already in possession of, and had obtained by the power of their arms. He, for his part, thought the solemn avowal of that independence, on the part of Great-Britain, a very melancholy, a very serious, and a very important matter: and he hoped when the time came, that the provisional terms, upon which it had been conceded, were laid before parliament, it would appear that administration had taken care to mark out proper boundaries, agreed upon between Great-Britain and America, so that this country might derive some advantages from her remaining possessions on the American continent. Charlestown, Savannah, and New-York, he took it for granted, were already evacuated; care ought therefore to be taken, to prevent the American army from turning its force upon Canada, and if we had tied ourselves down to certain terms tending towards a peace with America, he hoped something had been done to prevent our having granted more than we obtained, or giving away what we should find we ought not to have parted with. With regard to the enormous size of the national debt, undoubtedly it was an object worthy of attention, and the sooner it was lessened the better; but no debt, no distress ought to induce us to accede to a peace, the terms of which were unreasonable or improper in our present situation. It had, he knew, been hinted, that France had made exorbitant and unjust demands. In negotiating peace, it behoved ministers not merely to look at our own distresses; they ought to examine and compare the respective situations of each country, and from a view of the whole, and a well-digested balance of the state of each, to form the grounds of treaty. The success of the last campaign had been great and glorious; it was now evident we were nearly, if not quite upon a footing with the enemy at sea every where.

Without entering minutely into the discussion of the conduct of the noble lord lately sent into the Mediterranean, considering the spirit and bravery of the French and Spanish officers and men, it was evident that the Spanish ships had some internal weakness or defect, or a superior force of such enemies would never have avoided battle with one that was inferior. Spain, every body knew, was driven to the last extremity to raise supplies. America had no money; she had tried the paper scheme till it had died away, and proved of no avail; she had at last been driven to the only probable resource, and attempted to raise money by taxes; that attempt had wholly failed, and France was herself greatly distressed indeed. Holland had proved an inconsiderable enemy, nor was Holland likely to do us much serious mischief.

All these circumstances, therefore, were matters to be taken into the consideration of our ministers, and they were to ask themselves, had France a right to be unreasonable, or was a power, on whom all the expences of continuing the war must rest, if it were continued, to be gratified with terms she had no right whatever to demand, and such as were neither necessary nor honourable in us to concede? With respect to Gibraltar, he was not one of those who thought it beyond all price. There certainly might be a bargain made worth its value, but there would be infinite difficulty in ascertaining an equivalent. It was of more value to Spain than to us, and if sold, it ought to be well paid for. It had been proved to be impregnable. In that quality, therefore, nothing that could be given in exchange could be found equal to it. It was confessedly the first object of the king of Spain, who would scarcely think any thing too much for its purchase. If it was to come to market therefore, these facts should be regarded, and never lost sight of. We should recollect also, how we stood on the score of loss and acquisition by the war. France had taken some of our islands, and we had got the whole of the Newfoundland fishery and the island of St. Lucia; an island in the eyes of France, of more importance than all the rest of the West-India islands put together. He did not imagine, his lordship said, that France would make peace on the terms of *uti possidetis*, but he insisted upon it, that after a successful campaign, and after obtaining greater advantages, than we had gained the whole war, we ought not to give way to any unreasonable de-

mand whatever. An honourable gentleman, his lordship observed, had talked very triumphantly of the fine state of our navy, and the vigorous exertions of the present naval administration, to which alone he imputed so fortunate a circumstance. He begged leave to remind the house, that the 12th of April was the day, on which lord Rodney gained the most glorious victory that had crowned our naval arms this war. That his fleet was superior to the enemy; that he took 8 of their ships; that 9 had since been sent home to Europe to be repaired; that 12 more were in Boston bay repairing; so that we were still greatly superior to the enemy in the West-Indies. Nearly about the 12th of April, the hon. gentleman was employing his oratory, in stating to that house the deplorable and wretched condition of our navy; that he had now said, that his description of its bad state at that time, fell far short of what he felt it to be, but that it was at this moment in a most glorious condition. Ships, his lordship observed, could not spring up like mushrooms under our feet. If therefore, the navy was so bad in April, and in so excellent a condition now, it must be owing to the quantity of stores and preparations got ready for the campaign of the past summer, by his noble friend, lately at the head of the admiralty, of whose abilities, assiduity, and zeal for the service he had long been convinced. He might now therefore say to the present naval Alexander, "Your success has been glorious and triumphant, but you conquered with the forces of Philip."

