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AMERICAN SPEAKER;

A SELECTION

POPULAR, PARLIAMENTARY AND FORENSIC

ELOQUENCE;

PARTICULARLY CALCULATED FOR THE

SEMINARIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

==

FIFTH EDITION.

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PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY ABRAHAM SMALL,

No. 112, CHESNUT STREET,

Two Doors below the Post Office.

District of Pennsylvania, to wit:

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the thirty-first day of January, in the thirty-fifth year of the Independence of the United States [L.S.] of America, A. D. 1811, Birch and Small, of the said district, have deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, the right whereof they claim as Proprietors, in the words following, to wit: "The American Speaker: a selection, of popular, parliamentary, and forensic Eloquence; particularly calculated for the seminaries in the United States."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned." And also to the Act, entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, 'An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching, historical and other prints."

D. CALDWELL, Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania.

PREFACE.

THE Compiler of the AMERICAN SPEAKER, cannot venture to bring his Selection before the Public, without stating what influenced his mind to the undertaking:—he believes that novelty alone, with all its fascinations, will not justify an addition to the numerous School Books already in use.

The importance of such a work as this, as a Class Book in our Academies, is manifested by the nature of our Constitutions, and in their practical operation—these have opened all the avenues that lead to eminence and honour: whatever, therefore, will assist or accelerate their attainment, must be of great utility.

Without some proficiency in Oratory, there seems to be an insurmountable barrier to the patriotic aspirations of genius—with it, the road to distinction is obvious. The many Legislative bodies in our Federal form of government, and the diversified character of our Courts, present a suitable field for every grade, from the unfledged effort of the callow young, to the mature, eagle-eyed flight in the face of the God of Day.

It has been our aim, in making this selection, to endeavour to fire the minds of our young men, by placing in their view some of the brightest examples of Genius: to enable them

“With lips of fire to plead their country’s cause!”

466337

The nature of our plan did not admit of the introduction of many long harangues ; we have therefore extracted what we thought the happiest, and the most instructive parts of each Speech :—we say instructive, because we have endeavoured to find subjects connected with principles, and facts necessary to be known by Americans—that are historically and chronologically useful—that have marched, as it were, with our country to Independence—topics near our own time, and which it may be useful, in the advance of our national affairs, to be familiarly acquainted with.—All the pieces of a political character in the *American Speaker* are in unison with our system of government, the principles on which free Constitutions are founded, and the application of the rights and duties of Citizens under them.

Although a great part of our selection is of an ardent and glowing character, we would not be suspected of denying the superiority of cool deliberate argument and reasoning—but how often have these failed of their effect, by a neglect of appropriate declamation?—How often has truth herself been indebted to an happy appeal to the feelings, for all the impression she has made?—We have culled from the greatest modern masters examples of this : and we believe no public speaker will suffer by assimilating himself, under a judicious consideration of circumstances, to a Burke, an Erskine, a Grattan, or a Curran.

We are fully convinced of one truth—that to impress, we must feel—it is this that captivates the heart—without feeling, the electricity of Speech is never

felt—with the impression which feeling produces, even ungracefulness is overlooked—and the man lost in the Orator.

We have introduced the immortal Washington wherever we could: we lament that more of the harangues he must have made to his troops, in the many trying situations in which they were placed during the revolutionary war, have not been preserved—we should doubtless have found spirit and animation suited to the occasion—but in his most preceptive pieces, the name of Washington, the consciousness of his greatness, cannot fail to give a glow to every American bosom, beyond what any other productions can create. We wish we could have added to the number of Speeches of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of North America—an American youth cannot be too proud of those *savage* models—every thing that illustrates *their* character, must be interesting. And shall he not have strong attachments to his country, where man, in his rude state, speaks with a strength and energy, which seems to be unattainable with all the advantages of education and civilisation?

A fifth edition of the American Speaker being called for, the compiler presumes to draw from that circumstance, evidence of his selection being approved.

Philadelphia, 1818.

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THE
AMERICAN SPEAKER.

A laudable ambition of instructing youth in the pronunciation and delivery of their native language, has made English speeches a very conspicuous part of those exhibitions of oratory which do our seminaries of learning so much credit.

Hamlet's Instructions to the Players.

SHAKSPEARE.

SPEAK the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue. But if you mouth it, as many of our players do, I had as lieve the town crier had spoke my lines. And do not saw the air too much with your hand; but use all gently; for in the very torrent, tempest, and, as I may say, whirlwind of your passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness. Oh! it offends me to the soul, to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings; who (for the most part) are capable of nothing, but inexplicable dumb shew and noise. Pray you, avoid it.

Be not too tame neither: but let your own discretion be your tutor. Suit the action to the word, the word to the action; with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature; for any thing so overdone, is from the purpose of playing, whose end is—to hold, as 'twere, the

mirror up to nature: to shew Virtue her own features, Scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the Time his form and pressure. Now, this overdone, or come tardy off, though it make the unskilful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve; the censure of one of which must, in your allowance, o'erweigh a whole theatre of others. Oh! there be players that I have seen play, and heard others praise, and that highly, that, neither having the accent of a Christian, nor the gait of Christian, Pagan, nor Man, have so strutted and bellowed, that I have thought some of nature's journeymen had made them, and not made them well; they imitated humanity so abominably.

And let these that play your clowns, speak no more than is set down for them; for there be some of them that will themselves laugh, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too; though, in the mean time, some necessary question of the play be then to be considered:—that's villainous, and shews a most pitiful ambition in the fool that uses it.

Charles V. to his Son Philip II. on resigning to him his vast dominions.

ROBERTSON.

IF I had left you by my death, this rich inheritance, to which I have made such large additions, some regard would have been justly due to my memory on that account; but, now, when I voluntarily resign to you what I might still have retained, I may well expect the warmest expressions of thanks on your part. With these, however, I dispense; and shall consider your concern for the welfare of your subjects, and your love of them, as the best and most acceptable testimony of your gratitude to me. It is in your power, by a wise and virtuous administration, to justify the extraordinary proof which I this day give of my paternal affection; and to demonstrate, that you are worthy of the confidence which I repose in you. Preserve an inviolable regard for religion; maintain the Catholic faith in its purity; let the laws of your country be sacred in your eyes: encroach not on the rights and privileges of your people: and, if the time shall ever come, when you shall wish to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a son endowed with such qualities that you can resign your sceptre to him with as much satisfaction as I give up mine to you.

*Queen Elizabeth's Speech to her Army encamped at Tilbury
—in the expectation of the Landing of a Spanish force,
the "Invincible Armada"—1588.*

"My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourself to armed multitudes for fear of treachery: but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself, that under God I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour, and my blood even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul scorn, that Parma, or Spain, or any prince in Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm: to which, rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already for your forwardness, you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my lieutenant general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not doubting but by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people."

*Conclusion of the Speech of the Earl of Strafford, before the
House of Lords, on his Trial, 1641.*

MY LORDS,—It is hard to be questioned upon a law which cannot be shewn. Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundred years, without smoke to discover it, till it thus bursts forth to consume me and my children?

That punishment should precede promulgation of a law, to be punished by a law subsequent to the fact, is extreme hard. What man can be safe, if this be admitted?

My lords, it is hard in another respect, that there should be no token set by which we should know this offence; no admonition by which we should avoid it. If a man pass the Thames, in a boat, and split himself upon an anchor, and no buoy be floating to discover it, he who owneth the anchor, shall make satisfaction; but if a buoy be set there, every man passeth upon his own peril. Now where is the mark, where is the token upon this crime, to declare it to be high treason?

My lords, be pleased to give that regard to the peerage of England, as never to expose yourselves to such moot points, such constructive interpretations of law; if there must be a trial of wits, let the subject matter be of somewhat else than the lives and honours of peers.

It will be wisdom for yourselves, for your posterity, and for the whole kingdom, to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the primitive christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the law and statute, that telleth us what is, and what is not treason, without being ambitious to be more learned in the art of killing than our forefathers.

It is now full two hundred and forty years since any man was touched for this alleged crime, to this height, before myself. Let us not awaken these sleeping lions to our destruction, by taking up a few musty records that have lain by the walls so many ages, forgotten or neglected.

May your lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes: let not a precedent be derived from me, so disadvantageous as this will be, in its consequence, to the whole kingdom. Do not, through me, wound the interest of the commonwealth; and howsoever these gentlemen say, they speak for the commonwealth; yet, in this particular, I indeed speak for it, and shew the inconvenience and mischiefs that will fall upon it: for, as it is said in the statute 1 Henry IV. no one will know what to do or say, for fear of such penalties.

Do not put, my lords, such difficulties upon ministers of state, that men of wisdom, of honour, and of fortune, may not with cheerfulness and safety be employed for the public. If you weigh and measure them by grains and scruples, the public affairs of the kingdom will lie waste: no man will meddle with them who hath any thing to lose.

My lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of those dear pledges a saint in heaven hath left me.

[At this word he stopped awhile, letting fall some tears to her memory; then he went on]——

What I forfeit myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, woundeth me to the very soul!

You will pardon my infirmity. Something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it pass.

Now, my lords, for myself, I have been by the blessings of Almighty God, taught, that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter.

And so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgment, and whether that judgment be of life or death, *te Deum laudamus*.

The Speech of Rolla to the Peruvians, from Kotzebue's Tragedy of Pizarro.

MY brave associates, partners of my toil, my feelings, and my fame! Can Rolla's words add vigour to the virtuous energies which inspire your hearts? No. You have judged as I have, the foulness of the crafty plea by which these bold invaders would delude you; your generous spirit has compared as pine has, the motives, which in a war like this, can animate their minds, and ours. They, by a strange frenzy driven, fight for power, for plunder, and extended rule; we, for our country, our altars, and our homes. They follow an adventurer whom they fear; and obey a power which they hate; we serve a monarch whom we love, a God whom we adore. Whene'er they move in anger, desolation tracks their progress! Where'er they pause in amity, affliction mourns their friendship! They boast, they come but to improve our state, enlarge our thoughts, and free us from the yoke of error! Yes; they will give enlightened freedom to our mind, who are themselves the slaves of passion, avarice and pride. They offer us their protection! Yes; such protection as vultures give to lambs, covering and devouring them! They call on us to barter all the good we have inherited and proved, for the desperate chance of something better which they promise. Be our plain answer this: The throne we honour is the people's choice; the laws we reverence are our brave fathers' legacy; the faith we follow teaches us to live in bonds of charity with all mankind, and die with hope of bliss beyond the grave. Tell your invaders this, and tell them too, we seek no change; and, least of all, such change as they would bring us.

The Speech of Sir John St. Aubyn, on seconding Mr. Bromley's motion to repeal the Septennial Law—by which the duration of the English Parliament had been extended to seven years—1734.

“MR. SPEAKER—The honourable gentleman, who made you this motion, has supported the necessity of it by so many strong and forcible arguments, that there is hardly any thing new to be offered. I am very sensible therefore of the disadvantage I must lie under, in attempting to speak after him; and I should content myself with barely seconding him, if the subject matter of this debate was not of such great importance, that I should be ashamed to return to my Electors, without endeavouring, in the best manner I am able, to declare publicly the reasons which induced me to give my most ready assent to the question.

“’Tis evident from what has been said, that the people have an unquestionable right to frequent new parliaments by ancient usage; and that this usage has been confirmed by several laws, which have been progressively made by our senators, as often as they found it necessary to insist on this essential privilege.

“Parliaments were generally annual, but never continued longer than three years, till the remarkable reign of HENRY VIII. He was a prince of unruly appetites and of an arbitrary will: he was impatient of every restraint: the laws of God and man fell equally a sacrifice as they stood in the way of his avarice, or disappointed his ambition: he therefore introduced long parliaments, because he very well knew that they would become the proper instruments of both; and what a slavish obedience they paid to all his measures is sufficiently known.

“If we come to the reign of King CHARLES I. we must acknowledge him to be a prince of a contrary temper; he had certainly an innate love for religion and virtue. But here lay the misfortune—he was led away from his natural disposition by sycophants and flatterers: they advised him to neglect the calling of frequent parliaments; and therefore, by not taking the constant sense of his people in what he did, he was worked up into so high a notion of prerogative, that the Commons (in order to restrain it) obtained that independent fatal power, which at last unhappily brought him to his most tragical end, and at the same time subverted the whole constitution. And I hope we shall learn this lesson from it, never to compliment

the crown with any new or extravagant powers, nor to deny the people those rights which by ancient usage they are entitled to; but to preserve that just and equal balance, from which they will both derive mutual security, and which, if duly observed, will render our constitution the envy and admiration of the world.

“ King CHARLES II. naturally took a surfeit of parliaments in his father’s time, and was therefore extremely desirous to lay them aside. But this was a scheme impracticable. However, in effect he did so; for he obtained a parliament, which, by its long duration, like an army of veterans, became so exactly disciplined to his own measures, that they knew no other command but from that person who gave them their pay.

“ This was a safe and most ingenious way of enslaving a nation. It was very well known that arbitrary power, if it was open and avowed, would never prevail here. The people were therefore amused with the specious forms of their ancient constitution; it existed, indeed, in their fancy; but, like a mere phantom, had no substance nor reality in it; for the power, the authority, and the dignity of parliaments were wholly lost. This was that remarkable parliament which so justly obtained the opprobrious name of the PENSION PARLIAMENT; and was the model, from which, I believe, some later parliaments have been actually copied.

“ At the time of the revolution, the people made a fresh claim of their ancient privileges; and as they had so lately experienced the misfortune of long and servile Parliaments, it was then declared that they should be held frequently. But it seems their full meaning was not understood by this declaration: and therefore, as in every new settlement the intention of all parties should be specifically manifested, the Parliament never ceased struggling with the crown, till the triennial law was obtained: the preamble of it is extremely full and strong; and in the body of the bill you will find the word *declared* before *enacted*; by which I apprehend, that though this law did not immediately take place at the time of the revolution, it was certainly intended as declaratory of their first meaning: and therefore stands a part of that original contract, under which the constitution was then settled. His Majesty’s title to the crown is primarily derived from that contract; and, if, upon a review, there shall appear to be any deviations from it, we ought to treat them as so many injuries done to that title.—And I dare say, that this House, which has gone through so long a series of ser-

VICES to his Majesty, will at last be willing to revert to those original stated measures of government, to renew, and strengthen that title. But, Sir, I think the manner in which the septennial law was first introduced, is a very strong reason why it should be repealed. People in their fears have very often recourse to desperate expedients, which, if not cancelled in season, will themselves prove fatal to that constitution, which they were meant to secure. Such is the nature of the septennial law; it was intended only as a preservative against a temporary inconvenience: the inconvenience is removed, but the mischievous effects still continue: for it not only altered the constitution of Parliament; but it extended that same Parliament beyond its natural duration: and therefore carries this unjust implication with it, that you may at any time usurp the most indubitable, the most essential privilege of the people—I mean that of choosing their own representatives.—A precedent of such a dangerous consequence, of so fatal a tendency, that I think it would be a reproach to our statute book if that law were any longer to subsist which might record it to posterity.

“ This is a season of virtue and public spirit. Let us take advantage of it, to repeal those laws which infringe our liberties, and introduce such, as may restore the vigour of our ancient constitution.

“ Human nature is so very corrupt, that all obligations lose their force unless they are frequently renewed.—Long Parliaments give the minister an opportunity of getting acquaintance with members, of practising his several arts to win them into his schemes—This must be the work of time—Corruption is of so base a nature, that at first sight it is extremely shocking—Hardly any one has submitted to it all at once—His disposition must be previously understood—The particular bait must be found out, with which he is to be allured; and, after all, it is not without many struggles that he surrenders his virtue.—Indeed there are some, who will at once plunge themselves into any base actions: but the generality of mankind are of a more cautious nature, and will proceed only by leisurable degrees. One or two perhaps have deserted their colours the first campaign: some have done it a second—But a great many, who have not that eager disposition to vice, will wait a third—For this reason, short Parliaments have been less corrupt than long ones: they are observed, like streams of water, always to grow more impure, the greater the distance from the fountain head.

It may be said, that frequent new Parlia-

ments will produce frequent new expenses: But I think quite the contrary: I am really of opinion, that it will be a proper remedy against the evil of bribery at elections; especially as you have provided so wholesome a law to co-operate upon these occasions. Bribery at elections, whence did it arise? not from country gentlemen, for they are sure of being chosen without it: it was, Sir, the invention of wicked and corrupt ministers, who have from time to time led weak princes into such destructive measures, that they did not dare to rely upon the natural representation of the people. Long Parliaments, Sir, first introduced bribery; because they were worth purchasing at any rate. Country gentlemen who have only their private fortunes to rely upon, and have no mercenary ends to serve, are unable to oppose it, especially if at any time, the public treasure shall be unfaithfully squandered away to corrupt their boroughs. Country gentlemen, indeed, may make some weak efforts: but as they generally prove unsuccessful, and the time of a fresh struggle is at so great a distance, they at last grow faint in the dispute—give up their country for lost, and retire in despair. Despair naturally produces indolence, and that is the proper disposition for slavery. Ministers of state understand this very well, and are therefore unwilling to awaken the nation out of its lethargy by frequent elections. They know that the spirit of liberty, like every other virtue of the mind, is to be kept alive only by constant action: that it is impossible to enslave this nation while it is perpetually upon its guard. Let country gentlemen, then, by having frequent opportunities of exerting themselves, be kept warm and active in their contention for the public good: this will raise that zeal, and spirit, which, will at last get the better of those undue influences, by which the officers of the crown, though unknown to several boroughs, have been able to supplant country gentlemen of great characters, and fortune, who live in their neighbourhood. I do not say this upon idle speculation only. I live in a country where it is too well known: and I appeal to many gentlemen in the House, to more out of it (and who are so for this very reason), for the truth of my assertion.—Sir, it is a sore which has long been eating into the most vital part of our constitution: and I hope the time will come, when you will probe it to the bottom. For if a Minister should ever gain a corrupt familiarity with our boroughs—if he should keep a register of them in his closet, and by sending down his treasury mandates, should procure a spurious representation of the people, the offspring of his corruption, who will

be at all times ready to reconcile and justify the most contradictory measures of his administration, and even to vote every crude indigested dream of their patron into a law: if the maintenance of his power should become the sole object of their attention, and they should be guilty of the most violent breach of parliamentary trust, by giving the King a discretionary power of taxing the people without limitation, or controul; the last fatal compliment they can pay to the crown: if this should ever be the unhappy condition of this nation: the people indeed may complain; but the doors of that place; where their complaints should be heard, will for ever be shut against them. Our disease, I fear, is of a complicated nature: and I think that this motion is wisely intended to remove the first and principal disorder. Give the people their ancient right of frequent new elections; that will restore the decayed authority of Parliaments and will put our constitution into a natural condition of working out her own cure.

“Sir, upon the whole, I am of opinion, that I cannot express a greater zeal for his Majesty, for the liberties of the people, or the honour and dignity of this House, than by seconding the motion which the honourable gentleman has made you.”

Extract from Sir William Wyndham's Speech in the same debate.

“I have been told, Sir, that no faith is to be given to prophecies: therefore I shall not pretend to prophecy; but I may suppose a case, which, though it has not yet happened, may possibly happen. Let us then suppose a man of mean fortune, and obscure origin, abandoned to all notions of virtue, and honour, and pursuing no object but his own aggrandisement, raised by the caprice of fortune to the station of first minister—let us suppose him palpably deficient in the knowledge of the interests of his country, and employing in all transactions with foreign powers, men still more ignorant than himself—let us suppose the honour of the nation tarnished: her political consequence lost: her commerce insulted: her merchants plundered: her seamen perishing in the depths of dungeons, and all these circumstances palliated or overlooked lest his administration should be endangered: suppose him possessed of immense wealth, the spoils of an impoverished nation: and suppose this wealth employed to purchase seats in the national senate for his confidential

friends and favourites. In such a parliament suppose all attempts to enquire into his conduct constantly over-ruled by a corrupt majority, who are rewarded for their treachery to the public by a profuse distribution of pensions, posts, and places under the minister: Let us suppose this minister insolently domineering over all men of sense, figure, and fortune in the nation; and having no virtuous principle of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or contaminate it in all: With such a Minister, and such a Parliament, let us suppose a Prince upon the throne, uninformed, and unacquainted with the interests, or inclinations of his people; weak, capricious, and actuated at once by the passions of ambition, and avarice. Should such a case ever occur, could any greater curse happen to a nation, than such a Prince, advised by such a Minister, and that Minister supported by such a Parliament? The existence of such a Prince, and such a Minister no human laws may indeed be adequate to prevent: but the existence of such a Parliament may and ought to be prevented: and the repeal of the law in question I conceive to be a most obvious, necessary and indispensable means for the accomplishment of that purpose."

Extract from Sir Robert Walpole's Speech in reply to Sir William Wyndham.

"SIR—I do assure you, I did not intend to have troubled you in this debate: but such incidents now generally happen towards the end of our debates, nothing at all relating to the subject, and gentlemen make such suppositions, meaning some person, or perhaps as they say, no person now *existing*, and talk so much of wicked ministers, domineering ministers, ministers pluming themselves in defiances, which terms and the like have been so much of late made use of in this House, that if they really mean nobody either in the House, or out of it, yet it must be supposed, that they at least mean to call upon some gentleman in this House to make them a reply, and therefore I hope I may be allowed to draw a picture in my turn—and I may likewise say, that I do not mean to give a description of any person now in being.—When gentlemen talk of ministers abandoned to all sense of virtue, or honour, other gentlemen may, I am sure, with equal justice, and, I think, more justly, speak of anti-ministers and mock-patriots, who never had either virtue or honour, but in the whole course of their opposition are actua-

ted only by motives of envy, and of resentment against those who may have disappointed them in their views, or may not perhaps have complied with all their desires. But now, Sir, let me too suppose, and the House being cleared, I am sure no person that hears me can come within the description of the person I am to suppose—let us suppose in this, or some other unfortunate country, an anti-minister, who thinks himself a person of so great and extensive parts, and of so many eminent qualifications, that he looks upon himself as the only person in the kingdom capable to conduct the public affairs of the nation, and therefore christening every other gentleman, who has the honour to be employed in the administration, by the name of blunderer: suppose this fine gentleman lucky enough to have gained over to his party some persons really of fine parts—of ancient families—and of great fortunes; and others of desperate views, arising from disappointed and malicious hearts; all these gentlemen, with respect to their political behaviour, moved by him, and by him solely: all they say either in private, or in public, being only a repetition of the words he has put into their mouths: and a spitting out of that venom which he has infused into them: and yet we may suppose this leader not really liked by any, even of those who so blindly follow him, and hated by all the rest of mankind: We'll suppose this anti-minister to be in a country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an effect of too much goodness and mercy; yet endeavouring with all his might and with all his art to destroy the fountain from whence that mercy flowed; in that country suppose him continually contracting friendships and familiarities with the ambassadors of those Princes, who at the time happen to be most at enmity with his own. And if at any time it should happen to be for the interest of any of those foreign ministers to have a secret divulged to them, which might be highly prejudicial to his native country—as well as to all its friends; suppose this foreign minister applying to him, and he answering him, I'll get it for you, tell me but what you want, I'll endeavour to procure it for you. Upon this he puts a speech or two in the mouth of some of his creatures, or some of his new converts: what he wants is moved for in parliament; and when so very reasonable a request as this is refused, suppose him and his creatures and tools, by his advice, spreading alarm over the whole nation, and crying out, Gentlemen, our country is at present involved in many dangerous difficulties, all which we would have extricated you from, but a wicked minister, and a cor-

rupt majority, refused us the proper materials; and upon this scandalous victory, this minister became so insolent as to plume himself in defiance. Let us farther suppose this anti-minister to have travelled, and at every court where he was, thinking himself the greatest minister, and making it his trade to betray the secrets of every court where he had before been; void of all faith or honour, and betraying every master he had ever served. Sir, I could carry my suppositions a great deal farther; and I may say I mean no person now in being; but if we can suppose such a one, can there be imagined a greater disgrace to human nature than such a wretch as this?"

Sir Gilbert Heathcote, in the British House of Commons, on the establishment of Excise Officers, in 1732.

Sir,—OTHER gentlemen have already fully explained and set forth the great inconveniences which must be brought on the trade of this nation, by the scheme now proposed to us; those have been made very apparent, and from them arises a very strong objection against what is now proposed; but the greatest objection arises from the danger to which this scheme will most certainly expose the liberties of our country; those liberties, for which our ancestors have so often ventured their lives and fortunes; those liberties which have cost this nation so much blood and treasure, seem already to be greatly retrenched. I am sorry to say it, but what is now in dispute, seems to me to be the last branch of liberty we have to contend for; we have already established a standing army, and have made it in a manner a part of our constitution; we have already subjected great numbers of the people of this nation to the arbitrary laws of excise; and this scheme is so wide a step towards subjecting all the rest of the people of England to those arbitrary laws, that it will be impossible for us to recover, or prevent the fatal consequences of such a scheme.

We are told that his majesty is a good and a wise prince; we all believe him to be so; but I hope no man will pretend to draw any argument from thence for our surrendering those liberties and privileges, which have been handed down to us by our ancestors. We have indeed nothing to fear from his present majesty; he never will make a bad use of that power which we have put into his hands; but if we once grant to the crown too great an extent of power, we cannot recal that grant when we have a mind; and though his majesty should

never make a bad use of it, some of his successors may; the being governed by a wise and good king, does not make the people a free people; the Romans were as great slaves under the few good emperors they had to reign over them as they were under the most cruel of their tyrants. After the people have once given up their liberties, their governors have all the same power of oppressing them, though they may not perhaps all make the same wicked use of the power lodged in their hands: but a slave that has the good fortune to meet with a good natured and humane master, is no less a slave than he that meets with a cruel and barbarous one. Our liberties are too valuable, and have been purchased at too high a price, to be sported with, or wantonly given up even to the best of kings; we have before now had some good, some wise and gracious sovereigns to reign over us, but we find, that under them our ancestors were as jealous of their liberties as they were under the worst of our kings. It is to be hoped that we have still the same value for our liberties; if we have we certainly shall use all peaceable methods to preserve and secure them; and if such methods should prove ineffectual, I hope there is no Englishman but has spirit enough to use those methods for the preservation of our liberties, which were used by our ancestors for the defence of theirs, and for transmitting them down to us in that glorious condition in which we found them. There are some still alive who bravely ventured their lives and fortunes in defence of the liberties of their country; there are many, whose fathers were embarked in the same glorious cause; let it never be said, that the sons of such men wantonly gave up those liberties for which their fathers had risked so much, and that for the poor pretence of suppressing a few frauds in the collecting of the public revenues, which might easily have been suppressed without entering into any such dangerous measures. This is all I shall trouble you with at present: but so much I thought it was incumbent upon me to say, in order that I might enter my protest against the question now before us.

Mr. Pulteney's Speech on the motion for reducing the Army—1731.

“Sir,—WE have heard a great deal about parliamentary armies, and about an army continued from year to year; I have always been, Sir, and always shall be, against a standing army of any kind; to me it is a terrible thing, whether under

that of parliamentary or any other designation ; a standing army is still a standing army whatever name it be called by ; they are a body of men distinct from the body of the people ; they are governed by different laws, and blind obedience, and an entire submission to the orders of their commanding officer, is their only principle. The nations around us, Sir, are already enslaved, and have been enslaved by those very means ; by means of their standing armies they have every one lost their liberties ; it is indeed impossible that the liberties of the people can be preserved in any country where a numerous standing army is kept up. Shall we then take any of our measures from the examples of our neighbours ? No, Sir, on the contrary, from their misfortunes we ought to learn to avoid those rocks upon which they have split.

“It signifies nothing to tell me, that our army is commanded by such gentlemen as cannot be supposed to join in any measures for enslaving their country : it may be so ; I hope it is so ; I have a very good opinion of many gentlemen now in the army ; I believe they would not join in any such measures ; but their lives are uncertain, nor can we be sure how long they may be continued in command ; they may be all dismissed in a moment, and proper tools of power put in their room. Besides, Sir, we know the passions of men, we know how dangerous it is to trust the best of men with too much power. Where was there a braver army than that under Julius Cæsar ? Where was there ever an army that had served their country more faithfully ? That army was commanded generally by the best citizens of Rome, by men of great fortune and figure in their country : yet that army enslaved their country. The affections of the soldiers towards their country, the honour and integrity of the under officers, are not to be depended on ; by the military law, the administration of justice is so quick, and the punishment so severe, that neither officer nor soldier dares offer to dispute the orders of his supreme commander ; he must not consult his own inclinations : if an officer were commanded to pull his own father out of his house he must do it ; he dares not disobey ; immediate death would be the sure consequence of the least grumbling. And if an officer were sent into the court of requests, accompanied by a body of musqueteers with screwed bayonets, and with orders to tell us what we ought to do, and how we were to vote, I know what would be the duty of this house ; I know it would be our duty to order the officer to be taken and hanged up at the door of the lobby : but, Sir, I doubt much if such

a spirit could be found in the house, or in any house of commons that will ever be in England.

“ Sir, I talk not of imaginary things ; I talk of what has happened to an English house of Commons, and from an English army ; not only from an English army, but an army that was raised by that very house of Commons, an army that was paid by them, and an army that was commanded by generals appointed by them. Therefore do not let us vainly imagine, that an army raised and maintained by authority of Parliament, will always be submissive to them : if any army be so numerous as to have it in their power to over-awe the Parliament, they will be submissive as long as the Parliament does nothing to disoblige their favourite general : but when that case happens, I am afraid that in place of the Parliament’s dismissing the army, the army will dismiss the Parliament, as they have done heretofore. Nor does the legality or illegality of that Parliament, or of that army, alter the case : for with respect to that army, and according to their way of thinking, the Parliament dismissed by them was a legal Parliament ; they were an army raised and maintained according to law, and at first they were raised, as they imagined, for the preservation of those liberties which they afterwards destroyed.

“ It has been urged, Sir, that whoever is for the Protestant succession must be for continuing the army ; for that very reason, Sir, I am against continuing the army. I know that neither the Protestant succession in his Majesty’s most illustrious house, nor any succession, can ever be safe as long as there is a standing army in the country. Armies, Sir, have no regard to hereditary succession. The first two Cæsars at Rome did pretty well, and found means to keep their armies in tolerable subjection, because the generals and officers were all their own creatures. But how did it fare with their successors ? Was not every one of them named by the army, without any regard to hereditary right, or to any right ? A cobbler, a gardener, or any man who happened to raise himself in the army, or could gain their affections, was made emperor of the world : was not every succeeding emperor raised to the throne, or tumbled headlong into the dust, according to the mere whim, or mad frenzy of the soldiers ?

“ We are told this army is desired to be continued but for one year longer, or for a limited term of years. How absurd is this distinction ? Is there any army in the world continued for any term of years ? Does the most absolute monarch tell his army, that he is to continue them for any number of

years, or any number of months? How long have we already continued our army from year to year? And if it thus continues, wherein will it differ from the standing armies of those countries which have already submitted their necks to the yoke? We are now come to the Rubicon; our army is now to be reduced, or it never will; from his Majesty's own mouth we are assured of a profound tranquillity abroad, we know there is one at home; if this is not a proper time, if these circumstances do not afford us a safe opportunity for reducing at least a part of our regular forces, we never can expect to see any reduction; and this nation, already overburdened with debts and taxes, must be loaded with the heavy charge of perpetually supporting a numerous standing army; and remain for ever exposed to the danger of having its liberties and privileges trampled upon by any future King or Ministry, who shall take it in their heads to do so, and shall take a proper care to model the army for that purpose."

The Exordium to Sir Robert Walpole's Speech on the motion for dismissing him from his Majesty's Council, 1740.

"Mr. Speaker.—It has been observed by several gentlemen, in vindication of this motion, that if it should be carried, neither my life, liberty or estate will be affected. But do the honourable gentlemen consider my character and reputation as of no moment? Is it no imputation to be arraigned before this house, in which I have sat forty years, and to have my name transmitted to posterity with disgrace and infamy? I will not conceal my sentiments, that to be named in parliament as a subject of inquiry, is to me a matter of great concern; but I have the satisfaction at the same time to reflect, that the impression to be made depends upon the consistency of the charge and the motives of the prosecutors. Had the charge been reduced to specific allegations, I should have felt myself called upon for a specific defence. Had I served a weak or wicked master, and implicitly obeyed his dictates, obedience to his commands must have been my only justification. But as it has been my good fortune to serve a master who wants no bad ministers, and would have hearkened to none, my defence must rest on my own conduct.—The consciousness of innocence is also sufficient support against my present prosecutors. A further justification is also derived from a consideration of the views and abilities of the prosecutors. Had I been guilty of great enormities, they want neither zeal and inclination to bring them forward,

nor ability to place them in the most prominent point of view. But as I am conscious of no crime, my own experience convinces me, that none can be justly imputed. I must therefore ask the gentlemen, from whence does this attack proceed? From the passions and prejudices of the parties combined against me, who may be divided into three classes, the boys, the riper patriots, and the tories. The tories I can easily forgive, they have unwillingly come into the measure, and they do me honour in thinking it necessary to remove me, as their only obstacle. What is the inference to be drawn from these premises; that demerit with them ought to be considered as merit with others. But my great and principal crime is my long continuance in office, or in other words the long exclusion of those who now complain against me. This is the heinous offence which exceeds all others. I keep from them the possession of that power, those honors and those emoluments, to which they so ardently and pertinaciously aspire. I will not attempt to deny the reasonableness and necessity of a party war; but in carrying on that war, all principles and rules of justice should not be departed from.—The tories must confess, that the most obnoxious persons have felt few instances of extra-judicial power. Wherever they have been arraigned, a plain charge has been exhibited against them. They have had an impartial trial, and have been permitted to make their defence; and will they, who have experienced this fair and equitable mode of proceeding, act in direct opposition to every principle of justice, and establish this fatal precedent of parliamentary inquisition? and whom would they conciliate by a conduct so contrary to principle and precedent?

“Can it be fitting in them, who have divided the public opinion of the nation, to share it with those who now appear as their competitors? With the men of yesterday, the boys in politics, who would be absolutely contemptible did not their audacity render them detestable? With the mock patriots, whose practice and professions prove their selfishness and malignity, who threatened to pursue me to destruction, and who have never for a moment lost sight of their object? These men, under the name of Separatists, presume to call themselves, exclusively, the nation and the people, and under that character, assume all power. In their estimation, the king, lords, and commons are a faction, and they are the government. Upon these principles they threaten the destruction of all authority, and think they have a right to judge, direct, and resist, all legal magistrates. They with-

draw from parliament because they succeed in nothing, and then attribute their want of success, not to its true cause, their own want of integrity and importance, but to the effect of places, pensions, and corruption. May it not be asked, are the people on the court side more united than on the other? Are not the tories, jacobites, and patriots equally determined? What makes this strict union? What cements this heterogeneous mass? Party engagements and personal attachments. However different their views and principles, they all agree in opposition. The Jacobites distress the government they would subvert; the tories contend for party prevalence and power. The patriots, for discontent and disappointment, would change the ministry that themselves might exclusively succeed. They have laboured this point twenty years unsuccessfully; they are impatient of longer delay. They clamour for change of measures, but mean only change of ministers.

“In party contests, why should not both sides be equally steady? Does not a whig administration as well deserve the support of the whigs as the contrary? Why is not principle the cement in one as well as the other, especially when they confess, that all is levelled against one man? Why this one man? Because they think, vainly, nobody else could withstand them. All others are treated as tools and vassals. The one is the corrupter; the numbers corrupted. But whence this cry of corruption, and exclusive claim of honourable distinction? Compare the estates, characters, and fortunes of the commons on one side, with those on the other. Let the matter be fairly investigated. Survey and examine the individuals who usually support the measures of government, and those who are in opposition. Let us see to whose side the balance preponderates. Look round both houses, and see to which side the balance of virtue and talents preponderates. Are all these on one side, and not on the other? Or are all these to be counterbalanced by an affected claim to the exclusive title of patriotism. Gentlemen have talked a great deal about patriotism—A venerable word, when duly practised! But I am sorry to say, that of late it has been so much hackneyed about, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace. The very idea of true patriotism is lost; and the term has been prostituted to the very worst of purposes. A patriot, Sir! Why patriots spring up like mushrooms! I could raise fifty of them within the four and twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots; but I disdain and

nor ability to place them in the most prominent point of view. But as I am conscious of no crime, my own experience convinces me, that none can be justly imputed. I must therefore ask the gentlemen, from whence does this attack proceed? From the passions and prejudices of the parties combined against me, who may be divided into three classes, the boys, the riper patriots, and the tories. The tories I can easily forgive, they have unwillingly come into the measure, and they do me honour in thinking it necessary to remove me, as their only obstacle. What is the inference to be drawn from these premises; that demerit with them ought to be considered as merit with others. But my great and principal crime is my long continuance in office, or in other words the long exclusion of those who now complain against me. This is the heinous offence which exceeds all others. I keep from them the possession of that power, those honors and those emoluments, to which they so ardently and pertinaciously aspire. I will not attempt to deny the reasonableness and necessity of a party war; but in carrying on that war, all principles and rules of justice should not be departed from.—The tories must confess, that the most obnoxious persons have felt few instances of extra-judicial power. Wherever they have been arraigned, a plain charge has been exhibited against them. They have had an impartial trial, and have been permitted to make their defence; and will they, who have experienced this fair and equitable mode of proceeding, act in direct opposition to every principle of justice, and establish this fatal precedent of parliamentary inquisition? and whom would they conciliate by a conduct so contrary to principle and precedent?

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draw from parliament because they succeed in nothing, and then attribute their want of success, not to its true cause, their own want of integrity and importance, but to the effect of places, pensions, and corruption. May it not be asked, are the people on the court side more united than on the other? Are not the tories, jacobites, and patriots equally determined? What makes this strict union? What cements this heterogeneous mass? Party engagements and personal attachments. However different their views and principles, they all agree in opposition. The Jacobites distress the government they would subvert; the tories contend for party prevalence and power. The patriots, for discontent and disappointment, would change the ministry that themselves might exclusively succeed. They have laboured this point twenty years unsuccessfully; they are impatient of longer delay. They clamour for change of measures, but mean only change of ministers.

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despise all their efforts. But this pretended virtue proceeds from personal malice, and from disappointed ambition. There is not a man amongst them whose particular aim I am not able to ascertain, and from what motive they have entered into the lists of opposition."

Speech of the Duke of Bedford in the house of Lords, in the year 1743, on a motion of Lord Hardwicke for making the descendants of Traitors punishable for the Treason of their ancestors.

"My Lords,—THOUGH I hope that I have never given reason for suspicion, that I am less zealous than any other lord for the security of our present constitution, or the defence of the family now upon the throne; though I desire to be considered as equally zealous for liberty, and equally tenacious of those laws which secure property with every other man; though I am convinced that a Prince forced upon us by the armies and fleets of France will become only the Vice-Roy of the monarch to whom he owes his exaltation, and that we should thenceforth be considered by the French as their tributaries and their vassals, yet I cannot approve the motion which the noble lord has made.

"Your lordships cannot be surprised that I am alarmed at the proposal of a law like this; I, whose family had suffered so lately the deprivation of its rank and its fortune by the tyranny of a court; I, whose grandfather was cut off by an unjust prosecution, and whose father was condemned for many years to see himself deprived of the rights of his birth, which were at length restored to him by more equitable judges. It is surely reasonable, my lords, that I should oppose the execution of penalties to the descendants of offenders, who have scarcely myself escaped the blast of an attainder. I am very far from denying, my lords, what has been asserted, that the French have long been aspiring to universal monarchy; that they consider their projects as liable to be defeated only by the English; and that they have therefore for many years laboured to give a king to England; but, my lords, the ill success of all their past attempts convinces me, that they have nothing to hope from any future efforts of the same kind, and that therefore we need not have recourse to new degrees of severity, or enact penal laws of an extraordinary kind to prevent that which experience has shewn impossible to be accomplished.

“ What could not be accomplished by the power or the policy of the great French monarch, may, very justly, be considered by his successor as an hopeless project; for the French councils do not now appear to be guided by the wisdom which at that time was discovered in all their treaties and negotiations, nor have their arms yet acquired that reputation which filled half the nations of the world with terror. They are not able now to influence kingdoms by their manifestoes, or to revive a dejected party by the promise of their assistance: they are now indeed wealthy and powerful, but they are not wealthy to such a degree as to hire the nation to destroy itself, nor so powerful as to sink it to despair.

“ Besides, not only the force which is to be employed against the fabric of our constitution is diminished; but the edifice is grown stronger by time, the basis is sunk deeper, the superstructure is become more solid, and all the parts have by degrees conformed to each other, so that there is no chasm or weakness to be found. Many circumstances, by which the French were formerly induced to hope for success have now vanished for ever. The nation was then divided into two parties, of which that which publicly avowed the desire of restoring the exiled family to the throne, was generally computed to be more numerous. This infatuation, my lords, is now at an end; the numbers of the Jacobites are reduced to a small set below consideration, and seem now more desirous to enjoy their opinions in peace and privacy, than to make proselytes; and to be tolerated by the lenity of the government, than to endanger themselves by new provocations.

“ The English people, my lords, are now consolidated into one body, and more uniformly together; they have at last discovered that nominal distinctions are only idle sound, by which they have been long amused by more parties than one, while they were plundered and oppressed. And whosoever shall review the conduct of the people for about twenty years backward, shall find that they have every year appeared better informed of the true nature of our government, and that they have sacrificed all narrow views and petty considerations to the great scheme of general felicity; that they have acted steadily, resolutely, and wisely; and that in their regard for one man or their opposition to another, they have considered truly how far the public good was promoted or obstructed by their counsels.

“ On the present occasion, my lords, they have given the fullest proof of their loyalty which they are able to exhibit, by innumerable addresses sent from all parts, and drawn up

in terms which express the firmest fidelity and warmest affections—professions, my lords, which surely deserve some other return than the severity of a penal law, a law by which one person is condemned to suffer for the crime of another. As it is necessary, my lords, that subjects should obey their governors, so it is likewise reasonable, that governors should trust their subjects; at least that they should not studiously disgust them by groundless suspicions, for when the people see that no degree of obedience can recommend them to regard, they will naturally lose their affection for their superiors; and when their affection is once extinguished, if they do not violate their duty, they will at least neglect it. To be suspected, my lords, is always offensive; and as a suspicious man is perpetually harassing himself with superfluous vigilance, disturbing his quiet with dreams of danger, and wearying himself by providing securities against violence or fraud which never was designed, so a suspicious government always defeats its own endeavours, and by destroying that popularity to which it must always trust for its defence in time of real danger, weakens itself. The multiplication of penal laws, the establishment of armies, and the distribution of pensions, the usual methods by which weak governments endeavour to strengthen their basis, are all transitory and uncertain supports, which the first blast of general discontent may drive before it, and which have a tendency to produce that rage which they cannot furnish the means of resisting. I think it therefore necessary, my lords, to oppose this motion, because I think it my duty to preserve the government from the greatest of all evils, the loss of popularity; and am of opinion that ten thousand penal laws cannot so much contribute to the perpetual establishment of the royal family, as one act of confidence, condescension, or bounty, by which the affections of the people may be conciliated.

“ But this, my lords, is not the only argument against it, by which I am inclined to deny my concurrence. It ought to be always remembered, and by me shall not be easily forgotten, that we are here assembled to deliberate, not for any particular purposes or narrow plans, but for the great end of society, the general happiness; that as we are not to gratify the caprices of the people by vilifying the dignity or restraining the power of the throne, so we are not to appease the suspicions of the throne by sacrificing the safety or honour of the people: we are to support our sovereign, indeed, but not by such means as destroy the ends for which sovereignty was established, the public welfare and common security. The

motion is therefore, in my opinion, wholly indefensible, because, though it should be granted that it may add some security to the throne, it must in proportion impair the happiness of the people, as it must fill the nation in this time of general commotion with anxiety, and oblige almost every man to the unnatural and unavailing care of watching the conduct of another, and at last must involve thousands in undeserved misery, by punishing them for crimes which they did not commit, and which they could not prevent, and inflicting penalties, therefore, which can have no other effect than that of enriching by forfeitures, the minions of the court. These reasons, my lords, are surely sufficiently powerful to justify me in opposing the motion; and yet there remains another, which perhaps may, when it is fully examined, appear equally weighty. Notwithstanding the happiness of our present state, the protection of our rights, and the security of our property; notwithstanding the confidence which may be reposed in the equity, the moderation, and the wisdom of his Majesty, and the hopes which we may reasonably have of being governed to all succeeding ages by his illustrious descendants, with the same justice, and magnanimity, and prudence, yet I am not confident that their hopes may not be disappointed. I know not any evidence, by which I can ascertain the continuance of these blessings, or by which I can prove to the people of England, that there never will come a time in which a superstitious, an ambitious, or a tyrannical prince may once more attempt the subversion of their rights, the seizure of their properties, or the abolition of their religion. I am not certain that our constitution is so strongly built that it can never want repairs, or that our laws are so judiciously formed, as that they may not become, in the hands of rapacity, the tools of avarice, or in the hands of cruelty, the scourge of oppression. Whenever this fatal period shall arrive, it must be granted, my lords, that another revolution will be necessary, and that every law, which shall hinder the people from making use of the only remedy which then remains, will obstruct the public happiness, and counteract the great design of government; and surely, my lords, a law which involves the son in the guilt of his father, must naturally extinguish that ardour of patriotism by which all revolutions have been accomplished. For who will be found sufficiently hardy to oppose the crown, when if he should happen to fail, he must not only perish as a traitor, but sink his whole posterity in poverty and disgrace? Since therefore, my lords, it appears to me not more likely that the king of England will be in

danger from his subjects, than that the people of England will be in danger from their king, I think it convenient to hold the balance equal between them; as I would not give the people any exemption which might encourage them to rebel, I would give the crown no such prerogatives as may encourage any future monarchs to oppression.

“ Thus, my lords, I have laid before you the arguments which influence me to disapprove the motion: and which will, I believe, determine me to vote against it; for though I am desirous to secure the throne, I would not willingly secure it by disarming the people, but by placing them as guards before it. The dependence of the monarch and the subjects ought to be on reciprocal affection and mutual assistance, and therefore neither ought to imagine that any increase of safety is to be obtained by diminishing the legal privileges of one, or violating the natural rights of the other.”

The Speech of General Wolfe to his Army, before Quebec, 1759.

“ I congratulate you, my brave countrymen, and fellow-soldiers, on the spirit and success with which you have executed this important part of our enterprise. The formidable *Heights of Abraham* are now surmounted: and the city of Quebec, the object of all our toils, now stands in full view before us. A perfidious enemy, who have dared to exasperate you by their cruelties, but not to oppose you on equal ground, are now constrained to face you on the open plain, without ramparts or intrenchments to shelter them.

“ You know too well the forces which compose their army to dread their superior numbers. A few regular troops from Old France, weakened by hunger and sickness, who, when fresh, were unable to withstand the British soldiers, are their General's chief dependence. Those numerous companies of Canadians, insolent, mutinous, unsteady, and ill-disciplined, have exercised his utmost skill to keep them together to this time; and as soon as their irregular ardour is damped by one firm fire, they will instantly turn their backs, and give you no further trouble but in the pursuit. As for those savage tribes of Indians, whose horrid yells in the forest have struck many a bold heart with affright, terrible as they are with a tomahawk and scalping-knife to a flying and prostrate foe, you have experienced how little their ferocity is to be dreaded by resolute men upon fair and open ground: you can now only consider them as the just objects of a severe revenge for the unhappy fate of many slaughtered countrymen.

“This day puts it into your power to terminate the fatigues of a siege which has so long employed your courage and patience. Possessed with a full confidence of the certain success which British valour must gain over such enemies, I have led you up these steep and dangerous rocks; only solicitous to shew you the foe within your reach. The impossibility of a retreat makes no difference in the situation of men resolved to conquer or die: and, believe me, my friends, if your conquest could be bought with the blood of your general, he would most cheerfully resign a life which he has long devoted to his country.”

Extract from a Speech of Lord Chatham, on a motion of Address to the King.

Let us be cautious how we admit an idea, that our rights stand on a footing different from those of the people. Let us be cautious how we invade the liberties of our fellow subjects, however mean, however remote; for be assured, my lords, that in whatever part of the empire you suffer slavery to be established, whether it be in America or in Ireland, or here at home, you will find it a disease which spreads by contact, and soon reaches from the extremities to the heart. The man who has lost his own freedom, becomes from that moment an instrument in the hands of an ambitious prince, to destroy the freedom of others. These reflections, my lords, are but too applicable to our present situation. The liberty of the subject is invaded, not only in provinces, but here at home. The English people are loud in their complaints: they proclaim with one voice the injuries they have received: they demand redress, and depend upon it, my lords, that one way or other, they will have redress. They will never return to a state of tranquillity until they are redressed; nor ought they; for in my judgment, my lords, and I speak it boldly, it were better for them to perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expense of a single iota of the constitution. Let me entreat your lordships, then, in the name of all the duties you owe to your sovereign, to your country, and to yourselves, to perform that office to which you are called by the constitution; by informing his majesty truly of the condition of his subjects, and of the real cause of their dissatisfaction.

Speech of the Earl of Chatham, on the Seizure of the Falkland Islands.

“My Lords,—I rise to give my hearty assent to the motion made by the noble Duke; by his Grace’s favour, I have been permitted to see it, before it was offered to the House. I have fully considered the necessity of obtaining from the King’s servants a communication of the papers described in the motion, and I am persuaded that the alarming state of facts, as well as the strength of reasoning, with which the noble Duke has urged, and enforced that necessity, must have been powerfully felt by your lordships;—what I mean to say, upon this occasion, may seem perhaps to extend beyond the limits of the motion before us. But I flatter myself, my lords, that if I am honoured with your attention, it will appear that the meaning and object of this question are naturally connected with considerations of the most extensive national importance. For entering into such considerations, no season is improper, no occasion should be neglected. Something must be done, my lords, and immediately, to save an injured, insulted, undone country. If not to save the state, my lords, at least to mark out, and drag to public justice those servants of the crown, by whose ignorance, neglect, or treachery, this once great flourishing people are reduced to a condition as deplorable at home, as it is despicable abroad. Examples are wanted, my lords, and should be given to the world, for the instruction of future times, even though they be useless to ourselves. I do not mean, my lords, nor is it intended by the motion to impede, or embarrass a negotiation, which we have been told is now in a prosperous train, and promises a happy conclusion.”

Lord *Weymouth*. I beg pardon for interrupting the noble lord, but I think it necessary to remark to your lordships, that I have not said a single word tending to convey to your lordships any information, or opinion, with regard to the state, or progress of the negotiation—I did, with the utmost caution, avoid giving to your lordships the least intimation upon that matter.

Earl of *Chatham*. “I perfectly agree with the noble lord. I did not mean to refer to any thing said by his lordship.—He expressed himself, as he always does, with moderation and reserve, and with the greatest propriety;—it was another noble lord, very high in office, who told us he understood that the negotiation was in a favourable train.”

Earl of *Hillsborough*. I did not make use of the word *train*. I know the meaning of the word too well. In the language from which it was derived, it signifies protraction, and delay, which I could never mean to apply to the present negotiation.

Earl of *Chatham*. "This is the second time that I have been interrupted. I submit it to your lordships whether this be fair and candid treatment. I am sure it is contrary to the orders of the House, and a gross violation of decency and politeness. I listen to every noble lord in this House with attention and respect. The noble lord's design in interrupting me, is as mean and unworthy, as the manner in which he has done it is irregular and disorderly. He flatters himself that, by breaking the thread of my discourse, he shall confuse me in my argument. But, my lords, I will not submit to this treatment. I will not be interrupted. When I have concluded let him answer me if he can.—As to the word which he has denied, I still affirm that it was the word he made use of; but if he had used any other, I am sure every noble lord will agree with me, that his meaning was exactly what I had expressed it. Whether he said, *course* or *train* is indifferent—He told your lordships that the negotiation was in a way that promised a happy and honourable conclusion. His distinctions are mean, frivolous, and puerile. My lords, I do not understand the exalted tone assumed by that noble lord. In the distress and weakness of this country, my lords, and conscious as the ministry ought to be how much they have contributed to that distress and weakness, I think a tone of modesty, of submission, of humility, would become them better; *quædam causæ modestiam desiderant*. Before this country they stand as the greatest criminals. Such I shall prove them to be: for I do not doubt of proving to your lordship's satisfaction, that since they have been entrusted with the conduct of the king's affairs they have done every thing that they ought not to have done, and hardly any thing that they ought to have done. The noble lord talks of Spanish punctilios in the lofty style and idiom of a Spaniard. We are to be wonderfully tender of the Spanish point of honour, as if *they* had been the complainants, as if *they* had received the injury. I think he would have done better to have told us, what care had been taken of the English honour. My lords, I am well acquainted with the character of that nation, at least as far as it is represented by their court and ministry, and should think this country dishonoured by a comparison of the English good faith with the

punctilios of a Spaniard. My lords, the English are a candid, an ingenuous people; the Spaniards are as mean and crafty, as they are proud and insolent. The integrity of the English merchants, the generous spirit of our naval and military officers, would be degraded by a comparison with *their* merchants or officers. With their ministers I have often been obliged to negotiate, and never met with an instance of candour or dignity in their proceedings; nothing but low cunning, trick, and artifice. After a long experience of their want of candour and good faith, I found myself compelled to talk to them in a peremptory, decisive language. On this principle I submitted my advice to a trembling council for an immediate declaration of war with Spain. Your lordships well know what were the consequences of not following that advice. Since, however, for reasons unknown to me, it has been thought advisable to negotiate with the court of Spain, I should have conceived that the great and single object of such a negotiation would have been, to have obtained complete satisfaction for the injury done to the crown and people of England. But, if I understand the noble lord, the only object of the present negotiation is to find a salvo for the punctilious honour of the Spaniards. The absurdity of such an idea is of itself insupportable. But, my lords, I object to our negotiating at all, in our present circumstances. We are not in that situation, in which a great and powerful nation is permitted to negotiate.—A foreign power has forcibly robbed his majesty of a part of his dominions. Is the island restored? Are you replaced in *statu quo*? If that had been done, it might then perhaps have been justifiable to treat with the aggressor upon the satisfaction he ought to make for the insult offered to the crown of England. But will you descend so low? will you so shamefully betray the king's honour, as to make it matter of negotiation whether his Majesty's possessions shall be restored to him or not? I doubt not, my lords, that there are some important mysteries in the conduct of this affair, which, whenever they are explained, will account for the profound silence now observed by the king's servants. The time will come, my lords, when they shall be dragged from their concealments. There are some questions, which, sooner or later, must be answered. The ministry, I find, without declaring themselves explicitly, have taken pains to possess the public with an opinion, that the Spanish court have constantly disavowed the proceedings of their governor; and some persons, I see, have been shameless and daring enough to advise his majesty to support and countenance this

opinion in his speech from the throne. Certainly, my lords, there never was a more odious, a more infamous falsehood imposed on a great nation—it degrades the king's honour—it is an insult to parliament. His majesty has been advised to confirm and give currency to an *absolute falsehood*. I beg your lordship's attention, and I hope I shall be understood, when I repeat, that the court of Spain's having disavowed the act of their governor is an *absolute and palpable falsehood*. Let me ask, my lords, when the first communication was made by the court of Madrid, of their being apprised of their taking of Falkland's Islands, was it accompanied with an offer of instant restitution, of immediate satisfaction, and the punishment of the Spanish governor?—If it was not, they have adopted the act as their own, and the very mention of a disavowal is an impudent insult offered to the king's dignity.—The king of Spain disowns the thief, while he leaves him unpunished, and profits by the theft; in vulgar English he is the receiver of stolen goods, and ought to be treated accordingly.

“If your lordships will look back to a period of the English history, in which the circumstances are reversed, in which the Spaniards were the complainants, you will see how differently *they* succeeded; you will see one of the ablest men, one of the bravest officers this or any other country ever produced (it is hardly necessary to mention the name of sir Walter Raleigh), sacrificed by the meanest prince that ever sat upon the throne, to the vindictive jealousy of that haughty court. James the First was base enough, at the instance of Gondomar, to suffer a sentence against sir Walter Raleigh, for another supposed offence, to be carried into execution almost twelve years after it had been passed. This was the pretence. His real crime was, that he had mortally offended the Spaniards, while he acted by the king's express orders, and under his commission.

“My lords, the pretended disavowal by the court of Spain is as ridiculous as it is false. If your lordships want any other proof, call for your own officers, who were stationed at Falkland island. Ask the officer who commanded the garrison, whether, when he was summoned to surrender, the demand was made in the name of the governor of Buenos Ayres, or of his Catholic Majesty? Was the island said to belong to Don Francisco Bucarelli, or to the king of Spain? If I am not mistaken, we have been in possession of these islands since the year 1764, or 1765. Will the ministry assert, that, in all that time, the Spanish court have never once

claimed them? that their right to them has never been urged, or mentioned to our ministry? If it has, the act of the governor of Buenos Ayres is plainly the consequence of our refusal to acknowledge and submit to the Spanish claims.—For five years they negotiate; when that fails they take the island by force. If that measure had arisen out of the general instructions, constantly given to the governor of Buenos Ayres, why should the execution of it have been deferred so long?

“My lords, if the falsehood of this pretended disavowal had been confined to the court of Spain, I should have admitted it without concern. I should have been content that they themselves had left a door open for excuse, and accommodation. The king of England’s honour is not touched till he adopts the falsehood, delivers it to parliament, and makes it his own.

“From what I have said, my lords, I do not doubt but it will be understood by many lords, and given out to the public, that I am for hurrying the nation, at all events, into a war with Spain. My lords, I disclaim such councils, and I beg that this declaration may be remembered—Let us have peace, my lords, but let it be honourable, let it be secure. A patched up peace will not do. It will not satisfy the nation, though it may be approved of by parliament. I distinguish widely between a solid peace, and the disgraceful expedients, by which a war may be deferred, but cannot be avoided. I am as tender of the effusion of human blood, as the noble lord who dwelt so long upon the miseries of the war. If the bloody politics of some noble lords had been followed, England and every quarter of his majesty’s dominions would have been glutted with blood—the blood of our own countrymen.

“My lords, I have better reasons, perhaps, than many of your lordships for desiring peace upon the terms I have described. I know the strength and preparation of the House of Bourbon; I know the defenceless, unprepared condition of this country. I know not by what mismanagement we are reduced to this situation; and when I consider, who are the men by whom a war, in the outset at least, must be conducted, can I but wish for peace?—Let them not screen themselves behind the want of intelligence—they had intelligence; I know they had. If they had not, they are criminal; and their excuse is their crime.—But I will tell these young ministers the true source of intelligence. It is sagacity. Sagacity to compare causes and effects; to judge of the present state of things, and discern the future by a care-

ful review of the past.—*Oliver Cromwell*, who astonished mankind by his intelligence, did not derive it from spies in the cabinet of every prince in Europe : he drew it from the cabinet of his own sagacious mind. He observed facts and traced them forward to their consequences. From what was, he concluded what must be, and he never was deceived. In the present situation of affairs, I think it would be treachery to the nation to conceal from them their real circumstances, and with respect to a foreign enemy, I know that all concealments are vain and useless. They are as well acquainted with the actual force and weakness of this country, as any of the king's servants.—This is no time for silence, or reserve. I charge the ministers with the highest crimes that men in their stations can be guilty of. I charge them with having destroyed all content and unanimity at home, by a series of oppressive, unconstitutional measures ; and with having betrayed, and delivered up the nation defenceless to a foreign enemy.