His lordship dwelt for some time on the mode of settling terms with America, and strenuously insisted upon it, that it behoved the gratitude, the generosity, and the charity of this country to take care, that an adequate provision was made for the safety and property of those persons, who from motives of loyalty to the person of his Majesty, and from motives of regard for this country, had set their all at stake to support government in the war, and assist Great-Britain in her endeavours to recover America. He gave ministers also his opinion in terms of great energy, upon the conduct that ought to be held in negotiating a peace with France at this crisis. He observed it had been suggested that some difficulties had arisen in consequence of certain suspicions entertained of the sincerity of a noble earl high in office. If the fact were so, if the treaty were managed with proper spirit, it could be of no consequence. He advised ministers to act with firmness and spirit; he bid them say to the commissioners of France, "talk not to us of this, or that individual, we treat for the British nation. However we may have our internal struggles for power, and our differences upon speculative points, with regard to regulations of reform at home, we are agreed as one man with regard to you, and we treat with you on that ground, and on that ground only." His lordship added, that he himself, and he hoped, situated as we now were, every man considered a domestic opponent, however virulent, however severe, however formidable, as his bosom friend, in comparison with the man, be he either Frenchman, Spaniard, Dutchman or even American, who drew his sword against this country. That till that sword was sheathed, he should hold that man his bitterest foe, and treat him accordingly. That it was by such conduct only, we could reasonably hope for a peace, at once safe, lasting and honourable. He hoped, therefore, ministers would listen to no extravagant demands of cession and sacrifice, declaring, that though after a war, that had been on the whole rather unfortunate and calamitous, we could not expect to make as good a peace as we had a right to insist on, at the end of a war replete with glorious successes, that nevertheless, armed as we now were, we had every thing to look for from the valour and skill of our admirals and captains, and the bravery and zeal of our sailors and soldiers, and therefore were under no necessity of making mean and disgraceful concessions. His lordship also made several remarks on the different passages of the speech and address, and declared that he had never considered avowing the independence of America as a thing good for England, though he was of opinion, that after parliament had ordered it to be conceded, a minister was bound to grant it. On this ground he justified the earl of Shelburne, declaring that he had not set the sun of Great-Britain, but that parliament had been the magician and the wizard that had conjured it down. His lordship also noticed what Mr. Fox had said respecting his ideas of the legality of subscribing sums for the use of government. He quoted lord Hardwicke, to prove that that lawyer had decisively declared it was perfectly legal: his lordship added, that he had ever thought so, but at the same time he agreed that the expenditure ought to be accounted for to that house, as much as the expenditure of any other public money. He laughed at the idea of calling it ship money, and shewed that what had been formerly so termed was not illegal, because of its application to the building of ships, but because it had been forced from the subject by the privy council, without the consent and concurrence of that house. He explained also the nature of what had been falsely termed benevolences, but declared that voluntary gifts to government, such as one he had heard mentioned, though from its size it might remain unexampled in a century, did the donor the highest honour, and might be productive of the best consequences, as all public subscriptions of individuals ever were. To prove this, his lordship instanced

the case of France, after their treaty of Gertruydenberg, and said it might happen that the government of this country, in consequence of extraordinary calamity and ill success, should find itself obliged to apply to the people, in which case the liberal subscription of the higher gentry would operate most beneficially, by causing the poorer ranks of the people to bear with cheerfulness, the burthens necessarily imposed upon them. For these reasons, his lordship said, he hoped that no notions of refined speculation upon the constitutionality of the practice, would be dwelt and reasoned upon, since it could answer no good end, but might damp that noble spirit of generous and hearty support of government, which by shewing that the people were zealous in the cause of their country, was the best means of convincing our enemies of the little ground there was for them to hope by perseverance, to drive us into humiliation and despondency.

(For the remainder see the fourth page.)

Peace, Liberty, and Independence.

TRENTON, March 26.

Sunday last arrived at Philadelphia, after a passage of 32 days from Cadiz, a French sloop of war, commanded by M. Du Queche, with the agreeable intelligence of peace, on the return of which we most cheerfully and heartily congratulate the citizens of New-Jersey.

Extract of a letter from a Gentleman of distinction, dated Philadelphia, 23d March, 9 o'Clock, P. M.

"An express has just arrived from on board a sloop of war in the river, which left Cadiz the 19th ult. She announces the definitive treaty having been signed by all the belligerent powers, on the 20th of Jan. That all hostilities had ceased in Europe; and that the same happy event was to take place in this country on the 20th of March inst.

The Count de Estaing, who was ready to sail with 60 ships of the line, and a very formidable armament, had given up the attempt, and was dispersing his fleet to the different ports.

This ship was dispatched by the Comte de Estaing and the Marquis de la Fayette, in hopes that the might by accident (as she has been) be the fortunate medium of the earliest communication."

The particular articles respecting this happy and glorious event, are as follow:

The principal articles of the preliminaries of the peace, of the 20th of January, 1783.

France to retain Tobago and Senegal.
France to restore to Great-Britain, Grenada, St. Vincents, Dominica, and St. Christophers.
St. Eustatia, Demarara, Barbice, and Isequeibo, to be restored to the Dutch.

Great-Britain to restore to France, Goree, St. Lucia, St. Pierre, and Miquelon.

The fishery of France and England on the coast of Newfoundland to remain on the same footing on which they were by the treaty of 1763, except that part of the coast, Cape Bonavista, at Cape St. John's, shall belong to the English.

France to be re-established in the East-Indies, as well in Bengal as on the east and west coast of the Peninsula, as regulated by the treaty of 1763.

The articles of the preceding treaties, concerning the demolition of Dunkirk, to be suppressed.

Spain to retain Minorca and West-Florida.

Great-Britain cedes East-Florida to Spain.

An agreement to be entered into between Spain and Great-Britain, about the cutting of wood in the Bay of Honduras.

Great-Britain to retain the Dutch settlement of Negapatnam, in the East-Indies.

Great-Britain to restore Trinquevale to the Dutch, if not re-taken.

St. Eustatia, Demarara, and Isequeibo to be restored by the French to the United Provinces.

Great-Britain acknowledges the Sovereignty and Independence of the thirteen United States of America.

The limits of the United States to be as agreed upon in the provisional articles between them and Great-Britain, except that they shall not extend further down the river Mississippi than the 32d degree of north latitude, from whence a line is to be drawn to the head of the river St. Mary, and along the middle of that river down to its mouth.

As soon as the above articles were signed by the commissioners of all the Belligerent Powers, an express was dispatched from the court of Versailles to Cadiz, to prevent the sailing of the fleet.

TO BE SOLD,

(And entered on immediately.)

THE farm of John Vanderbelt, deceased, containing 209 acres, in Alexandria, Hunterdon county, adjoining lands of Mr. Joseph Chamberlin, Esq. and others; a large quantity of which is excellent meadow, a sufficient quantity of woodland; the other good tillable land and well watered: There is on said farm a good log house and barn, frame barrack, &c. a good bearing orchard, a spring of good water near the door, and stone spring-house; an indisputable title will be given. For terms apply to the subscribers on said premises,

AGNES VANDERBELT, } Execut.
JACOB VANDERBELT, }
Alexandria, March 15, 1783. 4w†

D. R. Bryant's bad state of health obliging him to decline all PRACTICE, he begs the favour of those who are indebted to him to call and settle their respective bills; and requests those to whom he is indebted to furnish him with their accounts that they may be discharged. He will dispose of the house in which he now lives on terms reasonable and advantageous to the purchaser.