“ Their utmost vigour has reached no farther than to a fruitless, protracted negotiation. When they should have acted, they have contented themselves with talking *about it, goddess, and about it.*—If we do not stand forth, and do our duty in the present crisis, the nation is irretrievably undone. I despise the little policy of concealments. You ought to know the whole of your situation. If the information be new to the ministry, let them take care to profit by it. I mean to rouse, to alarm the whole nation—to rouse the ministry, if possible, who seem to awake to nothing but the preservation of their places—to awaken the king.”

Extract from a Speech of Mr. Pitt, (afterwards Earl of Chatham) on the address to the king, in January, 1763.

“ It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in parliament. When the resolution was taken in this house to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it. It is my opinion that this kingdom has *no right* to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power : the taxes are a voluntary gift and grant

of the commons alone. The concurrence of the peers and of the crown is necessary only as a form of law. This house represents the commons of Great Britain. When in this house we give and grant; therefore we give and grant what is our own; but can we give and grant the property of the commons of America? It is an absurdity in terms. There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in this house; I would fain know by whom? The idea of *virtual* representation is the most contemptible that ever entered into the head of man: it does not deserve a serious refutation. The commons in America, represented in their several assemblies, have invariably exercised this constitutional right of giving and granting their own money: they would have been slaves, if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time this kingdom has ever possessed the power of legislative and commercial controul. The colonies acknowledge your authorities in all things, with the sole exception that you shall not take their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here would I draw the line, *quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum*.

“Sir, a charge is brought against gentlemen sitting in the house, for giving birth to sedition in America. The freedom with which they have spoken their sentiments against this unhappy act, is imputed to them as a crime; but the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty which I hope no gentleman will be afraid to exercise: it is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. We are told America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, I REJOICE that America has resisted—three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. I came not here armed at all points with law cases and acts of parliament; with the statute book doubled down in *dog's ears* to defend the cause of liberty: but for the defence of liberty upon a general constitutional principle; it is a ground on which I dare meet any man; I will not debate points of law; but what, after all, do the cases of Chester and Durham prove, but that, under the most arbitrary reigns, parliament were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives? A higher and better example might have been taken from Wales; that principality was never taxed by parliament till it was incorporated with England. We are told of many classes of persons in this kingdom not represented in parliament; but are they not all virtually represented as English-

men resident within the realm? Have they not the option, many of them at least, of becoming themselves electors?—Every inhabitant of this kingdom is necessarily included in the general system of representation. It is a misfortune that more are not actually represented. The honourable gentleman boasts of his bounties to America. Are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America. I maintain that parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. The honourable gentleman tells us, he understands not the difference between internal and external taxation; but surely there is a plain difference between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of commerce. When, said the honourable gentleman, were the colonies emancipated? At what time, say I, in answer, were they made slaves? I speak from accurate knowledge, when I say, that the profits to *Great Britain* from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions per annum. This is the fund which carried you triumphantly through the last war; this is the price America pays you for her protection; and shall a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the exchequer, at the loss of millions to the nation? I know the valour of your troops; I know the skill of your officers; I know the force of this country; but in such a cause, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man: she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheathe the sword in the scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? The Americans have been wronged; they have been driven to madness by injustice.—Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? No; let this country be the first to resume its prudence and temper. I will pledge myself for the colonies, that, on their part, animosity and resentment will cease. Let affection be the only bond of coercion. The system of policy I would earnestly recommend *Great Britain* to adopt, in relation to America, is happily expressed in the words of a favourite poet:

“ Be to her faults a little blind,
 “ Be to her virtues very kind;
 “ Let all her ways be unconfined,
 “ And clap your padlock on her mind.”

PRIOR.

“ Upon the whole, I beg leave to tell the house in a few words what is really my opinion. It is that the stamp act be repealed—ABSOLUTELY—TOTALLY, and IMMEDIATELY.”

Lord Chatham, in reply to Lord Mansfield, on a motion and address to the King on the state of the Nation.—British House of Lords, 1770.

My Lords,—There is one plain maxim, to which I have invariably adhered through life; that in every question, in which my liberty or my property were concerned, I should consult and be determined by the dictates of common sense. I confess, my lords, that I am apt to distrust the refinements of learning, because I have seen the ablest and the most learned men equally liable to deceive themselves and to mislead others. The condition of human nature would be lamentable indeed, if nothing less than the greatest learning and talents, which fall to the share of so small a number of men, were sufficient to direct our judgment and our conduct. But providence has taken better care of our happiness, and given us, in the simplicity of common sense, a rule for our direction by which we shall never be misled. I confess, my lords, I had no other guide in drawing up the amendment which I submitted to your consideration: and before I heard the opinion of the noble lord who spoke last, I did not conceive, that it was even within the limits of possibility, for the greatest human genius, the most subtle understanding, or the acutest wit, so strangely to misrepresent my meaning, and give it an interpretation so entirely foreign from what I intended to express, and from that sense which the very terms of the amendment plainly and distinctly carry with them. If there be the smallest foundation for the censure thrown upon me by that noble lord; if, either expressly or by the most distant implication, I have said or insinuated any part of what the noble lord has charged me with, discard the opinions for ever, discard the motion with contempt.

My lords, I must beg the indulgence of the house. Neither will my health permit me, nor do I pretend to be qualified to follow that learned lord minutely through the whole of his argument. No man is better acquainted with his abilities or his learning, nor has a greater respect for them, than I have. I have had the pleasure of sitting with him in the other house, and always listened to him with attention. I

have not now lost a word of what he said, nor did I ever.— Upon the present question I meet him without fear. The evidence which truth carries with it, is superior to all argument; it neither wants the support, nor dreads the opposition of the greatest abilities. If there be a single word in the amendment to justify the interpretation which the noble lord has been pleased to give it, I am ready to renounce the whole: let it be read, my lords: let it speak for itself. (*It was read.*)—In what instance does it interfere with the privileges of the house of commons? In what respect does it question their jurisdiction, or suppose an authority in this house to arraign the justice of their sentence? I am sure that every lord who hears me, will bear me witness that I said not one word touching the merits of the Middlesex election: far from conveying any opinion upon that matter in the amendment, I did not even in discourse deliver my own sentiments upon it. I did not say that the house of commons had done either right or wrong: but when his majesty was pleased to recommend it to us to cultivate unanimity among ourselves, I thought it the duty of this house, as the great hereditary council of the crown, to state to his majesty the distracted condition of his dominions, together with the events which had destroyed unanimity among his subjects. But, my lords, I stated those events merely as facts, without the smallest addition either of censure or of opinion. They are facts, my lords, which I am not only convinced are true, but which I know are indisputably true. For example, my lords; will any man deny that discontents prevail in many parts of his majesty's dominions? or that those discontents arise from the proceedings of the house of commons, touching the declared incapacity of Mr. Wilkes? It is impossible: no man can deny a truth so notorious, nor will any man deny that those proceedings refused, by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only, to the subject his common right. Is it not indisputably true, my lords, that Mr. Wilkes had a common right, and that he lost it in no other way but by a resolution of the house of commons? My lords, I have been tender of misrepresenting the house of commons: I have consulted their journals, and have taken every word of their own resolution. Do they not tell us, in so many words, that Mr. Wilkes having been expelled, was thereby rendered incapable of serving in that parliament?— And is it not their resolution alone, which refuses to the subject his common right? The amendment says farther, that the electors of Middlesex are deprived of the free choice

of a representative. Is this a false fact, my lords? or have I given an unfair representation of it? Will any man presume to affirm that colonel Luttrell is the free choice of the electors of Middlesex? We all know the contrary. We all know that Mr. Wilkes (whom I mention without either praise or censure) was the favourite of the county, and chosen by a very great and acknowledged majority, to represent them in parliament. If the noble lord dislikes the manner in which these facts are stated, I shall think myself happy in being advised by him how to alter it. I am very little anxious about terms, provided the substance be preserved; and these are facts, my lords, which I am sure will always retain their weight and importance, in whatever form of language they are described.

Now, my lords, since I have been forced to enter into the explanation of an amendment, in which nothing less than the genius of penetration could have discovered an obscurity; and having, as I hope, redeemed myself in the opinion of the house; having redeemed my motion from the severe representation given of it by the noble lord, I must a little longer intreat your lordship's indulgence. The constitution of this country has been openly invaded in fact; and I have heard with horror and astonishment, that very invasion defended upon principle. What is this mysterious power, undefined by law, unknown to the subject, which we must not approach without awe, nor speak of without reverence; which no man may question, and to which all men must submit? My lords, I thought the slavish doctrine of passive obedience had long since been exploded: and, when our kings were obliged to confess that their title to the crown, and the rule of their government, had no other foundation than the known laws of the land; I never expected to hear a divine right, or a divine infallibility, attributed to any other branch of the legislature. My lords, I beg to be understood: no man respects the house of commons more than I do, or would contend more strenuously than I would to preserve them their just and legal authority. Within the bounds prescribed by the constitution, that authority is necessary to the well being of the people; beyond that line every exertion of power is arbitrary, is illegal; it threatens tyranny to the people, and destruction to the state. Power, without right, is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination; it is not only pernicious to those who are subject to it, but tends to its own destruction. It is what my noble friend (lord Lyttleton) has truly described it, *res*

detestabilis et caduca. My lords, I acknowledge the just power, and reverence the constitution of the house of commons. It is for their own sakes that I would prevent their assuming a power which the constitution has denied them, lest, by grasping at an authority they have no right to, they should forfeit that which they legally possess. My lords, I affirm that they have betrayed their constituents, and violated the constitution. Under pretence of declaring the law, they have made a law, and united in the same persons the office of legislator and of judge. I shall endeavour to adhere strictly to the noble lord's doctrine, which it is indeed impossible to mistake, as far as my memory will permit me to preserve his expression. He seems fond of the word jurisdiction; and I confess, with the force and effect which he has given it, it is a word of copious meaning and wonderful extent. If his lordship's doctrine be well founded, we must renounce all those political maxims by which our understandings have hitherto been directed; and even the first elements of learning taught us when we were school-boys. My lords, we know that jurisdiction was nothing more than *Jus dicere*; we know that *Legem facere* and *Legem dicere* were powers clearly distinguished from each other in the nature of things, and wisely separated by the wisdom of the English constitution: but now, it seems, we must adopt a new system of thinking. The house of commons, we are told, have a supreme jurisdiction; that there is no appeal from their sentence; and that whenever they are competent judges, their decision must be received and submitted to, as, *ipso facto*, the law of the land. My lords, I am a plain man, and have been brought up in a religious reverence for the original simplicity of the laws of England. By what sophistry they have been perverted, by what artifices they have been involved in obscurity, is not for me to explain; the principles, however, of the English laws are still sufficiently clear; they are founded in reason, and are the master-piece of the human understanding; but it is in the text that I would look for a direction to my judgment, not in the commentaries of modern professors. The noble lord assures us, that he knows not in what code the law of parliament is to be found: that the house of commons, when they act as judges, have no law to direct them but their own wisdom; that their decision is law; and if they determine wrong, the subject has no appeal but to heaven. What then, my lords, are all the generous efforts of our ancestors, are all those glorious contentions, by which they meant to secure to themselves, and

to transmit to their posterity, a known law, a certain rule of living, reduced to this conclusion, that instead of the arbitrary power of a king, we must submit to the arbitrary power of a house of commons?. If this be true, what benefit do we derive from the exchange! Tyranny, my lords, is detestable in every shape; but in none so formidable as where it is assumed and exercised by a number of tyrants. But, my lords, this is not the fact; this is not the constitution: we have a law of parliament, we have a code in which every honest man may find it. We have *magna charta*, we have the statute book, and the bill of rights.

If a case should arise unknown to these great authorities, we have still that plain English reason left, which is the foundation of all our English jurisprudence. That reason tells us, that every judicial court, every political society, must be vested with those powers and privileges which are necessary for performing the office to which they are appointed. It tells us also, that no court of justice can have a power inconsistent with, or paramount to the known laws of the land; that the people, when they choose their representatives, never mean to convey to them a power of invading their rights, or trampling upon the liberties of those whom they represent. What security would they have for their rights, if once they admitted, that a court of judicature might determine every question that came before it, not by any known positive law, but by the vague, indeterminate, arbitrary rule, of what the noble lord is pleased to call 'the wisdom of the court?' With respect to the decision of the courts of justice, I am far from denying them their due weight and authority; yet, placing them in the most respectable view, I still consider them, not as law, but as an evidence of the law; and before they can arrive even at that degree of authority, it must appear, that they are founded in, and confirmed by reason; that they are supported by precedents taken from good and moderate times; that they do not contradict any positive law: that they are submitted to without reluctance by the people; that they are unquestioned by the legislature (which is equivalent to a tacit confirmation;) and, which in my judgment is by far the most important, that they do not violate the spirit of the constitution. My lords, this is not a vague or loose expression; we all know what the constitution is; we all know, that the first principle of it is that the subject shall not be governed by the *arbitrium* of any one man or body of men (less than the whole legislature,) but by certain laws, to which he has virtually given

his consent, which are open to him to examine, and not beyond his ability to understand. Now, my lords, I affirm, and am ready to maintain, that the late decision of the house of commons upon the Middlesex election, is destitute of every one of those properties and conditions which I hold to be essential to the legality of such a decision. It is not founded in reason; for it carries with it a contradiction, that the representatives should perform the office of the constituent body. It is not supported by a single precedent, for the case of sir R. Walpole is but a half precedent, and even that half is imperfect. Incapacity was indeed declared; but his crimes are stated as the ground of the resolution, and his opponent was declared not to be duly elected even after his incapacity was established. It contradicts *magna charta*, and the bill of rights, by which it is provided, that no subject shall be deprived of his freehold, unless by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; and that election of members to serve in parliament shall be free; and so far is this decision from being submitted to by the people, that they have taken the strongest measures, and adopted the most positive language, to express their discontent.—Whether it will be questioned by the legislature, will depend upon your lordship's resolution; but that it violates the spirit of the constitution, will, I think, be disputed by no man who has heard this day's debate, and who wishes well to the freedom of his country; yet, if we are to believe the noble lord, this great grievance, this manifest violation of the first principles of the constitution, will not admit of a remedy; is not even capable of redress, unless we appeal at once to heaven. My lords, I have better hopes of the constitution, and a firmer confidence in the wisdom and constitutional authority of this house. It is to your ancestors, my lords, it is to the English barons, that we are indebted for the laws and constitution we possess. Their virtues were rude and uncultivated, but they were great and sincere. Their understandings were as little polished as their manners, but they had hearts to distinguish right from wrong; they had heads to distinguish truth from falsehood; they understood the rights of humanity, and they had spirit to maintain them.

My lords, I think that history has not done justice to their conduct, when they obtained from their sovereign that great acknowledgment of national rights contained in *magna charta*; they did not confine it to themselves alone, but delivered it as a common blessing to the whole people. They did not say, these are the rights of the great barons, or, these are the

rights of the great prelates: no, my lords, they said, in the simple Latin of the times, *nullus liber homo*, and provided as carefully for the meanest subject as for the greatest. These are uncouth words, and sound but poorly in the ears of scholars; but they are dear to the hearts of free men. These three words, *nullus liber homo*, have a meaning which interests us all: they deserve to be remembered—they deserve to be inculcated in our minds—they are worth all the classics. Let us not then degenerate from the glorious example of our ancestors. Those iron barons (for so I may call them when compared with the silken barons of modern days) were the guardians of the people; yet their virtues, my lords, were never engaged in a question of such importance as the present. A breach has been made in the constitution—the battlements are dismantled—the citadel is opened to the first invader—the walls totter—the constitution is not tenable.—What remains, then, but for us to stand foremost in the breach, to repair it, or perish in it.

Great pains have been taken to alarm us with the dreadful consequences of a difference between the two houses of parliament: that the house of commons will resent our presuming to take notice of their proceedings: that they will resent our daring to advise the crown, and never forgive us for attempting to save the state. My lords, I am sensible of the importance and difficulty of this great crisis: at a moment such as this, we are called upon to do our duty, without dreading the resentment of any man. But if apprehensions of this kind are to affect us, let us consider which we ought to respect most—the representative, or the collective body of the people. My lords, five hundred gentlemen are not ten millions; and if we must have a contention, let us take care to have the English nation on our side. If this question be given up, the freeholders of England are reduced to a condition baser than the peasantry of Poland. If they desert their own cause, they deserve to be slaves? My lords, this is not merely the cold opinion of my understanding, but the glowing expressions of what I feel. It is my heart that speaks. I know I speak warmly, my lords, but this warmth shall neither betray my argument nor my temper. The kingdom is in a flame; as mediators between the king and people, it is our duty to represent to him the true condition and temper of his subjects. It is a duty which no particular respect should hinder us from performing: and whenever his majesty shall demand our advice, it will then be our duty to enquire more minutely into the causes of the present

discontents. Whenever that enquiry shall come on, I pledge myself to the house to prove, that since the first institution of the house of commons, not a single precedent can be produced to justify their late proceedings. My noble and learned friend (the lord chancellor) has also pledged himself to the house, that he will support that assertion.

My lords, the character and circumstances of Mr. Wilkes have been very improperly introduced into this question, not only here, but in that court of judicature where his cause was tried:—I mean the house of commons. With one party he was a patriot of the first magnitude: with the other, the vilest incendiary. For my own part, I consider him merely and indifferently as an English subject, possessed of certain rights which the laws have given him, and which the laws alone can take from him. I am neither moved by his private vices, nor by his public merits. In his person, though he were the worst of men, I contend for the safety and security of the best: and God forbid, my lords, that there should be a power in this country measuring the civil rights of the subject by his moral character, or by any other rule but the fixed laws of the land. I believe, my lords, I shall not be suspected of any personal partiality to this unhappy man: I am not very conversant in pamphlets or newspapers; but from what I have heard, and from the little I have read, I may venture to affirm, that I have had my share in the compliments which have come from that quarter: and as for motives of ambition (for I must take to myself a part of the noble duke's insinuation,) I believe, my lords, there have been times in which I have had the honour of standing in such favour in the closet, that there must have been something extravagantly unreasonable in my wishes, if they might not all have been gratified. After neglecting those opportunities, I am now suspected of coming forward in the decline of life, in the anxious pursuit of wealth and power, which it is impossible for me to enjoy. Be it so: there is one ambition, at least, which I ever will acknowledge, which I will not renounce but with my life. It is the ambition of delivering to my posterity those rights of freedom which I have received from my ancestors. I am not now pleading the cause of an individual, but of every freeholder in England. In what manner this house may constitutionally interpose in their defence, and what kind of redress this case will require, and admit of, is not at present the subject of our consideration. The amendment, if agreed to, will naturally lead us to such an enquiry. That enquiry, may perhaps point out the

necessity of an act of the legislature, or it may lead us, perhaps, to desire a conference with the other house; which one noble lord affirms, is the only parliamentary way of proceeding; and which another noble lord assures us the house of commons would either not come to, or would break off with indignation. Leaving their lordships to reconcile that matter between themselves, I shall only say, that before we have enquired, we cannot be provided with materials; consequently, at present we are not prepared for a conference.

It is possible, my lords, that the enquiry I speak of may lead us to advise his majesty to dissolve the present parliament; nor have I any doubt of our right to give that advice, if we should think it necessary. His majesty will then determine whether he will yield to the united petitions of the people of England, or maintain the house of commons in the exercise of a legislative power, which heretofore abolished the house of lords, and overturned the monarchy. I willingly acquit the present house of commons of having actually formed so detestable a design: but they cannot themselves foresee to what excesses they may be carried hereafter: and for my own part, I should be sorry to trust to their future moderation. Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who possess it; and this I know, my lords, that where law ends, tyranny begins!

Lord Chatham on the state of the Nation—1770.

My Lords—I shall give you my reasons for concurring with the motion, not methodically, but as they occur to my mind. I may wander, perhaps, from the exact parliamentary debate; but I hope I shall say nothing but what may deserve your attention, and what if not strictly proper at present, would be fit to be said, when the state of the nation shall come to be considered. My uncertain state of health must plead my excuse. I am now in some pain, and very probably may not be able to attend my duty when I desire it most in this house. I thank God, my lords, for having thus long preserved so inconsiderable a being as I am, to take a part upon this great occasion, and to contribute my endeavours, such as they are, to restore, to save, to confirm the constitution. My lords, I need not look abroad for grievances. The grand capital mischief is fixed at home. It corrupts the very foundation of our political existence, and preys upon the vitals of the state. The constitution has

been grossly violated.—THE CONSTITUTION AT THIS MOMENT STANDS VIOLATED. Until that wound be healed, until the grievance be redressed, it is in vain to recommend union to parliament—in vain to promote concord among the people. If we mean seriously to unite the nation within itself, we must convince them that their complaints are regarded, and that their inquiries shall be answered. On that foundation, I would take the lead in recommending peace and harmony to the people: on any other, I would never wish to see them united again. If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity: if not, MAY DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER! I know to what point this doctrine and this language will appear directed. But I feel the principles of an Englishman, and I utter them without apprehension or reserve. The crisis is indeed alarming; so much the more does it require a prudent relaxation on the part of government. If the king's servants will not permit a constitutional question to be decided on according to the forms and on the principles of the constitution, it must then be decided in some other manner: and rather than it should be given up, rather than the nation should surrender their birthright to a despotic minister, I hope, my lords, old as I am, I shall see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between the people and government. My lords, this is not the language of faction. Let it be tried by that criterion by which alone we can distinguish what is faction from what is not—by the principles of the English constitution. I have been bred up in these principles, and know that when the liberty of the subject is invaded, and all redress denied him, resistance is justified. If I had a doubt upon the matter, I should follow the example set us by the most reverend bench; with whom I believe it is a maxim, when any doubt in point of faith arises, or any question of controversy is started, to appeal at once to the greatest source and evidence of our religion—I mean the Holy Bible. The constitution has its political bible, by which, if it be fairly consulted, every political question may, and ought to be determined. *Magna Charta*, the right of petition, and the bill of rights, form that code which I call the bible of the English constitution.—Had some of his majesty's unhappy predecessors trusted less to the comments of their ministers, had they been better read in the text itself, the glorious revolution would have remained only possible in theory, and would not now have

existed upon record—a formidable example to their successors.

My lords, the condition of his majesty's affairs in Ireland, and the state of that kingdom within itself, will undoubtedly make a very material part of your lordship's inquiry. I am not sufficiently informed to enter into the subject so fully as I could wish, but from what appears to the public and my own observation, I confess I cannot give the ministry much credit for the spirit or prudence of their conduct. I see that where their measures are well chosen, they are incapable of carrying them through without some unhappy mixture of weakness or imprudence. They are incapable of doing entirely right. My lords, I do from my conscience, and from the best weighed principles of my understanding, applaud the augmentation of the army. As a military plan, I believe it has been judiciously arranged. In a political view, I am convinced it was for the welfare, for the safety of the whole empire. But, my lords, with all these advantages, with all these recommendations, if I had the honour of advising his majesty, I would never have consented to his accepting the augmentation with that absurd, dishonourable condition which the ministry have submitted to annex to it. My lords, I revere the just prerogative of the crown, and would contend for it as warmly as for the rights of the people. They are linked together, and naturally support each other. I would not touch a feather of the prerogative. The expression perhaps is too light; but since I have made use of it, let me add, that the entire command and power of directing the local disposition of the army, is to the royal prerogative as the master feather in the eagle's wing; and if I were permitted to carry the allusion a little farther, I would say, they have disarmed the imperial bird, the "*minist:um fulminis alitem.*" The army is the thunder of the crown. The ministry have tied up the hand which should direct the bolt.

My lords, I remember that Minorca was lost for want of four battalions: they could not be spared from hence, and there was a delicacy about taking them from Ireland. I was one of those who promoted an inquiry into that matter in the other house; and I was convinced we had not regular troops sufficient for the necessary service of the nation. Since the moment the plan of augmentation was first talked of, I have constantly and warmly supported it among my friends; I have recommended it to several members of the Irish house of commons, and exhorted them to support it with their utmost interest in parliament. I did not foresee, nor could I conceive

it possible, the ministry would accept of it, with a condition that makes the plan itself ineffectual, and as far as it operates, defeats every useful purpose of maintaining a standing military force. His majesty is now so confined with his promise, that he must leave twelve thousand men locked up in Ireland, let the situation of his affairs abroad, or the approach of danger to this country, be ever so alarming, unless there be an actual rebellion or invasion in Great Britain. Even in the two cases excepted by the king's promise, the mischief must have already begun to operate, must have already taken effect, before his majesty can be authorised to send for the assistance of his Irish army. He has not left himself the power of taking any preventive measures; let his intelligence be ever so certain, let his apprehensions of invasion or rebellion be ever so well founded; unless the traitor be actually in arms, unless the enemy be in the heart of your country, he cannot move a single man from Ireland.

I feel myself compelled, my lords, to return to that subject which occupies and interests me most—I mean the internal disorder of the constitution, and the remedy it demands. But first, I would observe, there is one point upon which I think the noble duke has not explained himself. I do not mean to catch at words, but if possible to possess the sense of what I hear. I would treat every man with candour, and should expect the same candour in return. For the noble duke, in particular, I have every personal respect and regard. I never desire to understand him but as he wishes to be understood. His grace, I think, has laid much stress upon the diligence of the several public offices, and the assistance given them by the administration, in preparing a state of the expenses of his majesty's civil government, for the information of parliament, and for the satisfaction of the public. He has given us a number of plausible reasons for their not having yet been able to finish the account; but as far as I am able to recollect, he has not yet given us the smallest reason to hope that it ever will be finished, or that it ever will be laid before parliament.

My lords, I am not unpractised in business; and if with all that apparent diligence, and all that assistance which the noble duke speaks of, the accounts in question have not yet been made up, I am convinced there must be a defect in some of the public offices, which ought strictly to be enquired into, and severely punished. But, my lords, the waste of the public money, is not of itself so important as the pernicious purpose to which we have reason to suspect that money has been applied. For some years past, there has been an influx of

wealth into this country, which has been attended with many fatal consequences : because it has not been the regular, natural produce of labour and industry. The riches of Asia have been poured in upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but I fear Asiatic principles of government. Without connexions, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into parliament, by such a torrent of private corruption as no private hereditary fortune could resist. My lords, I say nothing but what is within the knowledge of us all. The corruption of the people is the great original cause of the discontents of the people themselves, of the enterprise of the crown, and the notorious decay of the internal vigour of the constitution. For this great evil some immediate remedy must be provided : and I confess, my lords, I did hope that his majesty's servants would not have suffered so many years of peace to elapse without paying some attention to an object which ought to engage and interest us all. I flattered myself I should see some barriers thrown up in defence of the constitution, some impediment formed to stop the rapid progress of corruption. I doubt not we all agree that something must be done. I shall offer my own thoughts, such as they are, to the consideration of the house ; and I wish that every noble lord who hears me would be as ready as I am to contribute his opinion to this important service. I will not call my own sentiments crude and indigested : it would be unfit for me to offer any thing to your lordships which I had not well considered ; and this subject, I own, has long occupied my thoughts. I will now give them to your lordships without reserve. Whoever understands the theory of the English constitution, and will compare it with the fact, must see at once how widely they differ. We must reconcile them to each other, if we wish to save the liberties of this country. We must reduce our political practice as nearly as possible to our political principles. The constitution intended that there should be a permanent relation between the constituent and representative body of the people. Will any man affirm that as the house of commons is now formed, that relation is in any degree preserved ? My lords, it is not preserved : it is destroyed. Let us be cautious however, how we have recourse to violent expedients.

The boroughs of this country have properly enough been called the rotten parts of the constitution. I have lived in Cornwall, and without entering into an invidious particularity, have seen enough to justify the appellation. But in my judgment, my lords, these boroughs, corrupt as they are, must be

considered as the natural infirmities of the constitution. Like the infirmities of the body, we must bear them in patience, and submit to carry them about with us. The limb is mortified, but the amputation might be death.

Let us try, my lords, whether some gentle remedies may not be discovered. Since we cannot cure the disorder, let us endeavour to infuse such a portion of new health into the constitution as may enable it to support its most inveterate diseases.

The representation of the counties is, I think, still preserved pure and uncorrupted. That of the great cities is upon a footing equally respectable; and there are many of the larger trading towns, which still preserve their independence. The infusion of health which I now allude to, would be to permit every county to elect one member more in addition to their present representation. The knights of the shires approach nearest to the constitutional representation of the country, because they represent the soil. It is not in the little dependent boroughs, it is in the great cities and counties that the strength and vigour of the constitution resides, and by them alone, if an unhappy question should ever arise, will the constitution be honestly and firmly defended. I would increase that strength, because I think it is the only security we have against the profligacy of the times, the corruption of the people, and the ambition of the crown.

I think I have weighed every possible objection that can be raised against a plan of this nature; and I confess I see but one which to me carries any appearance of solidity. It may be said, perhaps, that when the act passed for uniting the two kingdoms, the number of persons who were to represent the whole nation in parliament was proportioned and fixed on for ever—that the limitation is a fundamental article, and cannot be altered without hazarding a dissolution of the union.

My lords, no man who hears me can have a greater reverence for that wise and important act than I have. I reverence the memory of that great prince who first formed the plan, and of those illustrious patriots who carried it into execution. As a contract, every article of it should be inviolable. As the common basis of the strength and happiness of two nations, every article of it should be sacred. I hope I cannot be suspected of conceiving a thought so detestable, as to propose an advantage to one of the contracting parties, at the expense of the other. No, my lords, I mean that the benefit should be universal, and the consent to receive it unanimous. Nothing less than a most urgent and important occasion should

persuade me to vary even from the letter of the act; but there is no occasion, however urgent, however important, that should ever induce me to depart from the spirit of it. Let that spirit be religiously preserved. Let us follow the principle upon which the representation of the two countries was proportioned at the union; and when we increase the number of representatives for the English counties, let the shires of Scotland be allowed an equal privilege. On these terms, and while the proportion limited by the union is preserved between the two nations, I apprehend that no man who is a friend to either, will object to an alteration, so necessary for the security of both. I do not speak of the authority of the legislature to carry such a measure into effect, because I imagine no man will dispute it. But I would not wish the legislature to interpose by an exertion of its power alone, without the cheerful concurrence of all parties. My object is the happiness and security of the two nations, and I would not wish to obtain it without their mutual consent.

My lords, besides my warm approbation of the motion made by the noble lord, I have a particular and personal pleasure in rising up to second it. I consider my seconding his lordship's motion, and I would wish it to be considered by others, as a public demonstration of that cordial union which I am happy to affirm subsists between us—of my attachment to those principles which he has so well defended, and of my respect for his person. There has been a time, my lords, when those who wished well to neither of us, who wished to see us separated for ever, found a sufficient gratification for their malignity against us both. But that time is happily at an end. The friends of this country will, I doubt not, hear with pleasure, that the noble lord and his friends are now united with me and mine, upon a principle which I trust will make our union indissoluble. It is not to possess, or divide, the emoluments of government; but, if possible, to save the state. Upon this ground we met—upon this ground we stand, firm and inseparable. No ministerial artifices, no private offers, no secret seduction, can divide us. United as we are, we can set the profoundest policy of the present ministry, their grand, their only *arcanum* of government, their *divide et impera* at defiance.

I hope an early day will be agreed to for considering the state of the nation. My infirmities must fall heavily upon me, indeed, if I do not attend my duties that day. When I consider my age and unhappy state of health, I feel how little I am personally interested in the event of any political question. But I look forward to others, and am determined as,

far as my poor ability extends, to convey to those who come after me, the blessings which I cannot long hope to enjoy myself.

Lord Mansfield's Speech in the House of Lords, 1770, on the Bill for preventing the Delays of Justice, by claiming the Privilege of Parliament.

My Lords,—When I consider the importance of this bill to your lordships, I am not surprised it has taken up so much of your consideration. It is a bill, indeed, of no common magnitude; it is no less than to take away from two-thirds of the legislative body of this great kingdom, certain privileges and immunities of which they have been long possessed. Perhaps there is no situation the human mind can be placed in, that is so difficult and so trying, as when it is made a judge in its own cause. There is something implanted in the breast of man so attached to self, so tenacious of privileges once obtained, that, in such a situation, either to discuss with impartiality, or decide with justice, has ever been held the summit of all human virtue. The bill now in question puts your lordships in this very predicament; and I doubt not but the wisdom of your decision will convince the world, that where self-interest and justice are in opposite scales, the latter will ever preponderate with your lordships.

Privileges have been granted to legislators in all ages, and in all countries. The practice is founded in wisdom; and, indeed, it is peculiarly essential to the constitution of this country, that the members of both houses should be free in their persons, in cases of civil suits: for there may come a time when the safety and welfare of this whole empire, may depend upon their attendance in parliament. I am far from advising any measures that would in future endanger the state: but the bill before your lordships has, I am confident, no such tendency; for it expressly secures the persons of members of either House in all civil suits. This being the case, I confess, when I see many noble lords, for whose judgment I have a very great respect, standing up to oppose a bill which is calculated merely to facilitate the recovery of just and legal debts, I am astonished and amazed. They, I doubt not, oppose the bill upon public principles: I would not wish to insinuate, that private interest had the least weight in their determination.

The bill has been frequently proposed, and as frequently has miscarried: but it was always lost in the lower house.

Little did I think, when it had passed the Commons, that it possibly could have met with such opposition here. Shall it be said, that you, my lords, the grand council of the nation, the highest judicial and legislative body of the realm, endeavour to evade, by privilege, those very laws which you enforce on your fellow-subjects? Forbid it justice!—I am sure, were the noble lords as well acquainted as I am, with but half the difficulties and delays occasioned in the courts of justice, under pretence of privilege, they would not, nay they could not, oppose this bill.

I have waited with patience to hear what arguments might be urged against the bill; but I have waited in vain: the truth is, there is no argument that can weigh against it. The justice and expediency of the bill are such as render it self-evident. It is a proposition of that nature, that can neither be weakened by argument, nor entangled with sophistry. Much, indeed, has been said by some noble lords, on the wisdom of our ancestors, and how differently they thought from us. They not only decreed, that privilege should prevent all civil suits from proceeding during the sitting of parliament, but likewise granted protection to the very servants of members. I shall say nothing on the wisdom of our ancestors: it might perhaps appear invidious; that is not necessary in the present case. I shall only say, that the noble lords who flatter themselves with the weight of that reflection, should remember, that as circumstances alter, things themselves should alter. Formerly, it was not so fashionable either for masters or servants to run in debt, as it is at present. Formerly, we were not that great commercial nation we are at present; nor formerly were merchants and manufacturers members of parliament, as at present. The case is now very different: both merchants and manufacturers are, with great propriety, elected members of the lower house. Commerce having thus got into the legislative body of the kingdom, privilege must be done away. We all know, that the very soul and essence of trade are regular payments: and sad experience teaches us, that there are men, who will not make their regular payments without the compulsive power of the laws. The law then ought to be equally open to all. Any exemption to particular men, or particular ranks of men, is, in a free and commercial country, a solecism of the grossest nature.

But I will not trouble your lordships with arguments for that, which is sufficiently evident without any. I shall only say a few words to some noble lords, who foresee much inconveniency, from the persons of their servants being liable to be arrested. One noble lord observes, that the coachman

of a peer may be arrested, while he is driving his master to the House, and that, consequently, he will not be able to attend his duty in parliament. If this were actually to happen, there are so many methods by which the member might still get to the House, that I can hardly think the noble lord is serious in his objection. Another noble peer said, That, by this bill, one might lose his most valuable and honest servants. This I hold to be a contradiction in terms: for he can neither be a valuable servant, nor an honest man, who gets into debt which he is neither able nor willing to pay, till compelled by the law. If my servant, by unforeseen accidents, has got into debt, and I still wish to retain him, I certainly would pay the demand. But upon no principle of liberal legislation whatever, can my servant have a title to set his creditors at defiance, while for forty shillings only, the honest tradesman may be torn from his family, and locked up in a jail. It is monstrous injustice! I flatter myself, however, the determination of this day will entirely put an end to all such partial proceedings for the future, by passing into a law the bill now under your lordship's consideration.

I come now to speak upon what, indeed, I would have gladly avoided, had I not been particularly pointed at, for the part I have taken in this bill. It has been said by a noble lord on my left hand, that I likewise am running the race of popularity. If the noble lord means by popularity, that applause bestowed by after-ages on good and virtuous actions, I have long been struggling in that race: to what purpose, all-trying Time can alone determine. But if the noble lord means that mushroom popularity, which is raised without merit, and lost without a crime, he is much mistaken in his opinion. I defy the noble lord to point out a single action in my life, in which the popularity of the times ever had the smallest influence on my determinations. I thank God I have a more permanent and steady rule for my conduct,—the dictates of my own breast. They who have foregone that pleasing adviser, and given up their mind to be the slave of every popular impulse, I sincerely pity: I pity them still more, if their vanity leads them to mistake the shouts of a mob for the trumpet of fame. Experience might inform them, that many, who have been saluted with the huzzas of a crowd one day, have received their execrations the next; and many, who, by the popularity of their times, have been held up as spotless patriots, have nevertheless appeared upon the historian's page, when truth has triumphed over delusion,

the assassins of liberty. Why then the noble lord can think I am ambitious of present popularity, that echo of folly, and shadow of renown, I am at a loss to determine. Besides, I do not know that the bill now before your lordships will be popular; it depends much upon the caprice of the day. It may not be popular to compel people to pay their debts; and, in that case, the present must be a very unpopular bill. It may not be popular neither to take away any of the privileges of parliament: for I very well remember, and many of your lordships may remember, that, not long ago, the popular cry was for the extension of privilege; and so far did they carry it at that time, that it was said, the privilege protected members even in criminal actions; nay, such was the power of popular prejudices over weak minds, that the very decisions of some of the courts were tinged with that doctrine. It was undoubtedly an abominable doctrine; I thought so then, and I think so still; but nevertheless, it was a popular doctrine, and came immediately from those who were called the friends of liberty, how deservedly time will show. True liberty, in my opinion, can only exist when justice is equally administered to all; to the king and to the beggar. Where is the justice then, or where is the law that protects a member of parliament, more than any other man, from the punishment due to his crimes? The laws of this country allow of no place, nor any employment, to be a sanctuary for crimes; and where I have the honour to sit as judge, neither royal favour, nor popular applause, shall ever protect the guilty.

I have now only to beg pardon for having employed so much of your lordship's time; and I am sorry a bill, fraught with so many good consequences, has not met with an abler advocate; but I doubt not your lordship's determination will convince the world, that a bill, calculated to contribute so much to the equal distribution of justice as the present, requires with your lordships but very little support.

Colonel Barre in reply to Lord North, on a message from the King on American affairs, British House of Commons, —1774.

I rise with great unwillingness to oppose this measure in its very infancy, before its features are well formed, or to claim that attention which this house seems to bestow with so much reluctance on any arguments in behalf of America. But I must call you to witness, that I have been hitherto silent, or acquiescent, to an unexpected degree of modera-

tion. While your proceedings, severe as they were, had the least colour of foundation in justice, I desisted from opposing them; nay more—though your bill for stopping up the port of Boston contained in it many things most cruel, unwarrantable, and unjust, yet as they were couched under those general principles of justice, retribution for injury, and compensation for loss sustained, I not only desisted from opposing, but assented to its passing. The bill was a bad way of doing what was right; but still it was doing what was right. I would not, therefore, by opposing it, seem to countenance those violences which had been committed abroad; and of which no man disapproves more than I do.

Upon the present question I am totally unprepared. The motion itself bears no sort of resemblance to what was formerly announced. The noble lord and his friends have had every advantage of preparation. They have reconnoitred the field, and chosen their ground. To attack them in these circumstances may, perhaps, savour more of the gallantry of a soldier, than of the wisdom of a senator. But, sir, the proposition is so glaring; so unprecedented in any former proceedings of parliament; so unwarranted by any delay, denial, or perversion of justice in America; so big with misery and oppression to that country, and with danger to this—that the first blush of it is sufficient to alarm and rouse me to opposition.

It is proposed to stigmatise a whole people as persecutors of innocence, and men incapable of doing justice; yet you have not a single fact on which to ground that imputation. I expected the noble lord would have supported this motion by producing instances of the officers of government in America having been prosecuted with unremitting vengeance, and brought to cruel and dishonourable deaths by the violence and injustice of American juries. But he has not produced one such instance; and I will tell you more, sir—he cannot produce one. The instances which have happened are directly in the teeth of his proposition. Colonel Preston, and the soldiers, who shed the blood of the people, were fairly tried, and fully acquitted. It was an American jury, a New England jury, a Boston jury, which tried and acquitted them. Colonel Preston has, under his hand, publicly declared, that the inhabitants of the very town in which their fellow citizens had been sacrificed, were his advocates and defenders. Is this the return you make them? Is this the encouragement you give them to persevere in so laudable a spirit of justice and moderation? When a commissioner of the customs, aided

by a number of ruffians, assaulted the celebrated Mr. Otis in the midst of the town of Boston, and with the most barbarous violence almost murdered him, did the mob, which is said to rule that town, take vengeance on the perpetrators of this inhuman outrage, against a person who is supposed to be their demagogue? No, sir, the law tried them: the law gave heavy damages against them; which the irreparably injured Mr. Otis most generously forgave, upon the acknowledgment of the offence. Can you expect any more such instances of magnanimity under the principle of the bill now proposed? But the noble lord says, "We must now show the Americans that we will no longer sit quiet under their insults." Sir, I am sorry to say that this is declamation, unbecoming the character and place of him who utters it. In what moment have you been quiet? Has not your government for many years past been a series of irritating and offensive measures, without policy, principle, or moderation? Have not your troops and your ships made a vain and insulting parade in their streets and in their harbours? It has seemed to be your study to irritate and inflame them. You have stimulated discontent into disaffection, and you are now goading that disaffection into rebellion. Can you expect to be well informed when you listen only to partisans? Can you expect to do justice when you will not hear the accused?

Let us consider, sir, the precedents which are offered to warrant this proceeding—the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act in 1745—the making smugglers triable in Middlesex, and the Scotch rebels in England. Sir, the first was done upon the most pressing necessity, *flagrante bello*, with a dangerous rebellion in the very heart of the kingdom; the second, you well know, was warranted by the most evident facts, armed bodies of smugglers marched publicly, without presentment or molestation from the people of the county of Sussex, who, even to their magistrates, were notoriously connected with them. They murdered the officers of the revenue, engaged your troops, and openly violated the laws. Experience convinced you, that the juries of that, and of the counties similarly circumstanced, would never find such criminals guilty; and upon the conviction of this necessity you passed the act. The same necessity justified the trying Scotch rebels in England. Rebellion had raised its dangerous standard in Scotland, and the principles of it had so universally tainted that people that it was manifestly in vain to expect justice from them against their countrymen. But in America not a single act of rebellion has been committed.

Let the crown law officers, who sit by the noble lord, declare, if they can, that there is upon your table a single evidence of treason or rebellion in America. They know, sir, there is not one, and yet are proceeding as if there were a thousand.

Having thus proved, Sir, that the proposed bill is without precedent to support, and without facts to warrant it, let us now view the consequences it is likely to produce. A soldier feels himself so much above the rest of mankind, that the strict hand of the civil power is necessary to controul the haughtiness of disposition which such superiority inspires. You know, sir, what constant care is taken in this country to remind the military that they are under the restraint of the civil power. In America their superiority is felt still greater. Remove the check of the law, as this bill intends, and what insolence, what outrage may you not expect? Every passion that is pernicious to society will be let loose upon a people unaccustomed to licentiousness and intemperance. On the one hand will be a people who have been long complaining of oppression, and see in the soldiery those who are to enforce it upon them; on the other, an army studiously prepossessed with the idea of that people being rebellious, unawed by the apprehension of civil controul, and actuated by that arbitrary spirit which prevails even amongst the best of troops. In this situation the prudent officer will find it impossible to restrain his soldiers, or prevent that provocation which will rouse the tamest people to resistance. The inevitable consequence will be, that you will produce the rebellion you pretend to obviate.

I have been bred a soldier; having served long.—I respect the profession, and live in the strictest habits of friendship with a great many officers; but there is not a country gentleman of you all, who looks upon the army with a more jealous eye, or would more strenuously resist the setting them above the controul of the civil power. No man is to be trusted in such a situation. It is not the fault of the soldier, but the vice of human nature, which, unbridled by law, becomes insolent and licentious, wantonly violates the peace of society, and tramples upon the rights of human kind.

With respect to those gentlemen who are destined to this service, they are much to be pitied. It is a service, which an officer of feeling and of worth must enter upon with infinite reluctance. A service, in which his only merit must be, *to bear much, and do little*. With the melancholy prospect before him of commencing a civil war, and imbruing his hands

in the blood of his fellow-subjects; his feelings, his life, his honour are hazarded, without a possibility of any equivalent or compensation. You may perhaps think a law, founded upon this motion, will be his protection. I am mistaken if it will. Who is to execute it? He must be a bold man indeed who makes the attempt: if the people are so exasperated, that it is unsafe to bring the man who has injured them to trial, let the governor who withdraws him from justice look to himself. The people will not endure it: they would no longer deserve the reputation of being descended from the loins of Englishmen, if they did endure it.

When I stand up as an advocate for America, I feel myself the firmest friend of this country. We stand upon the commerce of America. Alienate your colonies, and you will subvert the foundation of your riches and your strength. Let the banners be once spread in America, and you are an undone people. You are urging this desperate, this destructive issue. You are urging it with such violence, and by measures tending so manifestly to that fatal point, that, but for that state of madness which only could inspire such an intention, it would appear to be your deliberate purpose. In assenting to your late bill I resisted the violence of America, at the hazard of my popularity there. I now resist your frenzy, at the same risk here. You have changed your ground. You are becoming the aggressors, and offering the last of human outrages to the people of America, by subjecting them, in effect, to military execution. I know the vast superiority of your disciplined troops over the Provincials; but beware how you supply the want of discipline by desperation. Instead of sending them the olive branch, you have sent the naked sword. By the olive branch I mean a repeal of all the late laws, fruitless to you and oppressive to them.

Ask their aid in a constitutional manner, and they will give it to the utmost of their ability. They never yet refused it when properly required. Your journals bear the recorded acknowledgments of the zeal with which they have contributed to the general necessities of the state. What madness is it that prompts you to attempt obtaining that by force which you may more certainly procure by requisition? They may be flattered into any thing; but they are too much like yourselves to be driven. Have some indulgence for your own likeness; respect their sturdy English virtue; retract your odious exertions of authority, and remember, that the first step towards making them contribute to your wants, is to reconcile them to your government.

Answer of Colonel Barre to one of the Ministry, who had exclaimed—“ And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence, until they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under ?”

THEY planted by your care ! No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny, to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable ; and, among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe, the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of God’s earth ; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those that should have been their friends. They nourished up by your indulgence ! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them, in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them—men, whose behaviour on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them—men promoted to the highest seats of justice ; some who to my knowledge were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own. They protected by your arms ! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence : have exerted a valour, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country, whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me, remember I this day told you so, that same spirit of freedom, which actuated that people at first, will accompany them still—but prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat ; what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this house may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant in

that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if ever they should be violated—but the subject is too delicate—I will say no more.

Extract from a Speech of Governor Pownel, on Lord North's motion for the Repeal of the Port Duties, 1770.

“If it be asked, whether it will remove apprehensions excited by your resolutions and address of last year for bringing to trial in England persons accused of treason in America, I answer no. If it be asked, if this commercial concession would quiet the minds of Americans as to the political doubts and fears which have struck them to the heart throughout the continent, I answer no. So long as they are left in doubt, whether the *habeas corpus* act, whether the bill of rights, whether the common law, as now existing in England, have any operation and effect in America, they cannot be satisfied. At this hour they know not, whether their civil constitutions be not suspended and superseded by the establishment of a military force. The Americans think that they have, in return to all their applications, experienced a temper and disposition that is unfriendly;—that the enjoyment and exercise of the common rights of freemen have been refused to them. Never, with these views will they solicit the favor of this house. Never more will they wish to bring before parliament the grievances under which they conceive themselves to labor. Deeply as they feel, they suffer with a determined and alarming silence. For their liberty they are under no apprehensions. It was first planted under the auspicious genius of the constitution. It has grown up into a verdant and flourishing tree; and should any severe strokes be aimed at the branches, and fate reduces it to the bare stock, it would only take deeper root, and spring out again more hardy and durable than before. They trust to Providence, and wait with firmness and fortitude the issue.”

Lord Chatham's Speech on the Bill for quartering soldiers in America, 1774.

“If, my lords, we take a transient view of the motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow-subjects in America to leave their native country, to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored regions of the western

world, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will naturally subside. There was no corner of the globe to which they would not have fled, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical spirit which prevailed at that period in their native country; and viewing them in their originally forlorn and now flourishing state, they may be cited as illustrious instances to instruct the world, what great exertions mankind will naturally make, when left to the free exercise of their own powers. Notwithstanding my intention to give my hearty negative to the question now before you, I condemn, my lords, in the severest manner, the turbulent and unwarrantable conduct of the Americans in some instances, particularly in the late riots at Boston; but, my lords, the mode which has been pursued to bring them back to a sense of their duty, is so diametrically opposite to every principle of sound policy, as to excite my utmost astonishment. You have involved the guilty and the innocent in one common punishment, and revenge the crimes of a few lawless depredators upon the whole body of the inhabitants. My lords, the different provinces of America, in the excess of their gratitude for the repeal of the Stamp Act, seemed to vie with each other in expressions of loyalty and duty; but the moment they perceived your intention to tax them was renewed under a pretence of serving the East India company, their resentment got the ascendant of their moderation, and hurried them into actions which their cooler reason would abhor. But, my lords, from the whole complexion of the late proceedings, I cannot but incline to think that administration has purposely irritated them into these violent acts, in order to gratify their own malice and revenge. What else could induce them to dress taxation, the father of American sedition, in the robes of an East India director, but to break in upon that mutual peace and harmony, which then so happily subsisted between the colonies, and the mother country? My lords, it has always been my fixed and unalterable opinion, and I will carry it with me to the grave, that this country had no right under heaven to tax America. It is contrary to all the principles of justice and civil policy: it is contrary to that essential, that unalterable *right in nature*, ingrafted into the British constitution as a fundamental law, that what a man has honestly acquired is absolutely his own, which he may freely give, but which cannot be taken from him without his consent. Pass then, my lords, instead of these harsh and severe edicts, an amnesty over their errors: by measures of lenity and affection allure them to their duty: act the part of a generous and forgiving

parent. A period may arrive when this parent may stand in need of every assistance she can receive from a grateful and affectionate offspring. The welfare of this country, my lords, has ever been my greatest joy, and under all the vicissitudes of my life has afforded me the most pleasing consolation. Should the all-disposing hand of Providence prevent me from contributing my poor and feeble aid in the day of her distress, my prayers shall be ever for her prosperity. 'Length of days be in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour. May her ways be the ways of pleasantness; and all her paths be peace!'"

*Extract from Mr. Burke's Speech on American Taxation,
April 19, 1774.*

Sir,—I agree with the honourable gentleman who spoke last, that this subject is not new in this house. Very disagreeably to this house, very unfortunately to this nation, and to the peace and prosperity of this whole empire, no topic has been more familiar to us. For nine long years, session after session, we have been lashed round and round this miserable circle of occasional arguments and temporary expedients. I am sure our heads must turn, and our stomachs nauseate with them. We have had them in every shape; we have looked at them in every point of view. Invention is exhausted; reason is fatigued; experience has given judgment; but obstinacy is not yet conquered.

But I hear it rung continually in my ears, now and formerly,—“the preamble! what will become of the preamble, if you repeal this tax?”—I am sorry to be compelled so often to expose the calamities and disgraces of parliament. The preamble of this law, standing as it now stands, has the lie direct given to it by the provisional part of the act; if that can be called provisional which makes no provision. I should be afraid to express myself in this manner, especially in the face of such a formidable array of ability as is now drawn up before me, composed of the ancient household troops of that side of the house, and the new recruits from this, if the matter were not clear and indisputable. Nothing but truth could give me this firmness; but plain truth and clear evidence can be beat down by no ability. The clerk will be so good as to turn to the act, and to read this favourite preamble:

Whereas it is expedient that a revenue should be raised in your majesty's dominions in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and support of civil government, in such provinces where it shall be found necessary; and towards further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the said dominions.

You have heard this pompous performance. Now where is the revenue which is to do all these mighty things? Five sixths repealed—abandoned—sunk—gone—lost for ever.—Does the poor solitary tea duty support the purposes of this preamble? is not the supply there stated as effectually abandoned as if the tea duty had perished in the general wreck? Here, Mr. Speaker is a precious mockery—a preamble without an act—taxes granted in order to be repealed—and the reasons of the grant still carefully kept up! This is raising a revenue in America! This is preserving dignity in England! If you repeal this tax in compliance with the motion, I readily admit that you lose this fair preamble. Estimate your loss in it. The object of the act is gone already; and all you suffer is the purging the statute-book of the opprobrium of an empty, absurd, and false recital.

Sir, It is not a pleasant consideration; but nothing in the world can read so awful and so instructive a lesson, as the conduct of ministry in this business, upon the mischief of not having large and liberal ideas in the management of great affairs. Never have the servants of the state looked at the whole of your complicated interests in one connected view. They have taken things, by bits and scraps, some at one time and one pretence, and some at another, just as they pressed, without any sort of regard to their relations or dependencies. They never had any kind of system, right or wrong; but only invented occasionally some miserable tale for the day, in order meanly to sneak out of difficulties, into which they had proudly strutted. And they were put to all these shifts and devices, full of meanness and full of mischief, in order to pilfer piecemeal a repeal of an act, which they had not the generous courage, when they found and felt their error, honourably and fairly to disclaim. By such management, by the irresistible operation of feeble councils, so paltry a sum as three-pence in the eyes of a financier, so insignificant an article as tea in the eyes of a philosopher, have shaken the pillars of a commercial empire that circle the whole globe.

Could any thing be a subject of more just alarm to America than to see you go out of the plain high road of finance,

and give up your most certain revenues and your clearest interest, merely for the sake of insulting your colonies? No man ever doubted that the commodity of tea could bear an imposition of three-pence. But no commodity will bear three-pence, or will bear a penny, when the general feelings of men are irritated, and two millions of people are resolved not to pay. The feelings of the colonies were formerly the feelings of Great Britain. Theirs were formerly the feelings of Mr. Hampden when called upon for the payment of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave. It is the weight of that preamble, of which you are so fond, and not the weight of the duty, that the Americans are unable and unwilling to bear.

They tell you, sir, that your dignity is tied to it. I know not how it happens, but this dignity of yours is a terrible incumbrance to you; for it has of late been ever at war with your interest, your equity, and every idea of your policy. Shew the thing you contend for to be reason; shew it to be common sense; shew it to be the means of attaining some useful end; and then I am content to allow it what dignity you please. But what dignity is derived from the perseverance in absurdity is more than I ever could discern.

If this dignity, which is to stand in the place of just policy and common sense, had been consulted, there was a time for preserving it, and for reconciling it with any concession. If, in the session of 1768, that session of idle terror and empty menaces, you had, as you were often pressed to do, repealed these taxes; then your strong operations would have come justified and enforced, in case your concessions had been returned by outrages. But, preposterously, you began with violence; and before terrors could have any effect, either good or bad, your ministers immediately begged pardon, and promised that repeal to the obstinate Americans which they had refused in an easy, good natured, complying British parliament. The assemblies, which had been publicly and avowedly dissolved for *their* contumacy, are called together to receive *your* submission. Your ministerial directors blustered like tragic tyrants here; and then went mumping with a sore leg in America, canting and whining, and complaining of faction, which represented them as friends to a revenue from the colonies.

Sir, they who are friends to the schemes of American revenue say, that the commercial restraint is full as hard a law

for America to live under. I think so too. I think it, if uncompensated, to be a condition of as rigorous servitude as men can be subject to. But America bore it from the fundamental act of navigation until 1764.—Why? because men do bear the inevitable constitution of their original nature with all its infirmities. The act of navigation attended the colonies from their infancy, grew with their growth, and strengthened with their strength. They were confirmed in obedience to it, even more by usage than by law. They scarcely had remembered a time when they were not subject to such restraint. Besides, they were indemnified for it by a pecuniary compensation. Their monopolist happened to be one of the richest men in the world. By his immense capital (primarily employed, not for their benefit, but his own) they were enabled to proceed with their fisheries, their agriculture, their ship-building (and their trade too within the limits), in such a manner as got far the start of the slow languid operations of unassisted nature. This capital was a hot-bed to them. Nothing in the history of mankind is like their progress. For my part, I never cast an eye on their flourishing commerce, and their cultivated and commodious life, but they seem to me rather ancient nations grown to perfection through a long series of fortunate events, and a train of successful industry, accumulating wealth in many centuries; than the colonies of yesterday, than a set of miserable outcasts, a few years ago, not so much sent as thrown out, on the bleak and barren shore of a desolate wilderness three thousand miles from all civilised intercourse.

All this was done by England, whilst England pursued trade and forgot revenue. You not only acquired commerce, but you actually created the very objects of trade in America; and by that creation you raised the trade of this kingdom at least fourfold. America had the compensation of your capital, which made her bear her servitude. She had another compensation, which you are now going to take away from her. She had, except the commercial restraint, every characteristic mark of a free people in all her internal concerns. She had the image of the British constitution. She had the substance. She was taxed by her own representatives. She chose most of her own magistrates. She paid them all. She had in effect the sole disposal of her own internal government. This whole state of commercial servitude and civil liberty, taken together, is certainly not perfect freedom: but comparing it with the ordinary circumstances of human nature, it was an happy and liberal condition.

Extract from the same Speech on American Taxation, with a sketch of the character of Mr. Grenville.

Whether you were right or wrong in establishing the colonies on the principles of commercial monopoly, rather than on that of revenue, is at this day a problem of mere speculation. You cannot have both by the same authority. To join together the restraints of an universal internal and external monopoly, with an universal internal and external taxation, is an unnatural union; perfect uncompensated slavery. You have long since decided for yourself and them; and you and they have prospered exceedingly under that decision.

This nation, Sir, never thought of departing from that choice until the period immediately on the close of the last war. Then a scheme of government new in many things seemed to have been adopted, I saw, or thought I saw, several symptoms of a great change, whilst I sat in your gallery, a good while before I had the honour of a seat in this house. At that period the necessity was established of keeping up no less than twenty new regiments, with twenty colonels capable of seats in this house. This scheme was adopted with very general applause on both sides, at the very time that, by your conquests in America, your danger from foreign attempts in that part of the world was much lessened, or indeed rather quite over. When this huge increase of military establishment was resolved on, a revenue was to be found to support so great a burden. Country gentlemen, the great patrons of economy, and the great resisters of a standing armed force, would not have entered with much alacrity into the vote for so large and so expensive an army, if they had been very sure that they were to continue to pay for it. But hopes of another kind were held out to them; and in particular, I well remember, that Mr. Townshend, in a brilliant harangue on this subject, did dazzle them, by placing before their eyes the image of a revenue to be raised in America.