Trenton, March 24, 1783.

3w†

To be sold, at publick vendue,

On Thursday the 3d of April next, at the dwelling-house of William Biles, in the Falls township, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, near the river Delaware, being part of the personal estate of Ather Mott, deceased, viz.

HORSES, cows and calves, and other cattle, sheep and hogs, waggon, ploughs, harrows, and other farming utensils.—Also, beds and bedding, tables, chairs, and many other articles of household and kitchen furniture; salted beef and pork. Six months credit will be given for all sums exceeding Twenty Shillings, on giving security if required. Attendance will be given at 10 o'clock on the day of sale, by

JOHN MOTT,
WILLIAM BILES, } Execut.

March 18, 1783.

1w*

TO BE SOLD,

By way of publick vendue, on Wednesday the 9th day of April next, at the late dwellinghouse of Robert Rosebrugh, deceased, in the township of Bedminster, and county of Somerset,

HORSES, milch cows, young cattle, swine, green grain in the ground, two waggons and gears, ploughs, harrows, and farming utensils of almost every kind, a set of blacksmith's tools, and sundry other articles too tedious to mention: The vendue to begin at ten o'clock in the forenoon, when the conditions will be made known, and attendance given by the surviving executor. Those that have any demands against the estate of the deceased, are requested to bring in their accounts properly attested for settlement; and those who are indebted to the estate, are desired to make speedy payment, to enable the subscriber to pay the debts of the said estate.

Also to be sold, at private sale, two stout young negro men, one a blacksmith, the other brought up to farming business.

RICHARD M'DONALD, Execut.
March 18, 1783. 2w†

TO BE SOLD,

A Valuable farm, situate in a pleasant and healthy part of Hillsborough township, in the county of Somerset, joining on the river Raritan, about half a mile from where the south and north branches of Raritan meet, and on the road leading to New-Brunswick, about 16 miles distant, being part of the estate of the late Benjamin Taylor, deceased, containing two hundred and one acre and eight tenths of an acre, well watered, about 40 acres of which is woodland, near 20 acres meadow, which yearly produces from 30 to 50 loads of good English hay; the remainder good ploughland, well known for its certainty of yielding good crops yearly: There is on said farm a good bearing orchard, a commodious dwellinghouse, with four rooms on a floor, a good cellar under the whole, kitchens joining the same, a well of good water at the door, a large barn and convenient out-houses, such as waggon-house, barracks, cribs for storing grain; the whole in good tenantable order. Also a lot of woodland on Sourland Mountain, containing 50 acres, well timbered. Any person inclining to purchase the above described farm and lot, may know the terms by applying to Mrs. Mary Taylor, on the premises; or to James Duyckinck, in New-Brunswick. A good title will be given.

3w 7s.6*
Somerset, March 14, 1783.

PURSUANT to the last will and testament of

John Demund, late of the township of Bedminster, and county of Somerset, deceased, will be offered for sale, on Monday the 14th day of April next, on the premises, between the hours of ten and three o'clock in the afternoon, the plantation whereon the Rev. Doctor Rodgers now lives, containing 103 acres; there is on the premises a stone dwellinghouse, with four rooms on a floor, and three fire-places, a kitchen adjoining the same, a good well of water by the door, a large Dutch barn and out-houses, a good garden paved in, a large bearing orchard, noted for making good cyder, and sundry other fruit trees; a large proportion of said plantation is good meadowland, whereon can be mowed, in a good season, from 15 to 20 tons of good hay; the remainder pasture, wheat and woodland; almost the whole of the premises is enclosed with a fence, whereon is several small enclosures: The said plantation is situate in the township aforesaid, in a pleasant part of the country, in a good neighbourhood, near a house of publick worship, and near several good mills; it adjoins the publick road that leads from New-Germantown to Morris-Town. Any person or persons inclining to purchase, are desired to attend on the day aforesaid, when the conditions of sale will be made known on the premises by the subscriber,

March 24, 1783.