Here began to dawn the first glimmerings of this new colony system. It appeared more distinctly afterwards, when it was devolved upon a person to whom, on other accounts, this country owes very great obligations. I do believe, that he had a very serious desire to benefit the public. But with no small study of the detail, he did not seem to have his view, at least equally, carried to the total circuit of our affairs. He generally considered his objects in lights that were rather

too detached. Whether the business of an American revenue was imposed upon him altogether ; whether it was entirely the result of his own speculation : or, what is more probable, that his own ideas rather coincided with the instructions he had received ; certain it is, that, with the best intentions in the world, he first brought this fatal scheme into form, and established it by act of parliament.

No man can believe, that at this time of day I mean to lean on the venerable memory of a great man, whose loss we deplore in common. Our little party differences have been long ago composed ; and I have acted more with him, and certainly with more pleasure with him, than ever I acted against him. Undoubtedly Mr. Grenville was a first-rate figure in this country. With a masculine understanding, and a stout and resolute heart, he had an application undissipated and unwearied. He took public business, not as a duty which he was to fulfil, but as a pleasure he was to enjoy ; and he seemed to have no delight out of this house, except in such things as some way related to the business that was to be done within it. If he was ambitious, I will say this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous strain. It was to raise himself, not by the low pimping politics of a court, but to win his way to power, through the laborious gradations of public service ; and to secure himself a well-earned rank in parliament, by a thorough knowledge of its constitution, and a perfect practice in all its business.

Sir, if such a man fell into errors, it must be from defects not intrinsic ; they must be rather sought in the particular habits of his life, which, though they do not alter the groundwork of character, yet tinge it with their own hue. He was bred in a profession. He was bred to the law, which is, in my opinion, one of the first and noblest of human sciences ; a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding, than all the other kinds of learning put together ; but it is not apt, except in persons very happily born, to open and to liberalise the mind exactly in the same proportion. Passing from that study he did not go very largely into the world, but plunged into business ; I mean into the business of office, and the limited and fixed methods and forms established there. Much knowledge is to be had undoubtedly in that line ; and there is no knowledge which is not valuable. But it may be truly said, that men too much conversant in office, are rarely minds of remarkable enlargement. Their habits of office are apt to give them a turn to think the substance of business not to be much more important than the forms in which it is conducted. These forms are adapted to

ordinary occasions; and therefore persons who are nurtured in office, do admirably well, as long as things go on in their common order; but when the high roads are broken up, and the waters out, when a new and troubled scene is opened, and the file affords no precedent, then it is that a greater knowledge of mankind, and a far more extensive comprehension of things is requisite than ever office gave, or than office can ever give. Mr. Grenville thought better of the wisdom and power of human legislation than in truth it deserves. He conceived, and many conceived along with him, that the flourishing trade of this country was greatly owing to law and institution, and not quite so much to liberty; for but too many are apt to believe regulation to be commerce, and taxes to be revenue. Among regulations, that which stood first in reputation was his idol. I mean the act of navigation.— He has often professed it to be so. The policy of that act is, I readily admit, in many respects well understood. But I do say, that if the act be suffered to run the full length of its principle, and if not changed and modified according to the change of times and the fluctuation of circumstances, it must do great mischief, and frequently even defeat its own purpose.

After the war, and in the last years of it, the trade of America had increased far beyond the speculations of the most sanguine imaginations. It swelled out on every side. It filled all its proper channels to the brim. It overflowed with a rich redundance, and breaking its banks on the right and on the left, it spread out upon some places, where it was indeed improper, upon others where it was only irregular.— It is the nature of all greatness not to be exact; and great trade will always be attended with considerable abuses. The contraband will always keep pace in some measure with the fair trade. It should stand as a fundamental maxim, that no vulgar precaution ought to be employed in the cure of evils, which are closely connected with the cause of our prosperity. Perhaps this great person turned his eyes somewhat less than was just, towards the incredible increase of the fair trade; and looked with something of too exquisite a jealousy towards the contraband. He certainly felt a singular degree of anxiety on the subject; and even began to act from that passion earlier than is commonly imagined. For whilst he was first lord of the admiralty, though not strictly called upon in his official line, he presented a very strong memorial to the lords of the treasury (my Lord Bute was then at the head of the board), heavily complaining of the growth of

the illicit commerce in America. Some mischief happened even at that time from this over-earnest zeal. Much greater happened afterwards when it operated with greater power in the highest department of the finances. The bonds of the act of navigation were straitened so much, that America was on the point of having no trade, either contraband or legitimate. They found, under the construction and execution then used, the act no longer tying but actually strangling them. All this coming with new enumerations of commodities; with regulations which in a manner put a stop to the mutual coasting intercourse of the colonies; with the appointment of courts of admiralty under various improper circumstances; with a sudden extinction of the paper currencies; with a compulsory provision for the quartering of soldiers; the people of America thought themselves proceeded against as delinquents, or at best as people under suspicion of delinquency; and in such a manner, as they imagined, their recent services in the war did not at all merit. Any of these innumerable regulations, perhaps, would not have alarmed alone; some might be thought reasonable; the multitude struck them with terror.

View of the Earl of Chatham's last administration, and Character of Charles Townshend.—BURKE, 1774.

“Tranquillity and concord were restored by the repeal of the stamp act, but did not continue long. Another scene was opened, and other actors appeared on the stage. The state, in the condition I have described it, was delivered into the hands of lord Chatham—a great and celebrated name—a name that keeps the name of this country respectable in every other country on the globe—It may be truly called

“—————Clarum et venerabile nomen
“Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi.”

“The venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills in the eye of mankind, and more than all the rest, his fall from power, which, like death, canonises and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his conduct. I am afraid to flatter him; I am sure I am not disposed to blame him. Let those who have betrayed him by their adulation, insult him with

their malevolence. But what I do not presume to censure, I may have leave to lament. For a wise man, he seemed to me at that time to be governed too much by general maxims. I speak with the freedom of history, and I hope without offence—one or two of these maxims, flowing from an opinion not the most indulgent to our unhappy species, and surely a little too general, led him into measures which were greatly mischievous to himself, and for that reason, among others perhaps, fatal to his country—measures, the effects of which, I am afraid, are for ever incurable.

“ He made an administration so chequered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented, and whimsically dove-tailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid, such a piece of diversified mosaic, such a tessellated pavement without cement, here a bit of black stone and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king’s friends and republicans, whigs and tories, treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on.

“ In consequence of this arrangement having put so much the larger part of his enemies and opposers into power, the confusion was such that his own principles could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were sure to predominate.—When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to stand upon. When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a minister. When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. The gentlemen, his political friends, who with the names of various departments of ministry, were admitted to seem as if they acted a part under him, with a modesty that becomes all men, and with a confidence in him which was justified even in its extravagance by his superior abilities, had never in any instance, presumed upon any opinion of their own—Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the sport of every gust, and easily driven into any port; and as those who joined with them in manning the vessel were the most directly opposite to his opinions, measures, and character, and far the most artful and most powerful of the set, they easily prevailed so as to seize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends; and instantly they turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy. As if it were to insult as well as to betray him, even long be-

fore the close of the first session of his administration, when every thing was publicly transacted, and with great parade, in his name, they made an act declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America.

“ At the period of the Earl of Chatham’s evening declination, I discover another luminary, rising in the opposite quarter of the heavens, and becoming for his hour, lord of the ascendant. This light too, is passed and set forever. You understand, to be sure, that I speak of Charles Townshend, officially the reproducer of this fatal scheme, whom I cannot even now remember without some degree of sensibility. In truth he was the delight and ornament of this house, and the charm of every private society which he honoured with his presence. Perhaps there never arose in this country, nor in any country, a man of more pointed and finished wit; and (where his passions were not concerned) of a more refined, exquisite, and penetrating judgment. If he had not so great a stock, as some have had who flourished formerly, of knowledge long treasured up, he knew better by far than any man I ever was acquainted with, how to bring together in a short time all that was necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate that side of the question he supported. He stated his matter skilfully and powerfully. He particularly excelled in a most luminous explanation and display of his subject. His style of argument was neither trite nor vulgar, nor subtle and abstruse. He hit the house just between wind and water—And not being troubled with too anxious a zeal for any matter in question, he was never more tedious, or more earnest, than the pre-conceived opinions, and present temper of his hearers required, to whom he was always in perfect unison. He conformed exactly to the temper of the House, and he seemed to guide, because he was always sure to follow it.

“ I beg pardon, if when I speak of this and of other great men, I appear to digress in saying something of their characters. In this eventful history of the revolutions of America, the characters of such men are of much importance. Great men are the guide-posts and land-marks in the state. The credit of such men at court, or in the nation, is the sole cause of all the public measures. It would be an invidious thing (most foreign I trust to what you think my disposition) to remark the errors into which the authority of great names has brought the nation, without doing justice at the same time to the great qualities whence that authority arose. The subject is instructive to those who wish to form themselves on whatever of excellence has gone before them. There are

many young members in the House (such of late has been the rapid succession of public men) who never saw that prodigy Charles Townshend, nor of course know what a ferment he was able to excite in every thing by the violent ebullition of his mixed virtues and failings ; for failings he had undoubtedly. Many of us remember them—We are this day considering the effect of them. But he had no failings which were not owing to a noble cause ; to an ardent, generous, perhaps an immoderate passion for fame—a passion which is the instinct of all great souls. He worshipped that goddess where-soever she appeared ; but he paid his particular devotions to her in her favorite habitation, in her chosen temple, the House of Commons. Besides the characters of the individuals that compose our body, it is impossible not to observe, that this House has a collective character of its own. That character too, however imperfect, is not unamiable. Like all great public collections of men, you possess a marked love of virtue, and an abhorrence of vice. But, among vices, there is none which the House abhors in the same degree with *obstinacy*. Obstinacy, Sir, is certainly a great vice ; and, in the changeful state of political affairs, it is frequently the cause of great mischief. It happens however very unfortunately, that almost the whole line of the great and masculine virtues, constancy, gravity, magnanimity, fortitude, fidelity, and firmness, are closely allied to this disagreeable quality of which you have so just an abhorrence ; and in their excess all these virtues very easily fall into it. He who paid such a punctilious attention to all your feelings certainly took care not to shock them by that vice which is the most disgusting to you. That fear of displeasing those who ought most to be pleased, betrayed him sometimes into the other extreme. He had voted, and in the year 1765 had been an advocate, for the stamp act. Things and the disposition of men's minds were changed. In short, the stamp act began to be no favourite in this House. He therefore attended at the private meeting, in which the resolutions moved by a right honourable gentleman, (general Conway) were settled—resolutions leading to the repeal. The next day he voted for that repeal ; and he would have spoken for it too, if an illness, not as was then given out, a political, but to my knowledge, a very real illness, had not prevented it.

“ The very next session, as the fashion of this world passeth away, the repeal began to be in as bad an odour in this House as the stamp act had been in the session before. To conform to the temper which began to prevail, and to prevail

mostly amongst those most in power, he declared very early in the winter, that a revenue must be had out of America. Instantly he was tied down to his engagements by some who had no objection to such experiments, when made at the cost of persons for whom they had no particular regard. The whole body of courtiers drove him onward. They always talked as if the king stood in a humiliated state, until something of the kind should be done. Here this extraordinary man, then chancellor of the exchequer, found himself in great straits. To please universally was the object of his life; but to tax and to please, no more than to love and to be wise, is not given to men. However, he attempted it. To render the tax palatable to the partisans of American revenues, he made a preamble stating the necessity of such revenue. To close with the American distinction, this revenue was *external*, or a port duty, but again, to soften it to the other party, it was a duty of *supply*. To gratify the *colonists*, it was laid on British manufactures; to satisfy the *merchants of Britain*, the duty was trivial, and (except that on tea, which touched only the devoted East India Company) on none of the grand objects of commerce. To counterwork the American contraband, the duty on tea was reduced from a shilling to three pence. But to secure the favour of those who would tax America, the scene of collection was changed, and with the rest, it was levied in the colonies. What need I say more? This fine spun scheme had the usual fate of all exquisite policy. But the original plan of the duties, and the mode of executing that plan, both arose singly and solely from a love of our applause. He was truly the child of the house. He never thought, did, or said any thing, but with a view to you. He every day adapted himself to your disposition; and adjusted himself before it as at a looking glass. He had observed (indeed it could not escape him) that several persons infinitely his inferiors in all respects had formerly rendered themselves considerable in this House by one method alone. They were a race of men (I hope in God the species is extinct) who when they rose in their place, no man living could divine, from any known adherence to parties, to opinions, or to principles, from any order or system in their politics, or from any sequel or connexion in their ideas, what part they were going to take in any debate. It is astonishing how much this uncertainty, especially at critical times, called the attention of all parties on such men. All eyes were fixed on them; all ears open to hear them; each party gaped and looked alternately for their vote almost to the end of their speeches.

While the House hung in this uncertainty, now the *hear-hims* rose from this side—now they rebelled from the other; and that party, to whom at length they fell from their tremulous and dancing balance, always received them in a tempest of applause. The fortune of such men was a temptation too great to be resisted by one, to whom a single whiff of incense withheld, gave much greater pain, than he received delight in the clouds of it which daily rose about him from the prodigal superstition of his innumerable admirers. He was a candidate for contradictory honours; and his great aim to make those agree in admiration of him, who never agreed in any thing else. Hence arose this unfortunate act, the subject of this day's debate, from a disposition, which, after making an American revenue to please one, repealed it to please others, and again revived it in hopes of pleasing a third, and of catching something in the ideas of all."

Extract from the same Speech.—BURKE.

Let us, Sir, embrace some system or other before we end this session. Do you mean to tax America, and to draw a productive revenue from thence? If you do, speak out: name, fix, ascertain this revenue; settle its quantity; define its objects; provide for its collection; and then fight when you have something to fight for. If you murder—rob; if you kill, take possession: and do not appear in the character of madmen, as well as assassins, violent, vindictive, bloody, and tyrannical, without an object. But may better counsels guide you!

Again, and again, revert to your old principles—seek peace and ensure it—leave America, if she has taxable matter in her, to tax herself. I am not here going into the distinctions of rights, nor attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions; I hate the very sound of them. Leave the Americans as they anciently stood, and these distinctions, born of our unhappy contest, will die along with it. They and we, and their and our ancestors, have been happy under that system. Let the memory of all actions, in contradiction to that good old mode, on both sides, be extinguished for ever. Be content to bind America by laws of trade; you have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do not burden them by taxes; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments

of states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools; for there only they may be discussed with safety. But if intemperately, unwisely, fatally, you sophisticate and poison the very source of government, by urging subtle deductions, and consequences odious to those you govern, from the unlimited and illimitable nature of supreme sovereignty, you will teach them by these means to call that sovereignty itself in question. When you drive him hard, the boar will surely turn upon the hunters. If that sovereignty and their freedom cannot be reconciled, which will they take? They will cast your sovereignty in your face. Nobody will be argued into slavery. Sir, let the gentlemen on the other side call forth all their ability: let the best of them get up, and tell me, what one character of liberty the Americans have, and what one brand of slavery they are free from, if they are bound in their property and industry, by all the restraints you can imagine on commerce, and at the same time are made pack-horses of every tax you choose to impose, without the least share in granting them. When they bear the burdens of unlimited monopoly, will you bring them to bear the burdens of unlimited revenue too? The Englishman in America will feel that this is slavery—that it is *legal* slavery, will be no compensation either to his feelings or his understanding.

On this business of America, I confess I am serious, even to sadness. I have had but one opinion concerning it since I sat, and before I sat in parliament. The noble lord (lord North) will, as usual, probably, attribute the part taken by me and my friends in this business, to a desire of getting his places. Let him enjoy this happy and original idea. If I deprived him of it, I should take away most of his wit, and all his argument. But I had rather bear the brunt of all his wit, and indeed blows much heavier, than stand answerable to God for embracing a system that tends to the destruction of some of the very best and fairest of his works.—But I know the map of England, as well as the noble lord or as any other person; and I know that the way I take is not the road to preferment. My excellent and honourable friend under me on the floor, (Mr. Dodeswell) has trod that road with great toil for upwards of twenty years together. He is not yet arrived at the noble lord's destination. However, the tracks of my worthy friend are those I have ever wished to follow; because I know they lead to honour. Long may we tread the same road together; whoever may accompany us, or whoever may laugh at us on our way! I honestly and

solemnly declare, I have in all seasons adhered to the system of 1766, for no other reason, than that I think it laid deep in your truest interests—and that, by limiting the exercise, it fixes on the firmest foundations, a real, consistent, well-grounded authority in parliament. Until you come back to that system, there will be no peace for England.

Mr. Burke to the Electors of Bristol, on his being declared duly elected, Nov. 3d, 1774.

Gentlemen,—I cannot avoid sympathising strongly with the feelings of the gentleman who has received the same honour that you have conferred on me. If he, who was bred and passed his whole life amongst you; if he, who through the easy gradations of acquaintance, friendship, and esteem, has obtained the honour, which seems of itself, naturally and almost insensibly, to meet with those, who, by the even tenor of pleasing manners and social virtues, slide into the love and confidence of their fellow-citizens;—if he cannot speak but with great emotion on this subject, surrounded as he is on all sides with his old friends; you will have the goodness to excuse me, if my real, unaffected embarrassment prevents me from expressing my gratitude to you as I ought.

I was brought hither under the disadvantage of being unknown, even by sight, to any of you. No previous canvass was made for me. I was put in nomination after the poll was opened. I did not appear until it was far advanced.—If, under all these accumulated disadvantages, your good opinion has carried me to his happy point of success; you will pardon me, if I can only say to you collectively, as I said to you individually, simply and plainly, I thank you—I am obliged to you—I am not insensible of your kindness.

I owe myself, in all things, to *all* the freemen of this city. My particular friends have a demand on me, that I should not deceive their expectations. Never was cause or man supported with more constancy, more activity, more spirit. I have been supported with a zeal indeed and heartiness in my friends, which, (if their object had been at all proportioned to their endeavours) could never be sufficiently commended. They supported me upon the most liberal principles. They wished that the members for Bristol should be chosen for the city, and for their country at large, and not for themselves.

So far they are not disappointed. If I possess nothing else, I am sure I possess the temper that is fit for your service. I know nothing of Bristol, but by the favours I have received, and the virtues I have seen exerted in it.

I shall ever retain, what I now feel, the most perfect and grateful attachment to my friends—and I have no enmities, no resentment. I never can consider fidelity to engagements, and constancy in friendships, but with the highest approbation; even when those noble qualities are employed against my own pretensions. The gentleman, who is not fortunate as I have been in this contest, enjoys in this respect a consolation full of honour both to himself and to his friends. They have certainly left nothing undone for his service.

As for the trifling petulance, which the rage of party stirs up in little minds, though it should shew itself even in this court, it has not made the slightest impression on me. The highest flight of such clamorous birds is winged in an inferior region of the air. We hear them, and we look upon them, just as you, gentlemen, when you enjoy the serene air on your lofty rocks, look down upon the gulls that skim the mud of your river when it is exhausted of its tide.

Mr. Burke to the Electors of Bristol, on the right of instructing Representatives.

I am sorry I cannot conclude, without saying a word on a topic touched upon by my worthy colleague. I wish that topic had been passed by, at a time when I have so little leisure to discuss it. But since he has thought proper to throw it out, I owe you a clear explanation of my poor sentiments on that subject.

He tells you, that, “the topic of instructions has occasioned much altercation and uneasiness, in this city;” and he expresses himself (if I understand him rightly) in favour of the coercive authority of such instructions.

Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative, to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion high respect; their business unremitting attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But, his unbiassed opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened

conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure: no, nor from the law and the constitution.— They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

My worthy colleague says, his will ought to be subservient to yours. If that be all, the thing is innocent. If government were a matter of will upon any side, yours, without question, ought to be superior. But government and legislation are matters of reason and judgment, and not of inclination: and, what sort of reason is that, in which the determination precedes the discussion: in which one set of men deliberate, and another decide: and where those who form the conclusion are perhaps three hundred miles distant from those who hear the arguments?

To deliver an opinion, is the right of all men; that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always to rejoice to hear; and which he ought always most seriously to consider. But *authoritative* instructions; *mandates*, issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and conscience; these are things utterly unknown to the laws of this land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenor of our constitution.

Parliament is not a *congress* of ambassadors from different and hostile interests; which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates; but parliament is a *deliberative* assembly of *one* nation, with *one* interest, that of the whole: where, not local purposes, not local prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member indeed: but when you have chosen him, he is not member of Bristol, but he is a member of *parliament*. If the local constituent should have an interest, or should form an hasty opinion, evidently opposite to the real good of the rest of the community, the member for that place ought to be as far, as any other, from an endeavour to give it effect. I beg pardon for saying so much on this subject. I have been unwillingly drawn into it; but I shall ever use a respectful frankness of communication with you. Your faithful friend, your devoted servant, I shall be to the end of my life: a flatterer you do not wish for. On this point of instructions,

however, I think it scarcely possible we ever can have any sort of difference. Perhaps I may give you too much, rather than too little trouble.

From the first hour I was encouraged to court your favour to this happy day of obtaining it, I have never promised you any thing, but humble and persevering endeavours to do my duty. The weight of that duty, I confess, makes me tremble; and whoever well considers what it is, of all things in the world will fly from what has the last likeness to a positive and precipitate engagement. To be a good member of parliament, is, let me tell you, no easy task; especially at this time, when there is so strong a disposition to run in the perilous extremes of servile compliance or wild popularity.—To unite circumspection with vigour, is absolutely necessary: but it is extremely difficult. We are now members for a rich commercial *city*; this city, however, is but a part of a rich commercial *nation*, the interests of which are various, multiform, and intricate. We are members for that great nation, which however is itself but part of a great *empire*, extended by our virtue and our fortune to the farthest limits of the east and of the west. All these wide-spread interests must be considered, must be compared, must be reconciled if possible. We are members for a *free* country; and surely we all know, that the machine of a free constitution is no simple thing; but as intricate and as delicate, as it is valuable. We are members in a great and ancient *monarchy*; and we must preserve religiously, the true legal rights of the sovereign, which form the key-stone that binds together the noble and well-constructed arch of our empire and our constitution. A constitution made up of balanced powers must ever be a critical thing. As such I mean to touch that part of it which comes within my reach. I know my inability, and I wish for support from every quarter. In particular I shall aim at the friendship, and shall cultivate the best correspondence, of the worthy colleague you have given me.

Lord Chatham's Speech, wherein he moves that the troops be withdrawn from Boston—the Secretary of State having previously laid the Official Papers on American Affairs on the Table of the House of Lords, January 20th, 1775.

“ Too well apprised of the contents of the papers, now at last laid before the House, I shall not take up their lordship's

time in tedious and fruitless investigations, but shall seize the first moment to open the door of reconciliation; for every moment of delay is a moment of danger. As I have not the honour of access to his Majesty, I will endeavour to transmit to him, through the constitutional channel of this House, my ideas of America, to rescue him from the misadvice of his present ministers. America, my lords, cannot be reconciled, she ought not to be reconciled to this country, till the troops of Britain are withdrawn from the continent; they are a bar to all confidence; they are a source of perpetual irritation: they threaten a fatal catastrophe. How can America trust you with the bayonet at her breast? How can she suppose that you mean less than bondage or death? I therefore, my lords, move that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech his Majesty, "that, in order to open the way towards an happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, it may graciously please his Majesty to transmit orders to general Gage for removing his Majesty's forces from the town of Boston." I know not, my lords, who advised the present measures: I know not who advises to a perseverance and enforcement of them; but this I will say, that the authors of such advice ought to answer it at their utmost peril. I wish, my lords, not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis; an hour now lost in allaying ferments in America may produce years of calamity. Never will I desert, in any stage of its progress, the conduct of this momentous business. Unless fettered to my bed by the extremity of sickness, I will give it unremitting attention. I will knock at the gates of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and will, if it be possible, rouse them to a sense of their danger. The recal of your army I urge as necessarily preparatory to the restoration of your peace. By this it will appear that you are disposed to treat amicably and equitably, and to consider, revise, and repeal, if it should be found necessary as I affirm it will, those violent acts and declarations which have disseminated confusion throughout the empire. Resistance to these acts was necessary, and therefore just: and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince or enslave America, who feels that tyranny is equally intolerable, whether it be exercised by an individual part of the Legislature, or by the collective bodies which compose it. The means of enforcing this thralldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice as they are unjust in prin-

ciple. Conceiving of general Gage as a man of humanity and understanding; entertaining, as I ever must, the highest respect and affection for the British troops, I feel the most anxious sensibility for their situation, pining in inglorious inactivity. You may call them an army of safety and defence, but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt, and to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation. Allay then the ferment prevailing in America by removing the obnoxious hostile cause. If you delay concession till your vain hope shall be accomplished of triumphantly dictating reconciliation, you delay for ever: the force of this country would be disproportionably exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands, and courage in their hearts—three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny. But is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings, as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity, beyond what history has related, or poetry has feigned?

—————Rhadamanthus habet durissima regua.
Castigatque, *auditque* dolos.

“ But the Americans must not be heard, they have been condemned unheard. The indiscriminate hand of vengeance has devoted thirty thousand British subjects of all ranks, ages, and descriptions to one common ruin. You may, no doubt, destroy their cities; you may cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniences of life; but my lords they will still despise your power, for they have yet remaining their woods and their liberty. What, though you march from town to town, from province to province; though you should be able to enforce a temporary and local submission, how shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you, in your progress of eighteen hundred miles of continent, animated with the same spirit of liberty and of resistance: This universal opposition to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen; it was obvious from the nature of things, and from the nature of man, and, above all, from the confirmed habits of thinking, from the spirit of whigism, flourishing in America. The spirit which now pervades America, is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship money in this country—the same spirit

which roused all England to action at the revolution, and which established at a remote æra your liberties on the basis of that great fundamental maxim of the constitution, that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breast of every generous Briton? To maintain this principle is the common cause of the whigs on the other side of the Atlantic, and on this, it is liberty to liberty engaged. In this great cause they are immoveably allied: it is the alliance of God and nature, immutable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of heaven. As an Englishman I recognise to the Americans their supreme unalterable right of property. As an American, I would equally recognise to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation. This distinction is involved in the abstract nature of things: property is private, individual, absolute: the touch of another annihilates it. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration: it reaches as far as ships can sail, or winds can blow: it is a vast and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of its several parts, and to combine them in one harmonious effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power of the empire. On this grand practical distinction, then, let us rest: taxation is theirs: commercial regulation is ours. As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to shew that the Americans are equally free from legislative controul and commercial restraint, as from taxation for the purpose of revenue, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, groundless. When your lordships have perused the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider the dignity, the firmness, and the wisdom with which the Americans have acted, you cannot but respect their cause. History, my lords, has been my favourite study; and in the celebrated writings of antiquity have I often admired the patriotism of Greece and Rome; but my lords, I must declare and avow, that in the master-states of the world, I know not the people, nor the senate, who in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America, assembled in General Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be futile. Can such a national principled union be resisted by the tricks of office or ministerial manœuvres? Heaping papers on your table, or counting your majorities on a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger. It

must arrive, my lords, unless these fatal acts are done away : it must arrive, in all its horrors ; and then these boastful ministers, in spite of all their confidence and all their manœuvres, shall be compelled to hide their heads. But it is not repealing this or that act of parliament ; it is not repealing a piece of parchment, that can restore America to your bosom : you must repeal her fears and resentments, and then you may hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted with an armed force, irritated with an hostile array before her eyes, her concessions if you *could* force them, would be suspicious, and insecure. But it is more than evident that you *cannot* force them to your unworthy terms of submission : it is impossible : we ourselves shall be forced ultimately to retract : let us retract while we can, not when we must. I repeat it, my lords, we shall one day be *forced* to undo these violent acts of oppression : they must be repealed ; you will repeal them. I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them : I stake my reputation on it : I will consent to be taken for an idiot if they are not repealed. Avoid then this humiliating, disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace and to happiness. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power : it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of man, and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend to deter you from perseverance in the present ruinous measures : foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread—France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors, with a vigilant eye to America and the temper of your colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may. To conclude, my lords, if the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the king, I will not say, that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from the crown ; but I affirm, they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the king is betrayed, but I will pronounce, that the kingdom is undone.”

Extract from Lord Camden's Speech on seconding Lord Chatham's motion.

“ King, Lords, and Commons, are grand and sounding names, but King, Lords, and Commons may become tyrants

as well as others. Tyranny in one or more is the same: it is as lawful to resist the tyranny of many, as of one: this has been a doctrine known and acted upon in this country for ages. When the famous Selden was asked by what statute resistance to tyranny could be justified? his reply was, *It is to be justified by the custom of England, which is a part of the law of the land.* I will affirm, my lords, not only as a statesman, politician, and philosopher, but as a common lawyer, that you have no right to tax America. No man, agreeably to the principles of natural or civil liberty, can be divested of any part of his property without his consent: and whenever oppression begins, resistance becomes lawful and right."

Extract from Mr. Burke's Speech on American Affairs, in March, 1775.

As to the wealth which the colonies have drawn from the sea by their fisheries, you had all that matter fully opened at your bar. You surely thought those acquisitions of value, for they seemed even to excite your envy; and yet the spirit, by which that enterprising employment has been exercised, ought rather, in my opinion, to have raised your esteem and admiration. And pray, sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay, and Davis's Straits; whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoxial heat more discouraging to them, than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know that whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries: no climate that is not witness to their toils.—Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dex-

terous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people ; a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood. When I contemplate these things ; when I know that the colonies in general owe little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they are not squeezed into this happy form by the constraints of watchful and suspicious government, but that through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection ; when I reflect upon these effects, when I see how profitable they have been to us, I feel all the pride of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances melt, and die away within me. My rigour relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty.

Extract from Mr. Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America.

A revenue from America transmitted hither—do not delude yourselves—you never can receive it—No, not a shilling. We have experience, that from remote countries, it is not to be expected. If when you attempted to extract revenue from Bengal, you were obliged to return in loan what you had taken in imposition ; what can you expect from North America ? for certainly, if ever there was a country qualified to produce wealth, it is India ; or an institution fit for the transmission, it is the East-India Company. America has none of these aptitudes. If America gives you taxable objects, on which you lay your duties here, and gives you, at the same time, a surplus by a foreign sale of her commodities to pay the duties on these objects which you tax at home, she has performed her part to the British revenue. But with regard to her own internal establishments, she may, I doubt not she will, contribute in moderation. I say in moderation ; for she ought not to be permitted to exhaust herself. She ought to be reserved to a war ; the weight of which, with the enemies that we are most likely to have, must be considerable in her quarter of the globe. There she may serve you, and serve you essentially.

For that service, for all service, whether of revenue, trade, or empire, my trust is in her interest in the British constitution. My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which

grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties, which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government;—they will cling and grapple to you; and no force unde rheaven will have power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood, that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another: that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the cement is gone; the cohesion is loosened; and every thing hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have: the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have any where. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. But until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true act of navigation, which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond, which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the empire. Do not entertain so weak an imagination, as that your registers and your bonds, your affidavits and your sufferances, your cockets and your clearances, are what form the great securities of your commerce. Do not dream that your letters of office, and your instructions, and your suspending clauses, are the things that hold together the great contexture of this mysterious whole. These things do not make your government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion, that gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English constitution, which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies, every part of the empire, even down to the minutest member.

It is not the same virtue which does every thing for us here in England? Do you imagine, then, that it is the land tax act which raises your revenue? that it is the annual vote in the committee of a supply, which gives you your army? or

that it is the mutiny bill which inspires it with bravery and discipline ! No ! Surely no ! It is the love of the people ; it is their attachment to their government from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience, without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

All this I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians, who have no place among us ; a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material ; and who, therefore, far from being qualified to be the directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth every thing, and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom ; and a great empire and little minds go ill together. If we are conscious of our situation, and glow with zeal to fill our places as becomes our station and ourselves, we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America, with the old warning of the church, *Sursum corda !* We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire ; and have made the most extensive and the only honourable conquests ; not by destroying, but by promoting, the wealth, the number, the happiness, of the human race. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is ; English privileges alone will make it all it can be.

In full confidence of this unalterable truth, I now (*quod felix faustumque sit,*)—lay the first stone of the temple of peace ; and I move you.

“ That the colonies and plantations of Great Britain in North America, consisting of fourteen separate governments, and containing two millions and upwards of free inhabitants, have not had the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any knights and burgesses, or others, to represent them in the high court of parliament.”

Speech of the Marquis of Granby on American Affairs.

I rise, to trouble the house with a few words on the bill now before it. I have sat, sir, during the course of two divisions, without taking any part, even so much as giving a silent vote on any American question; because, sir, as I will fairly confess to you, I entered with prejudices against the system administration was pursuing: I thought it was but justice to hear the arguments that might be urged on both sides, to compare those arguments, and draw my opinion from that comparison. As to the bill immediately the object of our consideration, I think it in every respect so arbitrary, so oppressive, and so totally founded on principles of resentment, that I am exceedingly happy at having this public opportunity of bearing my testimony against it, in the strongest manner I am able. In God's name, what language are you now holding out to America? Resign your property, divest yourselves of your privileges and freedom, renounce every thing that can make life comfortable, or we will destroy your commerce, we will involve your country in all the miseries of famine; and if you express the sensations of men at such harsh treatment, we will then declare you in a state of rebellion, and put yourselves and your families to fire and sword. And yet, sir, the noble lord on the floor (lord North) has told this house that a reconciliation is the sole object of his wishes. I hope the noble lord will pardon me, if I doubt the perfect sincerity of those wishes; at least, sir, his actions justify my doubt: for every circumstance in his whole conduct, with regard to America, has directly militated against his present professions; and what, sir, must the Americans conclude? Whilst you are ravaging their coasts and extirpating their commerce, and are withheld only by your impotence from spreading fresh ruin, by the sword, can they, sir, suppose such chastisement is intended to promote a reconciliation, and that you mean to restore to their forlorn country those liberties you deny to their present possession, and in the insolence of persecution, are compassing earth and seas to destroy? You can with no more justice compel the Americans to your obedience, by the operation of the present measures, by making use of their necessities, and withholding from them that commerce on which their existence depends, than a ruffian can found an equitable claim to my possessions, when he forcibly enters my house, and with a dagger at my throat, or a pistol at my breast, makes me seal deeds, which will convey to him my estate and property.

I have a very clear, a very adequate idea of rebellion, at least according to my own principles ; and those are the principles on which the revolution was founded. It is not against whom a war is directed, but it is the justice of that war that does, or does not, constitute rebellion. If the innocent part of mankind must tamely relinquish their freedom, their property, and every thing they hold dear merely to avoid the imputation of rebellion, I beg, sir, it may be considered what kind of peace and loyalty there will then exist in the world, which consists only in violence and rapine, and is merely to be maintained for the benefit of robbers and oppressors. I hope, sir, I shall be believed when I assure you that I am as warm a friend to the interests of my country as any man in this house : but then it must be understood, when those interests are founded in justice. I am not attached to any particular acre of land. The farmer in Cumberland or Durham is as little connected with me as the peasant in America. It is not the ground a man stands on that attaches me to him : it is not the air he breathes that connects me with him ; but it is the principles of that man, those independent, those generous principles of liberty which he professes, co-operating with my own, which call me forth as his advocate, and make me glory in being considered his friend. As for myself, sir, I am not in the least ashamed to avow that this is the source of my attachment to a noble lord, who has been, in my opinion, very unjustly reflected on in the course of this debate (I mean lord Chatham). I am not even personally acquainted with the noble lord ; I do not know the inconsistencies of which he stands accused : but this, Sir, I know, I shall not support his inconsistencies ; I shall only support him in those principles which have raised his name to the elevation on which it is now placed in this country, and have so deservedly procured him the love and admiration of his fellow citizens.

From the fullest conviction of my soul, I disclaim every idea both of policy and right internally to tax America. I disavow the whole system ; it is commenced in iniquity ; it is pursued with resentment ; and it can terminate in nothing but blood. Under whatever shape in futurity it may be revived, by whomsoever produced and supported, it shall, from me, meet the most constant, determined, and invariable opposition.

Lord Effingham's speech in the house of Lords on resigning his military commission, rather than bear arms against America, 1775.

“ I confess, I wish to avoid the discussion of our right to such a power as we are contending for, that is to say, a power of taxing a set of subjects who are not represented amongst us, and who have full power to tax themselves in the ordinary and constitutional manner. Were any particular province among the Americans to refuse grants of money in proportion to others, or to commit any act in abuse of their charters, I think that supreme controlling power, which the province in question allows in its full extent, would give us the charge, *Ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*: And in that case, my lords, almost the whole empire would be united against the wrong-headed few, who would soon be brought to reason. But I am satisfied, that without such necessity we have no more power of taxation in that country, than a Roman dictator had to begin his office with a declaration, that his power should be perpetual, and was necessary in the ordinary business of government. Therefore, my lords, whatever has been done by the Americans, I must deem it the mere consequence of our unjust demands. They have come to you with fair arguments; you have refused to hear them: they have made the most respectful remonstrances; you answer them with bills of pains and penalties. They know they ought to be free; you tell them they shall be slaves.” Is it then a wonder if they say in despair, “ For the short remainder of our lives we will be free!” Is there one among your lordships, who, in a situation similar to that which I have described, would not resolve the same? If there could be such an one, I am sure he ought not to be here.

“ To bring the history down to the present scene—here are two armies in presence of each other; armies of brothers and countrymen: each dreading the event, yet each feeling that it is in the power of the most trifling accident, a private dispute, a drunken fray in any public house in Boston, in short, a nothing, to cause the sword to be drawn, and to plunge the whole country into all the horrors of blood, flames, and paricide!

“ In this dreadful moment, a set of men more wise and moderate than the rest, exert themselves to bring us all to reason. They state their claims and their grievances; nay,

if any thing can be proved by law and history, they *prove* them. They propose oblivion; they make the first concession. We treat them with contempt; we prefer poverty, blood, and servitude, to wealth, happiness, and liberty.

“What weight these few observations may have, I do not know; but the candour your lordships have indulged me with, requires a confession on my part which may still lessen that weight: I must own, I am not personally disinterested.

“Ever since I was of an age to have any ambition at all, my highest has been to serve my country in a military capacity. If there was on earth an event I dreaded, it was to see this country so situated, as to make that profession incompatible with my duty as a citizen.

“That period, is, in my opinion, arrived: and I have thought myself bound to relinquish the hopes I had formed, by a resignation, which appeared to me the only method of avoiding the guilt of enslaving my country, and imbruing my hands in the blood of her sons.

“When the duties of a soldier and citizen become inconsistent, I shall always think myself obliged to sink the character of the soldier in that of the citizen, till such time as those duties shall, by the malice of our real enemies, become again united.

“It is no small sacrifice which a man makes who gives up his profession; but it is a much greater, when a predilection, strengthened by habit, has given him so strong an attachment to his profession as I feel. I have, however, this consolation, that by making that sacrifice, I at least give to my country an unequivocal proof of the sincerity of my principles.”

Lord Chatham on an address to the King.

My Lords, I most cheerfully agree with the first paragraph of the address moved by the noble lord. I would even go and prostrate myself at the foot of the throne, were it necessary, to testify my joy at any event which may promise to add to the domestic felicity of my sovereign; at any thing which may seem to give a further security to the permanent enjoyment of the religious and civil rights of my fellow subjects; but while I do this, I must at the same time express my strongest disapprobation of the address, and the fatal measures which it approves. My lords, it was customary for the king, on similar occasions, not to lead parliament, but

to be guided by it. It was usual, I say, my lords, to ask the advice of this house, the hereditary great council of the nation, not to dictate to it. My lords, what does this speech say? It tells you of measures already agreed upon, and very cavalierly desires your concurrence. It indeed, talks of wisdom and support; it counts on the certainty of events yet in the womb of time; but in point of plan and design, it is peremptory and dictatorial. Is this a proper language, fit to be endured? Is this high pretension to over-rule the dispositions of Providence itself, and the will and judgment of parliament, justified by any former conduct or precedent? No, my lords, it is the language of an ill-founded confidence; a confidence, my lords, I will be bold to say, supported hitherto only by a succession of disappointments, disgraces, and defeats. I am astonished how any minister dare advise his majesty to hold such a language to your lordships: I would be glad to see the minister that dare avow it in his place. What is the import of this extraordinary application? What, but an unlimited confidence in those who have hitherto misguided, deceived, and misled you? It is, I maintain, unlimited: it desires you to grant not what you may be satisfied is necessary, but what his majesty's ministers may choose to think so: troops, fleets, treaties, and subsidies, not yet revealed. Should your lordships agree to the present address, you will stand pledged to all this; you cannot retreat: it binds you to the consequences be they what they may. My lords, whoever gave this pernicious counsel to the king ought to be made answerable to this house, and to the nation at large for the consequences: the precedent is dangerous and unconstitutional. Who, I say, has had the temerity to tell the king that his affairs are in a prosperous condition? and who, of course, is the author of those assurances which are this day given you, in order to mislead you? My lords, what is the present state of this nation? It is big with difficulty and danger; it is full of the most destructive circumstances: I say, my lords, it is truly perilous. What are these little islands, Great Britain and Ireland?—What is your defence? Nothing. What is the condition of your formidable and inveterate enemies, the two leading branches of the house of Bourbon? They have a formidable navy: I say, my lords, their intentions are hostile: I know it: their coasts are lined with troops, from the furthest part of the coast of Spain up to Dunkirk. What have you to oppose them? Not five thousand men in this island; nor more in Ireland; nor above twenty ships of the line manned

and fit for service. My lords, without peace, without an immediate restoration of tranquillity, this nation is ruined.—What has been the conduct of your ministers? How have they endeavoured to conciliate the affection and obedience of their American brethren? They have gone to Germany; they have sought the alliance and assistance of every pitiful, beggarly, insignificant, paltry German prince, to cut the throats of their loyal, brave and injured brethren in America; they have entered into mercenary treaties with those human butchers, for the purchase and sale of human blood. But, my lords, this is not all; they have entered into other treaties; they have let the savages of America loose upon their innocent, unoffending brethren,—loose upon the weak the aged, and defenceless: on old men, women, and children; upon the very babes upon the breast, to be cut, mangled, sacrificed, broiled, roasted, nay, to be literally eat alive. These, my lords, are the allies Great Britain now has; carnage, desolation, and destruction, wherever her arms are carried, is her newly adopted mode of making war.* Our ministers have made alliances at the German shambles, and with the barbarians of America; with the merciless torturers of their species: where they will next apply, I cannot tell: having already scoured all Germany and America, to seek the assistance of cannibals and butchers. The arms of this country are disgraced, even in victory, as well as defeat. Is this consistent, my lords, with any part of our former conduct? Was it by means like these we arrived at that pinnacle of fame and grandeur, which, while it established our reputation in every quarter of the globe, gave the fullest testimony of our justice, mercy and national integrity. Was it by the tomahawk and scalping knife that British valour and humanity became in a manner proverbial, and the triumphs of war and the *eclat* of conquest became but matters of secondary praise, when compared to those of national humanity, and national honour? Was it by setting loose the savages of America, to imbrue their hands in the blood of our enemies, that the duties of the soldier, the citizen, and the man, came to be united? Is this honourable warfare, my lords? Does it correspond with the language of the poet?—

“The pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war,
That makes ambition virtue.”

* ———“and at his heels,
Leash'd in like hounds, should Famine, Sword, and Fire,
Crouch for employment.”——HENRY V.

Lord Chatham's Speech, 30th May, 1777—on moving “ That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise his majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to the present unnatural war against the colonies, upon the only just and solid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances.”

“ THE present motion will open the way for treaty. It will be the harbinger of peace, and will convince the Americans, that parliament is sincerely disposed to reconciliation. We have tried for unconditional submission—let us now try what can be gained by unconditional redress. The door of mercy has been hitherto shut against them: you have ransacked every corner of Germany for boors and ruffians to invade and ravage their country: for to conquer it, my lords, is impossible—you CANNOT do it. I may as well pretend to drive them before me with this CRUTCH. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises, but at last will come your equinoxial disappointment. But were it practicable by a long continued course of success to conquer America, the holding it in subjection afterwards will be utterly impossible. No benefit can be derived from that country to this, but by the good-will and pure affection of the inhabitants: this is not to be gained by force of arms; their affection is only to be recovered by reconciliation and justice. If ministers are founded in saying, that no engagements are entered into by America with France, there is yet a moment left; the point of honour is still safe; a few weeks may decide our fate as a nation. Were America suffered to form a treaty with France, we should not only lose the immense advantages resulting from the vast and increasing commerce of our colonies, but those advantages would be thrown into the hands of our hereditary enemy. America, my lords, is now contending with Great Britain under a masked battery of France, which will open as she perceives this country to be sufficiently weakened by the contest. France will not lose so fair an opportunity of separating for ever America from this kingdom. This is the critical moment—for such a treaty must and will take place, should pacification be delayed; and war between England and France is not the less probable because professions of amity continue to be made. It would be folly in France to declare it now, while America gives full employ-

ment to our arms, and is pouring into her lap her wealth and produce. While the trade of Great Britain languishes, while her taxes increase and her revenues diminish, France is securing and drawing to herself that commerce which is the basis of your power. My motion was stated generally, that I might leave the question at large to the wisdom of your lordships. But, my lords, I will tell you fairly what I wish for—I wish for a repeal of every oppressive act passed since 1763; I would put America precisely on the footing she stood at that period. If it be asked, Why should we submit to concede? I will tell you, my lords: Because you have been the aggressors from the beginning: you ought, therefore, to make the first overture. I say again, my lords, you have been the aggressors, you have made descents upon their coasts, you have burned their towns, plundered their country, made war upon the inhabitants, confiscated their property, proscribed and imprisoned their persons:—you have injured, oppressed, and endeavoured to enslave them.—America is therefore entitled to redress. Let then reparation come from the hand that inflicted the injuries; let conciliation succeed to oppression; and I maintain, that parliament will again recover its authority; that his majesty will be once more enthroned in the hearts of his subjects; and that your lordships, as contributing to so great, benignant and glorious an event, will receive the prayers and benedictions of every part of the British empire.”

Earl of Chatham, on Lord Oxford's motion to adjourn the House—1777.

IT is not with less grief than astonishment I hear the motion now made by the noble earl, at a time when the affairs of this country present on every side prospects full of awe, terror, and impending danger; when, I will be bold to say, events of a more alarming tendency, little expected or foreseen, will shortly happen; when a cloud, that may crush this nation, and bury it in destruction for ever, is ready to burst and overwhelm us in ruin. At so tremendous a season, it does not become your lordships, the great hereditary council of the nation, to neglect your duty, to retire to your country seats for six weeks, in quest of joy and merriment, while the real state of public affairs calls for grief, mourning, and lamentation; at least, for the fullest exertions of your wisdom. It is your duty, my lords, as the grand hereditary council of the nation, to advise your sovereign, to be protectors of your coun-

try, to feel your own weight and authority. As hereditary counsellors, as members of this house, you stand between the crown and the people; you are nearer the throne than the other branch of the legislature: it is your duty to surround and protect, to counsel and supplicate it. You hold the balance; your duty is to see that the weights are properly poised, that the balance remains even, that neither may encroach on the other, and that the executive power may be prevented, by an unconstitutional exertion of even constitutional authority, from bringing the nation to destruction. My lords, I fear we are arrived at the very brink of that state; and I am persuaded that nothing short of a spirited interposition on your part, in giving speedy and wholesome advice to your sovereign, can prevent the people from feeling beyond remedy the full effects of that ruin which ministers have brought upon us. These calamitous circumstances ministers have been the cause of: and shall we, in such a state of things, when every moment teems with events productive of the most fatal narratives, shall we trust, during an adjournment of six weeks, to those men who have brought those calamities upon us, when, perhaps, our utter overthrow is plotting, nay ripe for execution, without almost a possibility of prevention? Ten thousand brave men have fallen victims to ignorance and rashness. The only army you have in America may, by this time, be no more. This very nation remains no longer safe than its enemies think proper to permit. I do not augur ill. Events of a most critical nature may take place before our next meeting. Will your lordships, then, in such a state of things, trust to the guidance of men, who in every single step of this cruel, this wicked war, from the very beginning, have proved themselves weak, ignorant, and mistaken? I will not say, my lords, nor do I mean any thing personal, or that they have brought premeditated ruin on this country. I will not suppose that they foresaw what has since happened; but I do contend, my lords, that their want of wisdom, their incapacity, their temerity in depending on their own judgment, or their base compliances with the orders and dictates of others, perhaps caused by the influence of one or two individuals, have rendered them totally unworthy of your lordships' confidence, of the confidence of parliament, and those whose rights they are the constitutional guardians of, the people at large. A remonstrance, my lords, should be carried to the throne. The king has been deluded by his ministers: they have been imposed on by false information, or have, from motives best known to themselves, given apparent credit to what

they have been convinced in their hearts was untrue. The nation has been betrayed into the ruinous measure of an American war by the arts of imposition, by their own credulity, through the means of false hopes, false pride, and promised advantages, of the most romantic and improbable nature. My lords, I do not wish to call your attention entirely to that point. I would fairly appeal to your own sentiments, whether I can be justly charged with arrogance or presumption, if I said, great and able as ministers think themselves, that all the wisdom of the nation is not confined to the narrow circle of their petty cabinet. I might, I think, without presumption, say, that your lordships, as one of the branches of the legislature, may be supposed as capable of advising your sovereign, in the moment of difficulty and danger, as any lesser council composed of a fewer number; and who being already so fatally trusted, have betrayed a want of honesty, or a want of talents. Is it, my lords, within the utmost stretch of the most sanguine expectation, that the same men who have plunged you into your present perilous and calamitous situation are the proper persons to rescue you from it? No, my lords, such an expectation would be preposterous and absurd. I say, my lords, you are now especially called upon to interpose. It is your duty to forego every call of business and pleasure, to give up your whole time to inquire into past misconduct; to provide remedies for the present; to prevent further evils; to *rest on your arms*, if I may use the expression; to watch for the public safety; to defend and support the throne; and if fate should so ordain it, to fall with becoming fortitude, with the rest of your fellow subjects, in the general ruin. I fear this last must be the event of this mad, unjust, and cruel war. It is your lordships' duty to do every thing in your power that it shall not; but, if it must be so, I trust your lordships and the nation will fall gloriously.

My lords, I contend that we have not, nor can procure any force sufficient to subdue America. It is monstrous to think of it. There are several noble lords present, well acquainted with military affairs. I call upon any one of them, to rise and pledge himself, that the military force now within the kingdom is adequate to its defence, or that any possible force to be procured from Germany, Switzerland, or elsewhere, will be equal to the conquest of America. I am too perfectly persuaded of their abilities and integrity to expect any such assurance from them.—Oh! but if America is not to be conquered, she may be treated with.—Conciliation is at length thought of; terms are to be offered. Who are the persons

that are to treat on the part of this afflicted and deluded country? The very men who have been the authors of our misfortune; the very men who have endeavoured, by the most pernicious policy, the highest injustice and oppression, the most cruel and devastating war, to enslave those people they would conciliate, to gain the confidence and affection of those who have survived the Indian tomahawk and German bayonet. Can your lordships entertain the most distant prospect of success from such a treaty and such negotiations? No, my lords, the Americans have virtue, and they must detest the principles of such men; they have understanding, and too much wisdom, to trust to the cunning and narrow politics which must cause such overtures on the part of their merciless persecutors. My lords, I maintain that they would shun, with a mixture of prudence and detestation, any proposition coming from that quarter. They would receive terms from such men, as snares to allure and betray. They would dread them as ropes meant to be put about their legs, in order to entangle and overthrow them in certain ruin. My lords, supposing that our domestic danger, if at all, is far distant; that our enemies will leave us at liberty to prosecute this war to the utmost of our ability; suppose your lordships should grant a fleet one day, an army another; all these, I do affirm, will avail nothing, unless you accompany it with advice. Ministers have been in error: experience has proved it; and what is worse, they continue it; they told you in the beginning that 15,000 men would traverse all America, without scarcely an appearance of interruption; two campaigns have passed since they gave us this assurance. Treble that number have been employed; and one of your armies, which composed two-thirds of the force by which America was to be subdued, has been totally destroyed, and is now led captive through those provinces you call rebellious. Those men whom you called cowards, poltroons, runaways, and knaves, are become victorious over your veteran troops; and, in the midst of victory, and flush of conquest, have set ministers an example of moderation and magnanimity, well worthy of imitation.

My lords, no time should be lost which may promise to improve this disposition in America; unless by an obstinacy founded in madness, we wish to stifle those embers of affection which, after all our savage treatment, do not seem as yet to have been entirely extinguished. While on one side we must lament the unhappy fate of that spirited officer, Mr. Burgoyne, and the gallant troops under his command, who were sacrificed to the wanton temerity and ignorance of min-

isters, we are as strongly compelled on the other to admire and applaud the generous magnanimous conduct, the noble friendship, brotherly affection, and humanity of the victors, who condescending to impute the horrid orders of massacres and devastation to their true authors, supposed that, as soldiers and Englishmen, those cruel excesses could not have originated with the general, nor were consonant to the brave and humane spirit of a British soldier, if not compelled to it as an act of duty. They traced the first cause of those diabolic orders to their true source; and by that wise and generous interpretation granted their professed destroyers terms of capitulation which they could be only entitled to as the makers of fair and honourable war.

My lords, I should not have presumed to trouble you, if the tremendous state of this nation did not, in my opinion, make it necessary. Such as I have this day described it to be, I do maintain it is. The same measures are still persisted in; and ministers, because your lordships have been deluded, deceived and misled, presume that whenever the worst comes, they will be enabled to shelter themselves behind parliament. This, my lords, cannot be the case; they have committed themselves and their measures to the fate of war, and they must abide the issue. I tremble for this country: I am almost led to despair that we shall ever be able to extricate ourselves. At any rate, the day of retribution is at hand, when the vengeance of a much injured and afflicted people, will, I trust, fall heavily on the authors of their ruin: and I am strongly inclined to believe, that before the day to which the proposed adjournment shall arrive, the noble earl who moved it, will have just cause to repent of this motion.

Lord Chatham's speech on moving an amendment to the address to the King in answer to his speech—wherein he had announced his determination "steadily to pursue hostilities against America."—November 20th, 1777.

"It has been usual on similar occasions of public difficulty and distress, for the crown to make application to this House, the great hereditary council of the nation, for advice and assistance. As it is the right of parliament to give, so it is the duty of the crown to ask it. But, on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is reposed on your counsels—no advice is asked of parliament; but the crown from itself, and by itself, declares an unalterable de-

termination to pursue its own preconcerted measures; and what measures, my lords? measures which have produced hitherto nothing but disappointments and defeats. I CANNOT, my lords, I WILL NOT join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace. This, my lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment: it is not a time for adulation: the smoothness of flattery cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the throne, in the language of TRUTH. We must, if possible, dispel the delusion and darkness which envelope it; and display, in its full danger and genuine colours, the ruin which is brought to our doors. Can ministers still presume to expect support in their infatuation? Can parliament be so dead to its dignity and duty as to give their support to measures thus obruded and forced upon them. Measures, my lords, which have reduced this late flourishing empire to scorn and contempt. But yesterday, "and England might have stood against the world—NOW, none so poor to do her reverence." The people we at first despised as *rebels*, but whom we now acknowledge as *enemies*, are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained by your inveterate enemy; and our ministers do not, and dare not, interpose with dignity or effect. The desperate state of our army abroad is in part known. No man more highly esteems and honours the English troops than I do: I know their virtue and their valor: I know they can achieve any thing except impossibilities; and I know that the conquests of English America is an impossibility. You CANNOT, my lords, you CANNOT conquer America. What is your present situation there? *We do not know the worst*, but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. You may swell every expense, and strain every effort, accumulate every assistance, and extend your traffic to the *shambles* of every *German* despot; your attempts for ever will be vain and impotent; doubly so indeed from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your adversaries to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—NEVER! NEVER! NEVER! But, my lords, who is the man, that in addition to the disgraces and mischiefs of war, has dared to authorise and associate to our arms the *tomahawk* and *scalping knife* of the savage—to call into civilised alliance the

wild and inhuman inhabitant of the woods?—to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment. Familiarised to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, our army can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier. No longer are their feelings awake to “the pride, pomp, and circumstance of GLORIOUS war;”—but the sense of honour is degraded into a vile spirit of plunder, and the systematic practice of murder. From the ancient connexion between Great Britain and her colonies, both parties derived the most important advantage. While the shield of our protection was extended over America, she was the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the basis of our power. It is not, my lords, a wild and lawless banditti whom we oppose; the resistance of America is the struggle of free and virtuous patriots. Let us then seize with eagerness the present moment of reconciliation. America has not yet finally given herself up to France; there yet remains a possibility of escape from the fatal effect of our delusions. In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness, and calamity, terrified and insulted by the neighbouring powers, unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed, WHERE is the man who will venture to flatter us with the hope of success from the perseverance in measures productive of these dire effects? WHO has the effrontery to attempt it? Where is that man? Let him, if he DARE, stand forward and shew his face. You cannot conciliate America by your present measures: you cannot subdue her by your present or any measures. What then can you do? You cannot conquer, you cannot gain; but you can ADDRESS: you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into ignorance of the danger that should produce them. I did hope, instead of that false and empty pride, engendering high conceits and presumptuous imaginations, that ministers would have humbled themselves in their errors—would have confessed and retracted them, and by an active, though a late repentance, have endeavoured to redeem them. But, my lords, since they have neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice, nor humanity to shun those calamities—since not even bitter experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their stupefaction, the guardian care of parliament must interpose. I shall therefore, my lords, propose to you an amendment to the address to his

Majesty—To recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries. This, my lords, is yet in your power ; and let not the wisdom and justice of your lordships neglect the happy and perhaps the only opportunity.

Lord Suffolk having in the debate justified the employment of Indians against America, as one of the means, which God and Nature had given—Lord Chatham again rose, and delivered the following eloquent reply.

“ I am astonished, SHOCKED to hear such principles confessed: to hear them avowed in this House or even in this country. My lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention, but I cannot repress my indignation. I feel myself IMPELLED to speak. My lords, we are called upon as members of this house, as men, as Christians, to protest against such horrible barbarity—That God and Nature put into our hands! What ideas of God and Nature that noble lord may entertain, I know not ; but I know that such detestable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity ! What ! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping knife ?—to the cannibal, savage, torturing, murdering, devouring, drinking the blood of his mangled victims ! Such notions shock every precept of morality, every feeling of humanity, every sentiment of honour. These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that reverend, and this most learned bench to vindicate the religion of their God, to support the justice of their country. I call upon the bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn : upon the judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honour of your lordships to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character. I invoke the genius of the constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country.* In vain

* The tapestry of the house of Lords represents the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by admiral Howard, an ancestor of Lord Suffolk—the Admiral is a conspicuous figure in the tapestry.

did he defend the liberty and establish the religion of Britain, against the tyranny of Rome, if these worse than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are endured among us. To send forth the merciless cannibal, thirsting for blood! against whom! Your protestant brethren!—to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name, by the aid and instrumentality of these horrible *hell hounds of war!* Spain can no longer boast pre-eminence in barbarity. She armed herself with bloodhounds to extirpate the wretched natives of Mexico; but we, more ruthless, loose the *dogs of war* against our countrymen in America, endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity. My lords, I solemnly call upon your lordships, and upon every order of men in the state, to stamp upon this infamous procedure the indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. More particularly I call upon the holy prelates of our religion to do away this iniquity: let them perform a lustration to purify their country from this deep and deadly sin. My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more, but my feelings and indignation were too strong to say less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head upon my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such enormous and preposterous principles.”

Speech of Dr. Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph, in support of the bill for enlarging the toleration act, in the session of 1779.

The repeal of those penal laws which have long been the disgrace of the national church, has my most cordial acquiescence; I object only to the condition annexed to the repeal, the imposition of a confession of faith, however short, and general, and true, such as I hope I shall have the virtue, if called upon, to seal with my blood. But I absolutely disclaim for myself any authority civil or sacred to impose this creed upon other men. By such imposition the present bill, which professes to repeal all former penal laws, is converted into a penal law itself: for those, who do not subscribe the declaration, still remain liable to all the old penalties. The truth contained in the declaration, viz.—“That the scriptures are the revealed will of God, and the rule of faith and practice,” was indeed acknowledged by every Protestant. But supposing the existence of any sect of

Christians who should reject our canon of scripture, who should build their faith on the basis of tradition, or on the supposed illuminations of the spirit, would you, my lords, persecute them for believing Christianity upon arguments that suit their own understandings? Such men would undoubtedly be in error, but error in religion is the very ground and subject of toleration. The evils resulting from this declaration are not however confined to possibilities. Many of the most eminent of the dissenting ministers—men highly deserving esteem for their science, their literature, their critical study of the Scriptures, for their excellent writings in defence of Christianity, as well as of the civil and religious rights of mankind—men, whom it would be no disparagement to this Bench to acknowledge as friends and brethren, engaged in the same honourable and arduous task of instructing the world in the ways of happiness—such men as these, my lords, if the clause in question be enacted and carried into execution, will not even be tolerated. Declaring, as they have invariably done, against all human authority in matters of religion, and holding it as a first principle of protestantism that no church has a right to impose its own articles of faith upon others, they conceive that an acquiescence in this declaration would imply a recognition of that claim which they are bound, as Christians and protestants, to resist. It is the duty of magistrates, it is indeed the very end of magistracy, to protect *all men* in the enjoyment of their natural rights, of which the free exercise of their religion is one of the first and best. All history, my lords, is full of the mischiefs occasioned by the want of toleration; but no one has ever yet pretended to shew, that any public evils have been occasioned by toleration. At a meeting of the Right Reverend Bench, where I had the honour to be present, it was asked, whether the clause in question was ever intended to be put in execution? It was answered, No—there was no such intention. I asked then, and I ask now, What was the use of making laws that were never to be executed? To make useless and insignificant laws is not to exercise authority, but to degrade it: it is a vain, idle, and insolent parade of legislation: and yet, my lords, would to God! the four last shameful and miserable years had been employed in making such laws as this: this wretched country might still have been safe, and perhaps once more might have been happy. But, my lords, let us for a moment consider to whom this power of prescribing articles of faith is to be confided: undoubtedly—

ly this holy deposit cannot fail to be lodged, where we have placed every thing else that is great and good : the honour, the interest, the strength, and revenues of the nation, ALL are placed in the keeping of the ministry. Perhaps, my lords, there might be ministers to whose management none, who have the least value for their religion, would choose to confide it. One might naturally ask a minister for a good pension, or a good contract, or a place at court : but hardly any one would think of making interest with him for a place in HEAVEN. What I now say applies only to future bad ministers, for of the present administration I most firmly believe that they are fully as capable of defining articles of faith as of directing the counsels of the state. The ruling party is always very liberal in bestowing the title of schismatic and heretic on those who differ from them in religion, and in representing them as dangerous to the state. My lords, the contrary is the truth. Those who are uppermost and have the power, are the men who do the mischief, while the schismatics only suffer and complain. Ask who has brought the affairs of this country into the present calamitous state ; who are the men that have plundered and depopulated Bengal ? Who are the men that have turned a whole continent, inhabited by friends and kindred, into our bitterest enemies ? Yes, they who have shorn the strength, and cut off the right arm of Britain, were all members of the ESTABLISHED CHURCH, all orthodox men. I am not afraid of those tender and scrupulous consciences who are over cautious of professing or believing too much ; if they are sincerely in the wrong, I forgive their errors, and respect their integrity. The men I am afraid of are the men who believe every thing, who subscribe every thing, and who VOTE for every thing.

The defence of Eugene Arum, on his trial at York Assizes, in 1759, on a charge of murder.

First, my lord, the whole tenor of my conduct in life contradicts every particular of this indictment. Yet I had never said this, did not my present circumstances extort it from me, and seem to make it necessary. Permit me here, my lord, to call upon malignity itself, so long and cruelly busied in this prosecution, to charge upon me any immorality of which prejudice was not the author. No, my lord, I concerted no schemes of fraud, projected no violence, injured no man's person or property. My days were honestly la-

borious, my nights intensely studious. And I humbly conceive my notice of this, especially at this time, will not be thought impertinent or unseasonable; but at least deserving some attention. Because, my lord, that any person, after a temperate use of life, a series of thinking and acting regularly and without one deviation from sobriety, should plunge into the very depth of profligacy precipitately and at once, is altogether improbable and unprecedented, and absolutely inconsistent with the course of things. Villany is always progressive, and declines from right, step by step, till every idea of probity is lost, and every sense of moral obligation totally perishes.

Again, my lord, a suspicion of this kind, which nothing but malevolence could entertain and ignorance propagate, is violently opposed by my very situation at that time with respect to health; for, but a little space before, I had been confined to my bed, and suffered under a very long and severe disorder, and was not able, for half a year together, so much as to walk. The distemper left me indeed; yet slowly and in part; but so emaciated, so enfeebled, that I was reduced to crutches; and was so far from being well about the time I am charged with this fact, that I never to this day have perfectly recovered. Could then a person in this condition take any thing into his head so unlikely, so extravagant? I past the vigour of my age, feeble and valetudinary, with no inducement to engage, no ability to accomplish, no weapon wherewith to perpetrate such a fact, without interest, without power without motive, without means.

Besides, it must needs occur to every one that an action of this atrocious nature is never heard of, but, when its springs are laid open, it appears that it was to support some indolence, or supply some luxury, to satisfy some avarice, or oblige some malice; prevent some real, or some imaginary want. Yet I lay not under the influence of any one of these. Surely, my lord, I may, consistent with both truth and modesty, affirm thus much; and none who have any veracity, and know me, will ever question this.

In the second place, the disappearance of Clark is suggested as an argument of his being dead. But the uncertainty of such an inference from that, and the fallibility of all conclusions from such circumstances, are too obvious, and too notorious to require instances. Yet, superseding many, permit me to produce a very recent one, and that afforded by this castle. In June 1757, William Thompson, for all the vigilance of this place, in open day light, and double ironed,

made his escape. Notwithstanding an immediate enquiry set on foot, the strictest search, and all advertisement, was never seen nor heard of since. If then Thompson got off unseen, through all these difficulties, how very easy was it for Clark, when none of them opposed him? but what would be thought of a prosecution commenced against any one seen last with Thompson?

Permit me, my lord, to observe a little upon the bones which have been discovered. It is said, which perhaps is saying very far, that these are the skeleton of a man. It is possible indeed they may: but is there any certain known criterion which incontestibly distinguishes the sex in human bones? let it be considered, my lord, whether the ascertaining of this point ought not to precede any attempt to identify them. The place of their depositum too claims much more attention than is commonly bestowed on it: for of all places in the world none could have mentioned any one wherein there was greater certainty of finding human bones, than an hermitage, except he should point out a church yard: hermitages in times past being not only places of religious retirement, but of burial too; and it has scarcely ever been heard of but that every cell now known contains, or contained these relics of humanity, some mutilated, and some entire. I do not inform, but give me leave to remind your lordship, that here sat solitary sanctity, and here the hermit, or the anchoress, hoped that repose for their bones when dead, they here enjoyed when living.

All this while, my lord, I am sensible this is known to your lordship, and many in this court, better than to me. But it seems necessary to my case that others, who have not at all perhaps adverted to things of this nature, and may have concern in my trial, should be made acquainted with it. Suffer me then, my lord, to produce a few of many evidences that those cells were used as repositories of the dead; and to enumerate a few in which human bodies have been found; as it happened in this in question; lest to some that accident might seem extraordinary, and consequently occasion prejudice. 1. The bones, as was supposed, of the Saxon saint Dubritius were discovered buried in his cell, at Guy's cliff near Warwick, as appears from the authority of Sir William Dugdale. 2. The bones that were thought to be those of the anchoress Rosla were but lately discovered in a cell at Royston, entire, fair and undecayed; though they must have lain interred for several centuries, as is proved by Doctor Shikely. 3. But our own country, nay, almost this neighbourhood, sup-

plies another instance, for in January 1747, was found by Mr. Stovin, accompanied by a reverend gentleman, the bones in part, of some recluse in the cell at Lindholm near Hatfield. They were believed to be those of William of Lindholm, a hermit, who had long made this cave his habitation. 4. In February 1744, part of Woburn abbey being pulled down, a large portion of a corpse appeared, even with the flesh on, and which bore cutting with a knife; though it is certain this had laid above 200 years, and how much longer is doubtful: for this abbey was founded in 1145, and dissolved in 1538 or 9. What would have been said, what believed, if this had been an accident to the bones in question.

Further, my lord, it is not yet out of living memory that a little distance from Knarsborough, in a field, part of the manor of the worthy and patriot baronet who does that borough the honour to represent it in parliament, were found, in digging for gravel, not one human skeleton only, but five or six, deposited side by side, with each an urn placed at its head, as your lordship knows was usual in ancient interments; about the same time, and in another field almost close to this borough, was discovered also in searching for gravel, another human skeleton. But the piety of the same worthy gentleman ordered both pits to be filled up again, commendably unwilling to disturb the dead. Is the invention of these bones forgotten then, or industriously concealed, that the discovery of those in question may appear the more singular and extraordinary? whereas in fact there is nothing extraordinary in it, my lord, almost every place conceals such remains, in fields, in hills, in highway sides, in commons, lie frequent and unsuspected bones. And our present allotment of rest for the departed is but of some centuries. Another particular seems to claim not a little of your lordship's notice, and that of the gentlemen of the jury; which is, that perhaps no example occurs of more than one skeleton being found in one cell, and in the cell in question was found but one; agreeable in this to the peculiarity of every known cell in Britain. Not the invention of one skeleton then, but of two, would have appeared suspicious and uncommon.

But then, my lord, to attempt to identify these, when even to identify living men has proved so difficult, as in the case of Perkin Warbeck, and Lambert Symnel at home, and Don Sebastian abroad, will be looked upon perhaps as an attempt to determine what is indeterminable. And I hope too it will not pass unconsidered here, where gentlemen believe with caution, think with reason, and decide with human-

ity, what interest the endeavour to do this is calculated to serve, in assigning proper personality to these bones, whose particular appropriation can only appear to eternal omniscience.

Permit me, my lord, also to remonstrate that as human bones appears to have been the inseparable adjunct of every cell, even any person naming such a place at random as containing them in this case, shows him rather unfortunately prescient, than conscious; and that these attendants on every hermitage accidentally concurred with this conjecture; a mere casual coincidence of words and things.

But, it seems, another skeleton has been discovered by some labourer which was full as confidently averred to be Clark's as this. My lord, must some of the living, if it promotes some interest, be made answerable for all the bones that earth has concealed, or chance exposed? and might not a place where bones lay, be mentioned by a person by chance, as well as found by a labourer by chance? or is it more criminal accidentally to name where bones lie, than accidentally to find where they lie?

Here too is a human skull produced, which is fractured. But was this the cause, or was it the consequence of death? was it owing to violence or the effect of natural decay? if it was violence, was that violence before or after death? My lord, in may 1732, the remains of William, Lord Archbishop of this province, were taken up by permission in this cathedral, and the bones of the skull were found broken. Yet certainly he died by no violence offered to him alive that could occasion that fracture there. Let it be considered, my lord, that upon the dissolution of religious houses, and the commencement of the reformation, the ravages of those times both affected the living and the dead. In search after imaginary treasures, coffins were broken up, graves and vaults dug open, monuments ransacked, and shrines demolished. Your lordship knows that these violations proceeded so far as to occasion parliamentary authority to restrain them; and it did, about the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I intreat your lordship, suffer not the violence, the depredations, and the iniquities of those times to be imputed to this.

Moreover, what gentleman here is ignorant that Knaresborough had a castle, which though now run to ruin, was once considerable both for its strength and garrison? All know it was vigorously besieged by the arms of the parliament; at which siege, in sallies, conflicts, flights, pursuits, many fell in all the places round it, and where they fell were buried; for every place, my lord, is burial earth in war; and many,

questionless, of those rest yet unknown whose bones futurity shall discover.

I hope, with all imaginable submission, that what has been said will not be thought impertinent to this indictment : and that it will be far from the wisdom, the learning, and the integrity of this place, to impute to the living what zeal in its fury may have done, what nature may have taken off, and piety interred ; or what war alone may have destroyed, alone deposited.

As to the circumstances that have been racked, I have nothing to observe ; but that all circumstances whatsoever are precarious, and have been but too frequently found lamentably fallible. Even the strongest have failed. They may rise to the utmost degree of probability ; yet are they but probability still. Why need I name to your lordship the two Harrisons recorded in Doctor Howel, who both suffered upon circumstances, because of the sudden disappearance of their lodger, who was in credit, had contracted debts, borrowed money, and went off unseen, and returned again a great many years after their execution ? why name the intricate affairs of Jacques de Moulin, under King Charles the second, related by a gentleman who was counsel of the crown ? and why the unhappy Coleman, who suffered innocently, though convicted upon positive evidence, and whose children perished for want, because the world uncharitably believed the father guilty ? why mention the perjury of Smith, incautiously admitted King's evidence, who, to screen himself, equally accused Faircloth and Loveday of the murder of Dun ? the first of whom in 1749 was executed at Winchester ; and Loveday was about to suffer at Reading had not Smith been proved perjured, to the satisfaction of the court, by the Surgeon of the Gosport hospital ?

Now, my lord, having endeavoured to shew that the whole of this process is altogether repugnant to every part of my life ; that it is inconsistent with my condition of health about that time ; that no rational inference can be drawn that a person is dead, who suddenly disappears ; that hermitages were the constant repositories of the bones of the recluse ; that the proofs of this are well authenticated ; that the revolutions in religion, or the fortune of war, has mangled, or buried the dead ; the conclusion remains, perhaps, no less reasonably than impatiently wished for. I, last, after a years confinement equal to either fortune, put myself upon the candor, the justice, and the humanity of your lordships, and upon yours, my countrymen, gentlemen of the jury.

*Speech of Sir William Meredith, on frequent executions,
1777.*

Whether hanging ever did, or can, answer any good purpose, I doubt: but the cruel exhibition of every execution day, is a proof that hanging carries no terror with it.— And I am confident, that every new sanguinary law operates as an encouragement to commit capital offences; for it is not the mode but the certainty of punishment, that creates terror. What men know they must endure, they fear; what they think they can escape, they despise. The multiplicity of our hanging laws has produced these two things; frequency of condemnation, and frequent pardons. As hope is the first and greatest spring of action, if it was so, that out of twenty convicts one only was to be pardoned, the thief would say, “Why may I not be that one?” But since, as our laws are actually administered, not one in twenty is executed, the thief acts on the chance of twenty to one in his favour; he acts on a fair and reasonable presumption of indemnity; and I verily believe, that the confident hope of indemnity is the cause of nineteen in twenty robberies that are committed.

But if we look to the executions themselves, what example do they give? The thief dies either hardened or penitent. We are not to consider such reflections as occur to reasonable and good men, but such impressions as are made on the thoughtless, the desperate and the wicked. These men look on the hardened villain with envy and admiration. All that animation and contempt of death with which heroes and martyrs inspire good men in a good cause, the abandoned villain feels in seeing a desperado like himself meet death with intrepidity. The penitent thief, on the other hand, often makes the sober villain think in his way: himself oppressed with poverty and want, he sees a man die with that penitence which promises pardon for his sins here, and happiness hereafter; straight he thinks that by robbery, forgery, or murder, he can relieve all his wants; and if he be brought to justice, the punishment will be short and trifling, and the reward eternal.

Even in crimes which are seldom or never pardoned, death is no prevention. House-breakers, forgers, and coiners, are sure to be hanged: yet house-breaking, forgery, and coining, are the very crimes which are the oftenest committed.— Strange it is, that in the case of blood, of which we ought to be most tender, we should still go on, against reason and

against experience, to make unavailing slaughter of our fellow creatures. A recent event has proved that policy will do what blood cannot do. I mean the late regulation of the coinage. Thirty years together men were continually hanged for coining; still it went on; but on the new regulation of the gold coin, ceased. This event proves these two things; the efficacy of police, and inefficacy of hanging. But is it not very extraordinary, that since the regulation of the gold coin, an act has passed, making it treason to coin silver? But has it stopped the coining of silver? On the contrary, do you not hear of it more than ever? It seems as if the law and the crime bore the same date. I do not know what the honourable member thinks who brought in the bill; but perhaps some feelings may come across his own mind when he sees how many lives he is taking away for no purpose. Had it been fairly stated, and specifically pointed out, what the mischief of coining silver in the utmost extent is, that hanging bill might not have been so readily adopted; under the name of treason it found an easy passage. I indeed have always understood treason to be nothing less than some act of conspiracy against the life or honour of the king, and the safety of the state; but what the king or state can suffer by my taking now and then a bad sixpence or a bad shilling, I cannot imagine.

By this nickname of treason, however, there lies at this moment in Newgate, under sentence to be burnt alive, a girl just turned of fourteen; at her master's bidding, she hid some white-washed farthings behind her stays, on which the jury found her guilty, as an accomplice with her master in the treason. The master was hanged last Wednesday; and the faggots all lay ready—no reprieve came till just as the cart was setting out, and the girl would have been burnt alive on the same day, had it not been for the humane but casual interference of lord Weymouth. Good God! sir, are we taught to execrate the fires of Smithfield, and are we lighting them now to burn a poor harmless child for hiding a white-washed farthing? And yet, this barbarous sentence, which ought to make men shudder at the thought of shedding blood for such trivial causes, is brought as a reason for more hanging and burning. It was recommended to me not many days ago, to bring in a bill to make it treason to coin copper, as well as gold and silver. Yet in the formation of these sanguinary laws, humanity, religion, and policy are thrown out of the question. This one wise argument is always sufficient; if you hang for one fault, why not for another? If for stealing a sheep, why not a cow or a horse? If

for a shilling, why not for a handkerchief that is worth eighteen-pence?—and so on. We therefore ought to oppose the increase of those new laws; the more, because every fresh one begets twenty others.

When a member of parliament brings in a new hanging law, he begins with mentioning some injury that may be done to private property, for which a man is not yet liable to be hanged; and then proposes the gallows as the specific and infallible means of cure and prevention. But the bill, in progress of time, makes crimes capital, that scarce deserve whipping. For instance, the shop-lifting act was to prevent bankers' and silver-smiths', and other shops, where there are commonly goods of great value, from being robbed; but it goes so far as to make it death to lift any thing off a counter with intent to steal.

Under this act one Mary Jones was executed, whose case I shall just mention; it was at the time when press warrants were issued on the alarm about Falkland Islands. The woman's husband was pressed, their goods seized for some debts of his, and she with two small children, turned into the streets a begging. 'Tis a circumstance not to be forgotten, that she was very young, (under nineteen) and most remarkably handsome. She went to a linen-draper's shop, took some coarse linen off the counter, and slipped it under her cloak; the shopman saw her, and she laid it down; for this she was hanged. Her defence was (I have the trial in my pocket) "that she had lived in credit and wanted for nothing, till a press-gang came and stole her husband from her; but, since then she had no bed to lie on; nothing to give her children to eat; and they were almost naked; and perhaps she might have done something wrong, for she hardly knew what she did." The parish officers testified the truth of this story; but it seems there had been a good deal of shop-lifting about Ludgate; an example was thought necessary; and this woman was hanged for the comfort and satisfaction of some shop-keepers in Ludgate street. When brought to receive sentence, she behaved in such a frantic manner, as proved her mind to be in a distracted and desponding state; and the child was sucking at her breast when she set out for Tyburn.

Let us reflect a little on this woman's fate. The poet says, "an honest man is the noblest work of God." He might have said with equal truth, that a beautiful woman is the noblest work of God.

But for what cause was God's creation robbed of this its noblest work? It was for no injury; but for a mere attempt to clothe two naked children by unlawful means. Compare this with what the state did, and with what the law did. The state bereaved the woman of her husband, and the children of a father, who was all their support; the law deprived the woman of her life, and the children of their remaining parent, exposing them to every danger, insult, and merciless treatment, that destitute and helpless orphans suffer. Take all the circumstances together, I do not believe that a fouler murder was ever committed against law than the murder of this woman by law. Some who hear me, are perhaps blaming the judges, the jury, and the hangman; but neither judge, jury, nor hangman are to blame, they are but ministerial agents; the true hangman is the member of parliament: he who frames the bloody law is answerable for all the blood that is shed under it. But there is a farther consideration still. Dying as these unhappy wretches often do, who knows what their future lot may be! Perhaps, my honourable friend who moves this bill, has not yet considered himself in the light of an executioner; no man has more humanity, no man a stronger sense of religion than himself; and I verily believe, that at this moment he wishes as little success to his hanging law, as I do. His nature must recoil at making himself the cause not only of shedding the blood, but perhaps destroying the soul of his fellow creatures.

But the wretches who die are not the only sufferers: there are more and greater objects of compassion still;—I mean the surviving relations and friends. Who knows how many innocent children we may be dooming to ignominy and wretchedness? Who knows how many widows' hearts we may break with grief, how many grey hairs of parents we may bring with sorrow to the grave?

The Mosaic law ordained, that for a sheep or an ox, four and five fold should be restored: and for robbing a house, double; that is one fold for reparation, the rest for example; and the forfeiture was greater, as the property was more exposed. If the thief came by night, it was lawful to kill him: but if he came by day, he was only to make restitution; and if he had nothing he was to be sold for his theft. This is all that God required in felonies, nor can I find in history any sample of such laws as ours, except a code that was framed at Athens by Draco. He made every offence capital, upon this modern way of reasoning: "That petty crimes deserved death, and he knew nothing worse for the greatest." His

laws, it was said, were written, not with ink, but with blood; but they were of short duration, being all repealed by Solon, except one for murder.

An attempt was made some years ago by my honourable friend, sir Charles Bunbury, to repeal some of the most absurd and cruel of our capital laws. The bill passed this house, but was rejected by the lords, for this reason: "It was an innovation, (they said) and subversion of law." The very reverse is truth. These hanging laws are themselves innovations. No less than three and thirty of them passed during the last reign. I believe, I myself was the first person who checked the progress of them. When the great Alfred came to the throne, he found the kingdom overrun with robbers; but the silly expedient of hanging never came into his head; he instituted a police, which was, to make every township answerable for the felonies committed in it. Thus property became the guardian of property; and all robbery was so effectually stopped, that (the historians tell us) in a very short time a man might travel through the kingdom, unarmed, with his purse in his hand.

Treason, murder, rape, and burning a dwelling house, were all the crimes that were liable to be punished with death by our good old common law. And such was the tenderness, such the reluctance to shed blood, that if recompense could possibly be made, life was not to be touched. Treason being against the king, the remission of that crime was in the crown. In case of murder itself, if compensation could be made, the next of kin might discharge the prosecution, which if once discharged, could never be revived. If a ravisher could make the injured woman satisfaction, the law had no power over him; she might marry the man under the gallows, if she pleased, and take him from the jaws of death to the lips of matrimony. But so fatally are we deviated from the benignity of our ancient laws, that there is now under sentence of death an unfortunate clergyman, who made satisfaction for the injury attempted; the satisfaction was accepted; and yet the acceptance of the satisfaction, and the prosecution, bear the same date.

There does not occur to my thoughts a proposition more abhorrent from nature, and from reason, than that in a matter of property, when restitution is made, blood should still be required.

Having said so much on the general principles of our criminal laws, I have only a short word or two to add, on the two propositions now before us; one, to hang persons that

wilfully set fire to ships; the other, to compel such offenders to work seven years on the Thames.

The question arises from the alarming events of the late fires at Portsmouth and Bristol; for which the incendiary is put to death. But, will an act of parliament prevent such men as John the Painter from coming into the world, or control them when they are in it? You might as well bring in a bill to prevent the appearance, or regulate the motions of a comet. John the Painter was so far from fearing death, that he courted it; was so far from concealing his act, that he told full as much as was true to his own conviction. When once a villain turns enthusiast, he is above all law. Punishment is his reward, and death his glory. But, though the law will be useless against villains, it is dangerous, and may be fatal to many an innocent person. There is not an honest industrious carpenter or sailor, who may not be endangered in the course of his daily labour: they are constantly using fire and combustible matter about shipping, tarring and pitching, and caulking: accidents are continually happening; and who knows how many of these accidents may be attributed to design? Indeed the act says, the firing must be done *wilfully and maliciously*; but judges and juries do not always distinguish right between the fact and the intention. It is the province of a jury only to try the fact by the intention; but they are too apt to judge of the intention by the fact. Justices of peace, however, are not famed for accurate and nice distinctions; and all the horrors of an ignominious death would be too much to threaten every honest shipwright with, for what may happen in the necessary work of his calling.

But, as I think punishment necessary for so heinous an offence, and, as the end of all punishment is example of the two modes of punishment, I shall prefer that which is most profitable in point of example. Allowing then the punishment of death its utmost force, it is only short and momentary; that of labour permanent; and so much example is gained in him who is reserved for labour, more than in him who is put to death, as there are hours in the life of the one, beyond the short moment of the other's death.

Extract from a Speech of Mr. Burke, on Economical Reform.

“ At the beginning of his Majesty's reign, Lord TALBOT came to the administration of a great department in the household. I believe no man ever entered into his Majesty's service, or into the service of any prince, with a more clear in-

tegrity, or with more zeal and affection for the interest of his master; and, I must add, with abilities for a still higher service. Economy was then announced as a maxim of the reign.

This noble Lord, therefore, made several attempts towards a reform. In the year 1777, when the King's civil list debts came last to be paid, he explained very fully the success of his undertaking. He told the house of Lords, that he had attempted to reduce the charges of the King's tables and his kitchen. The thing, Sir, was not below him. He knew that there is nothing interesting in the concerns of men whom we love and honour, that is beneath our attention. "Love," says one of our old poets, "esteems no office mean;" and with still more spirit, "entire affection scorneth nicer hands." Frugality, Sir, is founded on the principle, that all riches have limits. A royal household, grown enormous even in the meanest departments, may weaken and perhaps destroy all energy in the highest offices of the state. The gorging a royal kitchen may stint and famish the negotiations of a kingdom. Therefore the object was worthy of his, was worthy of any man's attention.

In consequence of this noble Lord's resolution (as he told the other house,) he reduced several tables, and put the persons entitled to them upon board wages, much to their own satisfaction. But, unluckily, subsequent duties requiring constant attendance, it was not possible to prevent their being fed where they were employed; and thus this first step towards economy doubled the expense.

There was another disaster far more doleful than this. I shall state it, as the cause of that misfortune lies at the bottom of almost all our prodigality. Lord TALBOT attempted to reform the kitchen; but such, as he well observed, is the consequence of having duty done by one person, whilst another enjoys the emolument, that he found himself frustrated in all his designs. On that rock his whole adventure split—his whole scheme of economy was dashed to pieces; his department became more expensive than ever—the civil debt accumulated—Why? It was truly from a cause which, though perfectly adequate to the effect, one would not have instantly guessed—it was *because the turnspit in the King's kitchen was a member of parliament*. The King's domestic servants were all undone—his tradesmen remained unpaid and became bankrupt—*because the turnspit in the King's kitchen was a member of parliament*. His Majesty's slumbers were interrupted; his pillow was stuffed with thorns;

and his peace of mind entirely broken—*because the King's turnspit was a member of parliament.* The judges were unpaid, the justice of the kingdom bent and gave away; the foreign ministers remained inactive and unprovided; the system of Europe was dissolved; the chain of our alliances were broken; all the wheels of government at home and abroad were stopped—*because the King's turnspit was a member of parliament.* Such, Sir, was the situation of affairs, and such the cause of that situation, when his Majesty came a second time to Parliament, to desire the payment of those debts which the employment of its members in various offices visible and invisible had occasioned. I believe that a like fate will attend every attempt at economy by detail under similar circumstances, and in every department.

To avoid frittering and crumbling down the attention by a blind unsystematic observance of every trifle, it has ever been found to be the best way to do all things which are great in the total amount, and minute in the component parts, by a *general contract.* No dealing is exempt from the possibility of fraud. But by a contract on a matter certain, you have this advantage, you are sure to know the utmost *extent* of the fraud to which you are subject. By a contract with a person in *his own trade* you are sure you shall not suffer by want of skill.—But what skill can members of Parliament obtain in that low kind of province? What pleasure can they have in the execution of that kind of duty? And if they should neglect it, how does it affect their interest, when we know that it is their vote in Parliament, and not their diligence in cookery or catering, that recommends them to their office, or keeps them in it?

The same clue of principle leads us through the labyrinth of the other departments. What, Sir, is there in the office of the *great wardrobe* that may not be executed by the lord chamberlain himself? He has an honourable appointment; he has time sufficient to attend to the duty; and he has the vice chamberlain to assist him. Why should he not deal also by contract for all things belonging to this office, and carry his estimates first, and the report of the execution in its proper time, for payment directly to the board of treasury itself? By a single operation, the expenses of a department, which for naked walls, or walls hung with cobwebs, has in a few years cost the crown 150,000*l.* may at length hope for regulation.

To what end, Sir, does the office of removing the wardrobe serve at all? Why should a jewel office exist, for the

sole purpose of taxing the King's gifts of plate? Its object falls naturally within the *chamberlain's* province, and ought to be under his care and inspection without any fee.

The *board of works*, which in the seven years preceding 1777, has cost towards 400,000*l.* and has not cost less in proportion from the beginning of the reign, is under the very same description of all the other ill-contrived establishments. For all this expense we do not see a building of the size and importance of a pigeon house. The good works of that board of works are as carefully concealed as other good works ought to be. They are perfectly invisible but though it is the perfection of charity to be concealed, it is, Sir, the property and glory of magnificence to appear and stand forward to the eye.

That board which ought to be a concern of builders and such like, and of none else, is turned into a junto of members of Parliament. That office too has a treasury and a paymaster of its own; and lest the arduous affairs of that unimportant exchequer should be too fatiguing, that paymaster has a deputy to partake his profits, and relieve his cares. I therefore propose to pull down this whole ill-contrived scaffolding which obstructs rather than forwards our public works,—to take away its treasury,—to put the whole into the hands of a real builder, who shall not be a member of Parliament—and to oblige him, by a previous estimate and final payment, to appear twice at the treasury, before the public can be loaded.”

Extract from Mr. Burke's Speech to the Electors of Bristol, in 1780, in justification of his conduct as their Representative, against certain objections made to it—one of which was, that on the question of the Irish Trade, he had acted more as a native of Ireland, than as an English Member of Parliament.

“I was an Irishman in the Irish business, just as much as I was an American, when, on the same principles I wished you to concede to America, at a time when she prayed concession at our feet. Just as much was I an American, when I wished parliament to offer terms in victory, and not to wait the hour of defeat, for making good by weakness and by supplication, a claim of prerogative, pre-eminence, and authority.

“ Instead of requiring it from me as a point of duty, to kindle with your passions, had you all been as cool as I was, you would have saved disgraces and distresses that are unutterable. Do you remember our commission? We sent out a solemn embassy, across the Atlantic ocean, to lay the crown, the peerage, the commons of Great Britain, at the feet of the American congress. That our disgrace might want no sort of brightening and burnishing; observe who they were that composed this famous embassy. My Lord CARLISLE is among the first ranks of our nobility. He is the identical man who but two years before had been put forward, at the opening of a session in the House of Lords, as the mover of a haughty and rigorous address against America. He was put in the front of the embassy of submission. Mr. EDEN was taken from the office of Lord SUFFOLK, to whom he was then under secretary of state; from the office of that Lord SUFFOLK, who but a few weeks before, in his place in parliament, did not deign to enquire where a congress of vagrants was to be found. This Lord SUFFOLK sent Mr. EDEN to find these vagrants, without knowing where the King’s generals were to be found, who were joined in the same commission of supplicating those whom they were sent to subdue. They enter the capital of America only to abandon it; and these assertors and representatives of the dignity of England, at the tail of a flying army, let fly their Parthian shafts of memorials and remonstrances at random behind them. Their promises and their offers, their flatteries and their menaces were all despised; and we were saved the disgrace of their formal reception, only because the congress scorned to receive them; whilst the state-house of independent Philadelphia opened her doors to the public entry of the ambassador of France. From war and blood we went to submission; and from submission plunged back again to war and blood; to desolate and be desolated, without measure, hope, or end. I am a Royalist—I blushed for this degradation of the crown. I am a Whig—I blushed for the dishonour of parliament. I am a true Englishman—I felt to the quick for the disgrace of England. I am a man—I felt for the melancholy reverse of human affairs, in the fall of the first power in the world.

“ To read what was approaching in Ireland, in the black and bloody characters of the American war, was a painful, but it was a necessary part of my public duty. For, gentlemen, it is not your fond desires, nor mine, that can alter the nature of things; by contending against which what have

we got, or ever shall get, but defeat and shame? I did not obey your instructions—No. I conformed to the instructions of truth and nature, and maintained your interest, against your opinions, with a constancy that became me. A representative worthy of you ought to be a person of stability. I am to look, indeed, to your opinions, but to such opinions as you and I *must* have five years hence. I was not to look to the flash of the day. I knew that you chose me, in my place, along with others, to be a pillar of the state, and not a weathercock on the top of the edifice, exalted for my levity and versatility, and of no use but to indicate the shiftings of every fashionable gale. Would to God the value of my sentiments on Ireland and on America had been at this day subjects of doubt and discussion! No matter what my sufferings had been, so that this kingdom had kept the authority I wished it to maintain, by a great foresight, and by an equitable temperance in the use of its powers.”

Extract from the same, in answer to a charge made against him, of having forsaken the interest of Commerce by supporting a Bill brought into Parliament by Lord Beauchamp, to relieve Insolvent Debtors.

“Gentlemen, I never relished acts of grace, nor ever submitted to them but from despair of better. They are a dishonourable invention, by which, not from humanity, not from policy, but merely because we have not room enough to hold these victims of the absurdity of our laws, we turn loose upon the public three or four thousand naked wretches, corrupted by the habits, debased by the ignominy of a prison. If the creditor had a right to those carcasses as a natural security for his property, I am sure we have no right to deprive him of that security. But if a few pounds of flesh were not necessary to his security, we had not a right to detain the unfortunate debtor, without any benefit at all to the person who confined him. Take it as you will, we commit injustice. Now Lord BEAUCHAMP’S bill intended to do deliberately, and with great caution and circumspection, upon each several case, and with all attention to the just claimant, what acts of grace do in a much greater measure, and with very little care, caution, and deliberation.

“I suspect that here too, if we contrive to oppose this bill, we shall be found in a struggle against the nature of things. For as we grow enlightened, the public will not bear, for any

length of time, to pay for the maintenance of whole armies of prisoners, nor at their own expense, submit to keep jails as a sort of garrisons, merely to fortify their absurd principle of making men judges in their own cause. For credit has little or no concern in this cruelty. I speak in a commercial assembly. You know that credit is given, because a capital *must* be employed; that men calculate the chances of insolvency; and they either withhold the credit, or make the debtor pay the risk in the price. The counting-house has no alliance with the jail. Holland understands trade as well as we; and she has done more than this obnoxious bill intended to do. There was not, when Mr. HOWARD visited Holland, more than one prisoner for debt in the great city of Rotterdam. Although LORD BEAUCHAMP's act, (which was previous to this bill, and intended to feel the way for it) has already preserved liberty to thousands; and though it is not three years since the last act of grace passed, yet, by Mr. HOWARD's last account, there were near three thousand again in jail. I cannot name this gentleman without remarking, that his labours and writings have done much to open the eyes and hearts of mankind. He has visited all Europe,—not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the stateliness of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosity of modern art; not to collect medals, or to collate manuscripts:—but to dive into the depths of dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hospitals; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and to compare and collate the distresses of all men in all countries. His plan is original; and it is as full of genius as it is of humanity. It was a voyage of discovery: a circumnavigation of charity. Already the benefit of his labour is felt more or less in every country: I hope he will anticipate his final reward, by seeing all its effects fully realised in his own. He will receive, not by retail, but in gross, the reward of those who visit the prisoner; and he has so forestalled and monopolised this branch of charity, that there will be, I trust, little room to merit by such acts of benevolence hereafter.

Extract from the same, in answer to a charge brought against him of being unfriendly to the Protestant Religion, he having voted for the repeal of parts of a penal statute against Catholics.

“ A statute was fabricated in the year 1699, by which the saying mass (a church service in the Latin tongue, not exactly the same as our liturgy, but very near it, and containing no offence whatever against the laws, or against good morals) was forged into a crime punishable with perpetual imprisonment. The teaching school, an useful and virtuous occupation, even the teaching in a private family, was in every Catholic subjected to the same unproportioned punishment. Your industry, and the bread of your children, was taxed for a pecuniary reward to stimulate avarice to do what nature refused,—to inform and prosecute on this law. Every Roman Catholic was, under the same act, to forfeit his estate to his nearest Protestant relation, until, through a profession of what he did not believe, he redeemed by his hypocrisy, what the law had transferred to the kinsman as the recompense of his profligacy. When thus turned out of doors from his paternal estate, he was disabled from acquiring any other by any industry, donation, or charity: but was rendered a foreigner in his native land, only because he retained the religion, along with the property, handed down to him from those who had been the old inhabitants of that land before him.

“ Does any one, who hears me, approve this scheme of things, or think there is common justice, common sense, or common honesty in any part of it? If any does, let him say it, and I am ready to discuss the point with temper and candour. But instead of approving, I perceive a virtuous indignation beginning to rise in your minds on the mere cold stating of the statute.

“ The effects of the act have been as mischievous, as its origin was ludicrous and shameful. From that time every person of that communion, lay and ecclesiastic, has been obliged to fly from the face of day. The clergy, concealed in garrets of private houses, or obliged to take a shelter, (hardly safe to themselves, but infinitely dangerous to their country,) under the privileges of foreign ministers, officiated as their servants, and under their protection. The whole body of the Catholics, condemned to beggary and ignorance in their native land, have been obliged to learn the principles of letters, at the hazard of all their other principles, from the

charity of your enemies. They have been taxed to their ruin at the pleasure of necessitous and profligate relations, and according to the measures of their necessity and profligacy. Examples of this are many and affecting. Some of them are known by a friend who stands near me in this hall. It is but six or seven years since a clergyman by the name of MALONY, a man of morals, neither guilty nor accused of any thing noxious to the state, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment for exercising the functions of his religion; and after lying in jail for two or three years, was relieved by the mercy of government from perpetual imprisonment, on condition of perpetual banishment. A brother of the Earl of SHREWSBURY, a TALBOT, a name respectable in this country, whilst its glory is any part of its concern, is hawled to the bar of the Old Bailey, among common felons, and only escaped the same doom, either by some error in the process, or that the wretch who brought him there could not correctly describe his person; I now forget which. In short, the persecution would never have relented for a moment, if the judges superseding (though with an ambiguous example) the strict rule of their official duty, by the higher obligations of their consciences, did not constantly throw off every difficulty in the way of such informers. But so ineffectual is the power of legal evasion against legal inquiry, that it was but the other day, that a lady of condition, beyond the middle of life, was on the point of being stripped of her whole fortune by a near relation, to whom she had been a friend and benefactor: and she must have been totally ruined, without a power of redress or mitigation from the courts of law, had not the legislature itself rushed in, and by a special act of parliament rescued her from the injustice of its own statutes. One of the acts authorising such things was that which we in part repealed knowing what our duty was, and doing that duty as men of honour and virtue, as good Protestants, and as good citizens. Let him stand forth that disapproves what we have done.

“Gentlemen, bad laws are the worst sort of tyranny. In such a country as this they are of all bad things the worst, worse by far than any where else; and they derive a particular malignity even from the wisdom and soundness of the rest of our institutions. For very obvious reasons you cannot trust the crown with dispensing power over any of your laws. However, a government, be it as bad as it may, will, in the exercise of a discretionary power, discriminate times and persons; and will not ordinarily pursue any man, when his own safety

is not concerned. A mercenary informer knows no distinction. Under such a system, the obnoxious people are slaves, not only to the government, but they live at the mercy of every individual; they are at once the slaves of the whole community and of every part of it; and the worst and most unmerciful men are those on whose goodness they most depend.

“In this situation men not only shrink from the frowns of a stern magistrate; but they are obliged to fly from their very species. The seeds of destruction are sown in civil intercourse, in social habitudes. The blood of wholesome kindred is infected. Their tables and beds are surrounded with snares. All the means given by Providence to make life safe and comfortable, are perverted into instruments of terror and torment. This species of universal subserviency, that makes the very servant, who waits behind your chair, the arbiter of your life and fortune, has such a tendency to degrade and abase mankind, and to deprive them of that assured and liberal state of mind, which alone can make us what we ought to be, that I vow to God I would sooner bring myself to put a man to immediate death for opinions I disliked, and so to get rid of the man and his opinions at once, than to fret him with a feverish being, tainted with the jail distemper of a contagious servitude, to keep him above ground an animated mass of putrefaction, corrupted himself, and corrupting all about him.”

Extract from the same.

“I must fairly tell you, that so far as my principles are concerned, (principles that I hope will only depart with my last breath,) that I have no idea of a liberty unconnected with honesty and justice. Nor do I believe, that any good constitutions of government or of freedom, can find it necessary for their security to doom any part of the people to a permanent slavery. Such a constitution of freedom, if such can be, is in effect no more than another name for the tyranny of the strongest faction; and factions in republics have been, and are, full as capable as monarchs of the most cruel oppression and injustice. It is but too true, that the love and even the very idea of genuine liberty is extremely rare. It is but too true, that there are many, whose whole scheme of freedom is made up of pride, perverseness, and insolence.— They feel themselves in a state of thralldom, they imagine

that their souls are cooped and cabined in, unless they have some man or some body of men, dependent on their mercy. This desire of having some one below them, descends to those who are the very lowest of all ; and a protestant cobbler, debased by his poverty, but exalted by his share of the ruling church, feels a pride in knowing it is by his generosity alone, that the peer, whose footman's instep he measures, is able to keep his chaplain from a jail. This disposition is the true source of the passion, which many men, in very humble life, have taken to the American war. *Our* subjects in America ; *our* colonies ; *our* dependants. This lust of party-power is the liberty they hunger and thirst for ; and this Syren song of ambition has charmed ears, that one would have thought were never organised to that sort of music. This way of *proscribing the citizens by denominations and general descriptions*, dignified by the name of reason of state, and security for constitutions and commonwealths, is nothing better at bottom than the miserable invention of an ungenerous ambition, which would fain hold the sacred trust of power without any of the virtues, or any of the energies, that give a title to it ; a recipe of policy made up of a detestable compound of malice, cowardice, and sloth. They would govern men against their will ; but in that government, they would be discharged from the exercise of vigilance, providence, and fortitude ; and therefore, that they may sleep on their watch, they consent to take some one division of the society into partnership of the tyranny over the rest. But let government, in what form it may be, comprehend the whole in its justice, and restrain the suspicious by its vigilance ; let it keep watch and ward ; let it discover by its sagacity, and punish by its firmness, all delinquency against its power, whenever delinquency exists in the overt acts : and then it will be as safe as God and nature ever intended it should be. Crimes are the acts of individuals, and not of denominations ; and therefore arbitrarily to class men under general descriptions, in order to proscribe and punish them in the lump for a presumed delinquency, of which perhaps but a part, perhaps none at all, are guilty, is indeed a compendious method, and saves a world of trouble about proof : but such a method, instead of being law, is an act of unnatural rebellion against the legal dominion of reason and justice ; and this vice, in any constitution that entertains it, at one time or other will certainly bring on its ruin.

“ We are told that this is not a religious persecution : and its abettors are loud in disclaiming all severities on account

of conscience. Very fine indeed! then let it be so; they are not persecutors; they are only tyrants. With all my heart. I am perfectly indifferent concerning the pretext upon which we torment one another; or whether it be for the constitution of the church of England, or for the constitution of the state of England, the people choose to make their fellow-creatures wretched. When we were sent into a place of authority, you that sent us had yourselves but one commission to give. You could give us none to wrong or oppress, or even to suffer any kind of oppression or wrong, on any grounds whatsoever; not on political, as in the affairs of America; not on commercial, as in those of Ireland; not in civil, as in the laws for debt; not in religious, as in the statutes against Protestant or Catholic dissenters. The diversified but connected fabric of universal justice is well cramped and bolted together in all its parts; and depend upon it, I never have employed, and I never shall employ, any engine of power which may come into my hands, to wrench it asunder. All shall stand, if I can help it, and all shall stand connected. After all, to complete this work, much remains to be done; much in the East, much in the West. But great as the work is, if our will be ready, our powers are not deficient.

“Since you have suffered me to trouble you so much on this subject, permit me, gentlemen, to detain you a little longer. I am indeed most solicitous to give you perfect satisfaction. I find there are some of a better and softer nature than the persons with whom I have supposed myself in debate, who neither think ill of the act of relief, nor by any means to desire the repeal, yet who, not accusing but lamenting what was done, on account of the consequences, have frequently expressed their wish, that the late act had never been made. Some of this description, and persons of worth, I have met with in this city. They conceive, that the prejudices, whatever they might be, of a large part of the people, ought not to have been shocked; that their opinions ought to have been previously taken, and much attended to; and that thereby the late horrid scenes might have been prevented.

“I confess, my notions are widely different; and I never was less sorry for any action of my life. I like the bill the better, on account of the events of all kinds that followed it. It relieved the real sufferers; it strengthened the state, and, by the disorders that ensued, we had clear evidence that there lurked

fostered by the laws. No ill consequences whatever could be attributed to the act itself. We knew beforehand, or we were poorly instructed, that toleration is odious to the intolerant; freedom to oppressors; property to robbers; and all kinds and degrees of prosperity to the envious. We knew, that all these kinds of men would gladly gratify their evil disposition under the sanction of law and religion, if they could: if they could not, yet to make way to their objects, they would do their utmost to subvert all religion and all law. This we certainly knew. But knowing this, is there any reason, because thieves break in and steal, and thus bring detriment to you, and draw ruin on themselves, that I am to be sorry that you are in possession of shops, and of warehouses, and of wholesome laws to protect them? Are you to build no houses, because desperate men may pull them down upon their own heads? Or, if a malignant wretch will cut his own throat, because he sees you give alms to the necessitous and deserving; shall his destruction be attributed to your charity, and not to his own deplorable madness? If we repent of our good actions, what, I pray you, is left for our faults and follies? It is not the beneficence of the laws, it is the unnatural temper which beneficence can fret and sour, that is to be lamented. It is this temper, which, by all rational means, ought to be sweetened and corrected. If forward men should refuse this cure, can they vitiate any thing but themselves? Does evil so re-act upon good, as not only to retard its motion, but to change its nature? If it can so operate, then good men will always be in the power of the bad; and virtue, by a dreadful reverse of order, must lie under perpetual subjection and bondage to vice.

“As to the opinion of the people, which some think, in such cases, is to be implicitly obeyed; near two years tranquillity, which followed the act, and its instant imitation in Ireland, proved abundantly, that the late horrible spirit was, in a great measure, the act of insidious art, and perverse industry, and gross misrepresentation. But suppose that the dislike had been much more deliberate, and much more general than I am persuaded it was, when we know that the opinions of even the greatest multitudes are the standard of rectitude, I shall think myself obliged to make those opinions the masters of my conscience. But if it be doubted whether Omnipotence itself is competent to alter the essential constitution of right and wrong, sure I am, that such *things*, as they and I, are possessed of no such power. No man carries farther than I do the policy of making govern-

ment pleasing to the people. But the widest range of this politic complaisance is confined within the limits of justice. I would not only consult the interests of the people, but I would cheerfully gratify their humours. We are all a sort of children that must be soothed and managed. I think I am not austere or formal in my nature. I would bear, I would even myself play my part in any innocent buffoneries, to divert them. But I never will act the tyrant for their amusement. If they will mix malice in their sports, I shall never consent to throw them any living, sentient, creature whatsoever, no, not so much as a kittling, to torment.

“But, if I profess all this impolitic stubbornness, I may “chance never to be elected into parliament.” It is certainly not pleasing to be put out of the public service. But I wish to be a member of parliament, to have my share of doing good and resisting evil. It would therefore be absurd to renounce my objects, in order to obtain my seat. I deceive myself indeed most grossly, if I had not much rather pass the remainder of my life, hidden in the recesses of the deepest obscurity, feeding my mind even with the visions and imaginations of such things, than to be placed on the most splendid throne of the universe, tantalised with a denial of the practice of all which can make the greatest situation any other than the greatest curse. Gentlemen, I have had my day. I can never sufficiently express my gratitude to you for having set me in a place, wherein I could lend the slightest help to great and laudable designs. If I have had my share in any measure in giving quiet to private property, and private conscience; if by my vote I have aided in securing to families the best possession, peace; if I have joined in reconciling kings to their subjects, and subjects to their prince; if I have assisted to loosen the foreign holdings of the citizen, and taught him to look for his protection to the laws of his country, and for his comfort to the good will of his countrymen: if I have thus taken my part with the best of men in the best of their actions, I can shut the book—I might wish to read a page or two more—But this is enough for my measure—I have not lived in vain.

“And now, gentlemen, on this serious day, when I come, as it were, to make up my account with you, let me take to myself some degree of honest pride on the nature of the charges that are against me. I do not here stand before you accused of venality, or neglect of duty. It is not said, that, in the long period of my service, I have, in a single instance, sacrificed the slightest of your interests to my ambition, or

to my fortune. It is not alleged, that to gratify any anger, or revenge of my own, or of my party, I have had a share in wronging or oppressing any description of men, or any one man in any description. No! the charges against me are all of one kind, that I have pushed the principles of general justice and benevolence too far; further than a cautious policy would warrant; and further than the opinions of many would go along with me.—In every accident which may happen through life, in pain, in sorrow, in depression, and distress—I will call to mind this accusation, and be comforted.”

Extract from a Speech of Mr. Burke on the motion to send the Lord Mayor of London and Alderman Oliver to the Tower, A. D. 1770.

“Since I had the honour, I should say, the dishonour, of sitting in this house, I have been witness to many strange, many infamous transactions.—What can be your intention in attacking all honour and virtue? Do you mean to bring all men to a level with yourselves, and to extirpate all honour and independence? Perhaps you imagine, a vote will settle the whole controversy. Alas! you are not aware, that the manner, in which your vote is procured, is a secret to no man. Listen. For if you are not totally callous, if your consciences are not seared, I will speak daggers to your souls, and wake you to all the hells of guilty recollection. I will follow you with whips and stings, through every maze of your unexampled turpitude, and plant thorns under the rose of ministerial approbation.—You have flagrantly violated justice, and the law of the land, and opened a door for anarchy and confusion.—After assuming an arbitrary dominion over law and justice, you issue orders, warrants, and proclamations, against every opponent, and send prisoners to your Bastile all those, who have the courage and virtue to defend the freedom of their country. But it is in vain, that you hope by fear and terror to extinguish the native *British* fire. The more sacrifices, the more martyrs you make, the more numerous the sons of liberty will become. They will multiply like the hydra, and hurl vengeance on your heads. Let others act as they will; while I have a tongue, or an arm, they shall be free. And that I may not be a witness of these monstrous proceedings, I will leave the house; nor do I doubt, but every independent, every honest man, every friend to *England* will follow me. These walls are unholy, baleful, deadly, while a prostitute majority holds the bolt of

parliamentary power, and hurls its vengeance only upon the virtuous. To yourselves, therefore, I consign you. Enjoy your *pandæmonium*."

[All the gentlemen in the opposition rose, as one man, and left the house.]

Mr. Pitt's Speech in 1781, on Mr. Burke's motion for an Economical Reform.

[This is Mr. Pitt's first Speech in Parliament.]

Mr. Pitt said, that he gave the most hearty consent to what had fallen from his honourable friend on the other side of the house—that a proposition for the retrenchment of the civil list revenue ought to have come from his Majesty's ministers. He gave his entire approbation to this sentiment. It would have come with more grace; it would have come with more benefit to the public service, if it had sprung from the royal breast. His Majesty's ministers ought to have come forward and proposed a reduction in the civil list, to give the people the consolation of knowing that their Sovereign participated in the sufferings of the empire, and presented an honourable example of retrenchment in an hour of general difficulty. They ought to have consulted the glory of their royal master, and have seated him in the hearts of the people, by abating from magnificence what was due to necessity. Instead of waiting for the slow request of a burdened people, they should have courted popularity by a voluntary surrender of useless revenue. Far more agreeable would it have been to that house, to accede than to propose; much more gracious to have observed the free exercise of royal bounty than to make the appeal, and point out what was right, what was necessary. But if ministers failed to do this; if they interfered between the benignity of the sovereign and the distresses of his people, and stopped the tide of royal sympathy, was that a reason why the house of commons, his Majesty's public counsellors, should desist from a measure so congenial to the paternal feelings of the sovereign, so applicable to the wants and miseries of the people? The natural beneficence of the royal heart would be gratified by the seasonable remittance. And surely it was no reason, because ministers failed to do their duty, that the house should cease to attend to theirs. Acting as the faithful representatives of the people, who had trusted them, they

ought to seize on every object of equitable resource that presented itself; and surely none were so fair, so probable or so flattering as retrenchment and economy. The obligations of their character demanded from them not to hesitate in pursuing those objects, even to the foot of the throne; and actuated by duty, to advise the crown to part with useless ostentation, that he might preserve necessary power; to abate a little of pomp, that he might ascertain respect; to diminish a little of exterior grandeur, that he might increase and secure authentic dignity. Such advice would become them, as the counsellors of his Majesty, and as the representatives of the people; for it was their immediate duty, as the commons house of Parliament, to guard the lives, the liberties, and the properties of the people. The last obligation was the strongest, it was more immediately incumbent upon them to guard the properties, because they were more liable to invasion by the secret and subtle attacks of influence, than either their lives or liberties. It would not derogate from the real glory of the crown to accept of the advice. It would be no diminution of true grandeur to yield to the respectful petitions of the people. The tutelage of that house might be a hard term: but the guardianship of that house could not be disgraceful to a constitutional king. The abridgment of useless and unnecessary expense could be no abatement of royalty. Magnificence and grandeur were not inconsistent with retrenchment and economy, but, on the contrary, in a time of necessity and of common exertion, solid grandeur was dependent on the reduction of expense: and it was the general sentiment and observation of the house, that economy was at this time essentially necessary to national salvation. This had been the language of the noble lord (lord NUGENT) on the other side of the house, and he had declared that if the bill then before the house had provided that all the monies to be derived from the reductions proposed were to be applied to the public service, he would have given his hearty concurrence in it, and would have become one of its warmest advocates. Here then he begged leave to join issue with the noble lord. He had said that the savings were to be appropriated towards a fund for creating a provision for the royal family; and this clause he had found in the bill before them. He begged to inform the noble lord, that there was a clause in this bill which expressly stated that the monies arising from the reductions proposed should be directly applied to the public service. The only merit that he could claim in a

competition with the noble lord was, that his eyes were somewhat younger than his, and he would read the clause to which he alluded. He here read the clause alluded to.

This was the clearest refutation of the noble lord's assertions, but his error seemed to have arisen from his having taken notice of another clause of the act, which ordains, that the monies appropriated to the payment of annuities to be granted to those persons whose places were to be abolished, should be placed in a fund as they should arise by the death of the annuitants, to create a provision for the royal family. This was the error of the noble lord: he had mistaken this provision for all the savings of the plan: unless indeed he imagined, that to place money in the sinking fund subject to the disposal of Parliament, was not to apply it to the public service. He might consider the blind profusion of the minister as the public service; and unless it had been left to him to be mismanaged and squandered in his usual way, it was not applying it, in his opinion, to the public service.—He trusted the house would excuse him for having wanted with their patience on this point: and he, for his own part, should think his time and labour very well repaid, if thereby he had been fortunate enough to gain over so powerful an assistant and friend as the noble lord, to the principle of the bill. It had been said by an honourable gentleman, who spoke early in the debate, that the bill connected two objects that ought to have been kept separate. His honourable friend [Mr. JOHN TOWNSHEND] near him had shewn, that these objects ought to go hand in hand together, and had very properly contended that this was the fit moment for introducing reform and economy. He should add, that the bill had a third object, much more important than either of these, and that was the reduction of the influence of the crown: that influence which the last Parliament, by an express resolution, had declared to be increasing, and that it ought to be diminished: an influence which was more to be dreaded, because more secret in its attacks, and more concealed in its operations, than the power of prerogative. All these objects were not only compatible with each other, but they had a mutual connexion, and ought not to be divided in a measure of reformation. In all the arguments of the noble lord who spoke last, on the subject of the resolutions of the 6th of April, he observed the noble lord's objections were directed solely to the second of these resolutions: he took it for granted therefore, that the noble lord admitted the first. That resolution pledged the house

to do something effectual in compliance with the petitions of the people. Why then should the house refuse to adopt the present bill, the operation of which in diminishing the influence of the crown, rendered it in his opinion much more valuable than the mere consideration of the saving it would effect? But it had been said, that the saving was immaterial; it was a matter of trifling consideration, when measured by the necessities or expenses at the time. It proposed to bring no more than 200,000*l.* a year into the public coffers; and that sum was insignificant in the public account, when compared with the millions which we spend. This was surely the most singular and unaccountable species of reasoning that was ever attempted in any assembly. The calamities of the crisis were too great to be benefited by economy. Our expenses were so enormous, that it was ridiculous to attend to little matters of account. We have spent so many millions, that thousands are beneath our consideration. We were obliged to spend so much that it was foolish to think of saving any. This was the language of the day, and it was by such reasoning that the principle of the bill had been disputed. Much argument had been brought to prove the impropriety and the injustice of resuming a parliamentary grant; and it had been even said, that they had not a right to do so. It would be needless to attempt an answer to such a doctrine. It contained its refutation in its weakness. But it ought to be remembered that the civil list revenue was granted by Parliament to his Majesty for other purposes than those of personal gratification. It was granted to support the power and the interests of the empire, to maintain its grandeur. to pay the judges and the foreign ministers, to maintain justice and support respect; to pay the great officers that were necessary to the lustre of the crown; and it was proportioned to the dignity and opulence of the people. It would be an ungracious task to investigate the great difference that there was between the wealth of the empire when that revenue was granted, and the wealth at the present time. It would serve however to shew, that the sum of revenue, which was necessary to the support of the common dignity of the crown and people at that time, ought now to be abated, as the necessities had increased. The people who granted that revenue under the circumstances of the occasion, were justified in resuming a part of it, under the pressing demand of an altered situation. They clearly felt their right; but they exercised it with pain and regret. They approached the throne with bleeding hearts, afflicted

at the necessity of applying for retrenchment of the royal gratifications; but the request was at once loyal and submissive. It was justified by policy, and his Majesty's compliance with the request was inculcated by prudence, as well as by affection. He confessed, that, when he considered the obligations of the house, he could not cherish the idea that they would dispute the principle of this bill before them. He could not believe it possible that the principle of economy would be condemned, or the means of accomplishing it abandoned. For his own part he admired the plan proposed. He felt himself, as a citizen of this country and a member of that house, highly indebted to the honourable author of it; and as he considered it as essential to the being and the independence of his country, he would give it the most determined support.