3w†

THOMAS BERRY, Execut.

After descending on these and a great variety of other important particulars, with infinite clearness, and more than even his ordinary share of ability, his lordship desired that, in not opposing the address, he might not be hereafter deemed liable to the charge of having, by his assent that day, precluded himself from objecting to the particulars of the provisional terms with America, should they, when laid before the house, appear to him to be objectionable; and having enforced this desire in such an explicit manner as rendered it impossible for him to be misunderstood, his lordship concluded with again earnestly recommending that house to be unanimous on the present occasion, in order to convince our enemies that nothing but an honourable peace should prevent a vigorous continuance of the war on the part of Great-Britain.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in a long and able speech, asserted the fair and honourable intentions of ministers. He declared, they desired not to ensnare any one man, or tie him down to more than the address, on the face of it expressed. He owned the principles on which administration were proceeding, were laid down at the time of Mr. Fox's being in office, and that ministers were now pursuing the system, of which the speech of that day was a detail. He said, he felt Mr. Fox's laying in his claim to a share of the merit as a compliment, and that he would, with his leave, parody the two ludicrous lines he had quoted:

You've given us noble praise; but in your nature's spight,
You hop'd to find us wrong, but see we're clearly right.

Mr. Pitt, with great solemnity, protested, as a man of honour, he would never be a party to a profession which he did not expect to see fulfilled, nor league with those who professed more than they intended to perform. In answer to what had been said by lord North and others, of the difficulty of speaking to provisional terms, until laid fully before the house, Mr. Pitt said, he trusted the noble lord, who had so ably and so justly advised ministers what to do in the present crisis, and every other man of candour present would admit, that it was not unreasonable to expect that a few days might pass before they would be ripe for communication.

Mr. Burke accused lord Shelburne with expressly laying the blame of granting the independency of America on parliament, in the words of the speech. He also charged Mr. Pitt with acrimony, and said he would exercise an old man's right and give him a lesson. He then entered upon an examination of the chancellor of the exchequer's speech, and censured various parts of it.

Sir Joseph Mawbey delivered a strong panegyric on lord Shelburne, grounding his praise on the uniform tenor of the noble earl's conduct from the commencement of the American war.

General Smith said a few words relative to that part of the speech, which referred to India, and then it being ten o'clock, the address was read and agreed to.

TO BE RENTED,

And may be entered upon the first of April, THAT well known and elegant house late the property of Thomas Pollock, Esq. deceased, within half a mile of Elizabeth-Town, with the adjoining lots of land, orchard, barn, stables, out-houses, &c. an excellent garden and fruit trees; and indeed every convenience requisite. It is perhaps equal, if not superior, to any seat in the state for elegance and convenience. For terms apply to Mr. Isaac Arnet, in Elizabeth-Town, or to the subscriber living near Monmouth courthouse, who will attend at the place on the first day of April next, to agree on terms with the hirer, unless a previous application and agreement should render it unnecessary.

JOSEPH CLARK.

Monmouth, February 13, 1783. 4w†

LANDS FOR SALE.

SUNDRY tracts, containing 1134 acres, on Cranberry Brook and Devil's Brook near Cranberry, and about 5 or 6 miles from Princeton and Kingston, part of the estate of the late James Alexander. A good title and easy terms will be given. For particulars enquire of Mr. Livingston, at Baskinridge; or Walter Rutherford, Hunterdon.

Also a pine tract in Monmouth county, contains 3010 acres, called Alexander's tract, to be sold together or in lots, as may suit the purchasers. For particulars enquire of the Honourable Elisha Lawrence, who lives near the premises.