Extract from a Speech of Mr. Fox, 12th June 1781, on the receipt of the news in England of the battle of Guildford.

“I proceed next to the battle of Guildford, where the Gazette asserts, we had obtained a signal victory. This term I doubt not was used by lord CORNWALLIS, in a very proper sense; for he could only attend to the disproportion between the two armies; in which point of view, no doubt, that a victory should be gained on our side was very astonishing, and highly honourable to the troops; but if the consequences of the action were to be regarded, then he must understand the word signal in a very different sense: and allow the victory to have been *signalised*, by drawing after it the same identical effects that might have been expected from a defeat. Had our army been vanquished, what course could they have taken? Certainly they would have abandoned the field of action, and flown for refuge to the sea-side: now these are precisely the measures we were obliged to adopt after the action of Guildford, the victorious army leaving the field, abandoning the future object of its expedition, and retiring to the fleet. Another term used by lord CORNWALLIS I must also take notice of: he called his army a *little one*; and well indeed might he give it that appellation, since his whole force did not amount at the utmost to three thousand men. I take that number merely to avoid a contradiction that might divert the current of debate into an improper channel; for I am credibly informed the army did not amount to one half the number; but

taking it at three thousand, then on what principle could ministers even justify confining the operations of this active and spirited general by so scanty a force? Little indeed the army was compared to the enemy it combated, but still less if compared to the army estimates voted this session; for it appeared by them, that no less than eighty-three thousand men were employed in America, including a number in the West Indies; so that, in order to bring three thousand men into the field, the public were to pay for and provide eighty thousand. I do not mean absolutely to say, that so many were actually in the service, perhaps not a tenth part of them could be produced; but the account of them was to be seen on the table; and what language could properly describe the fraudulent conduct of ministers in imposing so grievous a burden on the people without necessity? I will take, however, if they please, the other alternative. I will suppose every man charged in the estimates to be really employed, and that it was necessary to keep eighty thousand on the defensive that three thousand might be brought into the field: need there any thing else be urged to prove the ruinous tendency of the American war? For Lord CORNWALLIS had stated as his opinion, that defensive measures would be certain ruin to our affairs; and yet we could not act offensively without keeping about a proportion of twenty-five to one in garrison; nor did this computation go far enough, as, besides the eighty-three thousand, our friends in America were to be reckoned nine-tenths of the whole; instead of which, however, I am inclined to think a great part of the former number were necessarily employed to watch them, instead of their being any way serviceable to our cause. From this I deduce the absurdity of attempting to contend with France in America: we had conquered that power in Germany last war, as it had been said: for my part I rather entertain a different opinion, believing that both powers found that conflict so expensive, that they retired from it mutually exhausted, and saw it answered to them the end of a war nearer home, by sufficiently weakening each other; but would that equality of expense exist in the present case? Certainly not; for the ministry could not deny, that if we had a hundred thousand men in America, and France only twenty-five thousand, she could bring more troops into the field than we; but besides this, allowing we each brought the same number, our enemy would not incur one fifth part of our expenses.

“Though lord CORNWALLIS had done every thing he proposed by penetrating into North Carolina, though he had been fortunate enough to come up with general GREENE, engaged and defeated him, he had found no one good consequence of his success, not being joined by any body of Americans as he expected, nor even retaining the ground on which he had conquered. As therefore no unforeseen obstacles had presented themselves, and no ill conduct had attended the execution of the plan, it was undeniable, that the project was a vain one, similar to all the other enterprises we had formed during the course of the war; for inimical as the inhabitants of the country were always found, and defended as they were by natural barriers, extensive conquests must ever be impracticable, and no abilities of the general or valor of the troops could avail to any substantial success. This was experienced by general BURGOYNE at Bennington; by general HOWE at Long Island; by lord CORNWALLIS at Guildford; and so it ever must be found while the constitution of things in America remained the same. Ministers had already tried the fortune of war in nearly all the thirteen provinces; they began with Massachusetts Bay, which was in the first commencement of the war supposed the only hostile part of the continent. An insurrection in the province of Massachusetts Bay was the general phrase, and formed the preamble in every act of parliament for coercing America; of course, therefore, to suppress that insurrection was the only object of the war, and Boston was then taken possession of as the only military operation necessary but in a short time that town was abandoned again, and with so much avidity, that a great minister of state, now no more [lord SUFFOLK], had even congratulated parliament on the occasion. We then possessed ourselves of New York, finding the flame of rebellion had extended farther southwards, and there continued till this hour, though it seemed it was not a situation for offensive measures. The next enterprise was levelled at the middle colonies, and Philadelphia taken; which success was preceded by a very important victory; yet that place was abandoned also, much to our satisfaction, and the retreat from it had eternised the name of CLINTON. After this, we discovered all at once, that the Southern Colonies were most vulnerable and proper for an attack. A noble lord [lord WESTCOTE] proclaimed their inhabitants to be effeminate and enervated by the heat of the sun: his lordship being a scholar reasoned on the topic very scientifically, and his ideas were at once adopted: Charleston in consequence

was taken; and but for extraordinary exertions of bravery, would have turned out a conquest more injurious to our cause than any of the preceding. In short, we had now attempted every province but Virginia and New Hampshire, the latter of which I am sorry to find could not be invaded without great difficulty; but as to the former I understand it is to be the next object of enterprise: now I should be happy to learn whether after the thirteen colonies had been invaded, without advancing our grand object a single step, ministers would at last consent to relinquish this most destructive war. If I can only obtain an assurance of that, I will readily consent to an attempt on Virginia, and think I make a good bargain for my constituents."

Extract from a Speech of the late Mr. Pitt in the same debate.

"Some gentlemen had passed the highest eulogiums on the American war. Its justice was defended in the most warm and fervent manner indeed. A noble lord in the heat of his zeal had called it a holy war. For my part, though the honourable gentleman who made the motion, and some other gentlemen, had been more than once in the course of the debate severely reprehended for calling it a wicked and accursed war, I am persuaded and will affirm, that it was a most accursed, wicked, barbarous, cruel, unnatural, unjust, and diabolical war. It was conceived in injustice: it was nurtured and brought forth in folly: its footsteps were marked with blood, slaughter, persecution, and devastation: in truth, every thing which went to constitute moral depravity and human turpitude, was to be found in it. It was pregnant with misery of every kind. The mischiefs, however, recoiled on the unhappy people of this country, who were made the instruments, by which the wicked purposes of its authors were effected. The nation was drained of its best blood and of its vital resources of men and money. The expense of it was enormous, much beyond any former experience; and yet, what had the British nation received in return? Nothing but a series of ineffective victories, or severe defeats—victories celebrated only by a temporary triumph over our brethren, whom we would trample down and destroy: which filled the land with mourning for the loss of dear and valuable relations, slain in the impious cause of enforcing unconditional submission: or with narratives of the glorious exertions of

men, struggling in the holy cause of liberty, though struggling under all the difficulties and disadvantages which in general are deemed the necessary concomitants of victory and success. Where was the Englishman, on reading the narratives of those bloody and well-fought contests, who could refrain from lamenting the loss of so much British blood, spilt in such a cause? or from weeping on whatever side victory might be declared? Add to this melancholy consideration, that on which ever side we looked, we could perceive nothing but our natural and powerful enemies, or luke-warm and faithless friends, rejoicing in our calamities, or meditating our ultimate downfall."

Extract from Mr. Fox's Speech in November 1781, immediately after the news had arrived of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis.

"I had expected, and I know it has been expected by many others, to hear, on this occasion, his Majesty declare from the throne, that he had been deceived and imposed upon by misinformation and misrepresentation: that in consequence of his delusion, the parliament had been deluded; but that now the deception was at an end: and requesting of his parliament to devise the most speedy and efficacious means of putting an end to the public calamities; instead of which they had heard a speech breathing little else than vengeance, misery, and blood. Those *who were ignorant of the personal character of the Sovereign*, and who imagined this speech to originate with him, might be led to suppose that he was an unfeeling despot, rejoicing in the horrid sacrifice of the liberty and lives of his subjects, who, when all hope of victory was vanished, still thirsted for revenge. The ministers, who advised this speech, are a curse to the country, over the affairs of which they have too long been suffered to preside. From that unrivalled pre-eminence which we so lately possessed, they have made us the object of ridicule and scorn to the surrounding nations. The noble lord in the blue riband has indeed thought fit to ascribe the American war and all its attendant calamities to the speeches of Opposition. Oh! wretched and incapable ministry, whose measures are framed with so little foresight, and executed with so little firmness, that because a rash and intemperate invective is uttered against them in the House of Commons, they shall instantly crumble in pieces, and bring down ruin upon the country! Miserable

statesman! to allow for no contingencies of fortune, no ebullition of passion, no collision of sentiment! Could he expect the concurrence of every individual in that House? and was he so weak or wicked, as to contrive plans of government of such a texture, that the intervention of circumstances, obvious and unavoidable, would occasion their total failure, and hazard the existence of the empire? Ministers must expect to hear of the calamities in which they had involved the empire, again and again—not merely in that House, but at the tribunal of justice; for, the time will surely come, when an oppressed and irritated people will firmly call for **SIGNAL PUNISHMENT** on those whose counsels have brought the nation so near to the brink of destruction. An indignant nation will surely in the end compel them to make some faint atonement for the magnitude of their offences on a **PUBLIC SCAFFOLD.**”

†
Mr. Burke, on the right to tax America, November, 1781.

“Oh! inestimable right, Oh! wonderful, transcendent right, the assertion of which has cost this country thirteen provinces, six islands, 100,000 lives, and seventy millions of money! Oh invaluable right! for the sake of which we have sacrificed our rank among nations, our importance abroad, and our happiness at home! Oh right! more dear to us than our existence, which has already cost us so much, and which seems likely to cost us our all. Infatuated man!” cried Mr. BURKE, fixing his eyes on the minister, “miserable, and undone country! not to know that the claim of right without the power of enforcing it, is nugatory and idle. We had a right to tax America, the noble lord tells us; therefore we ought to tax America. This is the profound logic which comprises the whole chain of his reasoning. Not inferior to this was the wisdom of him who resolved to shear the wolf. What! shear a wolf! Have you considered the resistance, the difficulty, the danger of the attempt? No, says the madman, I have considered nothing but the right. Man has a right of dominion over the beasts of the forest; and therefore I will shear the wolf. How wonderful that a nation could be thus deluded. But the noble lord dealt in cheats and delusions. They were the daily traffic of his invention; and he would continue to play off his cheats on this House, so long as he thought them necessary to his purpose, and so long as he had money enough at command to bribe gentlemen to pretend that they believed him. But a black and bitter day of reckoning would

surely come ; and whenever that day came, he trusted he should be able, by a PARLIAMENTARY IMPEACHMENT, to bring upon the heads of the authors of our calamities, the punishment they deserved."

Speech of Mr. Fox, on Mr. Pitt's motion, for a reform in the representation of the people, by a gradual extinguishment, by purchase, of the right of sending members to parliament, possessed by sundry Rotten Boroughs.

"After the many occasions, on which I have before expressed what my sentiments are on the subject of a reform in the representation of the people in Parliament, I shall not consider myself under any great necessity of troubling the house ; but there have been extraordinary circumstances attending the introduction of the present question. That I have always been a friend to the principle of the bill is a fact which does not require to be now repeated. Whether the means taken to effect that principle are such as are most unexceptionable, must remain for future discussion, but cannot provoke my opposition to the motion. There remain ample opportunities in the future stages of the Bill to examine and correct it ;—opportunities which in themselves will be the highest acquisition.

"To that principle which by a diminution of the members of boroughs tended to increase the proportion of representatives for counties, I am sincerely and cordially a friend. But while I am thus explicit on the subject of my approbation, it is but just to mention, that there is another point to which I totally disagree. With all respect which I always pay to the house of commons, I can perceive in it no superlative excellence, no just superiority, which can justify the suspension of the operation of this bill. To defer for a period of years any system of reform, however partial and inadequate, is by no means complying with the declared wishes of the majority of the electors of this country, whose voice, though by no means to be acknowledged as that to which the house of commons must conform, when they are directed by any sudden impulse as the opinions of a moment, should always be obeyed on points which the experience and consideration of years have taught them finally to decide on. The people, notwithstanding all that has been said, have no peculiar obligations to this Parliament for uncommon instances of that propriety of conduct, which would warrant so implicit a reliance in it.

No very flattering proofs of extraordinary attention to the rights of the people have been given by his Majesty's present ministers, in their support of that excellent measure the *Westminster scrutiny*: and no very splendid testimony of their prudence in financial concerns could be drawn from the *commutation tax*. This is a proceeding, the hardship of which they have already felt; and there are some others now in agitation, which are not likely to turn out much more favourable. These only are the reasons the people can have for a reliance in their present Parliament. I do not however mean to say any thing which can be construed as invective against them. I have before been accused of insulting them. I do not know that I did so; but if heat should have led me at any time to say any thing which could have that appearance, I am exceedingly sorry for it. There was nothing in any of these circumstances which could impress them on my memory; but I have observed, that nothing I have ever said in my warmest moments has ever drawn forth so much passion and ill temper on the other side of the house, as when I have attempted to praise them. The Right Honourable Gentleman has in this instance receded from those opinions which on two former occasions he seemed to maintain; and the alteration which he has now made for the purpose of a specific plan is infinitely for the worse. It is in vain that he endeavours to qualify the objections which the idea of innovation raises in the minds of some, by diminishing the extent and influence of reformation. From the earliest periods of our government, that principle of innovation, but which should more properly be called amendment, is neither more nor less than the practice of the constitution. In every species of government, for I will put absolute monarchy out of question, as one which ought never to take place in any country, democracy and aristocracy are always in a state of gradual improvement, when experience comes to the aid of theory and speculation.

“ In all these the voice of the people, when deliberately and generally collected, is invariably sure to succeed. There are moments of periodical impulse and delusion, in which they should not be gratified; but when the views of a people have been formed and determined on the attainment of any object, they must ultimately succeed. On this subject, the people of this country have petitioned from time to time, and their applications have been made to their Parliament. In every reason therefore they should be gratified, lest they may be inclined to sue for redress in another quarter, where their

application will have every probability of success, from the experience of last year. Failing in their representatives, they may have recourse to their prerogative. It has been urged, that now whilst this business is in agitation, the people of Birmingham and Manchester have not petitioned to be represented. This is an argument which at this time of all others can have but little weight; for while they are alarmed for their trade and their subsistence, it is no time for them to set about making improvements in that constitution, in which they are not certain how long they may have any share. On the eve of emigration, they are to look for this in another country, to which their property and business are soon to be transferred. The different parts of this plan would certainly in a committee be submitted to modification and amendments: but as it now stands, admitting only the first principle, every other part and the means taken to attain the principle, are highly objectionable. I shall not hesitate to declare, that I will never agree to admit the purchasing from a majority of the electors the property of the whole. In this I see so much injustice, and so much repugnance to the true spirit of our constitution, that I cannot entertain the idea one moment. On the other hand, when the property of a borough is in one man, there is no chance of his disposing of it on the terms this day mentioned; for when a particular sum is laid down for a certain purchase, and interest suffered to accumulate on that sum, the man must be a fool who could be in haste to get the possession of it. There is something injurious in holding out pecuniary temptations to an Englishman to relinquish his franchise on the one hand, and a political principle which equally forbids it on another. I am uniformly of an opinion, which, though not a popular one, I am ready to aver, that the right of governing is not a property, but a trust; and that whatever is given for constitutional purposes, should be resumed when those purposes shall no longer be carried into effect. There are instances of gentlemen offering to sacrifice the interest they may have in boroughs for the public good. It is strange that none of them now come forward, when the occasion has presented itself. I am averse to the idea of confining parliamentary situations to men of large fortunes, or those who have distinguished themselves in public professions: Should this be the case, there is scarcely any man so little acquainted with the history of Parliament, as not to know that the house would lose half its force. It is not from men of large and easy fortunes that attention, vigilance, energy, and enterprise are to be expected. Human nature is too fond

of gratification not to be somewhat attentive to it, when the means are at hand; and the best and most meritorious public services have always been performed by persons in circumstances removed from opulence. The Right Honourable Gentleman need not be ashamed to take some of those regulations formed in the time of the protector, OLIVER CROMWELL; for though a character too odious ever to be the object of praise or imitation, his institutions, confirmed afterwards by his successor, CHARLES II., bear strong marks of genius and ability; for his political disposition was as good as that of his successor, and his genius infinitely more powerful. I shall conclude with earnestly intreating all sides of the house to concur in the question now before them."

Extract from Mr. Flood's Speech in the British House of Commons, in March 1790.

"This secret of inadequate representation was told the people in thunder in the American war; which began with virtual representation, and ended in dismemberment. To the inadequacy of representation, I charge that war.

"Profuse councils, attendant on unconstitutional majorities, had left upon you a debt, which induced the ministers to look to America for taxes. There the war began; the instinctive selfishness of mankind made the people and parliament wish that others should be taxed rather than themselves. At first, and until America resisted, I agree that this wish was common to the Parliament and people; but when America resisted, and the measure came to deliberate judgment, the people were the first to recover their senses; whilst the minister with his majority, went on to ruin. I say, that the inadequacy of representation, as it was the cause, so it was the only argument that was attempted in justification of that war. When the American exclaimed, that he was not represented in the British house of commons, because he was not an elector, he was told, that a very small part of the people of England were electors; and that therefore he was in the same state in which an infinite majority of the people of England were placed. As they could not call this actual, they invented a new name for it, and called it virtual representation: and gravely concluded that America was represented. The argument no doubt was fallacious: it was perfectly sufficient, however, to impose on multitudes in a nation, wishing that others should be taxed rather than themselves; and who were in the habit

of thinking that the Americans being an inferior species of beings, ought to be contented with their situation, though they did not partake at all in the elective capacity. The influence of corruption within doors, and this fraud of argument without, continued the American war.

“It terminated in a separation, as it began in this empty vision of a virtual representation; and in its passage from one of these points to the other, it swept away part of the glory, and more of the territory of Great Britain, with the loss of forty thousand lives, and one hundred millions of treasure. Virtual Parliaments, and an inadequate representation, have cost you enough abroad already; take care they do not cost you more at home, by costing you your constitution.”

Extracts from Mr. Fox's Speech on Mr. Grey's motion for a Parliamentary Reform, May 26th 1797.

“SIR,

“Much and often as this question has been discussed both within these walls and without, and late as the hour is, I feel it my duty to make some observations, and to deliver my opinion on a measure of high importance at all times, but which at the present period is become infinitely more interesting than ever. I fear, however, that my conviction on this subject is not common to the house. I fear, that we are not likely to be agreed as to the importance of the measure, nor as to the necessity; since, by the manner in which it has been discussed this night, I foresee that so far from being unanimous on the proposition, we shall not be agreed as to the situation and circumstances of the country itself, much less as to the nature of the measures, which, in my mind, that situation, and those circumstances so imperiously demand.

“For myself, and according to my view of our circumstances, all that part of the argument against reform, which relates to the danger of innovation, is strongly misplaced by those who think with me, that, so far from procuring the mere chance of practical benefits by a reform, it is only by a reform that we can have a chance of rescuing ourselves from a state of extreme peril and distress. Such is my view of our situation. I think it so perilous, so imminent, that though I do not feel conscious of despair, an emotion which the heart ought not to admit, yet it comes nearer to that state of hazard, when the sentiment of despair, rather than of hope, may be supposed to take possession of the mind. I feel myself to be the member of a community in which the boldest man, with-

out any imputation of cowardice, may dread that we are not merely approaching to a state of peril, but of absolute dissolution: and with this conviction, impressed indelibly on my heart, gentlemen will not believe that I disregard all the general arguments that have been used against the motion on the score of innovation, from any disrespect to the honourable members who have urged them, or to the ingenuity with which they have been pressed, but because I am firmly persuaded that they are totally inapplicable to the circumstances under which we come to the discussion. With the ideas that I entertain, I cannot listen for a moment to suggestions that are applicable only to other situations and to other times; for unless we are resolved, in helpless pusillanimity, or in a stupid torpor, to succumb, and to wait with resignation the approach of our doom, to lie down and die, we must take bold and decisive measures for our deliverance. We must not be deterred by meaner apprehensions. We must combine all our strength, fortify one another by communion of our courage; and by a seasonable exertion of national wisdom, patriotism, and vigour, take measures for the chance of salvation, and encounter with unappalled hearts all the enemies foreign and internal, all the dangers and calamities of every kind, which press so heavily upon us. Such is my view of the present emergency of England; and under this impression, I cannot for a moment listen to the argument of danger arising from innovation, since our ruin is inevitable, if we pursue the course which has brought us to the brink of the precipice.

“ I have invariably declared myself a friend to parliamentary reform by whomsoever proposed; and though in all the discussions that have heretofore taken place, I have had occasion to express my doubt as to the efficacy of the particular mode, I have never hesitated to say, that the principle itself was beneficial; and that, though not called for with the urgency, which some folks, and among others the right honourable gentleman, declared to exist, I constantly was of opinion that it ought not to be discouraged. Now, however, that all doubt upon the subject is removed by the pressure of our calamities, and that no spark of hope remains for the country, and the dreadful alternative seems to be, whether we shall sink into the most abject thralldom on the one side, or continue in the same course until we are driven into the horrors of anarchy on the other, I can have no hesitation in saying, that the plan of recurring to the principle of melioration which the constitution points out, is become a *desideratum* to the people of Great Britain. Between the alterna-

tives of base and degraded slavery on the one side, or of tumultuous though probably short-lived anarchy on the other, though no man would hesitate to make his choice, yet if there be a course obvious and practicable, which, without either violence or innovation, may lead us back to the vigour we have lost, to the energy that has been stifled, to the independence that has been undermined, and yet preserve every thing in its place, a moment ought not to be lost in embracing the chance which this fortunate provision of the British system has made for British safety.

“Every thing that is dear and urgent to the minds of Englishmen, presses upon us: at the critical moment at which I now address you, a day, an hour ought not to elapse, without giving to ourselves the chance of this recovery. When government is daily presenting itself in the shape of weakness that borders on dissolution—unequal to all the functions of useful strength, and formidable only in pernicious corruption—weak in power, but strong only in influence; am I to be told, that such a state of things can go on with safety to any branch of the constitution? If men think, that under the impression of such a system, we can go on without a material recurrence to first principles, they argue in direct opposition to all theory and all practice. These discontents cannot in their nature subside under detected weakness and exposed incapacity. In their progress and increase, as increase they must, who shall say that direction can be given to the torrent, or that having broken its bounds it can be kept from overwhelming the country? Sir, it is not the part of statesmen, it is not the part of rational beings, to amuse ourselves with such fallacious dreams: we must not sit down and lament over our hapless situation; we must not deliver ourselves up to an imbecile despondency, that would paralise us at the approach of danger; but by a seasonable, alert and vigorous measure of wisdom, meet it with what we think a sufficient and seasonable remedy.—We may be disappointed—we may fail in the application, for no man can be certain of his footing on ground that is unexplored; but we shall at least have a chance for success—we shall at least do what belongs to legislators, and to rational beings on the occasion; and I have confidence that our efforts would not be in vain. I say that we should give ourselves a chance, and I may add the best chance for deliverance; since it would exhibit to the country a proof that we had conquered the first great difficulty that stood in the way of bettering our condition—we had conquered ourselves. We had given a general triumph to reason over prejudice;

We had given a death-blow to those miserable distinctions of *Whig* and *Tory*, under which the warfare had been maintained between pride and privilege; and through the contention of our rival jealousies, the genuine rights of the many had been gradually undermined and frittered away. I say that this would be giving us the best chance, because, seeing every thing go on from bad to worse—seeing the progress of the most scandalous waste countenanced by the most criminal confidence, and that the effrontery of corruption no longer requires the mask of concealment—seeing liberty daily infringed, and the vital springs of the nation insufficient for the extravagance of a dissipated government, I must believe, that, unless the people are mad or stupid, they will suspect that there is something fundamentally false or vicious in our system, and which no reform would be equal to correct. Then to prevent all this, and to try if we can effect a reform, without touching the main pillars of our constitution—without changing its forms, or disturbing the harmony of its parts—without putting any thing out of its place, or affecting the securities which we justly hold to be so sacred, I say, that it is the only chance which we have for retrieving our misfortunes by the road of quiet and tranquillity and by which national strength may be recovered without disturbing the property of a single individual.

“An honourable baronet spoke of the instability of democracies, and says, that history does not give us the example of one that has lasted eighty years. Sir, I am not speaking of pure democracies, and therefore his allusion does not apply to my argument. Eighty years, however, of peace and repose would be pretty well for any people to enjoy, and would be no bad recommendation of a pure democracy. I am very ready, however, to agree with the honourable baronet, that, according to the experience of history, the ancient democracies of the world were vicious, and objectionable on many accounts; their instability, their injustice, and many other vices cannot be overlooked; but surely when we turn to the ancient democracies of Greece, when we see them in all the splendour of arts and of arms, when we see how they aroused and invigorated genius, and to what an elevation they carried the powers of man, it cannot be denied that however vicious on the score of ingratitude, or injustice, they were at least the pregnant and never-failing source of national strength; and, that, in particular, they brought forth and afforded this strength in a peculiar manner in the moment of difficulty and distress. When we look at the democracies of the ancient world, we

are compelled to acknowledge their oppressions to their dependencies, their horrible acts of injustice and of ingratitude to their own citizens; but they compel us also to admiration by their vigor, their constancy, their spirit, and their exertions in every great emergency in which they were called upon to act. We are compelled to own, that it gives a power of which no other form of government is capable. Why? Because it incorporates every man with the state—because it arouses every thing that belongs to the soul, as well as to the body of man—because it makes every individual creature feel, that he is fighting for himself, and not for another; that it is his own cause, his own safety, his own concern, his own dignity, on the face of the earth, and his own interest on the identical soil which he has to maintain; and accordingly we find that whatever may be ascribed, that whatever may be objected to them on account of the turbulency of the passions which they engender, their short duration, and their disgusting vices, they have exacted from the common suffrage of mankind the palm of strength and vigor. Who that reads the history of the Persian war, what boy whose heart is warmed by the grand and sublime actions which the democratic spirit produced, does not find in this principle the key to all the wonders which were achieved at Thermopylæ and elsewhere? He sees that the principle of liberty only could create the sublime and irresistible emotion; and it is in vain to deny, from the striking illustration that our own times have given, that the principle is eternal, and that it belongs to the heart of man. Shall we then refuse to take the benefit of the invigorating principle? Shall we refuse to take the benefit which the wisdom of our ancestors resolved that it should confer on the British constitution? With the knowledge that it can be reinfused into our system without violence, without disturbing any one of its parts, are we become so inert, so terrified, or so stupid, as to hesitate for one hour to restore ourselves to the health which it would be sure to give?

“If you wish for power, you must look to liberty. If ever there was a moment when this maxim ought to be dear to us, it is the present. We have tried all other means: we have had recourse to every stratagem, that artifice, that influence, that cunning could suggest—we have addressed ourselves to all the base passions of the nation: we have addressed ourselves to pride, to avarice, to fear: we have awakened all the interested emotions; we have employed every thing that flattery, every thing that address, every thing that privilege could effect: we have tried to terrify them into exertion;

and all has been unequal to our emergency. Let us try them by the only means which experience demonstrates to be invincible : let us address ourselves to their love : let us identify them with ourselves ; let us make it their own cause, as well as ours. To induce them to come forward in support of the state, let us make them a part of the state, and this they become the very instant you give them a house of commons that is the faithful organ of their will : then, Sir, when you have made them believe and feel that there can be but one interest in the country, you will never call upon them in vain for exertion.

“ There has been at different times a great deal of dispute about virtual representation. Sir, I am no great advocate for these nice subtleties and special pleadings on the constitution : much depends upon appearance as well as reality. I know well, that a popular body of five hundred and fifty-eight gentlemen, if truly independent of the crown, would be a strong barrier to the people : but the house of commons should not only be, but appear to be, the representative of the people : the system should satisfy the prejudices and the pride, as well as the reason of the people ; and you can never expect to give the just impression which a house of commons ought to make on the people, until you derive it unequivocally from them. It is asked, why gentlemen, who were against a parliamentary reform on former occasions, should vote for it now ? Ten years ago, men might reasonably object to any reform of the system, who ought now, in my opinion, to be governed by motives that are irresistible in its favour. They might look back with something like satisfaction and triumph to former Parliaments, and console themselves with the reflection, that, though in moments of an ordinary kind, in the common course of human events, Parliament might abate from its vigilance, and give a greater degree of confidence than strictly conformable with representative duty ; yet there was a point beyond which no artifice of power, no influence of corruption, could carry them : that there were barriers in the British constitution, over which the house of commons never would leap, and that the moment of danger and alarm would be the signal for the return of Parliament to its post. Such might have been the reasoning of gentlemen on the experience of former Parliaments ; and with this rooted trust in the latent efficacy of Parliament, they might have objected to any attempt that should give scope to views or cherish hopes of a change in the system itself : but what will the same gentlemen say, after the experience of the last and the pre-

sent Parliament? What dependence, what trust, what reliance can they have for one vestige of the constitution that is left to us? Or rather, what privilege, what right, what security, has not been already violated?

— *Quid intactum nefasti liquimus?*

And seeing, that in no one instance have they hesitated to go the full length of every outrage that was conceived by the minister, that they have been touched by no scruples, deterred by no sense of duty, corrected by no experience of calamity, checked by no admonition, or remonstrance; that they have never made out a single case of enquiry; that they have never interposed a single restraint upon abuse; may not gentlemen consistently feel, that the reform, which they previously thought unnecessary, is now indispensable? We have heard to-day, Sir, all the old arguments about honour on the one side being as likely as honour on the other, and that there are good men on both sides of the house; that a man may be a member for a close borough upon the one side of the house, as well as upon the other; and that he may be a good man sit where he may. All this, Sir, is very idle language; it is not the question at issue: no man disputes the existence of private and individual integrity; but, Sir, this is not representation: if a man comes here as the proprietor of a burgage tenure, he does not come here as the representative of the people. The whole of this system, as it is now carried on, is as outrageous to morality, as it is pernicious to just government. It gives a scandal to our character, which not merely degrades the house of commons in the eyes of the people, but it does more, it undermines the very principles of integrity in their hearts, and gives a fashion to dishonesty and imposture. They hear of a person giving or receiving four or five thousand pounds as the purchase money of a seat for a close borough: and they hear the very man who received, and put into his pocket the money, make a loud and vehement speech in this house against bribery: and they see him perhaps move for the commitment to prison of a poor unfortunate wretch at your bar, who has been convicted in taking a single guinea for his vote in the very borough, perhaps, where he had publicly and unblushingly sold his influence, though that miserable guinea was necessary to save a family from starving, under the horrors of a war which he had contributed to bring upon the country! Sir, these are things that paralyse you to the heart: these are the things that vitiate the whole system, that spread degeneracy, hypocrisy, and sordid fraud

over the country, and take from us the energies of virtue, and sap the foundations of patriotism and spirit. The system that encourages so much vice, ought to be put an end to; and it is no argument, that because it lasted a long time without mischief, it ought now to be continued, when it is found to be pernicious: it is arisen to a height that defeats the very ends of government; it must sink under its own weakness. And this, Sir, is not a case peculiar to itself, but is inseparable from all human institutions. All the writers of eminence upon forms of government have said, that in order to preserve them, frequent recurrences must be had to their original principle. This is the opinion of MONTESQUIEU, as well as MACHIAVEL. Gentlemen will not be inclined to dispute the authority of the latter on this point at least; and he says that without this recurrence they grow out of shape, and deviate from their general form. It is only by recurring to former principles that any government can be kept pure and unabused.

“ But, Sir, there is a lumping consideration, if I may be allowed the phrase, which now more than ever ought to make every man a convert to parliamentary reform: there is an annual revenue of twenty-three millions sterling collected by the executive government from the people. Here, Sir, is the despot of election; here is the new power that is grown up to magnitude; that bears down before it every defensive barrier established by our ancestors for the protection of the people. They had no such tyrant to control; they had no such enemy to oppose. Against every thing which was known, against every thing which was seen, they did provide; but it did not enter into the contemplation of those who established the checks and barriers of our system, that they would ever have to stand against a revenue of twenty millions a year. The whole landed rental of the kingdom is not estimated at more than twenty-five millions a year; and this rental is divided and dispersed over a large body who cannot be supposed to act in concert, or to give to their power the force of combination and unity; but even if all united, organised, and exerted, has it now to oppose a power nearly equal to itself in one hand, in a hand that has all the means of hostility prepared, and all the resources for action in full activity? But it is said, that though the government is in the receipt of a revenue of twenty-three millions a year, it has not the expenditure of that sum, and that its influence ought not to be calculated from what it receives, but what it has to pay away. I submit, however, to the good sense, and to the per-

sonal experience of gentlemen who hear me, if it be not a manifest truth, that influence depends almost as much upon what they have to receive, as upon what they have to pay; whether it does not proceed as much from the submission of the dependant who has a debt to pay, as on the gratitude of the person whose attachment they reward? And if this be true, in the influence which individuals derive from the rentals of their estates, and from the expenditure of that rental, how much more so is it true of government, who both in the receipt and expenditure of this enormous revenue, are actuated by one invariable principle, that of extending or withholding favor in exact proportion to the submission or resistance to their measures which the individuals make? Compare this revenue, then, with that against which our ancestors were so anxious to protect us, and compare this revenue with all the bulwarks of our constitution in preceding times, and you must acknowledge, that though those bulwarks were sufficient to protect us in the days of King WILLIAM and Queen ANNE, they are not equal to the enemy we have now to resist. But it is said, what will this reform do for us? Will it be a talisman sufficient to retrieve all the misfortunes which we have incurred? I am free to say, that it would not be sufficient, unless it led to reforms of substantial expense, and to reform of all the abuses that have crept into our government. But, at the same time, I think it would do this, I think it would give us the chance, as I said before, of recovery. It would give us, in the first place, a Parliament vigilant and scrupulous; and that would ensure to us a government active and economical. It would prepare the way for every rational improvement, of which without disturbing the parts, our constitution is susceptible. It would do more; it would open the way for exertions infinitely more extensive than all that we have hitherto made.

“It has often been a question, both within and without these walls, how far representatives ought to be bound by the instructions of their constituents. It is a question upon which my mind is not altogether made up, though I own I lean to the opinion that having to legislate for the empire, they ought not to be altogether guided by instructions that may be dictated by local interests. I cannot, however, approve of the very ungracious manner in which I sometimes hear expressions of contempt for the opinion of constituents: they are made with a very bad grace in the first session of a septennial Parliament, particularly if they should come from individuals who in the concluding session of a former Parliament did not

scruple to court the favour of the very same constituents, by declaring that they voted against their conscience in compliance with their desire, as was the case with an honourable alderman of the city of London. But, sir, there is one class of constituents, whose instructions it is considered as the implicit duty of members to obey. When gentlemen represent populous towns and cities, then it is disputable, whether they ought to obey their voice, or follow the dictates of their own conscience ; but if they represent a noble Lord, or a noble Duke, then it becomes no longer a question of doubt ; he is not considered as a man of honour who does not implicitly obey the orders of his single constituent. He is to have no conscience, no liberty, no discretion of his own ; he is sent here by my Lord this, or the Duke of that ; and if he does not obey the instructions he receives, he is not to be considered as a man of honour and a gentleman. Such is the mode of reasoning that prevails in this house. Is this fair ? Is there any reciprocity in this conduct ? Is a gentleman to be permitted, without dishonour, to act in opposition to the sentiments of the city of London, of the city of Westminster, or of Bristol : but if he dares to disagree with the Duke, or Lord, or Baronet, whose representative he is, then he must be considered as unfit for the society of men of honour ?

“This, Sir, is the chicane and tyranny of corruption ; and this, at the same time, is called representation. In a very great degree the county members are held in the same sort of thralldom. A number of peers possess an overweening interest in the country, and a gentleman is no longer permitted to hold his situation than as he acts agreeably to the dictates of those powerful families. Let us see how the whole of this stream of corruption has been diverted from the side of the people to that of the crown ; with what a constant persevering art, every man who is possessed of influence in counties, corporations, or boroughs, that will yield to the solicitations of the court, is drawn over to that phalanx which is opposed to the small remnant of popular election. I have looked, Sir, to the machinations of the present minister in that way, and I find that including the number of additional titles, the right honourable gentleman has made no fewer than one hundred and fifteen peers in the course of his administration ; that is to say, he has bestowed no fewer than one hundred and fifteen titles, including new creations and elevations from one rank to another. How many of these are to be ascribed to national services, and how many to parliamentary interest, I leave the house to inquire. The country is not blind to these

arts of influence, and it is impossible that we can expect them to continue to endure them.

“When we look to the kingdom of Scotland, we see a state of representation so monstrous and absurd, so ridiculous and revolting, that it is good for nothing except perhaps to be placed by the side of the English, in order to set off our defective system, by the comparison of one still more defective. In Scotland there is no shadow even of representation; there is neither a representation of property for the counties, nor of population for the towns. It is not what we understand in England by freeholders, that elect in the counties: the right is vested in what is called the superiorities; and it might so happen that all the members for the counties of Scotland might come here without having the vote of a single person who had a foot of property in the land. This is an extreme case; but it is within the limits of their system. In the boroughs, their magistrates are self-elected, and therefore the members have nothing to do with the population of the towns.

“Now, Sir, having shewn this to be the state of the country, and the state of our representation, I ask you what remedy there can be other than reform? what can we expect, as the necessary result of a system so defective and vicious in all its parts, but increased and increasing calamities, until we shall be driven to a convulsion that would overthrow every thing? If we do not apply this remedy in time, our fate is inevitable. Our most illustrious patriots, and the men whose memories are the dearest to Englishmen, have long ago pointed out to us parliamentary reform as the only means of redressing national grievance. I need not inform you, that Sir GEORGE SAVILLE was its most strenuous advocate: I need not tell you that the venerable and illustrious CAMDEN was through life a steady adviser of seasonable reform: nay, Sir, to a certain degree we have the authority of Mr. BURKE himself for the propriety of correcting the abuses of our system: for gentlemen will remember the memorable answer that he gave to the argument that was used for our right of taxing America, on the score of their being virtually represented; and that they were in the same situation at Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield. What! said Mr. BURKE, when the people of America look up to you with the eyes of filial love and affection, will you turn to them the *shameful* parts of the constitution? With, then, the concurring testimony of so many authorities for correcting our abuses, why do we hesitate? Can we do any harm by experiment? Can we possibly

put ourselves into a worse condition than we are? What advantages we shall gain, I know not: I think we shall gain many: I think we shall gain at least the chance of war ting off the evil of confusion growing out of accumulated discontent: I think that we shall save ourselves from the evil that has fallen upon Ireland: I think that we shall satisfy the moderate, and take even from the violent, if any such there be, the powers of increasing their numbers, and of making converts to their schemes. This, Sir, is my solemn opinion, and upon this ground it is that I recommend, with earnestness and solicitude, the proposition of my honourable friend.

“Sir, I have done! I have given my advice. I propose the remedy, and fatal will it be for England, if pride and prejudice much longer continue to oppose it. The remedy, which is proposed, is simple, easy, and practicable; it does not touch the vitals of the constitution, and I sincerely believe it will restore us, to peace and harmony. Do you think that you must not come to parliamentary reform soon? And is it not better to come to it now, when you have the power of deliberation, than when perhaps it may be extorted from you by convulsion? There is as yet time to frame it with freedom and discussion; it will even yet go to the people with the grace and favour of a spontaneous act. What will it be, when it is extorted from you with indignation and violence? God forbid that this should be the case; but now is the moment to prevent it; and now I say, wisdom and policy recommend it to you, when you may enter into all the considerations to which it leads, rather than to postpone it to a time, when you will have nothing to consider, but the number and force of those who demand it.”

Extract from the Speech of Mr. Beaufoy, on his motion for repealing the Corporation and Test laws, May 8th, 1789.

“A foreigner would naturally ask, what are these Dissenters that their right to the common privileges of citizens should be disputed? Are they slaves to the rest of the community; or are they offenders who have forfeited their privileges by their crimes; or are they persons who from their religious tenets are unable, or from disaffection to the state are unwilling to give the necessary pledges of obedience? Not as slaves to the rest of the community, do we deny them the usual privileges of citizens: for thanks to the spirit of

our ancestors, there is in Great Britain no such description of men. Not as criminals do we exclude them from the enjoyment of their rights: for of the millions of subjects who inhabit the kingdom, there are none of more untainted integrity, or of more unquestionable honour. Neither as persons who are unable, or unwilling to give sufficient pledge of their obedience to the state, do we reject them; for such is the satisfaction which we feel in the pledges they give of their attachment,—such is our reliance upon the oaths which they are at all times willing to take, that without hesitation or reserve we admit them to the highest of all trusts, that of legislative power; but the ground on which we do refuse them the rights and privileges which their fellow-citizens enjoy, is their presuming to believe, that in those concerns of religion which relate not to actions but opinions, it is every man's duty, as it is every man's right, to follow the dictates of his own understanding. To be convinced by the evidence of another man's judgment, in opposition to the evidence of their own, they conceive to be as impossible as to credit the testimony of another man's sight in opposition to the evidence of their own eyes. It is this adherence to a necessary conclusion from self-evident premises; it is this attachment to an unavoidable inference from axioms which no man living disputes; it is this uniform regard for the right of private judgment in matters of religion, which, in the contemplation of the law, outweighs all sense of their virtues as men, all esteem of their patriotism as citizens, all respect for their loyalty as subjects; it is this which has induced us to impose on them civil disabilities, without the commission of any offence. It is this which has impelled us to subject them, as far as the law can subject them, to the same disabilities, the same dishonour, with those who have been publicly convicted of wilful, corrupt, and deliberate perjury. Because you will not consent to be hypocrites, therefore, say the laws, you shall be treated as if you were perjured. No office under the crown, though your sovereign may invite you to his service; no commission in the army, though the enemy may be marching to the capital; no share in the management of any of the commercial companies of the kingdom, though your whole fortunes may be vested in their stocks, shall be yours; from the direction of the bank of England, from the direction of the East India Company, from that of Russia, the Turkish and South Sea Companies, you are entirely debarred; for if you should accept of any share in the management of these companies, or of any office under the crown, or of any military employment, you

are within the penalties of the statute. In the first place, you forfeit to the informer the sum of 500*l.*; if you cannot pay that sum without delay, the penalty is imprisonment; if you cannot pay it at all, as may be the case with many a brave officer, who has offended against the law by fighting the battles of his country, the penalty is imprisonment for life. In the next place you are incapable of suing for any debt. Does any one owe you money? Have you entrusted him with your whole fortune? It is in his power to cancel that debt, by annulling your means of recovering it; and for that act of dishonesty, of consummate fraud, of treachery in the extreme, the parliament assigns him a reward of 500*l.* to be bequeathed from the wreck of your fortune. In the next place, the law denies you its protection: for the wrongs which he has done you, and for the insults and the injuries, however atrocious, which you have experienced from him, you shall have no redress; to the complaints of others against you, the ear of the magistrate is open; but to your supplications, to your prayers, to your complaints, it is from this time forward inexorably shut. You are condemned to wretchedness and beggary for life. In the next place, you are incapable of receiving any legacy; the inheritance bequeathed by your parents you cannot take; your rights as sons are cancelled. In the last place, you are also incapable of being guardian to any child, even to your own. A former penalty annihilated your right as a child: this abrogates your privileges as a parent. Such are the strong coercions by which the Dissenters are excluded from the enjoyment, not only of their most valuable privileges as citizens, but of rights which they hold by a higher title, and claim by a superior authority to any which civil governments bestow. How hard, then, is the situation of a dissenter? If he should disobey the laws, which exclude him from civil and military employments, and should accept of any office to which the choice of his sovereign, or the confidence of his fellow-citizens may invite him, he is robbed of his fortune, stripped of his inheritance, deprived of his personal security, and bereaved of his privileges which result from a natural relation of a father to his child! If on the other hand, he should acquiesce in the law, and pursue no employments in the army, in the state, or in the commercial companies of the kingdom, he submits to the same disability, and acquiesces in the same degradation which belongs to those who are convicted of wilful, corrupt, and deliberate perjury; he is loaded with the same punishments which are inflicted on those who have trampled on the first principles of religion, broken down the

strongest fences of civil government, and violated the most solemn obligations of human society. Such disabilities, so imposed, are naked and undissembled wrongs; and inflicted for religious opinions, nearly constitute persecution: for what is persecution, but injuries inflicted for religious belief? It is its true definition, its just and accurate description. What then are the consequences which follow from these melancholy facts? Injurious, and perhaps unexpected as the conclusion is, we are compelled, by the evidence of truths which we cannot dispute, to acknowledge that the pretended toleration of the Dissenters is a real persecution—a persecution which deprives them of a part of their civil rights, and which, with the same justice, and on the same plea—might equally deprive them of the rest—a persecution which denies them the management of their property, and which, with the same justice, and on the same plea, might equally take from them the property itself—a persecution which deprives them of the right of defending their liberties, and lives, and which, with the same justice, and precisely on the same plea, might equally deprive them both of liberty and life. If one degree of persecution may be justified, another degree of it, under different circumstances, may be justified also. Let but the principle be once admitted, and the inquisition of Portugal and Spain cease to be objects either of ridicule, or of abhorrence.

“Does the voice of a sovereign, in a fearful and perilous season, call the Dissenters to his service, or does the strong impulse of affection for their native land urge them to oppose their strength to the invading enemy, and to shew him that his sword must pass through their breast, before it can reach that of their country? Presumptuous men! what shall be your fate? From this time forward you shall be treated as outcasts from the community! The law shall withhold from you the guards with which it protects the personal security of the subject; and even the rights of inheritance shall be taken from you. Do you complain that, guiltless of any offence, except the offence of having bled for your country, you are subjected to penalties so severe? It is but the lightest part of your punishment: a higher scourge remains. It is on your feelings as parents that the law shall inflict its deepest wound. Tainted in the eyes of your offspring as unfit to be trusted with the care of their education, or the superintendence of their morals, your natural affection shall be made the instrument of your severest anguish. O most incomparable system of ingenious cruelty! A considerable part of the best subjects of the kingdom cannot indulge their attachment to their native land, but

at the expense of their attachment to their offspring. The passion of the father for his child is opposed to his passion for the country. The barbarian, of whom we read in the papers on your table, that African tyrant who has carried the science of despotism to a perfection which NERO never knew, even he aspires at nothing more than to destroy the family attachment and to annihilate the parental feeling. He does not attempt to oppose the attachment of the father to the duty of the citizen : but the British law is founded in deeper cruelty. Its object is to create a war of attachment, and to establish a conflict of passions. It is to make virtue inconsistent with virtue, duty irreconcilable to duty, affection incompatible with affection. Can such laws be consistent with the interest of the state? When the kingdom, a few years since, was assailed by the adherents to another claimant of the crown; when the faith of a large proportion of people was dubious; when the loyalty of many of those who were near the person of the king was thought to be tainted, and terror had palsied even more than corruption had seduced, what was then the conduct of the Protestant Dissenters of England? To say, that of the multitudes which composed that varied society, there was not one man, not a single individual, who joined the enemy of his Majesty's house, (unexampled as this proof of their loyalty was) is, however, but to speak the smallest part of their praise; for at the very time when the armies of the state had been repeatedly discomfited; at the very time that those who reached at his Majesty's crown were actually in possession of the centre of the kingdom; at the very time when Britain, unable to rely on her native strength, and hourly trembling for her safety, had recourse to foreign aid; at that very time, the Dissenters, regardless of the dreadful penalties of the law, and anxious for their country alone, eagerly took up arms. And what was the return which they received? As soon as the danger was passed by, they were compelled to solicit protection of that general mercy which was extended to the very rebels against whom they fought; they were obliged to shelter themselves under that act of grace which was granted to the very traitors, from whose arms they had defended the crown, and the life of the sovereign. It was thus only that they escaped those dreadful penalties which they incurred by their loyalty, and which the irritated friends of the rebellion were impatient to bring down upon them. To the disgrace of our statutes, to the dishonesty of the British name, to the reproach of humanity, these persecuting statutes are still unrepealed.

“As yet, I have spoken as an advocate for a numerous description of my fellow-subjects, whose moral virtues I esteem, whose patriotism I revere, whose situation as much injured men, has strongly attached me to their cause, but to whose religious persuasion I myself do not belong. Permit me now for a few moments, before I conclude, to speak of interests, in which I have a more immediate and personal concern, the interests of the church of England. From all testimonies, ancient and modern, I have ever understood, that the worst practice of which a legislature can be guilty, is that of employing the laws of a country to degrade and make contemptible the religion of the country. For what man is so little acquainted with the motives of the human heart, or knows so little of the history of nations, as not to be aware, that in proportion as he weakens in the people their respect for religion, he corrupts their manners, and in proportion as he corrupts their manners, he renders all laws ineffectual. Now, of all the solemn rites and sacred ordinances of her faith, there is not one so guarded round with terrors, and over which the avenging sword of the Almighty appears so distinctly to the view, as the ordinance of the holy sacrament; for, “he who presumes to eat of that bread, and to drink of that cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation: he is guilty of the body and blood of Christ, and provokes the Almighty to plague him with divers diseases, and sundry kinds of death.” That these terrible denunciations may not be lightly and unthinkingly incurred, the minister is directed, when he stands at the holy altar, to prohibit the approach of all persons of abandoned morals and of a profligate life. Such are the injunctions of his religion; but the law tells him, that to those very persons, abandoned and profligate as they are, if by any means they have found their way to office, he must administer the sacrament. Is he informed that the man who demands it, is covered with crimes; a smuggler perhaps (for such appointments have been at no time unfrequent) who has obtained his employment as a reward for having betrayed his associates, and for having added private treachery to a long course of public fraud? Is he also told, that this man, new as he is to office, is already supposed to have violated his oath, and that the weight of accumulated perjury is already on his head? Still however the clergyman must comply with his demand; for perjured as he is, the Test Act has given him a legal right to the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. Should the minister refuse, the expense of a ruinous suit would devour his scanty means, and consign him for life to a prison. Thus

circumstanced the minister has no choice ; yet he cannot but know that in taking it unworthily he eats and drinks his own damnation ! Such is the task which the Test act has assigned to these very men, whose particular duty it is to guard their fellow-subjects from perdition, and to guide them in their road to happiness. If, in the records of human extravagance, or of human guilt, there can be found a law more presumptuous than this, I will give up the cause. And to what purpose is this debasement of religion ? If it be thought requisite that Dissenters be excluded from the common privileges of citizens, why must the sacrament be made the instrument of the wrong ? Why must the purity of the temple be polluted ? Why must the sanctity of the altar be defiled ? Why must the most sacred ordinance of her faith be exposed to such gross, such unnecessary prostitution ? If there be persons who are too little attached to the theory of the Christian faith, to be shocked at the impiety, they must at least be astonished at the folly, of such a conduct.

“ The Saviour of the world instituted the Eucharist in commemoration of his death, an event so tremendous that nature afflicted hid herself in darkness : but the British legislature has made it a qualification for gauging beer-barrels and soap-boiler's tubs ; for writing custom-house cockets and debentures, and for seizing smuggled tea ! The mind is oppressed with ideas so mis-shapen and monstrous ! Sacrilege, hateful as it always is, never before assumed an appearance so hideous and deformed. Endeavours have been often used to justify the legal establishment of this impious profanation, by comparing it with those provisions of our law, which enjoined the sanction of an oath : but the argument equally insults the integrity and understanding of every man to whom it is addressed ; for though it be, indeed, true, that the legislature by compelling every petty officer of the revenue, and every collector of a turnpike toll, to swear deeply on his admission into office, and has made the crime of perjury more frequent than it ever before was in any age or country, yet how does the frequent commission of this crime against law justify the establishment of a religious profanation by law ? But without commenting on the folly of pleading for a legislative debasement of religion in one way, by shewing that the legislature has contributed to its debasement in another, what resemblance does the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which is merely a religious institution, bear to the ceremony of an oath, which is an institution entirely political ? An oath answers none of the purposes of religion : it neither promotes any of

her interests, nor forms any part of her establishment. It belongs to the Jew, the Mahometan, and the idolater of every description, as much as it belongs to the Christian: but such are the arguments by which the Test and Corporation acts have ever been defended."

Extract from a Speech of Mr. Fox, on the same subject, May 2d, 1790.

"Were we to recur to first principles, and observe the progress of the Christian religion in the first stages of its propagation, we should perceive that no vice, evil, or detriment had ever sprung from toleration. Persecution had always been a fertile source of much evil: perfidy, cruelty, and murder had often been the consequence of intolerant principles. The massacres at Paris, the martyrdoms at Smithfield, and the executions of the Inquisition, were among the many horrid and detestable crimes which had at different times originated solely from persecution. To suppose a man wicked, or immoral, merely on account of any difference of religious opinion, was as false as it was absurd; yet this was the original principle of persecution. Morality was thought to be most effectually enforced and propagated, by insisting on a general unity of religious sentiments; the dogmas of men in power were to be substituted in the room of every other religious opinion, as it might best answer the ends of policy and ambition; it proceeded entirely on this grand fundamental error, that one man could better judge of the religious opinions of another than the man himself could. Upon this absurd principle, persecution might be consistent; but in this it resembled madness; the characteristic of which was, acting consistently upon wrong principles. The doctrines of Christianity might have been expected to possess sufficient influence to counteract this great error: but the reverse had proved to be the case. Torture and death had been the auxiliaries of persecution—the grand engines used in support of one particular system of religious opinion, to the extermination of every other. Toleration proceeded on direct contrary principles. Its doctrines, he was sorry to say, even in this enlightened age, were but of a modern date in any part of the world. Before the reign of king WILLIAM, it had not a footing in England. The celebrated act of toleration of that reign, notwithstanding the boasted liberality of its principle, was narrow, confined, and incomplete. What was it, but a

toleration of thirty-four articles, out of thirty-nine prescribed as the standard of belief in matters of religion? Was any tolerated who did not subscribe to the thirty-four articles in question? No! strict and implicit conformity to these was enjoined on accepting any civil employment. Persecution indeed originally might be allowed to proceed on this principle of kindness—to promote an union of religious opinion, and to prevent error in the important matters of Christian belief. But did persecution ever succeed in this truly humane and charitable design? Never—Toleration, on the other hand, was founded on the broad and liberal basis of reason and philosophy. It consisted in a just diffidence of our own particular opinion, and recommended universal charity and forbearance to the world around us. The true friend of toleration ought never to impute evil intentions to another, whose opinions might in his apprehensions, be attended with dangerous consequences. The man professing such opinions might not be aware of any evil attached to his principles; and therefore to ascribe to such a person any hostile intention, when his opinions only might be liable to exception, was but the height of illiberality and uncharitableness. Thus much obloquy and unfounded calumny had been used to asperse the character of the Roman Catholics, on account of the supposed tendency of their religious tenets to the commission of murder, treason, and every other species of horrid crimes, from a principle of conscience! What was this, but a base imputation of evil intentions, from the uncharitable opinions entertained of that profession as a sect? He lamented their errors; rejected their opinions, which appeared dangerous; was ready to confide in their good professions; and was willing to appeal to the experience of this enlightened age, if they had not been accused unjustly, and condemned uncharitably. For would any man say, that every duty of morality was not practised in those countries in which the Roman Catholic religion was established and professed? Would it not be an imputation as palpably false, as it would be illiberal, for any one to utter such a foul, unmerited, and indiscriminate calumny? But this was always the haughty, arrogant, and illiberal language of persecution, which led men to judge uncharitably, and to act with bitter intolerance. Persecution always said, ‘I know the consequences of your opinion better than you know them yourselves.’ But the language of toleration was always amicable, liberal, and just; it confessed its doubts, and acknowledged its ignorance. It said, ‘Though I dislike your opinions, because I think them dangerous, yet, since you profess

such opinions, I will not believe you can think such dangerous inferences flow from them which strike my attention so forcibly.' This was truly a just and legitimate mode of reasoning, always less liable to error, and more adapted to human affairs. When we argued *a posteriori*, judging from the fruit to the tree, from the effect to the cause, we were not so subject to deviate into error and falsehood, as when we pursued the contrary method of argument. Yet persecution had always reasoned from cause to effect; from opinion to action, which proved generally erroneous; while toleration led us invariably to form just conclusions, by judging from actions, and not from opinions. Hence every political and religious test was extremely absurd; and the only test, in his opinion to be adopted, ought to be a man's actions. He had the most perfect conviction, that Test laws had nothing to do with civil affairs. A view of civil society throughout the world must convince every reasonable person, that speculative opinions in religion had little or no influence upon the moral conduct, without which all religion were vain. Such was the great absurdity of the present Test laws, that a man who favoured arbitrary power in his sentiments; who should consider the abolition of trial by jury as no violation of liberty; nor the invasion of the freedom and law of parliament any infraction of the constitution; yet such a man, in defiance of the present Test laws, might easily pave the way to the very first situations in the state. There was no political test to bind him; the custom of the country had deservedly exploded such absurd restraints. No alarm was excited by political speculations; the law considered no man's opinions either hostile or injurious to the state, until such opinions were reduced into action. Then, and then only, was the law armed with competent authority to punish the offender.

“ The opinions of another, in matters of religion, ought always to be supposed to be founded on good intentions. As unjust would it be to deprive a single individual whose conduct had always been meritorious, of any of his civil rights, on account of any exceptionable conduct in the general body to which he belonged. All merit or demerit, therefore, in the body of Dissenters, was quite out of the question; and the House had only to decide on general principles. Indisposed, however, as he was, to allow merit or demerit any weight in the discussion of the present question, yet he could not forbear observing, that the conduct of the Dissenters had not only been unexceptionable, but also highly meritorious. They has deserved well of their country. When plots had been

concerted, combinations formed, and insurrections raised against the state; when the whole country was in a state of alarm, distraction and trouble; when the constitution, both civil and ecclesiastical, was in immediate danger of subversion; when the monarch trembled for the safety of his throne, crown, and dignity, the Dissenters, instead of being concerned in the dangerous machinations forming against the government, proved themselves, in the hour of peril and emergency, the firmest support of the state. During the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, they had cheerfully exposed their persons, lives, and property, in defence of their king and country; and by their noble exertions, our enemies were defeated, our constitution preserved, and the Brunswick family continued in possession of the throne. They were then as they are now, incapacitated from holding commissions, civil or military, in the service of their country. Did they plead their incapacity, or the penalties to which they were subject? No—they freely drew their swords; they nobly transgressed the laws which proscribed them; and successfully fought the battles of our constitution. For this gallant behaviour all they ever obtained was an act of indemnity—a pardon for doing their duty as good citizens, in rescuing their country in the hour of danger and distress. Such were the absurdities of the laws framed on the monstrous principles of persecution.