Edgerston, February 28, 1783. 4w||

TO BE SOLD,

By the subscriber, the following valuable tracts of land, lying in the county of Monmouth, viz.

NO. 1. in the township of Upper-Freehold, the noted and valuable farm known by the name of Kildare, containing about 300 acres, of which about 200 are cleared, and about 60 acres of that good mowable meadow, about 20 acres of swamp now clearing, an orchard of excellent fruit; the buildings reasonably good and convenient.

No. 2. in the aforesaid township, containing about 200 acres, about three-fourths of it cleared, some very good meadow, a middling good orchard, a good new house; the tilable land produces very good wheat, rye and indian corn.

No. 3. the noted tavern in the village of Freehold, with large stables, &c. &c. &c. and a new ball-alley, near 30 acres of high manured land, chiefly an orchard; also 75 acres of wood land at the distance of 2½ miles.

No. 4. lying in the township of Shrewsbury, near Black point, containing 60 acres, 10 acres of it are mowable, of the best kind of grass, good orchards, a house two stories high, unfinished. The terms will be easy to the purchasers. Certificates of every denomination, bearing interest, will be received.

If the aforesaid lands are not sold before the first day of April next, they will then be let for three years. The house wherein the subscriber now lives, is large and convenient, suitable for a merchant, which he will let for the term of six years from April next.

SAMUEL FORMAN.

Freehold, October 2d, 1782. c. o. w.

TO BE SOLD,

A Valuable farm, containing upwards of three hundred acres of excellent land, adjoining the river Raritan, in the county of Middlesex, within half a mile of Brunswick, so well known for its beautiful and healthy situation: One hundred acres of this farm is extraordinary timberland, about 20 acres very good meadow, and more may be easily made; on it is a fine young orchard of the best grafted apple-trees, and a variety of other fruit; the whole is well watered, and a stream runs through it, which, in the driest season, produces a plentiful supply of water for many useful and profitable branches of business, for which the situation is also very convenient; on the premises are a small house, a good Dutch barn, and some other out buildings. The terms of purchase will be made known to any person who will apply for that purpose to the subscriber, who lives on the farm.

JOHN VOORHEES.

New-Brunswick, March 18, 1783. 9w*

TO BE SOLD,

A Negro wench, about twenty-seven years of age, has had the smallpox and measles, is smart and active, and understands business well—would suit either town or country.

MARY PINKERTON.

Hunterdon, March 12, 1783. 3w

THE subscriber wants a journeyman weaver; and for a good workman will give good encouragement. For further particulars enquire of John M'Pherson, in Maidenhead township, Hunterdon county.

March 16, 1783. 3w*

TO BE SOLD,

A Plantation containing about 100 acres of good wheat land, pleasantly situated on the river Delaware, in the township of Hopewell, west New-Jersey, eight miles above Trenton, and nearly opposite to Baker's ferry; bounded on the north by land of Abraham Harvey, and on the south and east by Henry Merihon; sixty acres whereof is cleared and in fence, of which a sufficient quantity of meadow may, at a small expence, be made and watered; the residue is good woodland. There are on the premises a dwellinghouse, a blacksmith's shop, and an orchard. Any person inclining to purchase, may know the terms by applying to Peter Worrall in Burlington.

N. B. The purchaser may have immediate possession. 6w†

ALL persons indebted to the estate of John De-Camp, of Elizabeth-Town, Rahway, deceased, on bond, note or otherwise, that is become due, are requested to make payment by the first day of May next; and all persons that have any just demands on said estate, are requested to bring them properly attested to the subscriber, who will attend at the late dwellinghouse of the said deceased on the first, second and third days of May next, for that purpose.

GIDEON DE-CAMP, Adm.

March 18, 1783. 3w¶

TO BE SOLD,

BY the subscribers, half a score of store sheep; also grindstones of the best quality; they would inform the publick, that they shall keep two scissoring, and shall be obliged to them for their custom. They want likewise to buy a good breeding mare. 3w*

RICHARD and WM. GREEN.