Extract from a Speech of Mr. Fox, on the Affairs of Ireland, 1797.

“I know there are persons in the country who suppose that the prejudices of the Roman Catholics and the Dissenters will prevent them from forming an union; but how is this effect likely to be prevented, when you are declaring every day so many districts out of the king’s peace, and in a state of disturbance; and instead of conciliating the minds of the Catholics, are telling them that they have nothing more to expect. And now, Sir, a few words upon the grievances of the Catholics and Dissenters. I know an opinion has gone forth, that the Catholics have now no substantial grievances to complain of; that the Presbyterians have still less. It is said that the Catholics have had ceded to them all the privileges of the most importance: that they can vote for members of Parliament, and that they are not distinguished from the Protestants but by being excluded from the high offices of state, and from being members of parliament. If this were

all, I should still say that they have a right to all the privileges possessed by the Protestants. Upon what principle ought they to be excluded? On what grounds of justice? Sir, upon no grounds of justice; the only reason, therefore, must be a reason of policy, which is a sufficient proof of a hostile mind against them; but let us consider it in other points of view. Is it nothing to have no share in the government, and to be excluded from the higher offices of the state? But it is invidiously objected by the government, to the Catholics, that it is not civil liberty which they wish, but it is power and emolument which they pursue. To this I would answer for the Catholics, yes: nor is it any discredit that they should be actuated by such desire. I would say that civil liberty can have no security without political power. To ask civil liberty without political power, would be to act like weak men, and to ask the possession of a right for the enjoyment of which they could have no security. I know that distinctions have been made between civil and political liberty, and I admit that it is possible for whole classes, whole casts and descriptions of men, to enjoy the one without possessing the other. Still, however, I assert, that it can be only by sufferance. I admit, that civil liberty is of a higher kind: but this, I contend, that political power is the only security for the enjoyment of the other. The Catholics may justly say, therefore, that it is not this or that concession that will satisfy us, but give us that which alone can give us security for its continuance. It is objected also that the Catholics are not merely ambitious of power, but actuated by views of private emolument. But if this were true, is it improper that the Catholics, contributing so largely to the support of government, should be desirous to share the emolument which it bestows, as a compensation for what they sacrifice? The compensation indeed is trifling: but still, should they in point of right be excluded from their proportion? yet, how strongly will their claim be felt, when it is considered who are the disputants? Are the Catholics to be told by a few monopolising politicians, who engross all places, all reversions, all emoluments, all patronages—"Oh, you base Catholics, you think of nothing but your private emolument. You perverse generation, who have already been permitted to vote for members of parliament, are you so base as to urge the disgraceful demand of a share in personal emoluments!" The Catholics are men, and are to be governed. The expense of maintaining all governments must be considerable, and that of Ireland is certainly not a model of economy. Of the emoluments arising out of the establishments of

government, the Catholics have a just right to participate ; and for a small and interested minority to imagine that they can monopolise all these advantages to themselves, is a pretension which will not be admitted ; mankind are not to be treated in this manner, and it is not now-a-days that such claims will pass current in the world. The loyalty and activity of the Catholics upon the late attempted invasion, is now the theme of the highest panegyric : but it is empty, unavailing praise : *laudatur et alget* is the situation of the Catholic loyalty. The qualities which are so much extolled, ought to be rewarded by conferring upon their possessors those just claims which are yet denied them, the total abolition of all distinction : to remove every mark by which religious differences could be known, is a condition which a minority, one should think, would be glad to accept with a joy bordering on gratitude. I know that the meaning of the word Protestant is much limited in its signification by some, and that the Presbyterian Dissenters do not receive even the name of Protestants ; still however, I am desirous to retain the word, as I do not exactly coincide with the zealous distinction of those to whom I allude. What have the Protestant Dissenters to complain of ? It is said, they may serve in Parliament ; and as the Test act, which here has been held so necessary to the security of the church, and the defence of the monarchy, is no longer thought requisite, they may hold offices without any obstacle or difficulty. Before I proceed to consider the situation of the Protestants, there is one point relative to the Catholics which I ought to explain : it has been said that the Catholics are entitled to vote for members of parliament, and the fallacy of this boasted privilege ought to be exposed ; except in the counties, the representation of Ireland was in what is here known by the name of Close Corporations. The animosities which formerly subsisted are anxiously kept up by the Executive Government, and they favour the determination to exclude the Catholics of the corporations, so that their privilege is thus almost entirely evaded. They thus confer in theory a power, which they are careful to defeat in practice. Those who esteem this privilege, then, must be very fond of theories upon paper, and very unconcerned about their practical effect : yet, however good theorists they may be upon such principles, they are not likely to act in such a manner as to afford much satisfaction, or produce much benefit to mankind. The Presbyterians consider their grievances to consist in the abuses of the government, which they have not means to remedy. They wish for the substantial blessings

of the English constitution ; they wish for the political principles on which that constitution is founded . Whoever imagines that a practical resemblance existed between the government of Ireland and the English constitution, would find that the Irish government is a mirror in which the abuses of this constitution are, strongly reflected. I will not speak of the abuses of which we have been used to complain, but if I were desirous to reconcile any one to the abuses of the British constitution, it would be by a comparison with those of Ireland. Whatever may have been thought of the plans of parliamentary reform which have been agitated here, still it was always admitted that the House of Commons should be at least a virtual representation of the people. It certainly was stating the point of virtual representation very high when it was asserted in this House, that though all the representatives of England were chosen by the county of Middlesex, it would be no reason for reform, so long as such a parliament discharged its duty as a parliament. But are the people of Ireland unreasonable when they complain that they have not the advantage even of virtual representation ? when they complain that the jobbing system of influence and patronage, for purposes of personal advantage, is an abuse that totally destroys the spirit of their form of government, and a practical nuisance which cannot be endured ? To suppose that a large, industrious, active, and intelligent body of men can be governed against the principles they have imbibed, and the prejudices by which they are guided, is an idea which history and human nature prove to be absurd. What is the situation of affairs with respect to Ireland ? You have raised enormous burdens both in England and in Ireland. You have produced great discontents, and you are reduced to such a point that you must take a decided part. In fact, we now are precisely at the point in which we stood in 1774 with America ; and the question is, whether we are to attempt to retain Ireland by force, instead of endeavouring to gain by concession, and to conciliate by conferring the full and substantial blessings of a free constitution ? The circumstances in some respects are different, and it may be discovered that the distance of America, and its population, extended over an immense tract of country, were disadvantages peculiar to that contest. I remember, however, that the extent of the territory of America, was stated as an advantage, as it would prevent sudden collections of people. So favourable were circumstances supposed to be, that an officer boasted that with a single company of grenadiers, or a single regiment, I do not remember which,

he would march from one end of America to the other; and though he had been able to realise his boast, I know not what mighty advantage it could have produced. I well remember that at that period to which I allude, the expression of the American war, which I was the first in the House to use, was treated with the utmost ridicule; and to call some riots at Boston by the appellation of a war, was considered as a great absurdity. Some may treat the idea of a war with Ireland with the same contempt and ridicule; and I sincerely hope that experience will not decide so triumphantly in my favour, as on the former occasion. Whenever I see a government desirous to decide by force against the will of the majority, in these circumstances I see the danger of civil war. There is this difference now in our situation, that the state of our finances may deter us from encountering such hazardous enterprises. In the other case we were wealthy and prosperous. *Stultitiam patiuntur opes* might then be said of our situation; but now the critical state of our affairs, and the embarrassed condition of our finances, forbade that prodigality of resource, and similar dangers of experiment. In circumstances like the present, I believe no man who was in his Majesty's councils at the beginning of the American war, would have been mad enough to have embarked in the contest. I hope and trust that the discontents which threaten the separation of Ireland, will be dissipated without the necessity of a war. But now the extremity of rigor has been tried, the severity of despotism has been let loose, and the government is driven to that state when the laws are not to be put in execution, but to be superseded. Ireland is precisely in that state which a person well acquainted with the subject, defined to be despotism, "where the executive power is every thing, and the rights of the people nothing." At the beginning of the American contest, the province of Massachusetts Bay was disarmed; but I do not think that if this province had been left armed, the separation of the American colonies would have been accelerated. The people of Ireland are now in that state when if they should choose to resist, a contest must ensue, the issue of which must be doubtful. In the commencement of the American war, I had made such an observation of the disposition of the regular governments of Europe, that I was convinced France would aid America. In the present there can be no room for doubt that the French would make it a chief point of their policy to give assistance to the insurgents. But suppose you were to succeed in disarming the whole of the north of Ireland, you must keep them

in subjection by force. If you do not allay their discontents, there is no way but force to keep them in obedience. Can you convince them by the musket that their principles are false? Can you prove to them by the bayonet that their pretensions are unjust? Can you demonstrate to them by martial law that they enjoy the blessings of a free constitution? No: it is said, but they may be deterred from the prosecution of the objects which you have determined to refuse. But on what history is this founded?—on the history of Ireland itself? No; for the history of Ireland proves that, though repeatedly subdued, it could not be kept in awe by force; and the late examples will prove the effect which severity may be expected to produce. The character of the people who inhabit the north of Ireland has been severely stigmatised. For my own part, it is not my habit to admit a fixed dislike against any bodies of men, nor do I see any thing in these to justify such dislike. But it is said, these men are of the old leaven. They are, indeed of the old leaven that rescued the country from the tyranny of CHARLES the first, and JAMES the second: they are of that leaven which asserted and defended the principles of liberty: they are of that leaven which fermented, and kneaded together, the freedom of the British constitution. If these principles were carried to excess, it is an excess to which I am more partial than to the opposite extreme. The opposition they have suffered is some apology. I am told that the mode now adopted is this—to declare a county out of the king's peace, it is necessary that there should be a certificate from the magistrates. Many of the magistrates are not natives of Ireland, or resident there, but Englishmen and officers of the Fencible corps. Are the people to be told that these magistrates are acting only in a civil capacity? But have they not been provoked to violence? Several of the principal people of Belfast were taken up. The law is in that state, that men may be kept in prison without trial; is that any inference of their guilt? I have seen the wanton prosecutions of government in this country, which juries happily checked. I have seen too much of these prosecutions to make me draw an inference of guilt from the circumstance of a man's being taken up. I have heard in Ireland of men being ignominiously arrested and carried to Dublin, who, in their trials were found to be perfectly innocent, and ought not to have been suspected. The people of the north, attached to these men, were determined that they should not suffer in their property, The people worked for nothing; they reaped their harvests, on purpose to shew either their good-will to the parties, or

their detestation possibly of the conduct of Government. This however was construed to be a heinous offence: the people were dispersed by the military; and when some were killed, the attending the bodies to the grave was deemed criminal, and the persons assisting were dispersed, as if they were doing an act against the state. That these things will go down who can doubt? Is it not possible that they who prefer monarchy may find the exercise of it to be so bad, as almost to doubt the excellence of monarchical government? But should the people be even totally subdued, can you do otherwise than keep up a large military force? But suppose the people submit—I put the case in that way—can you trust to such a situation? Will their submission to laws which they detest, last longer than your power lasts, and their impotency? Will you continue to keep up your force? During the war, I believe you will; but can Ireland afford to maintain it during peace? Is it the way to persuade the Catholics to assist you, to refuse to accord to their demands? I have heard that a direct application has been made, not from the Catholic peasantry, but from the Catholic nobility, a strong and urgent application to the government to grant the remainder of their demands. I have been told, what certainly it was unnecessary to tell me, that these applications have been unsuccessful. Refuse all these demands—determine to govern Ireland by military force—risk a civil war,—which of these evils is the worst I know not—But it may be said, what is to be done? My general principle is to restore peace on principles of peace, and to make concession on principles of concession. I wish members to read that celebrated speech of Mr. BURKE on the subject of such concessions; let them read that beautiful display of eloquence, and at the same time sound reasoning, and they will find in that speech all those principles which it is my wish to have adopted. ‘Liberty, (says Mr. BURKE in a passage of some other part of his work), is any practical purpose, is that which the people think so; you must give them that government which they wish; you must give them the British constitution in its substance and spirit.’ Apply this to Ireland; make it such a government as the people shall conceive to be a free one. But, it is said, it is not possible to satisfy all persons. It may be so; but is there one concession that could be made to the Catholics which the people in the north of Ireland could object to? Is there any grievance which could be remedied in the north, to which the Catholics would object? They have no inconsistent pretensions, no clashing interests.—The concessions to be made

to the different parties are not inconsistent; the one party will not repine at the satisfaction which the other obtains. Who then would be dissatisfied by such concessions? Not the aristocracy, for I will not call it by so respectable a name; and is that miserable monopolising minority to be put in the balance with the preservation of the empire and the happiness of a whole people? The Irish wish to have a reform upon an extended scale; they desire an extension of popular rights; but may there not be a conciliation and compromise? In that declaration of the people of Belfast, I see that they do most distinctly state, that they conceive all the benefits of freedom may be enjoyed under a government of King, Lords, and Commons.

“What then is it that the people wish for? They wish for a different constitution in the House of Commons. I think they are right. They desire a diminution of patronage, and they may go to the extraordinary length of saying, that it is not right to have a church in all its splendour, which is applicable only to a small part of the inhabitants. But do not these things admit of moderate discussion, and satisfactory compromise? What they ask is a constitution such as Great Britain has according to some, and such as she ought to have according to others,—a government which shall virtually express the will of the people: and if in treating with them you should fail—you will then have to resort to violent measures, you will then have to divide the people, as Mr. BURKE said, not to divide the people of Massachusetts from the people of Virginia.—not to divide Boston from Carolina—not, I say, to divide Ulster from Connaught, and Leinster from Munster; but you will divide the people who wish for the constitution from those who wish to destroy it. These are the divisions which I wish for. But conciliation, it may be said, will not do—If it will not, then only may we have recourse to arms. Is there a worse period for the country in point of credit and resources? I know not; but I am sure that we cannot do worse, than at the end of one war, adopt measures to bring on another. I would therefore concede; and if I found I had not conceded enough, I would concede more. I know of no way of governing mankind but by conciliating them, and according to the forcible way which the Irish have of expressing their meaning, I know of no mode of governing the people, but by letting them have their own way. And what shall we lose by it? If Ireland is governed by conceding to all her ways and wishes, will she be less useful to Great Britain? What is she now? little more than a diversion for the army.

—If you keep Ireland by force now, what must you do in all future wars? You must in the first place secure her from insurrection. I will adopt therefore the Irish expression, and say, that you can only govern Ireland by letting her have her own way. The consequences of a war with Ireland, are dreadful to contemplate; public horrors would be so increased by the laceration of private feelings, as to spread universal misery through both countries; the connexion is so interwoven between the individuals of both countries, that no rupture can happen without wounding the most tender friendships and the most sacred ties. Rigour has already been attempted; let concession and conciliation then be tried before the last appeal is hazarded. My wish is, that the whole people of Ireland should have the same principles, the same system, the same operation of government, and though it may be a subordinate consideration, that all classes should have an equal chance of emolument; in other words, I would have the whole Irish government regulated by Irish notions, and Irish prejudices, and I firmly believe, according to another Irish expression, the more she is under Irish government, the more will she be bound to English interest.

Mr. Burke, on Mr. Fox's India Bill.

The several irruptions of Arabs, Tartars, and Persians, into India, were, for the greater part, ferocious and bloody and wasteful in the extreme: our entrance into the dominion of that country, was as generally with small comparative effusion of blood, being introduced by various frauds and delusions, and by taking advantage of the incurable, blind, and senseless animosity, which the several country powers bear towards each other, rather than by open force. But the difference in favour of the first conquerors is this: the Asiatic conquerors very soon abated of their ferocity, because they made the conquered country their own. They rose or fell with the rise or fall of the territory they lived in. Fathers there deposited the hopes of their posterity, and children there beheld the monuments of their fathers. Here their lot was finally cast, and it is the natural wish of all, that their lot should not be cast in a bad land. Poverty, sterility, and desolation, are not a recreating prospect to the eye of man, and there are very few who can bear to grow old among the curses of a whole people. If their passion or their avarice drove the Tartar lords to acts of rapacity or tyranny, there was time enough, even in the short life of man, to bring round the ill

effects of an abuse of power upon the power itself. If hoards were made by violence, and tyranny, they were still domestic hoards; and domestic profusion, or the rapine of a more powerful and prodigal hand, restored them to the people. With many disorders, and with few political checks upon power, nature had still fair play: the sources of acquisition were not dried up, and therefore the trade, the manufactures, and the commerce of the country flourished. Even avarice and usury itself, operated both for the preservation and employment of national wealth. The husbandman and manufacturer paid heavy interest, but then they augmented the fund from whence they were again to borrow. Their resources were dearly bought, but they were sure, and the general stock of the community grew by the general effort.

But under the English government all this order is reversed. The Tartar invasion was mischievous; but it is our protection that destroys India. It was their enmity, but it is our friendship: our conquest there, after twenty years, is as crude as it was the first day. The natives scarcely know what it is to see the grey head of an Englishman. Young men, (boys almost) govern there, without society and without sympathy with the natives. They have no more social habits with the people, than if they still resided in England, nor indeed any species of intercourse but that which is necessary to making a sudden fortune with a view to a remote settlement. Animated with all the avarice of age, and all the impetuosity of youth, they roll in one after another, wave after wave, and there is nothing before the eyes of the natives but an endless, hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and passage, with appetites continually renewing for a food that is continually wasting. Every rupee of profit made by an Englishman is lost for ever to India. With us are no retributory superstitions, by which a foundation of charity compensates, through ages, to the poor, for the rapine and injustice of a day. With us no pride erects stately monuments which repair the mischiefs which pride had produced, and which adorn a country out of its own spoils. England has erected no churches, no hospital, no palaces, no schools. England has built no bridges, made no high roads, cut no navigations, dug out no reservoirs. Every other conqueror of every other description has left some monument, either of state or beneficence, behind him. Were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by any thing better than the ourang outang, or the tyger.

There is nothing in the boys we send to India, worse than the boys whom we are whipping at school, or that we see trailing a pike or bending over a desk at home. But as English youth in India drink the intoxicating draught of authority and dominion before their heads are able to bear it, and as they are full grown in fortune long before they are ripe in principle, neither nature nor reason have any opportunity to exert themselves for remedy of the excesses of their premature power. The consequences of their conduct, which in good minds, (and many of theirs are probably such) might produce penitence or amendment, are unable to pursue the rapidity of their flight. Their prey is lodged in England, and the cries of India are given to seas and winds, to be blown about in every breaking up of the monsoon over a remote and unhearing ocean. In India all the vices operate by which sudden fortune is acquired; in England are often displayed, by the same persons, the virtues which dispense hereditary wealth. Arrived in England, the destroyers of the nobility and gentry of a whole kingdom, will find the best company in this nation, at a board of elegance and hospitality. Here the manufacturer and husbandman will bless the just and punctual hand, that in India has torn the cloth from the loom, or wrested the scanty portion of rice and salt from the peasant of Bengal, or wrung from him the very opium in which he forgot his oppressions, and his oppressor. They marry into your families, they enter into your senate, they ease your estates by loans, they raise their value by demand, they cherish and protect your relations which lie heavy on your patronage; and there is scarcely a house in the kingdom that does not feel some concern and interest, that makes all reform of our Eastern government appear officious and disgusting, and on the whole a most discouraging attempt. In such an attempt you hurt those who are able to return kindness or to resent injury. If you succeed, you save those who cannot so much as give you thanks. All these things shew the difficulty of the work we have on hand: but they shew its necessity too. Our Indian government is in its best state a grievance; it is necessary that the correctives should be uncommonly vigorous, and the work of men sanguine, warm, and even impassioned in the cause. But it is an arduous thing to plead against abuses of a power which originates from our own country, and affects those whom we are used to consider as strangers.

Mr. Burke's Eulogium on Mr. Fox, being the conclusion of his Speech on Mr. Fox's India Bill.

Having done my duty to the bill, let me say a word to the author. I should leave him to his own noble sentiments, if the unworthy and illiberal language with which he has been treated, beyond all example of parliamentary liberty, did not make a few words necessary; not so much in justice to him, as to my own feelings. I must say then, that it will be a distinction honourable to the age, that the rescue of the greatest number of the human race that ever were so grievously oppressed, from the greatest tyranny that was ever exercised, has fallen to the lot of abilities and dispositions equal to the task; that it has fallen to one who has the enlargement to comprehend, the spirit to undertake, and the eloquence to support, so great a measure of hazardous benevolence. His spirit is not owing to his ignorance of the state of men and things; he well knows what snares are spread about his path, from personal animosity, from court intrigues, and possibly from popular delusion. But he has put to hazard his ease, his security, his interest, his power, even his darling popularity, for the benefit of a people whom he has never seen. This is the road that all heroes have trod before him. He is traduced and abused for his supposed motives. He will remember, that obloquy is a necessary ingredient in the composition of all true glory: he will remember, that it was not only in the Roman customs, but it is in the nature and constitution of things, that calumny and abuse are essential parts of triumph. These thoughts will support a mind, which only exists for honour, under the burden of temporary reproach. He is doing indeed a great good; such as rarely falls to the lot, and almost as rarely coincides with the desires of any man. Let him use his time. Let him give the whole length of the reins to his benevolence. He is now on a great eminence, where the eyes of mankind are turned to him. He may live long, he may do much. But here is the summit. He never can exceed what he does this day.

He has faults; but they are faults that, though they may in a small degree tarnish the lustre, and sometimes impede the march of his abilities, have nothing in them to extinguish the fire of great virtues. In those faults, there is no mixture of deceit, of hypocrisy, of pride, of ferocity, of complexional despotism, or want of feeling for the distresses of mankind. His are faults which might exist in a descendant of Henry

the Fourth of France, as they did exist in that father of his country. Henry the Fourth wished that he might live to see a fowl in the pot of every peasant in his kingdom. That sentiment of homely benevolence was worth all the splendid sayings that are recorded of kings. But he wished perhaps for more than could be obtained, and the goodness of the man exceeded the power of the king. But this gentleman, a subject, may this day say this at least, with truth, that he secures the rice in his pot to every man in India. A poet of antiquity thought it one of the first distinctions to a prince whom he meant to celebrate, that through a long succession of generations, he had been the progenitor of an able and virtuous citizen, who by force of the arts of peace, had corrected governments of oppression and suppressed wars of rapine.

Indole proh quanta juvenis, quantumque daturus
 Ausoniae populis, ventura in sæcula civem.
 Ille super Gangem, super exauditus et Indos,
 Implebit terras voce; et furialia bella
 Fulmine comescit linguæ.—

This was what was said of the predecessor of the only person to whose eloquence it does not wrong that of the mover of this bill to be compared. But the Ganges and the Indus are the patrimony of the fame of my honourable friend, and not of Cicero. I confess, I anticipate with joy, the reward of those whose whole consequence, power, and authority, exist only for the benefit of mankind; and I carry my mind to all the people, and all the names and descriptions, that, relieved by this bill, will bless the labours of this parliament, and the confidence which the best house of commons has given to him who the best deserves it. The little cavils of party will not be heard, where freedom and happiness will be felt. There is not a tongue, a nation, or religion in India, which will not bless the presiding care and manly beneficence of this house, and of him who proposes to you this great work. Your names will never be separated before the throne of the Divine Goodness, in whatever language, or with whatever rites, pardon is asked for sin, and reward for those who imitate the Godhead in his universal bounty to his creatures. These honors you deserve, and they will surely be paid, when all the jargon of influence, and party, and patronage, are swept into oblivion.

I have spoken what I think, and what I feel, of the mover of this bill. An honourable friend of mine, speaking of his

merits, was charged with having made a studied panegyric. I don't know what his was. Mine, I am sure, is a studied panegyric : the fruit of much meditation ; the result of the observation of near twenty years. For my own part, I am happy that I have lived to see this day ; I feel myself over-paid for the labours of eighteen years, when at this late period, I am able to take my share, by one humble vote, in destroying a tyranny that exists to the disgrace of this nation, and the destruction of so large a part of the human species.

Introduction to a Speech of Mr. Fox, on the Government of India, in 1783.

“The honourable gentleman who opened the debate (Mr. Powis) first demands my attention ; not indeed for the wisdom of the observations which fell from him this night (though he is acute and judicious on most occasions) but from the natural weight of all such characters in this country, the aggregate of whom should, in my opinion, always decide upon public measures ; but his ingenuity was never, I think, more effectually exerted, upon more mistaken principles, and more inconsistent with the common tenor of his conduct, than in this debate.

“He charges me with abandoning that cause, which, he says, in terms of flattery, I had once so successfully asserted. I tell him, in reply, that if he were to search the history of my life, he would find that the period of it, in which I struggled most for the real, substantial cause of liberty, is this very moment that I am addressing you. Freedom, according to my conception of it, consists in the safe and sacred possession of a man's property, governed by laws defined and certain ; with many personal privileges, natural, civil and religious, which he cannot surrender without ruin to himself ; and of which to be deprived by any other power, is despotism. This bill, instead of subverting, is destined to stabilitate these principles : instead of narrowing the basis of freedom, it tends to enlarge it ; instead of suppressing, its object is to infuse and circulate the spirit of liberty.

“What is the most odious species of tyranny ? Precisely that which this bill is meant to annihilate. That a handful of men, free themselves, should execute the most base and abominable despotism over millions of their fellow creatures ; that innocence should be the victim of oppression ; that indus-

try should toil for rapine ; that the harmless labourer should sweat, not for his own benefit, but for the luxury and rapacity of tyrannic depredation ; in a word, that thirty millions of men, gifted by Providence with the ordinary endowments of humanity, should groan under a system of despotism, unmatched in all the histories of the world.

“ What is the end of all Government ? Certainly the happiness of the governed. Others may hold other opinions ; but this is mine, and I proclaim it. What are we to think of a government, whose good fortune is supposed to spring from the calamities of its subjects ; whose aggrandisement grows out of the miseries of mankind ! This is the kind of government exercised under the East India Company upon the natives of Indostan ; and the subversion of that infamous government is the main object of the Bill in question. But in the progress of accomplishing this end, it is objected that the charter of the company should not be violated ; and upon this point, Sir, I shall deliver my opinion without disguise. A charter is a trust to one or more persons for some given benefit. If this trust be abused ; if the benefit be not obtained, and that its failure arises from palpable guilt (or what, in this case, is full as bad) from palpable ignorance or mismanagement ; will any man gravely say, that trust should not be resumed, and delivered to other hands ; more especially in the case of the East India Company, whose manner of executing this trust, whose laxity and languor produced, and tend to produce, consequences diametrically opposite to the ends of confiding that trust, and of the institution for which it was granted ! I beg of gentlemen to be aware of the lengths to which their arguments upon the intangibility of this charter may be carried. Every syllable virtually impeaches the establishment by which we sit in this house, in the enjoyment of this freedom, and of every other blessing of our government. These kind of arguments are batteries against the main pillar of the British constitution. Some men are consistent with their own private opinions, and discover the inheritance of family maxims, when they question the principles of the Revolution ; but I have no scruple in subscribing to the articles of that creed which produced it. Sovereigns are sacred, and reverence is due to every king ; yet, with all my attachments to the person of a first magistrate, had I lived in the reign of JAMES the Second, I should most certainly have contributed my efforts, and borne part in those illustrious struggles, which vindicated an empire from hereditary ser-

vitute, and recorded this valuable doctrine, that '*trust abused was revocable.*'

"No man will tell me, that a trust to a company of merchants stands upon the solemn and sanctified ground, by which a trust is committed to a monarch; and I am at a loss to reconcile the conduct of men, who approve that resumption of violated trust, which rescued and re-established our unparalleled and admirable constitution, with a thousand valuable improvements and advantages, at the Revolution; and who at this moment, rise up the champions of the East-India Company's charter, although the incapacity and incompetence of that Company to a due and adequate discharge of the trust deposited in them by charter, are themes of ridicule and contempt to all the world; and although, in consequence of their mismanagement, connivance, and imbecility, combined with the wickedness of their servants, the very name of an Englishman is detested, even to a proverb, through all Asia; and the national character is become degraded and dishonoured. To rescue that name from odium, and redeem this character from disgrace, are some of the objects of the present bill; and gentlemen should indeed gravely weigh their opposition to a measure, which, with a thousand other points, not less valuable, aims at the attainment of these objects."

Extract from a Speech of Mr. Burke, on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts, February 28th, 1785.

When at length Hyder Ali found that he had to do with men who either would sign no convention, or whom no treaty and no signature could bind, and who were the determined enemies of human intercourse itself, he decreed to make the country possessed by these incorrigible and predestinated criminals a memorable example to mankind. He resolved in the gloomy recesses of a mind capacious of such things, to leave the whole Carnatic an everlasting monument of vengeance, and to put perpetual desolation as a barrier between him and those, against whom the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together, was no protection. He became at length so confident of his force, so collected in his might, that he made no secret whatsoever of his dreadful resolution. Having terminated his disputes with every enemy, and every rival, who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation against the creditors of the nabob of Arcot, he drew from every quarter whatever a savage ferocity

could add to his new rudiments in the arts of destruction ; and compounding all the materials of fury, havoc, and desolation, into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic.—Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of, were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered : others without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function, fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers, and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity, in an unknown and hostile land. Those who were able to evade this tempest, fled to the walled cities. But escaping from fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine.

The alms of the settlement, in this dreadful exigency, were certainly liberal ; and all was done by charity that private charity could do : but it was a people in beggary ; it was a nation which stretched out its hands for food. For months together, these creatures of sufferance, whose very excess and luxury in their most plenteous days, had fallen short of the allowance of our austere fasts, silent, patient, resigned, without sedition or disturbance, almost without complaint, perished by an hundred a day in the streets of Madras ; every day seventy at least laid their bodies in the streets, or on the glacis of Tanjore, and expired of famine in the granary of India. I was going to awake your justice towards this unhappy part of our fellow citizens, by bringing before you some of the circumstances of this plague of hunger. Of all the calamities which beset and waylay the life of man, this comes the nearest to our heart, and is that wherein the proudest of us all feels himself to be nothing more than he is ; but I find myself unable to manage it with decorum ; these details are of a species of horror so nauseous and disgusting ; they are so degrading to the sufferers and to the hearers ; they are so humiliating to human nature itself, that, on better thoughts, I find it more advisable to throw a pall over this hideous object, and to leave it to your general conceptions.

For eighteen months, without intermission, this destruction raged from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore; and so completely did these masters in their art, Hyder Ali, and his more ferocious son, absolve themselves of their impious vow, that when the British armies traversed, as they did, the Carnatic for hundreds of miles in all directions through the whole line of their march, they did not see one man, not one woman, not one child, not one four-footed beast of any description whatever. One dead uniform silence reigned over the whole region.

Extract from a Speech of Mr. Grattan in the Irish Parliament, on some Commercial Propositions, 1785.

“This arrangement establishes a principle of *uti possidetis*, that is, Great Britain shall retain all her advantages, and Ireland shall retain all her disadvantages. But I leave this part of the adjustment, where reciprocity is disclaimed in the outset of treaty and the rudiment of manufacture; I come to instances of more striking inequality, and first, your situation in the East. You are to give a monopoly to the present or any future East India Company, during its existence, and to the British nation for ever after. It has been said that the Irishman in this is in the same situation as the Englishman, but there is this difference, the difference between having and not having the trade; the British Parliament has judged it most expedient for Great Britain to carry on her trade to the East, by an exclusive company; the Irish Parliament is now to determine it most expedient for Ireland to have no trade at all in these parts. This is not a surrender of the political rights of the constitution, but of the natural rights of man; not of the privileges of Parliament, but of the rights of nations,—not to sail beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan,—an awful interdict! Not only European settlements, but neutral countries excluded, and God’s providence shut out in the most opulent boundaries of creation; other interdicts go to particular places for local reasons, because they belong to certain European states; but here are neutral regions forbidden, and a path prescribed to the Irishman on open sea. Other interdicts go to a determinate period of time, but here is an eternity of restraint; you are to have no trade at all during the existence of any company, and no free trade to those countries after its expiration. This resembles rather a judgment of God than an act of the Legislature, whether you measure it by immensity of space or in-

finity of duration, and has nothing human about it except its presumption.

“ But if gentlemen can entertain a doubt of the mischief of these propositions, are they convinced of their safety? the safety of giving up the government of your trade? No! the mischief is prominent, but the advantage is of a most enigmatical nature. Have gentlemen considered the subject, have they traced even the map of the countries, the power or freedom of trading with whom they are to surrender for ever? Have they traced the map of Asia, Africa, and America? Do they know the French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish settlements? Do they know the neutral powers of those countries, their produce, aptitudes and dispositions? Have they considered the state of North America? *its present state. future growth, and every opportunity in the endless succession of time attending that nurse of commerce, and asylum of mankind?* Are they now competent to declare, on the part of themselves and all their posterity, that a free trade to those regions will never, in the efflux of time, be of any service to the kingdom of Ireland? If they have information on this subject, it must be by a communication with God, for they have none with man: it must be inspiration, for it cannot be knowledge.”

Extract from Mr. Sheridan's Speech on the Trial of Warren Hastings.

Should a stranger survey the land formerly Sujah Dowlah's, and seek the cause of its calamity—should he ask, what monstrous madness had ravaged thus, with wide-spread war—what desolating foreign foe—what disputed succession—what religious zeal—what fabled monster has stalked abroad, and with malice and mortal enmity to man, has withered with the gripe of death every growth of nature and humanity—all the means of delight, and each original, simple principle of bare existence? the answer will be, if any answer dare be given, No, alas! not one of these things! no desolating foreign foe!—no disputed succession! no religious superserviceable zeal! This damp of death is the mere effusion of British amity—we sink under the pressure of their support—we wince under the gripe of their pestiferous alliance!

Thus they suffered—in barren anguish, and ineffectual bewailings. And, O audacious fallacy!—says the defence of Mr Hastings—What cause was there for any incidental ills, but their own resistance?

The cause was nature in the first-born principles of man. It grew with his growth ; it strengthened with his strength ! It taught him to understand ; it enabled him to feel. For where there is human fate, can there be a penury of human feeling ?—Where there is injury, will there not be resentment ?—Is not despair to be followed by courage ? The God of battles pervades and penetrates the inmost spirit of man, and rousing him to shake off the burden that is grievous, and the yoke that is galling, will reveal the law written in his heart, and the duties and privileges of his nature—the grand, universal compact of man with man !—That power is delegated in trust, for the good of all who obey it—That the rights of men must arm against man's oppression—for that indifference were treason to human state, and patience nothing less than blasphemy—against the laws which govern the world !

It was in some degree observable, that not one of the private letters of Mr. Hastings had been produced at any time.—even Middleton, when all confidence was broken between them, by the production of his private correspondence at Calcutta, either feeling for his own safety or sunk under the fascinating influence of his master, did not dare attempt a retaliation !—The letters of Middleton, however, were sufficient to prove the situation of the nabob, when pressed to the measure of resuming the Jaghires, in which he had been represented as acting wholly from himself—He was there described as lost in sullen melancholy—with feelings agitated beyond expression, and with every mark of agonised sensibility. To such a degree was this apparent, that even Middleton was moved to interfere for a temporary respite, in which he might be more reconciled to the measure. I am fully of opinion, said he, that the despair of the nabob must impel him to violence ; I know also that the violence must be fatal to himself—but yet I think, that with his present feelings he will disregard all consequences.—Mr. Johnson also, the assistant Resident, wrote at the same time to Mr. Hastings to aver to him that the measure was dangerous, that it would require a total reform of the collection, which could not be made without a campaign !—This was British justice ! this was British humanity ! Mr. Hastings ensures to the allies of the company in the strongest terms their prosperity and his protection ;—the former he secures by sending an army to plunder them of their wealth and to desolate their soil !—his protection is fraught with a similar security !—like that of a vulture to a lamb—grappling in its vitals !—

thirsting for its blood!—scaring off each petty kite that hovers around—and then, with an insulting perversion of terms, calling sacrifice protection!

An object for which history searches for any similarity in vain—The deep searching annals of Tacitus—The luminous philosophy of Gibbon—all the records of man's enormity, from Original Sin to this period in which we pronounce it, dwindle into comparative insignificance of enormity—both in aggravations of vile principles, and extent of their consequential ruin!—The victims of this oppression were confessedly destitute of all power to resist their oppressors: but that debility, which from other bosoms would have claimed some compassion, with respect to the mode of suffering, here excited but the ingenuity of torture! Even when every feeling of the nabob was subdued, nature made a lingering, feeble stand within his bosom; but even then that cold unfeeling spirit of malignity, with whom his doom was fixed, returned with double acrimony to its purpose, and compelled him to inflict on a parent that destruction, of which he was himself reserved but to be the last victim!

The counsel in recommending an attention to the public in preference to the private letters, had remarked in particular, that one letter should not be taken as evidence, because it was evidently and abstractedly private, as it contained in one part the anxieties of Mr. Middleton for the illness of his son—This was a singular argument indeed. The circumstance undoubtedly merited strict observation, though not in the view in which it was placed by the counsel.—It went to shew that some at least of those concerned in these transactions, felt the force of those ties, which their efforts were directed to tear asunder—that those who could ridicule the respective attachment of a mother and a son—who would prohibit the reverence of the son to the mother who had given him life—who could deny to maternal debility the protection which filial tenderness should afford—were yet sensible of the straining of those chords by which they were connected.—There was something in the present business—with all that was horrible to create aversion—so vilely loathsome, as to excite disgust.—If it were not a part of my duty, it would be superfluous to speak of the sacredness of the ties which those aliens to feeling—those apostates to humanity, had thus divided.—In such an assembly, as that before which I speak, there is not an eye but must look reproof to this conduct—not a heart but must anticipate its condemnation—Filial piety! It is the primal bond of society—It is that in-

instinctive principle, which, panting for its proper good, soothes, unbidden, each sense and sensibility of man!—It now quivers on every lip!—it now beams from every eye!—It is that gratitude, which softening under the sense of recollected good, is eager to own the vast countless debt it ne'er, alas! can pay—for so many long years of unceasing solitudes, honourable self-denials, life-preserving cares!—It is that part of our practice, where duty drops its awe—where reverence refines into love!—It asks no aid of memory!—It needs not the deductions of reason!—Pre-existing, paramount over all, whether law or human rule—few arguments can increase and none can diminish it! It is the sacrament of our nature—not only the duty, but the indulgence of man—It is his first great privilege—It is amongst his last most endearing delights!—when the bosom glows with the idea of reverberated love—when to requite on the visitations of nature, and return the blessings that have been received! when—what was emotion, fixed into vital principle—what was instinct, habituated into a master passion—sways all the sweetest energies of man—hangs over each vicissitude of all that must pass away—aids the melancholy virtues in their last sad tasks of life—to cheer the languors of decrepitude, and age—explore the thought—explain the aching eye!

He then proceeded to relate the circumstances of the imprisonment of Bahar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawp, the ministers of the nabob, on the grounds he had stated; with them was confined that arch rebel Sumpshire Cawn, by whom every act of hostility that had taken place against the English was stated to have been committed—No enquiry, however, was made concerning his treason, though many had been held respecting the treasure of the other. He was not so far noticed as to be deprived of his food;* nor was he even complimented with fetters! and yet when he is on a future day to be informed of the mischiefs he was now stated to have done, he must think that on being forgotten, he had a very providential escape!—The others were, on the contrary, taken from their milder prison at Fyzabad; and when threats could affect nothing, transferred by the meek huma-

* The following note from Mr. Middleton to lieutenant Francis Rutledge, dated January 20, 1782 had been read in evidence:

Sir,

“When this note is delivered to you by Hoolas Roy, I have to desire, that you order the two prisoners to be put in irons, keeping them from all food &c. agreeable to my instructions of yesterday.

(Signed)

NATH. MIDDLETON.”

nity of Mr. Middleton to the fortress of Chunargur. There, where the British flag was flying, they were deemed to deeper dungeons, heavier chains, and severer punishments. There, where the flag was displayed, which was wont to cheer the depressed, and to dilate the subdued heart of misery—these venerable, but unfortunate men were fated to encounter something lower than perdition, and something blacker than despair! It appeared from the evidence of Mr. Holt and others, that they were both cruelly flogged, though one was above seventy years of age, to extort a confession of the buried wealth of the Begums! Being charged with disaffection, they proclaimed their innocence—"Tell us where are the remaining treasures, (was the reply)—It is only a treachery to your immediate sovereigns: and you will then be fit associates for the representatives of British faith and British justice in India!"—Oh faith! Oh justice! exclaimed Mr. Sheridan, I conjure you by your sacred names to depart for a moment from this place, though it be your peculiar residence; nor hear your names profaned by such a sacrilegious combination, as that which I am now compelled to repeat! where all the fair forms of nature and art, truth and peace, policy and honour, shrunk back aghast from the deleterious shade; where all existences, nefarious and vile, had sway; where amidst the black agents on one side, and Middleton with Impey on the other, the toughest bend, the most unfeeling shrink!—the great figure of the piece; characteristic in his place! aloof and independent, from the puny profligacy in his train! but far from idle and inactive, turning a malignant eye on all mischief that awaits him!—the multiplied apparatus of temporising expedients, and intimidating instruments!—now cringing on his prey, and fawning on his vengeance!—now quickening the limping pace of craft, and forcing every stand that retiring nature can make in the heart!—the attachments and the decorums of life!—each emotion of tenderness and honour!—and all the distinctions of national characteristics!—with a long catalogue of crimes and aggravations, beyond the reach of thought for human malignity to perpetrate, or human vengeance to punish!—lower than perdition—blacker than despair!

But justice is not this halt and miserable object! It is not the ineffective bauble of an Indian Pagod!—It is not the portentous phantom of despair—It is not like any fabled monster, formed in the eclipse of reason, and found in some unhallowed grove of superstitious darkness, and political dismay! No my lords!

In the happy reverse of all this, I turn from this disgusting caricature to the real image!—Justice I have now before me august and pure! the abstract idea of all that would be perfect in the spirits and the aspirings of men! where the mind rises, where the heart expands:—where the countenance is ever placid and benign: where her favourite attitude is to stoop to the unfortunate:—to hear their cry and to help them:—to rescue and relieve, to succour and save:—majestic, from its mercy:—venerable, from its utility:—uplifted, without pride:—firm, without obduracy:—beneficent in each preference:—lovely, though in her frown!

On that justice I rely:—Deliberate and sure, abstracted from all party purpose and political speculation!—not on words, but on facts!—you my lords, who hear me, I conjure, by those rights it is your best privilege to preserve—by that fame it is your best pleasure to inherit—by all those feelings which refer to the first term in the series of existence, the original compact of our nature—our controlling rank in the creation—This is the call on all, to administer to truth and equity, as they would satisfy the laws and satisfy themselves—with the most exalted bliss, possible or conceivable for our nature:—The self-approving consciousness of virtue, when the condemnation we look for will be one of the most ample mercies accomplished for mankind since the creation of the world!—My lords, I have done!

Mr. Burke's Eulogium on Mr. Sheridan's Speech against Warren Hastings, June 5th, 1788.

“ Mr. SHERIDAN has this day surprised the thousands, who hung with rapture on his accents, by such an array of talents, such an exhibition of capacity, such a display of powers, as are unparalleled in the annals of oratory; a display that reflected the highest honour upon himself, lustre upon letters, renown upon parliament, glory upon the country. Of all species of rhetoric, of every kind of eloquence, that has been witnessed, or recorded, either in ancient, or modern times; whatever the acuteness of the bar, the dignity of the senate, the solidity of the judgment seat, and the sacred morality of the pulpit have hitherto furnished; nothing has surpassed, nothing has equalled what we have this day heard in Westminster Hall. No holy seer of religion, no sage, no statesman, no orator, no man of any literary description whatever, has come up in the one instance, to the pure sentiments of

morality, or in the other, to that of variety of knowledge, force of imagination, propriety and vivacity of allusion, beauty and elegance of diction, strength and copiousness of style, pathos and sublimity of conception, to which we have this day listened with ardour and admiration. From poetry up to eloquence, there is not a species of composition of which a complete and perfect specimen might not, from that single speech, be culled and collected."

Extract from a Speech of Mr. Grattan concerning Tithes, in the Irish House of Commons, 1788.

IT has been said, in defence of clerical exactions, that though sometimes exorbitant, they have never been illegal. I deny it; and will produce proof at your bar, that exactions in some of the disturbed parts have been not exorbitant only, but illegal likewise. I will prove that, in many instances, Tithe has been demanded and paid for turf; that Tithe of turf has been assessed at one or two shillings a house like Hearth-money: and in addition to Hearth-money, with this difference, that in case of Hearth-money, there is an exemption for the poor of a certain description; but here, it is the poor of the poorest order, that is, the most resistless people, who pay. I will prove to you, that men have been excommunicated by a most illegal sentence, for refusing to pay tithe of turf. I have two decrees in my hand from the Vicarial Court of Clyne; the first excommunicating one man, the second excommunicating four men most illegally, most arbitrarily, for refusing to pay tithe of turf: nor has tithe of turf, without pretence of law or custom, been a practice only; but in some part of the South, it has been a formed exaction with its own distinct and facetious appellation, the familiar denomination of Smoke-money. A right to tithe of turf has been usurped against law, and a legislative power of commutation has been exercised, I suppose for familiarity of appellation and facility of collection.

The exactions of the Tithe-proctor are another instance of illegality—he gets, he exacts, he extorts from the parishioners, in some of the disturbed parishes, one, frequently two shillings in the pound. The clergyman's agent in them is paid by the parish, and paid extravagantly. The landlord's agent is not paid in this manner; your tenants don't pay your agent ten per cent or five per cent. or any per centage at all: What right has the clergyman to throw his agent on

his parish? As well might he make them pay the wages of his butler, or his footman, or his coachman, or his postillion, or his cook.

This demand, palpably illegal, must have commenced in bribery—an illegal perquisite growing out of the abuse of power—a bribe for mercy,—as if the Tithe-proctor was the natural pastoral protector of the property of the peasant, against the possible oppressions of the law, and the exactions of the gospel. He was supposed to take less than his employer would exact, or the law would allow; and was bribed by the sweat of the poor for his perfidy and mercy. This original bribe has now become a stated perquisite: and instead of being payment for moderation, it is now a per centage on rapacity. The more he extorts for the parson the more he shall get for himself.

Are there any decent clergymen who will defend such a practice? Will they allow that the men they employ are ruffians, who would cheat the parson, if they did not plunder the poor; and that the clerical remedy against connivance, is to make the poor pay a premium for the increase of that plunder and exaction, of which they themselves are the object.

I excuse the Tithe-proctor; the law is in fault, which gives great and summary powers to the indefinite claims of the Church, and suffers both to be vested in the hands, not only of the parson, but of a wretch who follows his own nature when he converts authority into corruption, and law into speculation.

I have seen a catalogue of some of their charges; so much for potatoes; so much for wheat; so much for oats; so much for hay—all exorbitant; and after a long list of unconscionable demands for the parson, comes in a speculation for the proctor: two shillings in the pound for proctorage—that is, for making a charge, for whose excess and extravagance the proctor ought not to have been paid, but punished.

As to potatoes, the clergyman ought not to proceed with reference to the produce, but the price of labour; in the parts of which I have been speaking, the price of labour is not more than *5d.* a day the year round; that is, *6l. 4s.* the year; supposing the labourer to work every day but Sunday, making an allowance for sickness, broken weather, and holidays, you should strike off more than a sixth: he has not in fact more than *5l.* a year by his labour: his family average about five persons, or nearer six, of whom the wife may make something by spinning (in these parts of the country, there

are considerable manufactories). Five pounds a year with the wife's small earnings, is the capital to support such a family, and pay rent and hearth-money, and in some cases of illegal exaction, smoke-money to the parson.—When a gentleman of the church of Ireland comes to a peasant so circumstanced, and demands 12 or 16s. an acre for tithe of potatoes—he demands a child's provision—he exacts contribution from a pauper—he gleans from wretchedness—he leases from penury—he fattens on hunger, raggedness, and destitution. In vain shall he state to such a man the proctor's valuation, and inform him, that an acre of potatoes well tilled, and in good ground, should produce so many barrels; that each barrel, at the market price, is worth so many shillings, which, after allowing for digging, tithes at so much.

The peasant may answer this reasoning by the Bible; he may set up against the tithe-proctor's valuation, the New Testament—the precepts of Christ against the clergyman's arithmetic; the parson's spiritual professions against his temporal exactions, and in the argument, the peasant would have the advantage of the parson. It is an odious contest between poverty and luxury; between the struggles of a pauper and the luxury of a priest.

Such a man making such a demand, may have many good qualities; may be a good theologian; an excellent controversialist; deeply read in church history; very accurate in the value of church benefices; an excellent high priest—but no Christian pastor. He is not the idea of a Christian minister—the Whiteboy is the least of his foes—his great enemy is the precept of the gospel and the example of the apostles.

A tenth of your land, your labour, and your capital, to those who contribute in no shape whatsoever to the produce, must be oppression; they only think otherwise, who suppose, that every thing is little which is given to the parson; that no burden can be heavy, if it is the weight of the parson; that landlords should give up their rent, and tenants the profits of their labour, and all too little; but uncertainty aggravates that oppression; the full tenths ever must be uncertain as well as oppressive, for it is the fixed proportion of a fluctuating quantity, and unless the high priest can give law to the winds, and ascertain the harvest, the Tithe, like that harvest, must be uncertain; but this uncertainty is aggravated, by the pernicious motives on which Tithe frequently rises and falls. It frequently rises on the poor; it falls in compliment to the rich. It proceeds on principles the reverse of the gospel;

it crouches to the strong, and it encroaches on the feeble; and is guided by the two worst principles in society, servility and avarice united, against the cause of charity, and under the cloak of religion.

The apostles had no Tithe, they did not demand it; they, and He whose mission they preached, protested against the principle on which Tithe is founded; 'Carry neither scrip, nor purse, nor shoes; into whatsoever house ye go, say, Peace.'

Here is concord, and contempt of riches, not Tithe. 'Take no thought what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, not for your bodies, what ye shall put on;' so said Christ to his Apostles. Does this look like a right in his priesthood to a tenth of the goods of the community?

'Beware of covetousness; seek not what ye shall eat, but seek the kingdom of God.'

'Give alms; provide yourselves with bags that wax not old, a treasure in heaven which faileth not.' This does not look like a right in the Christian priesthood to the tenth of the goods of the community exacted from the poor's dividend.

'Distribute unto the poor, and seek treasure in Heaven.'

'Take care that your hearts be not charged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and the cares of this life.'

One should not think that our Saviour was laying the foundation of Tithe, but cutting up the roots of the claim, and prophetically admonishing some of the modern priesthood. If these precepts are of divine right, tithes cannot be so; the precept orders a contempt of riches—the claim demands a tenth of the fruits of the earth for the ministers of the Gospel.

The peasantry, in apostolic times, had been the object of charity, not of exaction. Those to whose cabin the Tithe-farmer has gone for tithe of turf, and to whose garden he has gone for the tithe potatoes, the Apostles would have visited likewise; but they would have visited with contribution, not for exaction; the poor had shared with the Apostles,—they contribute to the Churchman.

The gospel is not an argument for, but against the right-divine of Tithe: so are the first fathers of the Church.

But there is an authority still higher than the opinions of the Fathers; there is an authority of a Council; the Council of Antioch, in the fourth century, which declares that Bishops may distribute the goods of the Church, but must take no part to themselves, nor to the Priests that lived with them,

unless necessity required them justly ; 'Have food and raiment ; be therewith content.'

This was the state of the Church, in its purity ; in the fifth century, decimation began, and Christianity declined ; then, indeed, the right of Tithes was advanced, and advanced into a style that damned it. The preachers who advanced the doctrine, placed all Christian virtue in the payment of Tithes. They said, that the Christian religion, as we say the Protestant religion, depended on it. They said, that those who paid not their Tithes, would be found guilty before God ; and if they did not give the tenth,—that God would reduce the country to a tenth.—Blasphemous preachers !—gross ignorance of the nature of things—impudent familiarity with the ways of God—audacious, assumed knowledge of his judgments, and a false denunciation of his vengeance. And yet even these rapacious, blasphemous men, did not acknowledge to demand Tithes for themselves, but the poor—alms !—the debt of charity—the poor's patrimony.

It was not the table of the priest, nor his domestics, nor his apparel, nor his influence, nor his ambition, but a Christian equipage of tender virtues—the widow, the orphan, and the poor ; they did not demand the Tithes as a corporation of Proprietors, like an East-India Company, or a South-Sea Company, with great rights of property annexed, distinct from the community, and from religion ; but as trustees, humble trustees to God, and the poor, pointed out, they presumed, by excess of holiness and contempt of riches. Nor did they resort to decimation, even under these plausible pretensions, until forced by depredations committed by themselves on one another. The goods of the church, of whatever kind, were at first in common distributed to the support of the church, and the provision of the poor—but at length, the more powerful part, those who attended the courts of princes—they who intermeddled in state affairs, the busy high priest, and the servile, seditious, clerical politician ; and particularly the abbots who had engaged in war, and had that pretence for extortion, usurped the fund, left the business of prayer to the inferior clergy, and the inferior clergy to tithe and the people.

Let bigotry and schism, the zealot's fire, the high priest's intolerance, through all their discordancy, tremble, while an enlightened Parliament, with arms of general protection, over-arches the whole community, and roots the Protestant ascendancy in the sovereign mercy of its nature, Laws of coercion, perhaps necessary, certainly severe, you have put forth already, but your great engine of power you have hitherto

kept back ; that engine, which the pride of the bigot, nor the spite of the Zealot, nor the ambition of the high, nor the arsenal of the conqueror, nor the inquisition, with its jaded rack and pale criminal, never thought of:—the engine which, armed with physical and moral blessing, comes forth, and overlays mankind by services : the engine of redress—this is Government ; and this the only description of Government worthy your ambition. Were I to raise you to a great act, I should not recur to the history of other nations : I would recite your own acts, and set you in emulation with yourselves. Do you remember that night when you gave your country a Free Trade, and with your hands opened all her harbours ? That night when you gave her a Free Constitution, and broke the chains of a century ; while England, eclipsed at your glory, and your Island, rose as it were from its bed, and got nearer to the sun ! In the arts that polish life : the inventions that accommodate ; and the manufactures that adorn it ; you will be for many years inferior to some other parts of Europe ; but, to nurse a growing people—to mature a struggling, though hardy community ; to mould, to multiply, to consolidate, to inspire, and to exalt a young nation ; be these your barbarous accomplishments !

I speak this to you, from a long knowledge of your character, and the various resources of your soul ; and I confide my motion to those principles not only of justice, but of fire, which I have observed to exist in your composition, and occasionally to break out in a flame of public zeal, leaving the Ministers of the Crown in eclipsed degradation. It is therefore I have not come to you furnished merely with a cold mechanical plan : but have submitted to your consideration the living grievances : conceiving that any thing in the shape of oppression made once apparent—oppression too of a people you have set free—the evil will catch those warm susceptible properties which abound in your mind, and qualify you for legislation.

Mr. Curran, in the Irish Parliament. on a motion to pass a Law to limit the amount of Pensions, 1786.

“ Sir, I object to adjourning this Bill to the first of August, because I perceive, in the present disposition of the House, that a proper decision will be made upon it this night. We have set out upon our inquiry in a manner so honourable and so consistent, that we have reason to expect the happiest success, which I would not wish to see baffled by delay.

“ We began with giving the full affirmative of this House that no grievance exists at all ; we considered a simple matter of fact, and adjourned our opinion, or rather we gave sentence on the conclusion, after having adjourned the premises. But I do begin to see a great deal of argument in what the learned Baronet has said, and I beg gentlemen will acquit me of apostacy if I offer some reasons why the Bill should not be admitted to a second reading.

“ I am surprised, that gentlemen have taken up such a foolish opinion, as that our constitution is maintained by its different component parts, mutually checking and controlling each other : they seem to think with Hobbes, that a state of nature is a state of warfare : and that, like Mahomet’s coffin, the constitution is suspended between the attraction of different powers. My friends seem to think that the Crown should be restrained from doing wrong by a physical necessity ; forgetting, that if you take away from a man all power to do wrong, you at the same time take away from him all merit of doing right, and by making it impossible for men to run into slavery, you enslave them most effectually. But if instead of three different parts of our constitution drawing forcibly in right lines, at opposite directions, they were to unite their power, and draw all one way, in one right line, how great would be the effect of their force, how happy the direction of this union ! The present system is not only contrary to mathematical rectitude, but to public harmony ; but if instead of privilege setting up his back to oppose prerogative, he was to saddle his back, and invite prerogative to ride, how comfortably might they both jog along ; and therefore it delights me to hear the advocates for the royal bounty flowing freely, and spontaneously, and abundantly, as Holywell in Wales. If the Crown grants double the amount of the revenue in pensions, they approve of their Royal Master for he is the breath of their nostrils.

“ But we will find that this complaisance, this gentleness between the Crown and its true servants, is not confined at home ; it extends its influence to foreign powers. Our merchants have been insulted in Portugal, our commerce interdicted ; what did the British Lion do ? Did he whet his tusks ? Did he bristle up and shake his mane ? Did he roar ? No ; no such thing—the gentle creature wagged his tail for six years at the court of Lisbon, and now we hear from the Delphic oracle on the treasury bench, that he is wagging his tale in London to Chevalier Pinto ; who he hopes soon to be able to tell us will allow his lady to entertain him as a lap-dog ; and

when she does, no doubt the British factory will furnish some of their softest woollens to make a cushion for him to lie upon. But though the gentle beast has continued so long fawning and crouching, I believe his vengeance will be great as it is slow, and that that posterity whose ancestors are yet unborn, will be surprised at the vengeance he will take.

“ This polyglot of wealth, this museum of curiosities, the Pension List, embraces every link in the human chain, every description of men, women, and children, from the exalted excellence of a Hawke or a Rodney, to the debased situation of the lady who humbleth herself that she may be exalted. But the lessons it inculcates form its greatest perfection;— it teacheth, that sloth and vice may eat that bread which virtue and honesty may starve for after they had earned it. It teaches the idle and dissolute to look up for that support which they are too proud to stoop and earn. It directs the minds of men to an entire reliance on the ruling power of the State, who feed the ravens of the Royal aviary, that cry continually for food. It teaches them to imitate those Saints on the Pension List, that are like the lilies of the field; they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet are arrayed like Solomon in his glory. In fine, it teaches a lesson, which indeed they might have learned from Epictetus—that it is sometimes good, not to be over virtuous: it shews, that in proportion as our distresses increase, the munificence of the Crown increases also; in proportion as our clothes are rent, the royal mantle is extended over us.

“ But notwithstanding the Pension List, like charity, covers a multitude of sins, give me leave to consider it as coming home to the members of this House; give me leave to say, that the Crown in extending its charity, its liberality, its profusion, is laying a foundation for the independence of Parliament; for, hereafter, instead of orators or patriots accounting for their conduct to such mean and unworthy persons as freeholders, they will learn to despise them, and look to the first man in the State; and they will by so doing have this security for their independence, that while any man in the kingdom has a shilling they will not want one.