TO BE LET,

A Number of FARMS, situate in the neighbourhood of Princeton, and entered upon the first day of April next. Enquire, for particulars, of Mrs. A. Stockton, near Princeton; or Samuel-Witham Stockton, Esq. at Trenton.

March 1, 1783. 3w

TO BE SOLD,

By way of publick vendue, on Monday the 31st day of March, inst. and continued from day to day till the sales are over, at the late dwelling-house of Jonathan Holmes and Lydia Holmes, deceased, in the township of Upper Freehold, and county of Monmouth,

HORSES, milch cows, young cattle, sheep, swine, hay, green grain in the ground, a waggon and gears, ploughs, harrows, and most kind of farming utensils, salted pork, smoked beef and bacon, beds and bedding, household and kitchen furniture, and sundry other articles too tedious to enumerate: The vendue to begin at 9 o'clock in the forenoon, when the conditions will be made known, and attendance given by their executors. Those who have any demands against the estate of the deceased, are requested to bring in their accounts properly attested for settlement; and those who are indebted to the estate are requested to make speedy payment, to enable the subscribers to pay the debts of the said estate. Also to be sold, at private sale, a stout young negro man, has had the small-pox, and brought up to farming business. JOSEPH HOLMES, March 10, 1783. 3w† JOHN HOLMES, Executors.

State of New-Jersey,

To all whom it may concern.

NOTICE is hereby given, that a court will be held on Wednesday the 2d day of April next, at the dwelling-house of James Godfrey, Esq. in the upper precinct of the county of Cape-May, then and there to try the truth of the facts alleged in the bill of Captain Joseph Edwards, against the schooner or vessel called the Susannah, burden about 15 tons, with her tackle, apparel, furniture and cargo, lately captured by the British schooner Dragon, Capt. George Young Husband master, in Chesapeake Bay, and re-captured by the said Captain Joseph Edwards, and now lying in Great Egg-Harbour river; to the end and intent that the owner or owners of the said schooner and cargo, or any other person concerned therein, may appear and shew cause, if any they have, why the said vessel, her tackle, apparel, furniture and cargo, may not be condemned to the re-captors, according to the prayer of the said bill.

JOSEPH EDWARDS, Agent.

March 11, 1783. 3w*

State of New-Jersey, to wit,

To all whom it may concern.

NOTICE is hereby given, that a court of admiralty will be held at the house of Benjamin Lawrence, inn-holder in Allen-Town, on Thursday the 10th day of April next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, to try the truth of the facts alleged in the bill of Luke Mathewman, John Bedewine and Story (who as well, &c.) against a certain schooner, burden about 20 tons, and a gun-boat called Shovel-Shirts, &c. their several tackle, apparel, furniture and cargoes, lately taken by the aforesaid Luke Mathewman, John Bedewine and Story, and brought into the port of New-Brunswick: As also the truths of the facts alleged in the bill of Major William Crane (who as well, &c.) against a certain sloop called the Katy, her tackle, apparel, furniture and cargo, taken in New-York bay by the aforesaid Major Crane, and brought into the port of Elizabeth-Town: As also the truth of the facts alleged in the bill of John Wanton, commander of the armed boat called the General Washington (who as well, &c.) against a certain sloop called the Rebecca, her tackle, apparel, furniture and cargo, heretofore captured by the British ship Renown, and lately re-taken by the said John Wanton, off the coast of New-Jersey, on her passage to New-York, and brought into Barnegat: To the end and intent that the owner or owners of the said vessels respectively, or any other person or persons interested therein, may appear and shew cause, if any they have, why the said vessels, and their respective tackle, apparel, furniture and cargoes, should not be condemned to the several captors thereof, and decrees thereon pass, pursuant to the prayer of the said bills.

By order of the Judge,

JOS. BLOOMFIELD, Register.

Burlington, March 5, 1783. 3w