“ Suppose at any future period of time the boroughs of Ireland should decline from their present flourishing and prosperous state; suppose they should fall into the hands of men who would wish to derive a profitable commerce, by having Members of parliament to hire or let; in such a case a Secretary would find great difficulty, if the proprietors of members should enter into a combination to form a monopoly; to

prevent which in time, the wisest way is to purchase up the raw material, young members of parliament, just rough from the grass, and when they are a little bitted, and he has got a pretty stud, perhaps of seventy, he may laugh at the slave-merchant; some of them he may teach to sound through the nose, like a barrel organ; some, in the course of a few months, might be taught to cry hear! hear!—some, chair! chair! upon occasion; though those latter might create a little confusion, if they were to forget whether they were calling inside or outside of those doors. Again, he might have some so trained that he need only pull a string, and up gets a repeating member; and if they were so dull that they could neither speak nor make orations, (for they are different things) he might have them taught to dance *pedibus ire in sententia*. This improvement might be extended; he might have them dressed in coats and shirts all of one colour, and of Sunday he might march them to church, two and two, to the great edification of the people and the honour of the Christian religion; afterwards, like the ancient Spartans, or the fraternity at Kilmainham, they might dine all together in a large hall. Good heaven! what a sight to see them feeding in public upon public viands, and talking of public subjects for the benefit of the public! It is a pity they are not immortal; but I hope they will flourish as a corporation, and that pensioners will beget pensioners to the end of the chapter."

Extract from a Speech of Mr. Erskine, on the trial of Mr. Paine, in which he delivers his opinion of the American Revolution, and the Federal Constitution.

Gentlemen, we all but too well remember the calamitous situation in which our country stood but a few years ago; a situation which no man can look back upon without horror, nor feel himself safe from relapsing into again, while the causes remain which produced it. The event I allude to, you must know to be the American war, and the still existing causes of it, the corruptions of this government. In those days it was not thought virtue by the patriots of England to conceal the existence of them from the people but then, as now, authority condemned them as disaffected subjects, and defeated the ends they sought by their promulgation.

The consequences we have all seen and felt: America,

from an obedient affectionate colony, became an independent nation; and two millions of people nursed in the very lap of our monarchy, became the willing subjects of a republican constitution.

Gentlemen, in that great and calamitous conflict Edmund Burke and Thomas Paine fought in the same field of reason together; but with very different successes. Mr Burke spoke to a Parliament in England, having no ears but for sounds that flattered its corruptions. Mr. Paine, on the other hand, spoke to A PEOPLE; reasoned with them,—told them that they were bound by no subjection to any sovereignty, farther than their own benefit connected them; and by these powerful arguments prepared the minds of the American people for that GLORIOUS, JUST, and HAPPY revolution.

Gentlemen, I have a right to distinguish it by these epithets, because I aver that at this moment there is as sacred a regard to property; as inviolable a security to all the rights of individuals; lower taxes; fewer grievances; less to deplore, and more to admire, in the constitution of America, than that of any other country under heaven. I wish indeed to except our own, but I cannot even do that, till it shall be purged of those abuses, which, though they obscure and deform the surface, have not as yet, *thank God*, destroyed the vital parts.

The Petition of the wife of Almas Ali Carn to Warren Hastings.

May the blessings of thy God wait upon thee, may the sun of Glory shine round thy head, and may the gates of plenty, honour, and happiness be always open to thee and thine. May no sorrow distress thy days, may no strife disturb thy nights, may the pillow of peace kiss thy cheeks, and the pleasures of imagination attend thy dreams; and when length of years makes thee tired of earthly joys, and the curtain of death gently closes round the last sleep of human existence, may the angels of God attend thy bed, and take care that the expiring lamp of life shall not receive one rude blast to hasten its extinction.

O hearken then to the voice of distress, and grant the petition of thy servant! O spare the father of my children, save the partner of my bed, my husband, my all that is dear! Consider, O mighty sir! that he did not become rich by iniquity; and that what he possessed was the inheritance of a long line of flourishing ancestors; who in those smiling days, when the thunder of Great Britain was not heard on the fertile plains

or Hindoostan, reaped their harvest in quiet, and enjoyed their patrimony unmolested. Think, O think! that the God thou worshippest, delights not in the blood of the innocent: remember thy own commandment, thou shalt not kill, and by the order of heaven give me back my Almas Ali Cawn, and take all our wealth, strip us of all our precious stones, of all our gold and silver, but take not the life of my husband; innocence is seated on his brow, and the milk of human kindness flows round his heart; let us wander through the deserts, let us become tillers and labourers in those delightful spots of which he was once lord and master.

But spare, O mighty sir! spare his life; let not the instrument of death be lifted up against him, for he hath not committed any crime; accept our treasures with gratitude, thou hast them at present by forcé; we will remember thee in our prayers and forget that we were ever rich and powerful. My children, the children of Almas Ali, send up their petition for the life of him who gave them birth, they beseech from thee the author of their existence; from that humanity which we have been told glows in the hearts of Englishmen, by the honor, the virtue, the honesty, and the maternal feelings of the great queen, whose offspring is so dear to her, the miserable wife of thy prisoner beseeches thee to save the life of her husband, and restore him to her arms; thy god will reward thee, thy country must thank thee, and she now petitioning will ever pray for thee, if thou grantest the prayer of thy

Humble vassal,

ALMASSA ALI CAWN.

Mr. Erskine on the Liberty of the Press, being the conclusion of his Speech on the trial of Mr. Stockdale for a Libel.

It only now remains to remind you that another consideration has been strongly pressed upon you, and, no doubt, will be insisted on in reply.—You will be told that the matters which I have been justifying as legal, and even meritorious, have therefore not been made the subject of complaint; and whatever intrinsic merit parts of the book may be supposed or even admitted to possess, such merit can afford no justification to the selected passages, some of which, even with the context, carry the meaning charged by the information, and which are indecent animadversions on authority. To this I would answer, (still protesting as I do against the application of any one of the inuendos,) that if you are firmly

persuaded of the singleness and purity of the author's intentions, you are not bound to subject him to infamy, because, in the zealous career of a just and animated composition, he happens to have tripped with his pen into an intemperate expression in one or two instances of a long work. If this severe duty were binding on your consciences, the liberty of the press would be an empty sound, and no man could venture to write on any subject, however pure his purpose, without an attorney at one elbow, and a counsel at the other.

From minds thus subdued by the terrors of punishment, there could issue no works of genius to expand the empire of human reason, nor any masterly compositions on the general nature of government, by the help of which the great commonwealth of mankind have founded their establishments; much less any of those useful applications of them to critical conjunctures, by which, from time to time, our own constitution, by the exertion of patriot citizens, has been brought back to its standard.—Under such terrors, all the great lights of science and civilisation must be extinguished: for men cannot communicate their free thoughts to one another with a lash held over their heads. It is the nature of every thing that is great and useful, both in the animate and inanimate world, to be wild and irregular,—and we must be contented to take them with the alloys which belong to them, or live without them. Genius breaks from the fetters of criticism, but its wanderings are sanctioned by its majesty and wisdom, when it advances in its path;—subject it to the critic, and you tame it into dulness. Mighty rivers break down their banks in the winter, sweeping away to death the flocks which are fattened on the soil that they fertilise in the summer: the few may be saved by embankments from drowning, but the flock must perish for hunger.—Tempests occasionally shake our dwellings, and dissipate our commerce; but they scourge before them the lazy elements, which without them would stagnate into pestilence.—In like manner, Liberty herself, the last and best gift of God to his creatures, must be taken just as she is:—you might pare her down into bashful irregularity, and shape her into a perfect model of severe scrupulous law, but she would then be liberty no longer: and you must be content to die under the lash of this inexorable justice which you had exchanged for the banners of Freedom.

If it be asked where the line to this indulgence and impunity is to be drawn; the answer is easy.—The liberty of

the press *on general subjects* comprehends and implies as much strict observance of positive law as is consistent with perfect purity of intention, and equal and useful society; and what that latitude is, cannot be promulgated in the abstract, but must be judged of in the particular instance, and consequently, upon this occasion, must be judged of by you, without forming any possible precedent for any other case:—and where can the judgment be possibly so safe as with the members of that society which alone can suffer, if the writing is calculated to do mischief to the public? You must therefore try the book by that criterion, and say, whether the publication was premature and offensive, or, in other words, whether the publisher was bound to have suppressed it until the public ear was anticipated and abused, and every avenue to the human heart or understanding, secured and blocked up?

One word more, Gentlemen, and I have done.—Every human tribunal ought to take care to administer justice, as we look hereafter, to have justice administered to ourselves.—Upon the principle on which the Attorney General prays sentence upon my client—God have mercy upon us?—Instead of standing before him in judgment with the hopes and consolations of Christians, we must call upon the mountains to cover us; for which of us can present, for omniscient examination, a pure, unspotted, and faultless course? But I humbly expect that the benevolent Author of our being will judge us as I have been pointing out for your example.—Holding up the great volume of our lives in his hands, and regarding the general scope of them:—if he discovers benevolence, charity, and good will to man beating in the heart, where he alone can look;—if he finds that our conduct, though often forced out of the path by our infirmities, has been in general well directed; his all-searching eye will assuredly never pursue us into those little corners of our lives, much less will his justice select them for punishment, without the general context of our existence, by which faults may be sometimes found to have grown out of virtues, and very many of our heaviest offences to have been grafted by human imperfection upon the best and kindest of our affections. No, Gentlemen, believe me, this is not the course of divine justice, or there is no truth in the Gospels of Heaven.—If the general tenor of a man's conduct be such as I have represented it, he may walk through the shadow of death, with all his faults about him, with as much cheerfulness as in the common paths of life; because he knows, that instead of a

stern accuser to expose before the Author of his nature those frail passages, which, like the scored matter in the book before you, chequers the volume of the brightest and best-spent life, his mercy will obscure them from the eye of his purity, and our repentance blot them out for ever.

All this would, I admit, be perfectly foreign, and irrelevant, if you were sitting here in a case of property between man and man, where a strict rule of law must operate, or there would be an end of civil life and society. It would be equally foreign, and still more irrelevant, if applied to those shameful attacks upon private reputation which are the bane and disgrace of the press; by which whole families have been rendered unhappy during life, by aspersions cruel, scandalous, and unjust. Let SUCH LIBELLERS remember, that no one of my principles of defence, can at any time, or upon any occasion, ever apply to shield THEM from punishment; because such conduct is not only an infringement of the rights of men, as they are defined by strict law, *but is absolutely incompatible with honor, honesty, or mistaken good intention.* On such men let the Attorney General bring forth all the artillery of his office, and the thanks and blessings of the whole public will follow him.

Extract from a Speech of Mr. Curran, on the Trial of Mr. Rowan.

Where the press is free, and discussion unrestrained, the mind, by the collision of intercourse, gets rid of its own asperities, a sort of insensible perspiration takes place, by which those acrimonies, which would otherwise fester and inflame, are quietly dissolved and dissipated. But now, if any aggregate assembly shall meet, they are censured; if a printer publishes their resolutions, he is punished; rightly to be sure in both cases, for it has been lately done. If the people say, Let us not create tumult, but meet in delegation, they cannot do it: if they are anxious to promote parliamentary reform in that way, they cannot do it; the law of the last session has for the first time declared such meetings to be a crime. What then remains! Only the liberty of the press, that sacred palladium, which no influence, no power, no minister, no government, which nothing but the depravity, or folly, or corruption of a jury, can ever destroy. And what calamity are the people saved from, by having public communication left open to them? I will tell you, gentlemen, what they are saved from, and what the government is saved

from ; I will tell you also, to what both are exposed by shutting up that communication. In one case sedition speaks aloud, and walks abroad ; the demagogue goes forth, the public eye is upon him, he frets his busy hour upon the stage ; but soon either weariness, or bribe, or punishment, or disappointment bear him down, or drive him off, and he appears no more. In the other case, how does the work of sedition go forward ? Night after night, the muffled rebel steals forth in the dark, and casts another and another brand upon the pile, to which, when the hour of fatal maturity shall arrive, he will apply the flame. If you doubt of the horrid consequences of suppressing the effusion even of individual discontent, look to those enslaved countries where the protection of despotism is supposed to be secured by such restraints, even the person of the despot there is never in safety. Neither the fears of the despot, nor the machinations of the slave, have any slumber, the one anticipating the moment of peril, the other watching the opportunity of aggression. The fatal crisis is equally a surprise upon both ; the decisive instant is precipitated without warning, by folly on the one side, or by frenzy on the other, and there is no notice of the treason till the traitor acts. In those unfortunate countries (one cannot read it without horror) there are officers whose province it is to have the water, which is to be drank by their rulers, sealed up in bottles, lest some wretched miscreant should throw poison into the draught.

But, gentlemen, if you wish for a nearer and more interesting example, you have it in the history of your own revolution ; you have it at that memorable period, when the monarch found a servile acquiescence in the ministers of his folly, when the liberty of the press was trodden under foot, when venal sheriffs returned packed juries to carry into effect those fatal conspiracies of the few against the many, when the devoted benches of public justice were filled by some of those foundlings of fortune, who, overwhelmed in the torrent of corruption at an early period, lay at the bottom like drowned bodies, while soundness or sanity remained in them ; but at length becoming buoyant by putrefaction, they rose as they rotted, and floated to the surface of the polluted stream, where they were drifted along, the objects of terror, and contagion, and abomination.

In that awful moment of a nation's travail, of the last gasp of tyranny, and the first breath of freedom, how pregnant is the example ? The press extinguished, the people enslaved, and the prince undone.

As the advocate of society, therefore, of peace, of domestic liberty, and the lasting union of the two countries, I conjure you to guard the liberty of the press, that great centinel of the state, that grand detector of public imposture; guard it, because when it sinks, there sinks with it, in one common grave, the liberty of the subject, and the security of the crown.

Gentlemen, I am glad that this question has not been brought forward earlier; I rejoice for the sake of the court, of the jury, and of the public repose, that this question has not been brought forward till now. In Great Britain analogous circumstances have taken place. At the commencement of that unfortunate war which has deluged Europe with blood, the spirit of the English people was tremblingly alive to the terror of French principles; at that moment of general paroxysm, to accuse was to convict. The danger loomed larger to the public eye, from the misty medium through which it was surveyed. We measure inaccessible heights by the shadows which they project; where the lowness and the distance of the light form the length of the shade.

There is a sort of aspiring and adventurous credulity, which disdains assenting to obvious truths, and delights in catching at the improbability of circumstances, as its best ground of faith. To what other cause, gentlemen, can you ascribe that, in the wise, the reflecting, and the philosophic nation of Great Britain, a printer has been gravely found guilty of a libel, for publishing those resolutions to which the present minister of that kingdom had actually subscribed his name? To what other cause can you ascribe, what in my mind is still more astonishing, in such a country as Scotland, a nation cast in the happy medium between the spiritless acquiescence of submissive poverty, and the sturdy credulity of pampered wealth; cool and ardent, adventurous and persevering; winning her eagle flight against the blaze of every science, with an eye that never winks, and a wing that never tires: crowned as she is with the spoils of every art, and decked with the wreath of every muse; from the deep and scrutinising researches of her Hume, to the sweet and simple, but not less sublime and pathetic morality of her Burns—how from the bosom of a country like that, genius and character, and talents, should be banished to a distant barbarous soil; condemned to pine under the horrid communion of vulgar vice and base-born profligacy, for twice the period that ordinary calculation gives to the continuance of human life? But I will not further press any idea that is painful to me, and I am sure must be painful to you; I will only say, you

have now an example, of which neither England nor Scotland had the advantage; you have the example of the panic, the infatuation, and the contrition of both. It is now for you to decide whether you will profit by their experience of idle panic and idle regret, or whether you meanly prefer to palliate a servile imitation of their frailty by a paltry affectation of their repentance. It is now for you to shew that you are not carried away by the same hectic delusions, to acts, of which no tears can wash away the fatal consequences, or the indelible reproach.

*Extract from the Speech of Mr. Curran in the case of
Massy v. Headfort.*

Never so clearly as in the present instance, have I observed that safeguard of justice which Providence has placed in the nature of man. Such is the imperious dominion with which truth and reason wave their sceptre over the human intellect, that no solicitation, however artful, no talent, however commanding, can seduce it from its allegiance. In proportion to the humility of our submission to its rule, do we rise into some faint emulation of that ineffable and presiding divinity, whose characteristic attribute it is to be coerced and bound by the inexorable laws of its own nature, so as to be *all-wise* and *all-just* from necessity, rather than election. You have seen it in the learned advocate who has preceded me, most peculiarly and strikingly illustrated—you have seen even his great talents, perhaps the first in any country, languishing under a cause too weak to carry him, and too heavy to be carried by him. He was forced to dismiss his natural candour and sincerity, and having no merits in his case, to substitute the dignity of his own manner, the resources of his own ingenuity, over the overwhelming difficulties with which he was surrounded. Wretched client? Unhappy advocate! What a combination do you form! But such is the condition of guilt—its commission mean and tremulous—its defence artificial and insincere—its prosecution candid and simple—its condemnation dignified and austere. Such has been the defendant's guilt—such his defence—such shall be my address—and such, I trust, your verdict. The learned counsel has told you that this unfortunate woman is not to be estimated at 40,000*l.* Fatal and unquestionable is the truth of this assertion. Alas! gentlemen, she is no longer worth any thing—faded, fallen, degraded and disgraced, she

is worth less than nothing ! But it is for the honour, the hope, the expectation, the tenderness, and the comforts, that have been blasted by the defendant, and have fled for ever, that you are to remunerate the plaintiff, by the punishment of the defendant. It is not her present value which you are to weigh—but it is, her value at that time, when she sat basking in her husband's love, with the blessings of heaven on her head, and its purity in her heart—when she sat amongst her family, and administered the morality of the parental board. Estimate that past value—compare it with its present deplorable diminution—and it may lead you to form some judgment of the severity of the injury, and the extent of the compensation.

The conclusion of Mr. Erskine's Address to the Jury, on the Trial of Mr. Hardy, November 5th, 1794.

Gentlemen, my whole argument then amounts to no more than this, that before the crime of compassing THE KING'S DEATH can be found *by you, the Jury*, whose province it is to judge of its existence, it must be *believed by you* to have existed in point of fact. Before you can adjudge A FACT, you *must believe it*—not suspect it, or imagine it, or fancy it, —BUT BELIEVE IT—and it is impossible to impress the human mind with such a reasonable and certain belief, as is necessary to be impressed, before a Christian man can adjudge his neighbour to the smallest penalty. much less to the pain of death, without having such evidence as a reasonable mind will accept of as the infallible test of truth. And what is that evidence ?—neither more nor less than that which the constitution has established in the Courts for the general administration of justice ; namely, that the evidence convinces the Jury, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the criminal *intention*, constituting the crime, existed in the mind of the man upon trial, and was the main spring of his conduct. The rules of evidence, as they are settled by law, and adopted in its general administration, are not to be over-ruled or tampered with. They are founded in the charities of religion ; in the philosophy of nature ; in the truths of history, and in the experience of common life ; and whoever ventures rashly to depart from them, let him remember that it will be meted to him in the same measure, and that both God and man will judge him accordingly. These are arguments addressed to your reasons and consciences, not to be shaken in upright minds by any precedent, for no precedents can sanctify injustice ; if they

could, every human right would long ago have been extinct upon the earth. If the State Trials in bad times are to be searched for precedents, what murders may you not commit;—what law of humanity may you not trample upon;—what rule of justice may you not violate;—and what maxim of wise policy may you not abrogate and confound?—If precedents in bad times are to be implicitly followed, why should we have heard any evidence at all?—You might have convicted, without any evidence, for many have been so convicted, and in this manner murdered, even by acts of Parliament. If precedents in bad times are to be followed, why should the Lords and Commons have investigated these charges, and the Crown have put them into this course of judicial trial?—since, without such a trial, and even after an acquittal upon one,—they might have attainted all the prisoners by act of Parliament;—they did so in the case of Lord Strafford.—There are precedents, therefore, for all such things;—but such precedents as could not for a moment survive the times of madness and distraction which gave them birth, but which, as soon as the spurs of the occasions were blunted, were repealed, and execrated even by Parliaments which (little as I may think of the present) ought not to be compared with it: Parliaments sitting in the darkness of former times,—in the night of freedom,—before the principles of government were developed, and before the constitution became fixed. The last of these precedents, and all the proceedings upon it, were ordered to be taken off the file and burnt, to the intent that the same might no longer be visible in after ages; an order dictated, no doubt, by a pious tenderness for national honour, and meant as a charitable covering for the crimes of our fathers,—But it was a sin against posterity; it was a treason against society,—for, instead of commanding them to be burnt, they should rather have directed them to be blazoning in large letters upon the walls of our Courts of Justice, that, like the characters decyphered by the prophet of God, to the eastern tyrant, they might enlarge and blacken in your sights, to testify you from acts of injustice.

In times, when the whole habitable earth is in a state of change and fluctuation,—when deserts are starting up into civilised empires around you,—and when men, no longer slaves to the prejudices of particular countries, much less to the abuses of particular governments, enlist themselves, like the citizens of an enlightened world, into whatever communities their civil liberties may be best protected; it never can be for the advantage of this country to prove, that the

strict, unextended letter of her laws, is no security to its inhabitants.—On the contrary, when so dangerous a lure is every where holding out to emigration, it will be found to be the wisest policy of Great Britain to set up her happy constitution,—the strict letter of her guardian laws, and the proud condition of equal freedom, which her highest and her lowest subjects ought equally to enjoy;—it will be her wisest policy to set up these first of human blessings against those charms of change and novelty which the varying condition of the world is hourly displaying, and which may deeply affect the population and prosperity of our country.—In times, when the subordination to authority is said to be every where but too little felt, it will be found to be the wisest policy of Great Britain, to instil into the governed an almost superstitious reverence for the strict security of the laws; which, from their equality of principle, beget no jealousies or discontent:—which, from their equal administration, can seldom work injustice: and which, from the reverence growing out of their mildness and antiquity, acquire a stability in the habits and affections of men, far beyond the force of civil obligation:—whereas severe penalties, and arbitrary constructions of laws intended for security, lay the foundations of alienation from every human government, and have been the cause of all the calamities that have come, and are coming upon the earth.

Gentlemen, what we read of in books makes but a faint impression upon us, compared to what we see passing under our eyes in the living world. I remember the people of another country, in like manner, contending for a renovation of their constitution, sometimes illegally and turbulently, but still devoted to an honest end;—I myself saw the people of Brabant so contending for the ancient constitution of the good Duke of Burgundy;—how was this people dealt by?—All, who were only contending for their own rights and privileges, were supposed to be of course disaffected to the Emperor:—they were handed over to courts constituted for the emergency, as this is, and the Emperor marched his army through the country till all was peace;—but such peace as there is in Vesuvius, or *Ætna*, the very moment before they vomit forth their lava, and roll their conflagrations over the devoted habitations of mankind:—when the French approached, the fatal effects were suddenly seen of a government of constraint and terror—the well-affected were dispirited, and the disaffected inflamed into fury.—At that moment the Archduchess fled from Brussels, and the duke of Saxe-Teschen

was sent express to offer the *joyeuse entree* so long petitioned for in vain: but the season of concession was past:—the storm blew from every quarter,—and the throne of Brabant departed for ever from the House of Burgundy.—Gentlemen, I venture to affirm, that with other councils, this fatal prelude to the last revolution in that country, might have been averted:—if the Emperor had been advised to make the concessions of justice and affection to his people, they would have risen in a mass to maintain their prince's authority interwoven with their own liberties; and the French, the giants of modern times, would, like the giants of antiquity, have been trampled in the mire of their own ambition. In the same manner a far more splendid and important crown passed away from his Majesty's illustrious brows: THE IMPERIAL CROWN OF AMERICA.—The people of that country too, for a long season, contended as subjects, and often with irregularity and turbulence, for what they felt to be their rights: and, O Gentlemen! that the inspiring and immortal eloquence of that man, whose name I have so often mentioned, had then been heard with effect!—what was his language to this country when she sought to lay burdens on America,—not to support the dignity of the Crown, or for the increase of national revenue, but to raise a fund for the purpose of corruption;—a fund for maintaining those tribes of hireling ship-jacks, which Mr. Tooke so well contrasted with the hereditary nobility of England!—Though America would not bear this imposition, she would have borne any useful or constitutional burden to support the parent state.—‘For that service, for all service,’ said Mr. Burke, ‘whether of revenue, trade, or empire, my trust is in her interest in the British constitution. My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government, they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood, that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation: the cement is gone; the cohesion is loosened: and every thing hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith,

‘wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces toward you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have any where. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. But until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly—This is the true act of navigation, which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Is it not the same virtue which does every thing for us here in England? Do you imagine then, that it is the land tax act which raises your revenue? that it is the annual vote in the Committee of Supply, which gives you your army? or that it is the Mutiny Bill which inspires it with bravery and discipline? No! surely no! It is the love of the people; it is their attachment to their government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience, without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber.’

Gentlemen, to conclude—My fervent wish is that we may not conjure up a spirit to destroy ourselves, nor set the example here of what in another country we deplore—Let us cherish the old and venerable laws of our forefathers.—Let our judicial administration be strict and pure; and let the Jury of the land preserve the life of a fellow subject, who only asks it from them upon the same terms under which they hold their own lives, and all that is dear to them and their posterity for ever.—Let me repeat the wish with which I began my address to you, and which proceeds from the very bottom of my heart;—may it please God, who is the Author of all mercies to mankind, whose providence, I am persuaded, guides and superintends, the transactions of the world, and whose guardian spirit has forever hovered over this prosperous island, to direct and fortify your judgments. I am aware I have not acquitted myself to the unfortunate man, who has put his trust in me, in the manner I could have wished: yet I am unable to proceed any further; exhausted in spirit and in strength, but confident in the expectation of justice.—There is one thing more, however, that (if I can) I must state to you, namely, that I will show, by as many

witnesses, as it may be found necessary or convenient for you to hear upon the subject, that the views of the societies were what I have alleged them to be;—that whatever irregularities or indiscretions they might have committed, their purposes were honest;—and that Mr. Hardy's, above all other men, can be established to have been so. I have indeed an Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Francis) in my eye, at this moment, to be called hereafter as a witness, who being desirous in his place, as a member of Parliament, to promote an enquiry into the seditious practices complained of, Mr. Hardy offered himself voluntarily to come forward, proffered a sight of all the papers, which were afterwards seized in his custody, and tendered every possible assistance to give satisfaction to the laws of his country, if found to be offended. I will show likewise his character to be religious, temperate, humane, and moderate, and his uniform conduct all that can belong to a good subject, and an honest man.—When you have heard this evidence, it will beyond all doubt, confirm you in coming to the conclusion which, at such great length, (for which I entreat your pardon,) I have been endeavouring to support.

Mr. Fox's Eulogium on General Washington, in the British Parliament—1794.

How infinitely superior must appear the spirit and principles of General Washington, in his late address to Congress, compared with the policy of modern European courts! Illustrious man! deriving honour less from the splendor of his situation than from the dignity of his mind: before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance, and all the princes and potentates of Europe (excepting the members of our own family) become little and contemptible! He has had no occasion to have recourse to any tricks of policy or arts of alarm; his authority has been sufficiently supported by the same means by which it was acquired, and his conduct has uniformly been characterised by wisdom, moderation, and firmness. He, feeling gratitude to France for the assistance received from her in that great contest which secured the independence of America, did not choose to give up the system of neutrality in favour of this country. Having once laid down that line of conduct, which both gratitude and policy pointed out as most proper to be pursued, not all the insults or provocation of the French minister Genet could at all put him out of his way, or bend him from his purpose. Entrusted with the care

of the welfare of a great people, he did not allow the misconduct of another, with respect to himself, for one moment to interrupt the duty which he owed to them, or withdraw his attention from their interests. He had no fear of the Jacobins; he felt no alarm from their principles, and considered no precaution as necessary in order to stop their progress. The people over whom he presided, he knew to be acquainted with their rights and their duties. He trusted to their own good sense to defeat the effect of those arts which might be employed to inflame or mislead their minds; and was sensible that a government could be in no danger, while it retained the attachment and confidence of its subjects—attachment, in this instance, not blindly adopted, confidence not implicitly given, but arising from the conviction of its excellence, and the experience of its blessings. I cannot indeed help admiring the wisdom and the fortune of this great man? not that by the phrase *fortune* I mean in the smallest degree to derogate from his merit. But, notwithstanding his extraordinary talents and exalted integrity, it must be considered as singularly fortunate, that he should have experienced a lot, which so seldom falls to the portion of humanity, and have passed through such a variety of scenes, without stain and without reproach. It must indeed create astonishment, that placed in circumstances so critical, and filling for a series of time, a station so conspicuous, his character should never once have been called in question; that he should in no one instance have been accused either of improper insolence, or of mean submission, in his transactions with foreign nations. It has been reserved for him to run the race of glory, without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career. The breath of censure has not dared to impeach the purity of his conduct, nor the eye of envy to raise its malignant glance to the elevation of his virtues. Such has been the transcendent merit and the unparalleled fate of this illustrious man! But if the maxims now held forth were adopted, he who now ranks as the asserter of his country's freedom, and the guardian of its interests and honor, would be deemed to have disregarded and betrayed that country, and to have entailed upon himself indelible reproach. How did he act when insulted by Genet? Did he consider it as necessary to avenge himself for the misconduct or madness of an individual, by involving a whole continent in the horrors of war? No; he contented himself with procuring satisfaction for the insult, by causing Genet to be recalled: and thus at once consulted his own dignity and the interests of his country. Happy Americans! while the whirl-

wind flies over one quarter of the globe, and spreads every where desolation, you remain protected from its baneful effects, by your own virtues and the wisdom of your government. Separated from Europe by an immense ocean, you feel not the effects of those prejudices and passions which convert the boasted seats of civilisation into scenes of horror and bloodshed. You profit by the folly and madness of the contending nations, and afford in your more congenial clime an asylum to those blessings and virtues which they wantonly condemn, or wickedly exclude from their bosom ! Cultivating the arts of peace under the influence of freedom, you advance by rapid strides to opulence and distinction ; and if by any accident you should be compelled to take part in the present unhappy contest ; if you should find it necessary to avenge insult, or repel injury, the world will bear witness to the equity of your sentiments and the moderation of your views ; and the success of your arms will, no doubt, be proportioned to the justice of your cause !

Speech of Buonaparte, Commander in Chief of the French Army in Italy, to his Brethren in Arms.

SOLDIERS,

You are precipitated like a torrent from the heights of the Apennines ; you have overthrown and dispersed all that dared to oppose your march. Piedmont, rescued from Austrian tyranny, is left to its natural sentiments of regard and friendship to the French. Milan is yours ; and the republican standard is displayed throughout all Lombardy. The dukes of Parma and Modena are indebted for their political existence only to your generosity.

The army, which so proudly menaced you, has had no other barrier than its dissolution to oppose your invincible courage. The Po, the Tessen, the Adda, could not retard you a single day. The vaunted bulwarks of Italy were insufficient. You swept them with the same rapidity that you did the Apennines. Those successes have carried joy into the bosom of your country. Your representatives decreed a festival dedicated to your victories, and to be celebrated throughout all the communes of the republic. Now your fathers, your mothers, your wives, and your sisters, will rejoice in your success, and take pride in their relation to you.

Yes, soldiers, you have done much ; but more still remains for you to do. Shall it be said of us, that we know how to

conquer, but not to profit by our victories? Shall posterity reproach us with having found a Capua in Lombardy? But already I see you fly to arms. You are fatigued with an inactive repose. You lament the days that are lost to your glory? Well, then, let us proceed; we have other forced marches to make; other enemies to subdue; more laurels to acquire, and more injuries to avenge.

Let those who have unsheathed the daggers of civil war in France; who have basely assassinated our ministers; who have burnt our ships at Toulon; let them tremble! the knell of vengeance has already tolled!

But to quiet the apprehensions of the people, we declare ourselves the friends of all, and particularly of those who are the descendants of Brutus, of Scipio, and those other great men whom we have taken for our models.

To re-establish the capitol; to replace the statues of those heroes who have rendered it immortal; to rouse the Roman people entranced in so many ages of slavery; this shall be the fruit of your victories. It will be an epoch for the admiration of posterity; you will enjoy the immortal glory of changing the aspect of affairs in the finest part of Europe. The free people of France, not regardless of moderation, shall accord to Europe a glorious peace; but it will indemnify itself for the sacrifices of every kind which it has been making for six years past. You will again be restored to your fire-sides and homes; and your fellow-citizens, pointing you out, shall say, "There goes one who belonged to the army of Italy!"

Extracts of two Speeches delivered by Mr. Sheridan to the Electors of Westminster, on the 18th of September, and the 22d of October, 1806, on the death of Mr. Fox.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Electors of Westminster, in addressing you upon this occasion, I am afraid, that, before I proceed to the few observations which I feel it my duty to submit to you, I shall be obliged to commence with a request which I am almost ashamed to make for your indulgence, if in consequence of a short but sharp indisposition, from which I am just recovering, my voice should not be strong enough to be clearly audible to the full extent of this large assembly.

"Upon that subject which must fill all your minds—upon the merits of that illustrious man, whose death has occasioned

the present meeting, I shall, I *can* say but little. There must be some interval between the heavy blow that has been struck, and the consideration of its effect, before any one, and how many are there of those who have revered and loved Mr. Fox as I have done, can speak of his death with the feeling, but manly composure which becomes the dignified regret it ought to inspire. To you, however, Gentlemen, it cannot be necessary to describe him—for you must have known him well. To say any thing to you at this moment, in the first hours of your unburdened sorrows, must be unnecessary, and almost insulting. His image is still present before you—his virtue is in your hearts—his loss is your despair!

“ I have seen in one of the morning papers what are stated to have been the last words of this great man,—‘ I die happy ;’ then turning to the dearest object of his affection, ‘ I pity you !’ But had another moment been allowed him, and had the modesty of his great mind permitted it, well might he have expressed his compassion, not for his private friends only, but for the world—well might he have said, ‘ I pity you ! I pity England ! I pity Europe ! I pity the human race !’—For to mankind at large his death must be a source of regret, whose life was employed to promote their benefit. He died in the spirit of peace, struggling to extend it to the world. Tranquil in his own mind, he cherished to the last, with a parental solicitude, the consoling hope to give tranquillity to nations. Let us trust that the stroke of death, which has borne him from us, may not have left peace, and the dignified charities of human nature, as it were, orphans upon the world.

“ The hour is not far distant when an awful knell shall tell you that the unburied remains of your revered patriot, are passing through the streets to that sepulchral home, where your kings—your heroes—your sages—and your poets lie, and where they are to be honoured by the association of his noble remains—that hour, when, however the splendid gaudiness of public pageantry may be avoided, you—you—all of you will be self-marshalled in reverential sorrow, mute, and reflecting on your mighty loss.

“ I have step by step followed Mr. Fox through the whole course of his political career, and, to the best of my poor abilities, supported him in every one of those measures and in the maintenance of every one of those principles which originally recommended him to, and so long continued him in, your confidence and esteem. It is true there have been occasions upon which *I have differed with him*—painful recollection of

the most painful moments of my political life! Nor were there wanting those who endeavoured to represent those differences as a departure from the homage, to which, though unclaimed by him, his superior mind was entitled, and from the allegiance of friendship which our hearts all swore to him; but never was the genuine and confiding texture of his soul more manifest than on such occasions. He knew that nothing on earth could separate or detach me from him; and he resented insinuations against the sincerity and integrity of a friend, which he would not have noticed had they been pointed against himself. With such a man to have battled in the cause of genuine liberty—with such a man to have struggled against the inroads of oppression and corruption—with such an example before me, to have to boast that I never in my life gave one vote in Parliament that was not on the side of freedom, is the congratulation that attends the retrospect of my public life. His friendship was the pride and honour of my days. I never, for one moment, regretted to share with him the difficulties, the calumnies, and sometimes even the dangers that attended an honourable course. And now, reviewing my past political life, were the option possible, that I should retread the path, I solemnly and deliberately declare that I would prefer to pursue the same course—to bear up under the same pressure—to abide by the same principles—and remain by his side, an exile from power, distinction and emolument, rather than be, at this moment, a splendid example of successful servility, or prosperous apostacy—though clothed with powers, honours, titles, and gorged with sinecures and wealth obtained from the plunder of the people.

“Before I entered Parliament I sought him out, and had the honour to enjoy his cordial friendship: and that friendship I have the pride and pleasure to think was never for a moment interrupted to the latest period of his life. It is upon the same ground which urged me to look after, and enabled me to enjoy that friendship, that I am now induced to solicit your support. An attachment to freedom, and a determination to persevere through life in the principles of Mr. Fox, are the only grounds upon which I can rest a pretension to your confidence. My honourable friend in the chair has talked of supplying the loss of the great man we deplore; but that is quite impossible. For, even in the scale of gradation, all men with regard to him are on a level; and thus I must pronounce my total disqualification. But yet, I will yield to no man in a zealous regard for that sacred liberty, which, however its cause may have been betrayed by

treachery, bedewed with blood, or profaned by sacrilege in other nations, shall ever stand in my estimation as the highest gift which the Great Creator ever conferred upon man. In devotion to this principle alone do I presume to think myself in any degree equal to your late illustrious representative—to that man, who in powers of mind, stood completely unequalled—who, in my judgment, was, as a statesman, superior in intellect, not only to any this country has ever produced, but to any the world has ever witnessed.”

Extract from a celebrated Speech of Mr. Curran, on a motion to release Mr. Justice Johnson from illegal imprisonment.

My Lords—it has fallen to my lot, either fortunately or unfortunately, as the event may be, to rise as counsel for my client on this most important and momentous occasion. I appear before you, my Lords, in consequence of a writ issued by his majesty, commanding that cause be shown to this his court, why his subject has been deprived of his liberty, and upon the cause shown in obedience to this writ, it is my duty to address you on the most awful question, if awfulness is to be judged by consequences and events, on which you have been ever called upon to decide.—Sorry am I that the task has not been confided to more adequate powers; but, feeble as they are, they will at least not shrink from it. I move you, therefore, that Mr. Justice Johnson be released from illegal imprisonment.

I cannot but observe the sort of scenic preparation with which this sad drama is sought to be brought forward—In part I approve it. In part it excites my disgust and indignation. I am glad to find that the attorney and solicitor general, the natural and official prosecutors for the state, do not appear; and I infer from their absence, that his excellency the lord lieutenant, disclaims any personal concern in this execrable transaction. I think it does him much honour; it is a conduct that equally agrees with the dignity of his character and the feelings of his heart.—To his private virtues, whenever he is left to their influence, I willingly concur in giving the most unqualified tribute of respect. And I do firmly believe, it is with no small regret that he suffers his name to be even formally made use of, in avowing for a return of one of the judges of the land with as much indifference and *nonchalance* as if he were a beast of the plough.

I observe too, the dead silence into which the public is frowned, by authority, for the sad occasion. No man dares to mutter; no newspaper dares to whisper that such a question is afloat. It seems an enquiry among the tombs, or rather in the shades beyond them.

Ibant sola sub nocte per umbram.

I am glad it is so—I am glad of this factitious dumbness; for if murmurs dared to become audible, my voice would be too feeble to drown them; but when all is hushed—when nature sleeps,—

Cum quies mortalibus ægris;

The weakest voice is heard—the shepherd's whistle shoots across the listening darkness of the interminable heath, and gives notice that the wolf is upon his walk; and the same gloom and stillness that tempt the monster to come abroad, facilitate the communication of the warning to beware. Yes, through that silence the voice shall be heard; yes, through that silence the shepherd shall be put upon his guard; yes, through that silence shall the felon savage be chased into the toil. Yes, my lords, I feel myself cheered and impressed by the composed and dignified attention with which I see you are disposed to hear me on the most important question that has ever been subjected to your consideration; the most important to the dearest rights of the human being: the most deeply interesting and animating that can beat in his heart, or burn upon his tongue—Oh! how recreating is it to feel that occasions may arise in which the soul of man may re-assume her pretensions; in which she hears the voice of nature whisper to her, *os homini sublime dedi calumque tueri*; in which even I can look up with calm security to the court, and down with the most profound contempt upon the reptile I mean to tread upon! I say reptile; because, when the proudest man in society becomes so the dupe of his childish malice, as to wish to inflict on the object of his vengeance the poison of his sting; to do a reptile's work, he must shrink into a reptile's dimensions; and so shrunk, the only way to assail him is to tread upon him. But to the subject;—this writ of habeas corpus has had a return. That return states, that lord Ellenborough, chief justice of England, issued a warrant reciting the foundation of this dismal transaction; that one of the clerks of the crown office had certi-

fied to him, that an indictment had been found at Westminster, charging the honourable Robert Johnson, late of Westminster, one of the justices of his majesty's court of common pleas in Ireland, with the publication of certain slanderous libels against the government of that country; against the person of his excellency lord Herdwick, lord lieutenant of that country; against the person of lord Redesdale, the chancellor of Ireland: and against the person of Mr. Justice Osborne, one of the justices of the court of king's bench in Ireland. One of the clerks of the crown office, it seems, certified all this to his lordship. How many of these there are, or who they are, or which of them so certified, we cannot presume to guess, because the learned and noble lord is silent as to those circumstances. We are only informed that one of them made that important communication to his lordship. It puts me in mind of the information given to one of Fielding's justices: "did not," says his worship's wife, "the man with the wallet make his fidavy that you was a vagram?" I suppose it was some such petty bag officer who gave lord Ellenborough to understand that Mr. Justice Johnson was indicted. And being thus given to understand, and he informed, he issued his warrant to a gentleman no doubt of great respectability, Mr. Williams, his tipstaff, to take the body of Mr. Justice Johnson, and bring him before a magistrate, for the purpose of giving bail to appear within the first eight days of this term, so that there might be a trial within the sittings after; and if, by the blessing of God, he should be convicted, then to appear on the return of the postea, to be dealt with according to law.

Perhaps it may be a question for you to decide, whether that warrant, such as it may be, is not now absolutely spent; and, if not, how a man can contrive to be hereafter in England on a day that is past? And high as the opinion may be in England of Irish understanding, it will be something beyond even Irish exactness to bind him to appear in England not a fortnight hence, but a fortnight ago.—I wish, my lords, we had the art of giving time this retrograde motion. If possessed of the secret we might possibly be disposed to improve it from fortnights into years.—

There is something not incurious in the juxtaposition of signatures. The warrant is signed by the chief justice of all England—In music, the ear is reconciled to strong transitions of key, by a preparatory resolution of the intervening discords: but here, alas! there is nothing to break the fall: the august title of Ellenborough is followed by the unadorned

name of brother Bell, the sponsor of his lordship's warrant. Let me not, however, be suffered to deem lightly of the compeer of the noble and learned lord. Mr. Justice Bell ought to be a lawyer; I remember him myself long a crier,* and I know his credit with the state; he has had a *noli prosequi*. I see not therefore why it may not fairly be said "*fortunati ambo!*" It appears by this return, that Mr. Justice Bell indorses this bill of lading to another consignee, Mr. Medlicot, a most respectable gentleman: he describes himself upon the warrant, and he gives a delightful specimen of the administration of justice, and the calendar of saints in office; he describes himself a justice and a peace officer—that is, a magistrate and a catchpole; so that he may receive information as a justice; if he can write, he may draw them as a clerk: if not, he can execute the warrant as bailiff; and, if it be a capital offence, you may see the culprit, the justice, the clerk, the bailiff, and the hangman, together in the same cart; and, though he may not write, he may "ride and tie!" What a pity that their journey should not be further continued together! That, as they had been "lovely in their lives, so in their deaths they might not be divided!" I find, my lords, I have undesignedly raised a laugh: never did I feel less merriment.—Let me not be condemned—let not the laugh be mistaken.—Never was Mr. Hume more just than when he says, that "in many things the extremes are nearer to one another than the means." Few are those events that are produced by vice and folly, that fire the heart with indignation, that do not also shake the sides with laughter. So when the two famous moralists of old beheld the sad spectacle of life, the one burst into laughter, the other melted into tears: they were each of them right, and equally right.

Si credas utrique
Res sunt humanæ flebile ludibrium.

But these laughs are the bitter ireful laughs of honest indignation,—or they are the laughs of hectic melancholy and despair.

*Speech of Mr. Grattan in the British Parliament on the
Catholic Question—April 23d, 1812.*

You should ever bear in mind the true nature and origin of your connexion with Ireland. It arose out of privilege, contract, opportunity, covenant, expediency, speculation—any

* This gentleman was formerly crier to the late baron Hamilton when the baron went circuit as a judge.

thing but conquest, You never conquered Ireland; no right of conquest shook the right of property, and if they had a property which they were justified in concluding to be sacred, it was their property in the Gospel. When God gave man a Revelation, he gave him also a light by which to read it, the conscientious interpretation of his own reason. The Irishman applies to his God, without thinking it necessary to have a license from his king. If Parliament interfere, what can be the result of such interposition? They might do much in heaping disqualification upon disqualification; they might assert their political omnipotence within the regions of error, but their omnipotence could never make wrong right. In disqualifying a British subject on account of his religious opinion, they would attack the principles that made them a Parliament, and disqualify themselves. I admit that there may possibly exist circumstances connected with matters of religious opinion, which might call for the regulation of the Legislature; but those are such only as essentially affect the allegiance of the subject. I ask you, will you argue the rights of the Catholics upon that ground? No; because you can have no doubt of their allegiance; if you will not read the history of past years, you cannot help reading their present history in the Gazette of every passing day. You cannot help knowing that Irishmen are every day bleeding to ensure your safety, and dying to advance your glory. The names of the proscribed appear in the honourable memorials of every Gazette, to shame the proscription that robs them of nobler distinction, and you of greater strength. This is no new objection. I remember when it was contended, that Irishmen could not bear allegiance to an English government.—I remember when it was contended that no Irishman could feel attachment towards a Prince of the House of Hanover: but time has done with prejudice, what reason never could do. Ireland has proved herself capable of long and patient allegiance. The objection has died in its own folly; but folly had still other objections to generate and to destroy—the power of the Pope was called in, and made to teem with phantoms against the peace of Protestantism. Ireland, said these reasoners, can never amalgamate with England, because of her acknowledgment of a foreign temporal supremacy, that can at any time arbitrarily interfere with her allegiance to a Protestant king. This has been doubly falsified—falsified by reasoning that proves it never could be so, falsified by fact, that shews it never has been so: if it had been so, Europe could not have existed for a year—the great fountains of social in-

tercourse must have been broken up, and a moral deluge have covered the face of the nations; all the communities of the christian world must have crumbled into the ruins of one great moral dissolution: but the objection has been answered; answered with a solemnity that nothing but the horror of its own virulence could have rendered necessary; it has been answered by six universities, Paris, Louvain, Douay, Salamanca, Padua, Valladolid; each and all denied the power of the Pope, the dispensing power; each and all affirmed, that every Catholic was bound irrevocably by his oath; this was their answer, and they gave it with all horror of the low, uncharitable, and dark suspicion that could have suggested the bad doubt that required it. There is another answer, the oath which your own Acts of Parliament have required of them. There is yet another, the acknowledgment of their steady faith and unwavering allegiance in the preambles of your own acts. There is still another, your votes of thanks: there was strong fact against weak sophistry. You have voted thanks year after year to armies composed of Catholics, for victories won by the aid of Catholics! What are all these? Verdicts, so many verdicts, verdicts of acquittal; verdicts found by their accusers. There then stood the legislature, with the penal code in one hand, and honorable acquittal in the other; the one gratefully proclaimed, but the other superstitiously and iniquitously adhered to—but the innocence and the merits of the Catholics had now another sanction in evidence, less interested and more decisive—this evidence was negatively as well as positively strong—they had first strong negative testimony: Where, I ask, where are those Protestant petitions against their claims, which we were told would have by this time, borne down your table? We were told in the confident tone of prophecy, that England would have poured in her petitions from all counties, towns, and corporations, against the claims of Ireland; I ask, where are those petitions? has London, her mighty capital, has the university of Dublin, mocked the calamities of your country, by petitioning in favour of those prejudices that would render us less able to redress them? Have the people of England raised a voice against their Catholic fellow-subjects? No; they have the wisdom to see the folly of robbing the Empire, at such a time, of one-fourth of its strength on account of speculative doctrines of faith. They will not risk a kingdom on account of old men's dreams about the prevalence of the Pope. They will not sacrifice an empire because they dislike the sacrifice of the Mass. The Church too has acted with the same wisdom that the people

have, and with a decency worthy her sacred office. We have not seen the ecclesiastical horn raised to gather together the materials of tumult—we have not heard it sounded so as to thrill through the whole sphere of religious prejudice, and rouse it from the centre to the circumference. We no longer see the pulpits of peace hung with the emblems and banners of division—or hear from them the thunders of polemical divinity. We no longer witness the procession of a set of dull divines to proclaim their zeal for the Church in their animosity to the Constitution, and their meek attachment to their own faith, in their damnation of every other. I say then England is not against us. She has put ten thousand signatures upon your table in our favour. And what says the Protestant interest in Ireland? Look at their petition—examine the names—the houses—the families—Look at the list of merchants—of divines. Look, in a word, at Protestant Ireland calling to you in a warning voice—telling you that if you are resolved to go on till ruin breaks with a fearful surprise upon your progress, they will go on with you—they must partake your danger though they will not share your guilt.

Ireland with her Imperial Crown, now stands before you. You have taken from her her Parliament, and she appears in her own person at your bar. Will you dismiss a kingdom without a hearing? Is this your answer to her zeal, to her faith, to the blood that has so profusely graced your march to victory—to the treasures that have decked your strength in peace? Is her name nothing—her fate indifferent—her contributions insignificant—her six millions revenue—her ten millions trade—her two millions absentee—her four millions loan? Is such a country not worth a hearing? Will you, can you dismiss her abruptly from your bar? You cannot do it—the instinct of England is against it—we may be outnumbered now and again—but in calculating the amount of the real sentiments of the people—the cyphers that swell the evanescent majorities of an evanescent Minister, go for nothing.

Can Ireland forget the memorable era of 1788? Can others forget the munificent hospitality with which she then freely gave to her chosen hope all that she had to give? Can Ireland forget the spontaneous and glowing cordiality with which her favours were then received! Never! Never!

* Alluding to the Regency—then Ireland offered a power without restraint to the Prince of Wales, which the British Parliament had fettered.

Irishmen grew justly proud in the consciousness of being subjects of a gracious predilection—a predilection that required no apology, and called for no renunciation—a predilection that did equal honor to him who felt it, and to those who were the objects of it. It laid the grounds of a great and fervent hope—all a nation's wishes crowding to a point, and looking forward to one event as the GREAT COMING at which every wound was to be healed, every tear to be wiped away—the hope of that hour beamed with a cheering warmth and a seductive brilliancy. Ireland followed it with all her heart—a leading light through the wilderness, and brighter in its gloom. She followed it over a wide and barren waste; it has charmed her through the desert, and now that it has led her to the confines of light and darkness, now that she is on the borders of the promised land, is the prospect to be suddenly obscured, and the fair vision of *Princely Faith* to vanish for ever?—I will not believe it—I require an act of Parliament to vouch its credibility—nay more, I demand a miracle to convince me that it is possible!—So much for one disappointment—if you bid Ireland despair—there is another, the Union. I speak not of the precise form of words according to which Ireland covenanted away her independence—but I say this, that had it not been for the expectation of the removal of all religious disqualifications, Ireland would now have her resident Parliament—Ireland knows this. England cannot doubt it. I come, therefore, to an honourable nation, not to exact the letter of the bond, but the spirit of the covenant—you got their Parliament, because they thought you would grant them their rights in exchange—character in trade is wealth, it is strength in politics—in arms it is the glory that is invincible. The name of England has won victories in foreign cabinets—act up to the principle that made the mention of you formidable abroad, and you may long be England—if you refuse, you dissolve the union—you destroy the principles of incorporation—a form of words cannot unite where facts substantially dis sever—the two countries have been formally united, but has the mere force of form kept them together? No, the union has been kept together by expectancy, and must be dissolved by despair—two nations cannot exist together in one union of mere Parliament and power, from which the people of both countries are excluded—We have a union of Parliament—we have a union of Power, but no union of People—it is a union that makes a Parliament more handy to a Minister, but it makes the People nothing—the integrity—the heart of the gigantic

whole that could put forth the hundred arms for our safety, cease to beat—the pulse of life is still—let the Constitution circulate, and we are again an empire. The Irish Catholic asks for rights—the Irish Protestant asks for consolidation—and both ask for the integrity of the empire. On this question Ireland is united. If you refuse—I say dissolve the union—it must end in separation.—There are two kinds of separation—separation in fact, and separation in disposition. You are undone by either. If you will have it so, Ireland must descend into the grave: but depend upon it, that the gorgeous empire of Great Britain must soon follow.—The day on which you decide her doom, you decide your own.—Your common interest is placed in the same balance—throw Ireland out of the scale—weigh England and she will be found wanting. After your folly has thus dug your grave, your historian may easily write your epitaph. “Here lies all that remains of England—England taxed America and lost her—disqualified Ireland and lost her, and then died the death!”

You say you disqualify for general good—I deny it—you cannot make laws God cannot make—God cannot make arbitrary laws.—You have, I admit, a right to regulate the qualification—and why? because you are a trustee for the privilege that qualifies—but you cannot arm the qualification against privilege—you cannot make the qualification destroy the privilege—when you attempt to do so—you exceed your power—you say, you legislate for the general good? what is the modern acceptation of the general good?—the power of the state opposed to the liberties of the people—for here we have the power of a sect labouring to work the eternal deprivation of a people. There are two species of laws—the laws of municipalities—the laws of God—the former, to be good must rest on the principles of the latter—but when you would rest your establishments (as you call them) upon the one end of proscriptive exclusion, the law of nature must prevail, the State will reel to its due centre of gravity, and God will vindicate his own laws—by such laws you exceed your powers, you oppose the Almighty himself, and though you had a host of mitres on your side, you strike God out of the ecclesiastical constitution, and liberty out of the political.—Nomination is the right of the nominator—eligibility is the right of the Commons—you have made the Catholics a part of the Commons of the Empire by your own act, and you cannot deny them the constitutional privileges belonging to the rank you have given them in the Constitution. Nothing in their mere religious creed could be gravely supposed to vitiate their claim. The

State has nothing to do with their seven Sacraments. Excommunications have been spoken of as a formidable power: the parishioner excommunicated has his action against the priest—he actually recovered damages recently in Ireland. But the power of the Pope divides their allegiance! Has it divided their allegiance to any other Catholic country? If it has, why is the Pope whom the Petition from Cambridge describes as enjoying greater power than ever—why is he now a state prisoner in France? If the Pope be great in power, how much greater must be the king of Spain who is also a state prisoner. You are paying twenty millions in support of the war in Spain without any stipulation about the Pope. Why are you not apprehensive that you are fighting for the reversionary interest of France in the Peninsula? Thus did you tread upon this bigotry whenever it stood in your way, and never stooped to raise it, but you would lift it against the claims of your fellow-subjects. You talk of difficulty. I answer, go into the Committee, and all difficulty vanishes. The only solid obstacle to peace at home and strength abroad, are the Ministers themselves. You say you tolerate their religion—I say you punish it. What! am I in an assembly of Englishmen? Is it in a British Parliament that it is doubted whether civil disabilities be a grievance? Is the right of representation nothing? the right of trial by jury nothing? The Irish Catholic has not the right of trial by his Peers—he has not the privilege of a foreigner—of the *mediæ lingue*—tried by a jury of Protestants, packed by a partisan Sheriff. I speak of trials affecting their religious interests. But we were told, that it was ambition of power, not an anxiety for protection. Why, it was ambition—the ambition of a man not to be robbed—of a woman not to be ravished—the ambition of life, liberty, limbs and property. This was the ambition, and what were we to think of his idea of glory, who could call this ambition? We who support, and they who opposed these Petitions, alike call for security. We call for security against civil servitude—against discontent in Ireland, and danger to the Empire. We call for security against the mad policy that would make the British name in Ireland odious—the British faith in Ireland equivocal—that would disincline Ireland of her hopes and policy, the nerve that binds the two countries together. I call upon them to shew the danger. Let them answer this by fact—by argument, and not by sending out a crowd of ghosts and hobgoblins, fears too shadowy to be grasped at. Is there danger in the Eucharist? in the adoration of the Virgin Mary? in the family of the Pretender? in

the temporal power of the Pope? Admit that there were, they are but prospective, and we should still go into the Committee. As to the *Veto*, you might have had it perhaps; but if you let the time go by, at which alone it might have been obtained, you are not to blame those who exhorted you then to take it; above all, think it not for your safety to teach England to distrust Ireland, or Ireland to hate England. If you persuade the wife that her husband hates her, and the husband that he has lost his wife's affections, what becomes of the marriage? I respect the Universities of England even in their errors; I respect, I love, all connected with the city of Dublin; but when they petition for a continuance of the Catholic disabilities, however good their intentions, rely upon it they petition for separation. England has not lent her sanction to this prejudice—I cannot believe she ever will—let her give but her confidence to Ireland, and they may both defy the world.—It will be so—it must be so—this stately empire that stood erect against the shock of the mighty Gaul, and his millions in arms—will never wither and consume away before a phantom—will never fall in pieces at the touch of Harlequin's wand—I will as soon believe that the whole British navy could be swept from the surface of the deep it rules, by the blast of a storm raised by witches!—Let England but be wise, Ireland will be happy, and the empire immortal.

In answer to every thing which had been urged against the admission of Roman-Catholics to the Senate, the Bench and the Army, I will tell the House to ask the Admirals and Generals under whom they have served, for their character; to look into the public papers for the numbers who every day die in the service of their country; to ask how many officers at present lie covered with wounds. Ask their country for their character—ask the noblemen and Gentlemen of Ireland—the Houses of Leinster and Ormond. Ask those men who bear the brunt of the danger, and they will tell you—Don't hazard the safety of Ireland and England on such arguments. I appeal to the English nation—I appeal to Parliament—I appeal to the hospitals now filled with wounded Catholics. I appeal to the fields of Spain and Portugal, drenched with their blood—I appeal to those gallant men who so oft have carried the British thunder triumphant over the waters of the deep—I appeal to you against a policy which invites one half the nation to cut the throats of the other—I appeal to you to guard and protect that country against such a disgusting degradation.—You come down here this day to decide an Irish question, and I will tell you that the whole of

the case may be comprised in one sentence ; you are both ruined unless you unite—and Ireland answers you—We will have our liberties, and our lives are at your service.

Dr. Dodd's Address to the Court before his receiving sentence of Death—1777.

“ My Lord—I now stand before you a dreadful example of human infirmity. I entered upon public life with the expectations common to young men whose education has been liberal, and whose abilities have been flattered : and when I became a clergyman, I considered myself as not impairing the dignity of the order. I was not an idle, nor I hope, an useless minister : I taught the truths of Christianity with the zeal of conviction, and the authority of innocence. My labours were approved—my pulpit became popular ; and, I have reason to believe, that of those who heard me, some have been preserved from sin, and some have been reclaimed.—Condescend, my lord, to think, if these considerations aggravate my crime, how much they must embitter my punishment ! Being distinguished and elevated by the confidence of mankind, I had too much confidence in myself, and thinking my integrity, what others thought it, established in sincerity, and fortified by religion, I did not consider the danger of vanity, nor suspect the deceitfulness of my own heart. The day of conflict came, in which temptation seized and overwhelmed me ! I committed the crime which, I entreat your lordship to believe that my conscience hourly represents to me in its full bulk of mischief and malignity.—Many have been overpowered by temptation, who are now among the penitent in heaven ! To an act now waiting the decision of vindictive justice, I will not presume to oppose the counterbalance of almost thirty years (a great part of the life of man) passed in exciting and exercising charity—in relieving such distresses as I now feel—in administering those consolations which I now want. I will not otherwise extenuate my offence, than by declaring, what I hope will appear to many, and what many circumstances make propable, that I did not intend finally to defraud : nor will it become me to apportion my own punishment, by alleging that my sufferings have been not much less than my guilt. I have fallen from a reputation, which ought to have made me cautious, and from a fortune, which ought to have given me content. I am sunk at once into poverty and scorn : my name and my crime fill the ballads in the streets : the sport of the thoughtless and the tri-

umph of the wicked ! It may seem strange, my lord, that, remembering what I have lately been, I should still wish to continue what I am : but contempt of death, how speciously soever it may mingle with heathen virtues, has nothing in it suitable to christian penitence. Many motives impel me to beg earnestly for life. I feel the natural horror of a violent death, the universal dread of untimely dissolution. I am desirous to recompense the injury I have done to the clergy, to the world, and to religion ; and to efface the scandal of my crime, by the example of my repentance : but, above all, I wish to die with thoughts more composed, and calmer preparation.—The gloom and confusion of a prison, the anxiety of a trial, the horrors of suspense, and the inevitable vicissitudes of passion, leave not the mind in due disposition for the holy exercises of prayer, and self examination.—Let not a little life be denied me, in which I may, by meditation and contrition, prepare myself to stand at the tribunal of Omnipotence, and support the presence of that Judge, who shall distribute to all according to their works—who will receive and pardon the repenting sinner, and from whom the merciful shall obtain mercy ! For these reasons, my lord amidst, shame and misery, I yet wish to live ; and most humbly implore that I may be recommended by your lordship to the clemency of his majesty.”

Speech of Mr. Horne on the Trial of Mr. Barbot, for killing Mr. Mills in a Duel—1753.

“How is the name of honor prostituted ! Can honor be the savage resolution, the brutal fierceness of a revengeful spirit ? True honor is manifested in a steady, uniform train of actions, attended by justice, and directed by prudence. Is this the conduct of the duellist ? will justice support him in robbing the community of an able and useful member ? and in depriving the poor of a benefactor ? will it support him in preparing affliction for the widow’s heart ? in filling the orphan’s eyes with tears ? Will justice acquit him for enlarging the punishment beyond the offence ? will it permit him, for, perhaps, a rash word that may admit of an apology, an unadvised action that may be retrieved, or an injury that may be compensated, to cut off a man before his days be half numbered, and for a temporary fault inflict an endless punishment ? On the other hand, will prudence bear him out in risking an infamous death if he succeeds in the duel ? but if he falls, will it plead his pardon at a more awful tribunal, for rushing into the presence of an offended God ?

“Senseless as this notion of honor is, it unhappily has its advocates among us : but for the prevalence of such a notion, how could the amiable person, whose death has made the solemn business of this day, be lost to his country, his family and his friends ? Would to God that I was a master of words, and it could be indulged to the tenderness of a friend to pay a tribute to his memory ! I might then endeavour to set him full before you in the variety of his excellence ; but as this would be venturing too far, I can only lament that such virtue had not a longer date : that this good man was cut off in the strength of his age, ere half his glass was run : when his heart was projecting and executing schemes to relieve distress ; and by the most surprising acts of beneficence, vindicating the bounty of Providence for heaping wealth upon him.

“Duelling seems to be an unnatural graft upon genuine courage, and the growth of a barbarous age. The polite nations of Greece and Rome knew nothing of it : they reserved their bravery for the enemies of their country, and then were prodigal of their blood. These brave people set Honor up as a guardian genius of the public, to humanise their passions, to preserve their truth unblemished, and to teach them to value life only as useful to their country. The modern heroes dress it up like one of the dæmons of superstition besmeared with blood, and delighting in human sacrifice.”

Speech of Mr. Noland on the passage of the Bill to suppress Duelling in the Virginia legislature.

“MR. SPEAKER—the bill which has been read, is one which claims the serious attention of this house : it is one in which every member of this body, in which every citizen of Virginia is deeply interested. The practice of duelling seems to me but an unnatural graft on genuine courage, growing out of a barbarous age ; for we find that it was first introduced by the Goths and Vandals, during the days of their ignorance and barbarism. The polite and polished nations of Greece and Rome, who were ever prodigal of their blood when in defence of their country’s rights, knew nothing of this detestable practice, which appears to me to be built on an infinity of absurdities : because while it seems to suppose that a man’s honour ought to be dearer to him than his life, it at the same time supposes, that his honor is in the power of every unprincipled villain that can invent or tell a lie, or every careless or ill-bred person that may jostle him

in his way : it supposes that a lie may become true and honourable, provided the person who tells it is willing to fight in support of it; and that any crime whatever may become honourable, by fighting in its defence; it supposes that the man who is covered with guilt, who has wounded the peace of his friend, by staining the character of his wife, or of his daughter, becomes at once an honourable man, by heroically washing out those stains, in the blood of the husband or the father : it farther supposes, that it is better for a man, to be condemned by his own conscience, and by the virtuous and rational part of mankind, than to suffer one moment in the opinion of the advocates for duelling;—finally, that steel and gunpowder are the true diagnostics of innocence and moral excellency. If, sir, having seized the villain who has violated my wife, I should bring him before a tribunal of justice, what would be your opinion of the judge who should order that I, the innocent, injured man, must cast lots with the guilty, which of us must die?—Would not your heart chill at such a sentence? Would not you pronounce it contrary to reason, to common sense and justice? You surely would.—In the case of duelling, the public is the judge. I receive an injury, for which nothing but life can atone, I do not appeal to the public; no, sir, the public officiously interferes and condemns me, under the penalty of perpetual disgrace, to cast lots with the aggressor which of us must die. Was there ever any thing more preposterous! more abominably absurd!

“ It is the opinion of many, sir, that duelling is an evil which will correct itself; while others say, it is of little concern to the rational and virtuous part of mankind, in what manner knaves and fools may think proper to rid the world of each other, as it will not deprive society of one valuable member; but daily experience convinces us, that both these opinions are incorrect; for while the evil is growing to an alarming height, we find that some of our best citizens have exposed their individual lives, while other have fallen victims, to this abominable practice: and will the collected wisdom of this commonwealth make no effort to suppress this sanguinary and growing evil? Will the enlightened legislature of Virginia make no stand against the current of public opinion? I hope—I trust they will. Sir, so long as it is believed that the practice of duelling is sanctioned by public opinion, there is no man, who is anxious to maintain his social standing, can refuse, what is termed an honourable call. No matter how much his moral and religious principles may

be opposed to the practice ; no matter though he may have a wife and children depending on his exertions for their daily bread : no matter how great claims his country may have on his talents, in critical and trying times, he loses sight of all in the dreadful idea of being stigmatised as a coward—*Pejusque letho flagitium timet*—he seizes the fatal weapon—he marches to the combat, receives the mortal wound, and leaves a disconsolate widow and a number of helpless orphans to mourn their irreparable loss. This, sir, is not fancy, these are scenes that frequently, very frequently, pass in review before us.—Pass this bill, sir, and you put a stop to the evil—pass this bill and you place a shield between the man of feeling and the public opinion—you raise a barrier in the road to honor and preferment, at which the ambitious man will pause and reflect ere he rashly engages in a duel—pass this bill and I will venture to predict, that you will preserve the lives of many, very many valuable citizens.—Had a similar law passed at your last session, Mr. Speaker, it would have been attended with the best of consequences—We should not now be lamenting the loss of a Pope, a Hooe, and a Smith—On us in part rests the blame of robbing society of those able and useful members—on us, sir, in part, rests the blame of preparing affliction for the widow's heart, of filling the orphan's eye with tears, and bringing trouble and misfortune on numerous relatives. As fathers then, as brothers, as men and as legislators, I call on this house to suppress an evil which strikes at you in all these tender relations—I call on you to raise your hands against a crime, the disgrace of the land and the scourge of our peace—I call on you to set an example worthy of yourselves and of those you represent ; and should this bill not have the desired effect, you will enjoy the consolation of having performed your duty. Before I sit down, I give notice, I shall call for the ayes and noes. I am anxious to have my name recorded on this question—I wish to enter my protest against duelling. There are some gentlemen, Mr. Speaker, far be it from me to insinuate that there are any in this assembly, who though opposed to the principle of duelling, do not wish to proclaim their sentiments to the world, lest they should be suspected of a want of fortitude ; I sir, have no such fears : for I never did suppose the fighting of a duel a mark of fortitude—No, sir, true fortitude is a cardinal virtue, depending on, and inseparable from other virtues—it is that firm manly intrepidity of soul, which enables us to meet danger in critical and trying situations—it is the virtuous man's shield, by which he de-

fends himself from the evils of the world—it is the anchor which keeps him steady amidst the storms and hurricanes of life. The intrepidity or courage of a duellist, although it seems to imitate, cannot be said to be a virtue; because it is not the object of moral virtue.”

Extract from a Speech of Lord Stanhope on Neutral Rights.

MY LORDS,—I rise to bring forward the motion of which I have given previous notice, respecting a resolution that all independent nations should be treated upon the principle of perfect equality and complete reciprocity. In proposing this resolution to the house, I have not merely in my eye the circumstances in which we now stand, with regard to America: The principle to which I allude should in my opinion, be extended to all states and nations indiscriminately, and I feel the most sanguine hope that the right honourable members of this house are prepared to give it that due attention which its urgency requires and which Great Britain demands. In the first place, my lords, I cannot help noticing the absence of ministers on this important occasion: but I have already had occasion to observe, that they seem anxious to avoid all discussion on this topic. I will not say that their conduct is imprudent: but whatever it may be, I feel it incumbent on me to express my sentiments, when the voice of such an important and imperious duty calls upon me to express them. I must therefore, my lords, most earnestly deprecate a war with America, and I trust the house will as earnestly unite with me in deprecating that dreadful calamity, when they duly consider the many difficulties and dangers with which we are already beset. The right honourable members of this house must recollect, that in times of scarcity, our principal relief was derived first from Poland, next from America. Poland is now shut against us by the influence of our enemy, and shall we also shut against us the ports of America by our own folly! If, my lords, the ministers are bent on this dreadful alternative, it needs not the spirit of prophecy, neither need we turn over the leaves of fate's eventful volume, to know what will be the consequence. If the Baltic is closed against you, if by the frantic and transient energy of intoxicated rage, you should shut the ports of America on your commerce, whence are you to derive materials and stores for your naval arsenals, if the north of Europe and North America, are to refuse us these supplies. Do you not, my lords, plainly discover, for I trust you have

not yet to learn, that your enemy has been carrying on a war against your finances and resources. To what seas will you waft your commerce; from whence will your resources be derived, what will become of the greatness and security of England, when our navy, the source of our pride, the source of our strength and wealth is gone? Are not these serious considerations? Do they not demand your most serious attention? Do they not require your cool and candid discussion? Where is the minister—who is the minister that will dare to pollute the ear of majesty with the name of war with America? Why are they not here this day to answer for themselves; to point out to us their future resources? I will now only remark, that as all individuals, whether high or low, poor or rich, are the same in the eye of Almighty God; so nations, whether extremely powerful or weak, whether opulent or poor, should be the same in the contemplation of the law of nations. This then, my lords, is the principle upon which my mind rests, and upon which I ground the resolution I have now to move, and as I have the pleasing satisfaction to see every attention paid to the few serious and searching remarks that I have just made—I move, my lords, that this day, in the presence of God and man, it be resolved that the principle upon which we shall act towards independent nations at peace with the British government, shall be a principle of perfect equality and complete reciprocity.

Extract from the Speech of William Livingston, Esq. Governor of New Jersey, to the Council, and General Assembly of the State.

Gentlemen—Conceiving it my duty to state my sentiments on the present situation of affairs, between Great Britain and America, you will excuse my giving you the trouble of attending for that purpose.

After deploring with you the desolation spread through part of this state, by an unrelenting enemy, who have marked their progress with a devastation unknown to civilised nations; I congratulate you on the success against them at Trenton, and the victory obtained at Princeton, by the gallant troops under Washington.

The disgust they have given to their own confederates amongst us, by their ravages, has enabled us to distinguish our friends from our enemies. It has opened the eyes of those who were made to believe that abetting our perse-

cutors, would exempt them from the common calamity. But as the rapacity of the enemy was boundless, their rapine was indiscriminate, and their barbarity unparalleled. They have plundered friends and foes. Effects capable of division, they have divided; such as were not, they have destroyed. They have warred upon decrepid age and defenceless youth.

They have committed hostilities against the professors of literature, and the ministers of religion; against public records, and private monuments; against books of improvement, and papers of curiosity; and against the arts and sciences. They have butchered the wounded, asking for quarters; mangled the dying, weltering in their blood: refused the dead the rights of sepulture; suffered prisoners to perish for want of sustenance; violated the chastity of women; disfigured private dwellings of taste and elegance; and in the rage of impiety and barbarism, profaned edifices dedicated to Almighty God!

Yet there are some among us, who, deluded by insidious propositions,—are aiding their machinations to deprive us of that liberty, without which man is a beast, and government a curse.

Besides the baseness of wishing to rise on the ruin of our country; or to acquire riches at the expense of the liberties and fortunes of our fellow-citizens, how soon would those delusive dreams, upon the conquest of America, be turned into disappointment. Instead of gratuities, these unhappy accomplices in tyranny, would meet with cold disdain; and, be finally told by their haughty masters, that they approved of the treason, but despised the traitor.

Even the author of this horrid war is incapable of concealing his own confusion and distress. Too great to be wholly suppressed, it frequently discovers itself in his speeches, breathing threatenings, and betraying terror; a motley mixture of magnanimity and consternation; of grandeur and abasement: with troops invincible, he dreads a defeat, and wants reinforcements; victorious in America, and triumphant on the ocean, he is an humble dependant on a petty prince; and with full confidence in the friendship and alliance of France, he trembles at her secret designs, and open preparations.

With all this we ought to contrast the numerous and hardy sons of America, inured to toil; seasoned alike to heat and cold; hale, robust, patient of fatigue; and from an ardent love of liberty ready to face danger and death.

Their remarkable unanimity, with the exception of a few apostates and deserters : their unshaken resolution to maintain their freedom, or perish in the attempt ; the fertility of our soil ; our inexhaustible internal resources ; our economy in public expenses ; add to this, that in a cause so just we have the highest reason to expect the blessing of Heaven upon our glorious conflict.

For who can doubt the interposition of the Supremely Just, in favour of a people forced to arms, in defence of every thing dear, against a nation deaf to our complaints, rejoicing in our misery, wantonly aggravating our oppressions, determined to divide our substance, and by fire and sword to compel into submission.

Let us, however, not presumptuously rely on the interposition of Providence, without those efforts which it is our duty to exert.

Let us remember our plighted faith and honour to maintain the cause with our lives and fortunes. Let those in distinguished stations use all their influence to rouse the supine ; animate the irresolute ; confirm the wavering, and draw from his lurking hole the skulking neutral, who, leaving to others the heat and burden of the day, means, in the final result, to reap the fruits of that victory, for which he will not contend.

Let us be peculiarly assiduous in bringing the condign punishment, those patricides who have been openly active against their native country ; and may we in all proceedings, be directed by the great Arbitrator of the fate of nations, by whom empires rise and fall, and who will in due time avenge an injured people on their unfeeling oppressor and his bloody instruments.

*Oration of Robert Emmett to Lord Norbury and the Judges
before whom he was tried for Treason.*

My Lords—You ask me what I have to say, why sentence of death should not be pronounced on me, according to law ? I have nothing to say which can alter your predeterminations, nor that it will become me to say with any view to the mitigation of that sentence, which you are here to pronounce, and I must abide by. But I have that to say, which interests me more than life, and which you have laboured (as was necessarily your office in the present circumstances of this oppressed country) to destroy—I have much to say why

my reputation should be rescued from the load of false accusations and calumny which have been heaped upon it. I do not imagine, that seated where you are, your minds can be so free from impurity, as to receive the least impression from what I am going to utter; I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of a court constituted and trammelled as this is; I only wish, and it is the utmost I can expect, that your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories, untainted by the foul breath of prejudice, until it finds some more hospitable harbour to shelter it from the storm, by which it is at present buffeted. Was I only to suffer death after being adjudged guilty by your tribunal, I should bow in silence, and meet the fate that awaits me without a murmur; but the sentence of the law which delivers my body to the executioner, will, through the ministry of that law, labour in its own vindication, to consign my character to obloquy; for there must be guilt somewhere; whether in the sentence of the court, or in the catastrophe, posterity must determine. A man in my situation, my lords, has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, and the force of power over minds which it has corrupted or subjugated, but the difficulties of established prejudice—the man dies, but his memory lives: that mine may not perish, that it may live in the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. When my spirit shall be wafted to a more friendly port: when my shade shall have joined the bands of those martyred heroes, who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field, in defence of their country and of virtue, this is my hope, I wish that my memory and name may animate those who survive me, while I look down with complacency on the destruction of that perfidious government, which upholds its domination by blasphemy of the Most High; which displays its power over man, as over the beasts of the forest; which sets man upon his brother, and lifts his hand in the name of God against the throat of his fellow, who believes or doubts a little more, or a little less than the government standard; a government, which is steel-ed to barbarity, by the cries of the orphans and the tears of the widows which it has made.

(Lord Norbury here interrupted Mr. Emmett, saying that the mean and wicked enthusiasts who felt as he did, were not equal to the accomplishment of their wild designs.)

I appeal to the immaculate God—I swear by the throne of Heaven, before which I must shortly appear; by the blood of

the murdered patriots who have gone before me ; that my conduct has been, through all this peril, and through all my purposes, governed only by the convictions which I have uttered, and by no other view than that of the cure, and the emancipation of my country from the superinhuman oppression, under which she has too long and too patiently groaned ; and that I confidently and assuredly hope, that wild and chimerical as it may appear, there is still union and strength in Ireland to accomplish this noblest enterprise—Of this I speak with the confidence of intimate knowledge, and with the consolation that appertains to that confidence. Think not, my lords, I say this for the petty gratification of giving you a transitory uneasiness ; a man who never yet raised his voice to assert a lie, will not hazard his character with posterity, by asserting a falsehood on a subject so important to his country, and on an occasion like this.

Yes, my lords, a man who does not wish to have his epitaph written until his country is liberated, will not leave a weapon in the power of envy to impeach the probity which he means to preserve even in the grave to which tyranny consigns him. (*Here he was again interrupted by the court.*) Again I say, that what I have spoken, was not intended for your lordship, whose situation I commiserate rather than envy—My expressions were for my countrymen ; if there is a true Irishman present, let my last words cheer him in the hour of his affliction. (*Here he was again interrupted ; Lord Norbury said he did not sit there to hear treason.*) I have always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law ; I have also understood that judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience, and to speak with humanity ; to exhort the victim of the laws, and to offer with tender benignity his opinions of the motives by which he was actuated, in the crime of which he had been found guilty : That a judge has thought it his duty so to have done, I have no doubt—but where is the boasted freedom of your institutions,—where is the vaunted impartiality, clemency and mildness of your courts of justice if an unfortunate prisoner, whom your policy, and not justice, is about to deliver into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the principles by which he was actuated. My lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice, to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the purposed ignominy of the scaffold ; but worse to me than the purposed shame of the scaffold's terrors would be

the tame endurance of charges and imputations laid against me in this court : You, my lord, are a judge, I am the supposed culprit ; I am a man, you are a man also ! by a revolution of power, we might change places ; though we never could change characters ! If I stand at the bar of this court and dare not vindicate my character, what a farce is your justice ! If I stand at this bar, and dare not vindicate it, how dare you calumniate it ? Does the sentence of death, which your policy inflicts on my body, also condemn my tongue to silence, and my reputation to reproach ? Your executioner may abridge the period of my existence ; but while I exist I shall not cease to vindicate my character and motives from your aspersions ; and as a man to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in doing justice to that reputation which is to live after me, and which is the only legacy I can leave to those I honour and love, and for whom I am proud to perish.

As men, my lord, we must appear on the great day, at one common tribunal, and it will then remain for the Searcher of all hearts to shew a collective universe, who was engaged in the most virtuous actions, or attached by the purest motives. (*Here he was interrupted, and told to listen to the sentence of the law.*)

My lord, will a dying man be denied the legal privilege of exculpating himself in the eyes of the community, of an undeserved reproach thrown upon him during his trial, by charging him with ambition, and attempting to cast away, for a paltry consideration, the liberties of his country ? Why did your lordship insult me ! Or rather, why insult justice, in demanding of me, why sentence of death should not be pronounced ? I know, my lord, that form prescribes that you should ask the question, the form also presumes a right of answering. This, no doubt, may be dispensed with, and so might the whole ceremony of the trial, since sentence was already pronounced at the Castle before your jury was impannelled ; your lordships are but the priests of the oracle, and I submit ; but I insist on the whole of the forms. I am charged with being an emissary of France ! An emissary of France ! And for what end ? It is alleged that I wished to sell the independence of my country ! And for what end ?— Was this the object of my ambition ? And is this the mode by which a tribunal of justice reconciles contradictions ? No, I am no emissary ; and my ambition was to hold a place among the deliverers of my country, not in power, nor in profit, but in the glory of the achievement ! Sell my coun-

try's independence to France ! And for what ? Was it for a change of masters ? No ! but for ambition ! O, my country, was it personal ambition that could influence me ? had it been the soul of my actions, could I not by my education and fortune, by the rank and consideration of my family, have placed myself among the proudest of my oppressors ? My country was my idol ; to it I sacrificed every selfish, every endearing sentiment ; and for it, I now offer up my life—O, God. No, my lord, I acted as an Irishman, determined on delivering my country from the yoke of a foreign and unrelenting tyrant, from a crimson and bloody tyranny, and from the more galling yoke of a domestic faction, which is joint partner and perpetrator in the patricide for the ignominy of existing with an exterior of splendor, and a conscious depravity. It was the wish of my heart to extricate my country from this doubly rivetted despotism.—I wished to place her independence beyond the reach of any power on earth ; I wished to exalt her to that proud station in the world.—Connection with France was indeed intended ; but only as far as our mutual interests would sanction and require ; were they to assume any authority inconsistent with the purest independence, it would be the signal for their destruction ; we sought aid, and we sought it as we had assurances we should obtain it ; as auxiliaries in war and allies in peace. Were the French to come as invaders or enemies ; uninvited by the wishes of the people ; I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes, my countrymen, I should advise you to meet them upon the beach, with a sword in one hand, and a torch in the other ; I would meet them with all the destructive fury of war ; and I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats, before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last intrenchment of liberty should be my grave. What I could not do myself, if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish, because I should feel conscious, that life any more than death, is unprofitable, when a foreign nation holds my country in subjection. But it was not as an enemy, that the succours of France were to land : I looked, indeed, for the assistance of France, but I wished to prove to France and to the world, that Irishmen deserve to be assisted ; that they were indignant at slavery, and ready to assert the independence and liberty of their country. I wished to procure for my country the guarantee, which

Washington procured for America. To procure an aid, which, by its example, would be as important as its valor, disciplined and gallant, pregnant with science and with experience; who would perceive the good, and polish the rough points of our character; they would come to us as strangers, and leave us as friends, after sharing our perils and alleviating our burdens—These were my objects, not to receive new task-masters, but to expel old tyrants; these were my views: and these only became Irishmen. I know your most implacable enemies are in the bosom of your country. I have been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country, as to be considered the key-stone of the combination of Irishmen, or as your lordship expresses it, “the life and blood of the conspiracy.” You do me honor over much, you have given to the subaltern, all the credit of a superior; there are men engaged in this conspiracy, who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conceptions of yourself, my lord; men, before the splendour of whose virtues and genius, I should bow with respectful deference, and who would think themselves dishonoured to be called your friend; who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand.

Speech delivered by Jacob Henry, in the Legislature of North Carolina, on a motion to vacate his seat, he being a Jew.

Mr. Speaker—Though I will not conceal the surprise I felt that the gentleman should have thought proper yesterday to have moved my expulsion from this house, on the alleged grounds that I “disbelieve in the divine authority of the New Testament,” without considering himself bound by those rules of politeness, which, according to my sense of propriety, should have led him to give me some previous intimation of his design; yet since I am brought to the discussion, I feel prepared to meet the object of his resolution.

I certainly, Mr. Speaker, know not the design of the declaration of Rights made by the people of this state in the year '76, if it was not to consecrate certain great and fundamental Rights and Principles, which even the Constitution cannot impair: For the 44th section of the latter instrument declares that the declaration of rights ought never to be violated on any pretence whatever—If there is any apparent difference between the two instruments they ought if possible to be re-

conciled. But if there is a final repugnance between them, the declaration of rights must be considered paramount: For I believe that it is to the Constitution, as the Constitution is to a Law: it controuls and directs it absolutely and conclusively. If then a belief in the Protestant religion is required by the Constitution to qualify a man for a seat in this House, and such qualification is dispensed with by the declaration of Rights, the provision of the Constitution must be altogether inoperative, as the language of the Bill of Rights is 'that all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own Conscience.' It is undoubtedly a natural right, and when it is declared to be an unalienable one, by the people in their sovereign and original capacity, any attempt to alienate it either by the Constitution or by law, must be vain and fruitless. It is difficult to conceive how such a provision crept into the Constitution unless it was from the difficulty the human mind feels in suddenly emancipating itself from fetters by which it has long been enchained: If a man should hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State, I do not hesitate to pronounce that he should be excluded from the public councils of the same; and I trust if I know myself, no one would be more ready to aid and assist than myself. But I should really be at a loss to specify any known religious principles which are thus dangerous. It is surely a question between a man and his Maker, and requires more than human attributes to pronounce which of the numerous sects prevailing in the world is most acceptable to the Deity. If a man fulfils the duties of that religion, which his education or his conscience has pointed to him as the true one, no person, I hold, in this our land of liberty has a right to arraign him at the bar of any inquisition—And the day I trust is long past when principles merely speculative were propagated by force, when the sincere and pious were made victims, and the light-minded bribed into hypocrites.

The proud monuments of liberty knew that the purest homage man could render to the Almighty was in the sacrifice of his passions, and in the performance of his duties: that the Ruler of the universe would receive with equal benignity, the various offerings of man's adoration, if they proceeded from an humble spirit and sincere mind; that intolerance in matters of faith, had been from the earliest ages of the world, the severest torments by which mankind could be afflicted; and that governments were only concerned about the actions and conduct of man, and not his speculative notions. Who

among us feels himself so exalted above his fellows, as to have a right to dictate to them his mode of belief? Shall this free country set an example of persecution, which even the returning reason of enslaved Europe would not submit to? Will you bind the conscience in chains, and fasten conviction upon the mind, in spite of the conclusions of reason, and of those ties and habitudes which are blended with every pulsation of the heart? Are you prepared to plunge at once from the sublime heights of moral legislation, into the dark and gloomy caverns of superstitious ignorance? Will you drive from your shores and from the shelter of your constitutions, all who do not lay their oblations on the same altar, observe the same ritual, and subscribe to the same dogmas? If so, which amongst the various sects into which we are divided, shall be the favoured one? I should insult the understanding of this house to suppose it possible that they could ever assent to such absurdities. For all know that persecution in all its shapes and modifications, is contrary to the genius of our government, and the spirit of our laws; and that it can never produce any other effect, than to render men hypocrites or martyrs. When Charles the 5th, Emperor of Germany, tired of the cares of government, resigned his crown to his son, he retired to a *monastery*, where he amused the evening of his life in regulating the movements of watches, endeavouring to make them keep the same time, but not being able to make any two go exactly alike; it led him to reflect upon the folly and crimes he had committed, in attempting the impossibility of making men think alike!

Nothing is more easily demonstrated than that the conduct alone is the subject of human laws, and that man ought to suffer civil disqualification for what he does, and not for what he thinks. The mind can receive laws only from Him of whose divine essence it is a portion: He alone can punish disobedience; for who else can know its movements, or estimate their merits? The religion I profess, inculcates every duty which man owes to his fellow men; it enjoins upon its votaries the practice of every virtue, and the detestation of every vice; it teaches them to hope for the favour of Heaven exactly in proportion as their lives are directed by just, honourable and beneficent maxims.—This then, gentlemen, is my creed; it was impressed upon my infant mind, it has been the director of my youth, the monitor of my manhood, and will I trust be the consolation of my old age. At any rate, Mr. Speaker, I am sure that you cannot see any thing in this religion, to deprive me of my seat in this House. So far as

relates to my life and conduct, the examination of these I submit with cheerfulness to your candid and liberal construction. What may be the religion of him who made this objection against me, or whether he has any religion or not I am unable to say. I have never considered it my duty to pry into the belief of other members of this house, if their actions are upright and their conduct just, the rest is for their own consideration, not for mine. I do not seek to make converts to my faith, whatever it may be esteemed in the eyes of my officious friend, nor do I exclude any man from my esteem or friendship, because he and I differ in that respect—The same charity therefore it is not unreasonable to expect will be extended to myself, because in all things that relate to the state and to the duties of civil life, I am bound by the same obligations with my fellow citizens; nor does any man subscribe more sincerely than myself to the maxim, “whatever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye so even unto them, for such is the Law and the Prophets.”

Speech of General Washington to Congress on accepting his Commission, June 15th, 1775.

“Mr. President—Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust: however, as the congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

“But, lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I, this day, declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with.

“As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire.”

General Washington to the Troops previous to the Battle of Long Island—1776.

“The time is now near at hand, which must probably determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and themselves consigned to a state of wretchedness, from which no human efforts will deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy, leaves us only the choice of a brave resistance, or the most abject submission. We have therefore to resolve to conquer or to die. Our own, our country’s honour, calls upon us for a vigorous and manly exertion; and if we now shamefully fail, we shall become infamous to the whole world. Let us then rely on the goodness of our cause, and the aid of the Supreme Being, in whose hands victory is, to animate and encourage us to great and noble actions. The eyes of all our countrymen are now upon us, and we shall have their blessings and praises, if happily we are the instruments of saving them from the tyranny meditated against them.—Let us therefore animate and encourage each other, and show the whole world that a freeman contending for liberty on his own ground, is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth.

“Liberty, property, life, and honour are all at stake; upon your courage and conduct, rests the hopes of our bleeding and insulted country; our wives, children, and parents, expect safety from us only; and they have every reason to believe that Heaven will crown with success so just a cause.

“The enemy will endeavour to intimidate by show and appearance, but remember they have been repulsed on various occasions by a few brave Americans. Their cause is bad—their men are conscious of it, and if opposed with firmness and coolness on their first onset, with our advantage of works, and knowledge of the ground, the victory is most assuredly ours. Every good soldier will be silent and attentive—wait for orders—and reserve his fire until he is sure of doing execution: of this the officers are to be particularly careful.”

Speech of General Washington to his Troops before attacking the Hessians at Trenton, December, 1776.

My friends, it is not only the liberty of America that depends on your valour and firmness, but what ought to be much more dear to you than your lives, your honour ! Think of the infamy which will attend you through life, not only here but thoguh the whole world, if the campaign closes without some instance that the courage with which you stand to your arms is equal to the justice of the cause which ought to animate your bosoms. For my own part, I will not survive a defeat, if that defeat arises from any inattention to your safety. Wipe out the stains which have been thrown upon your reputations, by seeking an honourable death : and give credit to me, that it will be the only means of meeting victory, life, and honour.

General Orders issued by General Washington, to the Army, Head Quarters, April 18th, 1783.

The commander in chief orders the cessation of hostilities between the United States of America and the king of Great Britain, to be publicly proclaimed to-morrow at twelve o'clock, at the new building : and that the proclamation which will be communicated herewith, be read to-morrow evening at the head of every regiment and corps of the army ; after which the chaplains, with the several brigades, will render thanks to the Almighty God for all his mercies, particularly for his over-ruling the wrath of man to his own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations.

Although the proclamation before alluded to, extends only to the prohibition of hostilities, and not to the annunciation of a general peace, yet it must afford the most rational and sincere satisfaction to every benevolent mind, as it puts a period to a long and doubtful contest, stops the effusion of human blood, opens the prospect to a more splendid scene, and like another morning star, promises the approach of a brighter day than hath hitherto illuminated the western hemisphere. On such a happy day, which is the harbinger of peace, a day which completes the eighth year of the war, it would be ingratitude not to rejoice ; it would be insensibility not to participate in the general felicity.

The commander in chief, far from endeavouring to stifle

the feelings of joy in his own bosom, offers his most cordial congratulations on the occasion to all the officers of every denomination; to all the troops of the United States in general; and in particular to those gallant and persevering men who had resolved to defend the rights of their invaded country, so long as the war should continue. For these are the men who ought to be considered as the pride and boast of the American army; and who crowned with well earned laurels, may soon withdraw from the field of glory to the more tranquil walks of civil life. While the commander in chief recollects the almost infinite variety of scenes through which we have past, with a mixture of pleasure, astonishment, and gratitude; while he contemplates the prospects before us with rapture, he cannot help wishing that all the brave men, of whatever condition they may be, who have shared the toils and dangers of effecting this glorious revolution; of rescuing millions from the hand of oppression, and of laying the foundation of a great empire, might be impressed with a proper idea of the dignified part they have been called to act, under the smiles of Providence, on the stage of human affairs; for happy, thrice happy! shall they be pronounced hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous fabric of freedom and empire on the broad basis of independency; who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature, and established an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions.—The glorious task for which we first flew to arms being accomplished—The liberties of our country being fully acknowledged and firmly secured by the smiles of heaven on the purity of our cause, and the honest exertions of a feeble people determined to be free, against a powerful nation disposed to oppress them; and the character of those who have persevered through every extremity of hardship, suffering, and danger, being immortalised by the illustrious appellation of the *patriot army*; nothing now remains but for the actors of this mighty scene to preserve a perfect unvarying consistency of character through the very last act; to close the drama with applause; and to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men, which have crowned all their former virtuous actions. For this purpose no disorder or licentiousness must be tolerated.—Every considerate and well disposed soldier must remember it will be absolutely necessary to wait with patience until peace shall be declared, or Congress shall be enabled to take proper measures for the security of the public stores, &c.

As soon as these arrangements shall be made, the general is confident, there will be no delay in discharging, with every mark of distinction and honour, all the men inlisted for the war, who will then have faithfully performed their engagements with the public. The general has already interested himself in their behalf, and he thinks he need not repeat the assurance of his disposition to be useful to them on the present, and every other proper occasion. In the mean time, he is determined that no military neglects or excesses shall go unpunished, while he retains the command of the army.

The adjutant-general will have such working parties detached, to assist in making the preparations for a general rejoicing, as the chief engineer of the army shall call for; and the quarter-master-general will, without delay, procure such a number of discharges to be printed as will be sufficient for all the men inlisted for the war—he will please to apply to head quarters for the form. An extra ration of liquor to be issued to every man to-morrow to drink, “Perpetual peace and happiness to the United States of America.”

General Washington's Circular Letter to the Governor of each of the States, dated Head-Quarters, Newburgh, June 18, 1783.

“Sir--The object for which I had the honour to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of Congress, and return to that domestic retirement, which, it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance; a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, in which, (remote from the noise and trouble of the world,) I meditate to pass the remainder of life, in a state of undisturbed repose: but, before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which heaven has been pleased to produce in our favour; to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States; to take my leave of your excellency as a public character; and to give my final blessing to that country, in whose service I have spent the prime of my life; for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights; and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

“ Impressed with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subject of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favourable manner in which it has terminated; we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing. This is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as a source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of light.

“ The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency: they are from this period to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity. Here they are not only surrounded with every thing that can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment; but heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a surer opportunity for political happiness, than any other nation has ever been favoured with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than a recollection of the happy conjecture of times and circumstances, under which our republic assumed its rank among the nations.—The foundation of our empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period. Researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent; the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for us, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government. The free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment; and, above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period, the United States

came into existence as a nation, and if their citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

“Such is our situation, and such are our prospects. But notwithstanding the cup of blessings is thus reached out to us; notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion, and make it our own; yet it appears to me there is an option still left to the United States of America, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation. This is the time of their political probation: this is the moment when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them: this is the time to establish or ruin their national character for ever: this is the favourable moment to give such a tone to the federal government, as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution; or, this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the union, annihilating the cement of the confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one state against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the states shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall; and, by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

“With this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime; I will therefore speak to your excellency the language of freedom and sincerity, without disguise. I am aware, however, those who differ from me in political sentiments may, perhaps, remark, I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty; and they may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation, what I know is alone the result of the purest intention. But the rectitude of my own heart, which disdains such unworthy motives; the part I have hitherto acted in life; the determination I have formed of not taking any share in public business hereafter; the ardent desire I feel, and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government, will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, convince my countrymen, that I could have no sinister views in delivering with so little reserve the opinions contained in this address.

“There are four things which I humbly conceive, are es-

essential to the well being, I may even venture to say to the existence of the United States, as an independent power.

“ 1st. An indissoluble union of the States under one federal head.

“ 2dly. A sacred regard to public justice.

“ 3dly. The adoption of a proper peace establishment.

“ And 4thly. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity; and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

“ These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis—and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country.

“ On the three first articles I will make a few observations; leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

“ Under the first head, although it may not be necessary or proper for me in this place to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the union, and to take up the great question which has been frequently agitated, whether it be expedient and requisite for the states to delegate a larger proportion of power to Congress, or not; yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true patriot, to assert, without reserve, and to insist upon the following positions:—That unless the states will suffer Congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion: That it is indispensable to the happiness of the individual states, that there should be lodged, somewhere, a supreme power to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the union cannot be of long duration: That there must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every state with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue: That whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve this union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independence of America, and the authors of them treated

accordingly. And, lastly, that unless we can be enabled by the concurrence of the states to participate of the fruits of the revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of civil society under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the articles of confederation, it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose ; that so many sufferings have been encountered without a compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain. Many other considerations might here be adduced to prove, that without an entire conformity to the spirit of the union, we cannot exist as an independent power. It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one or two, which seem to me of the greatest importance. It is only in our united character as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America, will have no validity on a dissolution of the union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature ; or we may find, by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny ; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

“ As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, Congress have, in their late address to the United States, almost exhausted the subject ; they have explained their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the states are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors, with so much dignity and energy, that, in my opinion, no real friend to the honour and independency of America can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honourable measures proposed. If their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, especially when we reflect that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable, of any that could be devised ; and that, if it should not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable consequences will take place before any different plan can possibly be proposed or adopted ; so pressing are the present circumstances, and such is the alternative now offered to the states.

“ The ability of the country to discharge the debts which

have been incurred in its defence, is not to be doubted; and inclination, I flatter myself, will not be wanting. The path of our duty is plain before us; honesty will be found, on every experiment, to be the best and only true policy. Let us then, as a nation, be just; let us fulfil the public contracts which congress had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpose of carrying on the war, with the same good faith we suppose ourselves bound to perform our private engagements. In the mean time, let an attention to the cheerful performance of their proper business, as individuals, and as members of society, be earnestly inculcated on the citizens of America; then will they strengthen the hands of government, and be happy under its protection. Every one will reap the fruit of his labours: every one will enjoy his own acquisitions, without molestation and without danger.

“ In this state of absolute freedom and perfect security, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society, and ensure the protection of government? Who does not remember the frequent declarations at the commencement of the war. That we should be completely satisfied, if, at the expese of one half, we could defend the remainder of our possessions! Where is the man to be found, who wishes to remain in debt, for the defence of his own person and property, to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honour and of gratitude! In what part of the continent shall we find any man, or body of men, who would not blush to stand up and propose measures purposely calculated to rob the soldier of his stipend, and the public creditor of his due! And were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice could ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation, and tend to bring down upon the authors of such measures the aggravated vengeance of heaven? If, after all, a spirit of disunion, or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the states; if such an ungracious disposition should attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the union; if there should be a refusal to comply with requisitions for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts; and if that refusal should revive all those jealousies, and produce all those evils, which are now happily removed, Congress, who have in all their transactions shown a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man! and that state alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and

follows such mistaken and pernicious councils, will be responsible for all the consequences.

“For my own part, conscious of having acted while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best suited to promote the real interests of my country ; having in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure pledged myself to the army, that their country would finally do them complete and ample justice ; and not wishing to conceal any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your excellency the enclosed collection of papers, relative to the half-pay and commutation granted by Congress, to the officers of the army. From these communications my decided sentiment will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons which induced me at an early period to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner. As the proceedings of Congress, the army, and myself, are open to all, and contain in my opinion, sufficient information to remove the prejudices and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say any thing more than just to observe, that the resolutions of Congress, now alluded to, are as undoubtedly and absolutely binding upon the United States, as the most solemn acts of confederation or legislation.

“As to the idea which, I am informed, has in some instances prevailed, that the half-pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded for ever ; that provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by Congress, at a time when they had nothing else to give to officers of the army, for services then to be performed. It was the only means to prevent a total dereliction of the service. It was a part of their hire : I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood, and of your independency. It is therefore more than a common debt ; it is a debt of honour ; it can never be considered as a pension, or gratuity, nor cancelled until it is fairly discharged.

“With regard to the distinction between officers and soldiers, it is sufficient that the uniform experience of every nation of the world combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the discrimination. Rewards in proportion to the aid the public draws from them are unquestionably due to all its servants. In some lines, the soldiers have perhaps, generally, had as ample compensation for their services, by the large bounties which have been paid them, as their officers

will receive in the proposed commutation ; in others, if, besides the donation of land, the payment of arrearages of clothing and wages (in which articles all the component parts of the army must be put upon the same footing), we take into the estimate the bounties many of the soldiers have received, and the gratuity of one year's full pay, which is promised to all, possibly their situation, (every circumstance being duly considered) will not be deemed less eligible than that of the officers. Should a farther reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to assert, no man will enjoy greater satisfaction than myself, in an exemption from taxes for a limited time, (which has been petitioned for in some instances) or any other adequate immunity or compensation granted to the brave defenders of their country's cause. But neither the adoption or rejection of this proposition will, in any manner, affect, much less militate against the act of Congress, by which they have offered five years full pay, in lieu of the half-pay for life, which had been before promised to the officers of the army.

“ Before I conclude the subject on public justice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious class of veterans, the non-commissioned officers and privates, who have been discharged for inability in consequence of the resolution of Congress, of the 23d of April, 1782, on an annual pension for life. Their peculiar sufferings, their singular merits and claims to that provision, need only to be known, to interest the feelings of humanity in their behalf. Nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance, can rescue them from the most complicated misery; and nothing could be a more melancholy and distressing sight, than to behold those who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs in the service of their country, without a shelter, without a friend, and without the means of obtaining any of the comforts or necessaries of life, compelled to beg their bread daily from door to door. Suffer me to recommend those of this description, belonging to your state, to the warmest patronage of your excellency and your legislature.

“ It is necessary to say but a few words on the third topic which was proposed, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic—as there can be little doubt but Congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States, in which a due attention will be paid to the importance of placing the militia of the union upon a regular and respectable footing. If this should be the case, I would

beg leave to urge the great advantage of it in the strongest terms.

“ The militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility. It is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States. No one who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expense, and confusion, which result from a contrary system, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

“ If, in treating of political points, a greater latitude than usual has been taken in the course of this address, the importance of the crisis, and the magnitude of the objects in discussion, must be my apology. It is, however, neither my wish nor expectation, that the preceding observations should claim any regard, except so far as they shall appear to be dictated by a good intention, consonant to the immutable rules of justice; calculated to produce a liberal system of policy, and founded on whatever experience may have been acquired, by a long and close attention to public business. Here I might speak with more confidence, from my actual observations; and if it would not swell this letter, (already too prolix,) beyond the bounds I had prescribed myself, I could demonstrate to every mind open to conviction, that in less time, and with much less expense than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent could have been properly called forth; that the distresses and disappointments which have very often occurred, have, in too many instances, resulted more from a want of energy in the continental government, than a deficiency of means in the particular states; that the inefficacy of the measures, arising from the want of an adequate authority in the supreme power, from a partial compliance with the requisitions of Congress in some of the states, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while they tended to damp the zeal of those who were more willing to exert themselves, served also to accumulate the expenses of the war, and to frustrate the best concerted plans; and that the discouragement occasioned by the complicated difficulties and embarrassments, in which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the dissolution of any army, less patient, less virtuous, and less persevering,

than that which I have had the honour to command. But while I mention those things which are notorious facts, as the defects of our federal constitution, particularly in the prosecution of a war, I beg it may be understood, that as I have ever taken a pleasure in gratefully acknowledging the assistance and support I have derived from every class of citizens, so I shall always be happy to do justice to the unparalleled exertions of the individual states, on many interesting occasions.

“ I have thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known, before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me. The task is now accomplished ; I now bid adieu to your excellency, as the chief magistrate of your state ; at the same time I bid a last farewell to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

“ It remains, then, to be my final and only request, that your excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature, at their next meeting ; and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished on all occasions to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it.

“ I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the state over which you preside, in his holy protection ; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government ; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another ; for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large, and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field ; and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of the mind, which were the characteristics of the divine author of our blessed religion ; without an humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ With much esteem and respect,

“ Sir,

“ Your excellency’s most obedient,

“ And most humble servant,

“ GEO : WASHINGTON.”

Speech of General Washington to the Army, on the 15th of March, 1783, in consequence of an anonymous appeal to the Army.

Gentlemen—By an anonymous summons, an attempt has been made to convene you together. How inconsistent with the rules of propriety, how unmilitary and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army decide.

In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was sent into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions than to the reason and judgment of the army. The author of the piece is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen ; and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart ; for, as men see through different optics, and are induced by the reflecting faculties of the mind, to use different means to attain the same end, the author of the address should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion the man who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance, or in other words, who should not think as he thinks, and act as he advises. But he had another plan in view, in which candor and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice and love of country, have no part ; and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicion to effect the blakest designs. That the address is drawn with great art, and is designed to answer the most insidious purposes ; that it is calculated to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice in the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments which must unavoidably flow from such a belief ; that the secret mover of this scheme, whoever he may be, intended to take advantage of the passions, while they were warmed by the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool, deliberative thinking, and that composure of mind which is so necessary to give dignity and stability to measures, is rendered too obvious by the mode of conducting the business, to need other proof than a reference to the proceeding.

Thus much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to shew upon what principles I opposed the irregular and hasty meeting which was proposed to have been held on Tuesday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity consistent with your own honour, and the dignity of the army, to make known your

grievances. If my conduct heterofore has not evinced to you, that I have been a faithful friend to the army, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and improper. But as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country; as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on public duty; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distresses, and not among the last to feel and acknowledge your merits; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army; as my heart has ever expanded with joy when I have heard its praises, and my indignation has arisen when the mouth of detraction has been opened against it, it can scarcely be supposed, at this last stage of the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. But how are they to be promoted? The way is plain, says the anonymous addresser. "If war continues, remove into the unsettled country; there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself."—But who are they to defend? Our wives, our children, our farms and other property which we leave behind us; or, in this state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first, (the latter cannot be removed) to perish in a wilderness with hunger, cold and nakedness? "If peace takes place, never sheath your swords," says he, "until you have obtained full and ample justice." This dreadful alternative of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless Congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it, that humanity revolts at the idea. My God: what can this writer have in view, by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather is he not an insidious foe? Some emissary perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? and what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures, in either alternative, impracticable in their nature? But, here, gentlemen I will drop the curtain, because it would be as imprudent in me to assign my reasons for this opinion, as it would be insulting to your conception to suppose you stood in need of them. A moment's reflection will convince every dispassionate mind of the physical impossibility of carrying either proposal into execution. There might, gentlemen, be an impropriety in my taking notice, in this address to you, of an anonymous production—but the

manner in which that performance has been introduced to the army, the effect it was intended to have, together with some other circumstances, will amply justify my observation on the tendency of that writing.

With respect to the advice given by the author, to suspect the man who shall recommend moderate measures and longer forbearance, I spurn it, as every man who regards that liberty and reveres that justice for which we contend, undoubtedly must; for, if men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us. The freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent, we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter. I cannot, in justice to my own belief, and what I have great reason to conceive is the intention of Congress, conclude this address, without giving it as my decided opinion, that that honourable body entertain exalted sentiments of the services of the army, and from a full conviction of its merits and sufferings, will do it complete justice: That their endeavours to discover and establish funds for this purpose have been unwearied, and will not cease till they have succeeded, I have not a doubt.

But, like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests to reconcile, their determinations are slow. Why then should we distrust them? And in consequence of that distrust, adopt measures which may cast a shade over that glory which has been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which is celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism? And for what is this done? To bring the object we seek nearer? No, most certainly in my opinion, it will cast it at a greater distance. For myself, and I take no merit in giving the assurance, being induced to it from principles of gratitude, veracity and justice, a grateful sense of the confidence you have ever placed in me, a recollection of the cheerful assistance and prompt obedience I have experienced from you, under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army I have so long had the honour to command, will oblige me to declare, in this public and solemn manner, that in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe my country, and those powers we are bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost extent of my abilities.

While I give you these assurances, and pledge myself in

the most unequivocal manner, to exert whatever ability I am possessed of in your favour, let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures, which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained.—Let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress; that, previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all our accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago; and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honour, as you respect the rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country, and who wickedly attempts to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood.

By thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of your enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice. You will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism, and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings: and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind—“had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.”

General Washington to the President of Congress, on resigning his Commission—1783.

“Mr. President,—The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

“Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the

United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

“The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

“While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings, not to acknowledge in this place the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family could have been more fortunate. Permit me, Sir, to recommend in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

“I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

“Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”

The Answer of General Mifflin, the President of Congress, to the foregoing Speech.

“Sir,—The United States in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war.

“Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you.

“You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the ci-

vil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity: you have persevered till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled under a just Providence, to close the war in safety, freedom, and independence; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

“Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world; having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow-citizens: but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command, it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interest of those confidential officers who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

“We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation; and for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved, may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious, and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give.”

Farewel Address of General Washington to the Armies of the United States.

Rocky Hill, near Princeton, November 2, 1783.

The United States in Congress assembled, after giving the most honourable testimony to the merits of the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent, and faithful services, having thought proper, by their proclamation, bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow; which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers, for the information and government of all concerned, it only remains for the commander in chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United

States, (however widely dispersed individuals who compose them, may be,) and to bid them an affectionate—a long farewell.

But before the commander in chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight view of the past:— he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects; of advising the general line of conduct, which, in his opinion, ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the complete attainment, (at a period earlier than could have been expected,) of the object for which we contended, against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The signal interpositions of Providence, in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving; while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses which, in several instances, have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigours of an inclement season: nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs.

Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstance which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness—events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action; nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who that was not a witness, could imagine that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or who that was not on the

spot, can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils ?

It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description : and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained ? In such a republic who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours ? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce, and the cultivation of the soil, will afford to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment, and the extensive and fertile regions of the west, will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and the dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of Congress, and the payment of its just debts, so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must, and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachment to the union, they shall carry with them into civil society the most conciliating disposition, and that they should prove themselves, not less virtuous and useful as citizens, than they have been victorious as soldiers. What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit ; yet, let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct. Let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the United States, has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause. Let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence ; and let a consciousness of their achievements and fame, still excite the men who composed them, to ho-

nourable actions, under the persuasion that the private virtues of economy, prudence, and industry will not be less amiable in civil life than the more splendid qualities of valour, perseverance, and enterprise were in the field. Every one may rest assured, that much, very much of the future happiness of the officers and men, will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And, although the general has so frequently given it, as his own opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal government were properly supported, and the powers of the union increased, the honour, dignity and justice of the nation would be lost forever; yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion, so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier, who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavours to those of his worthy fellow citizens, towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The commander in chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change the military character into that of the citizen, but that steady, decent tenor of behaviour, which has generally distinguished not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and armies, through the course of the war. From their good sense and prudence, he anticipates the happiest consequences; and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under, for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner, to the general officers, as well for their counsels on many interesting occasions, as for their ardour in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted—to the commanders of regiments and corps, and to the other officers for their zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution—to the staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordinary patience and suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action. To the various branches of the army, the general takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship. He wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all

in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done.

And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those who under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed forever.

The Mayor of Alexandria to General Washington, on his leaving that neighbourhood to take on him the office of President of the United States—1789.

“Again your country commands your care. Obedient to its wishes, unmindful of your ease, we see you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement, and this too, at a period of life, when nature itself seems to authorise a preference of repose.

“Not to extol your glory as a soldier; not to pour forth our gratitude for past services; not to acknowledge the justice of the unexampled honor which has been conferred upon you by the spontaneous and unanimous suffrage of three millions of freemen, in your election to the supreme magistracy, nor to admire the patriotism which directs your conduct, do your neighbours and friends now address you. Themes less splendid, but more endearing, impress our minds. The first and best of citizens must leave us; our aged must lose their ornament; our youth their model; our agriculture its improver; our commerce its friend; our infant academy its protector; our poor their benefactor; and the interior navigation of the Potomac, (an event replete with the most extensive utility, already by your unremitting exertions brought into partial use) its institutor and promoter.

“Farewel. Go, and make a grateful people happy—a people who will be doubly grateful when they contemplate this recent sacrifice for their interest.

“To that Being who maketh and unmaketh at his will, we commend you ; and after the accomplishment of the arduous business to which you are called, may he restore to us again the best of men, and the most beloved fellow-citizen.”

General Washington's Answer to the foregoing.

“Gentlemen—Although I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe the painful emotions which I felt, in being called upon to determine whether I would accept or refuse the Presidency of the United States. The unanimity in the choice ; the opinion of my friends communicated from different parts of Europe as well as from America ; the apparent wish of those who were not entirely satisfied with the constitution in its present form, and an ardent desire on my own part to be instrumental in connecting the good will of my countrymen towards each other, have induced an acceptance. Those who know me best, (and you, my fellow-citizens, are, from your situation, in that number,) know better than any others, my love of retirement is so great, that no earthly consideration, short of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution “never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature ;” for at my age, and in my circumstances, what prospects or advantages could I propose to myself from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life ?

“I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations in order to convince you, gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your interests. The whole tenor of my life has been open to your inspection, and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge of my future conduct.

“In the mean time, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bade adieu to my domestic connexions, this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated still farther to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret at parting from the enjoyments of private life.

“All that now remains for me, is to commit myself and you to the protection of that beneficent Being, who, on a former occasion hath happily brought us together, after a long and distressing separation. Perhaps the same gracious

Providence will again indulge me. Unutterable sensations must then be left to more expressive silence, while from an aching heart I bid all my affectionate friends and kind neighbours farewell."

President Washington's Speech to the first Congress, April 30th, 1789.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives :

Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years: A retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if in executing this task I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me: my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act, my fervent supplication to that Almighty Being, who

rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In rendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to pre-
sage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none, under the influence of which, the proceeding of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the president "to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject farther than to refer you to the great constitutional charter under which we are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities will

misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests: so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of a free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affection of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness—between duty and advantage—between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained. And since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps, as finally staked, on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good: For I assure myself, that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impreguably fortified, or the latter be safely and more advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the house of representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the ser-

vice of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty, required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuation in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

President Washington's Speech on opening the third Congress of the United States, December 3d, 1793

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives :

Since the commencement of the term, for which I have been again called to office, no fit occasion has arisen for expressing to my fellow-citizens at large, the deep and respectful sense, which I feel, of the renewed testimony of public approbation. While on the one hand, it awakened my gratitude for all those instances of affectionate partiality, with which I have been honored by my country; on the other, it could not prevent an earnest wish for that retirement, from which no private consideration should ever have torn me. But influenced by the belief, that my conduct would be estimated according to its real motives; and that the people, and the authorities derived from them, would support exertions, having nothing personal for their object, I have obeyed the suffrage which commanded me to resume the executive power and I humbly implore that Being, on whose will the

fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavours for the general happiness.

As soon as the war in Europe had embraced those powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relation, there was reason to apprehend that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace, drawn into question by the suspicions too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed therefore to be a duty to admonish our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties; and to obtain by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our rights to the immunities, belonging to our situation. Under these impressions, the proclamation which will be laid before you was issued.

In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules which should conform to the treaties, and assert the privileges of the United States. These were reduced into a system, which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France to be brought into our ports; I have not refused to cause them to be restored, when they were taken within the protection of our territory; or by vessels commissioned or equipped in a warlike form within the limits of the United States.

It rests with the wisdom of Congress to correct, improve or enforce this plan of procedure, and it will probably be found expedient to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, to many cases which, though dependent on principles already recognised, demand some further provisions.

When individuals shall, within the United States, array themselves in hostility against any of the powers at war; or enter upon military expeditions, or enterprises within the jurisdiction of the United States: or usurp and exercise judicial authority within the United States; or where the penalties on violations of the law of nations may have been indistinctly marked, or are inadequate: these offences cannot receive too early and close an attention, and require prompt and decisive remedies.

Whatsoever those remedies may be, they will be well administered by the judiciary, who possess a long established course of investigation, effectual process, and officers in the habit of executing it. In like manner, as several of the courts have doubted, under particular circumstances, their power to

liberate the vessels of a nation at peace, and even of a citizen of the United States, although seized under a false colour of being hostile property ; and have *denied* their power to liberate certain captures within the protection of our territory ; it would seem proper to regulate their jurisdiction in these points. But if the executive is to be the resort in either of the two last mentioned cases, it is hoped, that he will be authorised by law, to have facts ascertained by the courts, when, for his own information he shall request it.

I cannot recommend to your notice measures for the fulfilment of our duties to the rest of the world, without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defence, and of exacting from *them* the fulfilment of their duties towards *us*. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion, that contrary to the order of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms, with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations ; which will be withheld if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it ; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known, that we are at all times ready for war.

The documents which will be presented to you, will shew the amount and kinds of arms and military stores now in our magazines and arsenals ; and yet an addition even to these supplies cannot with prudence be neglected ; as it would leave nothing to the uncertainty of procuring a warlike apparatus in the moment of public danger. Nor can such arrangements, with such objects, be exposed to the censure or jealousy of the warmest friends of republican government. They are incapable of abuse in the hands of the militia, who ought to possess a pride in being the depository of the force of the republic, and may be trained to a degree of energy, equal to every military exigency of the United States. But it is an inquiry, which cannot be too solemnly pursued, whether the act "more effectually to provide for the national defence by establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States," has organised them so as to produce their full effect ; whether your own experience in the several states has not detected some imperfections in the scheme ; and whether a material feature in an improvement of it, ought not to be to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the military art, which can scarcely ever be attained by the practice alone ?

The connexion of the United States with Europe, has become extremely interesting.—The occurrences which relate to it, and have passed under the knowledge of the Executive, will be exhibited to Congress in a subsequent communication.

When we contemplate the war on our frontiers, it may be truly affirmed that every reasonable effort has been made to adjust the causes of dissension with the Indians, north of the Ohio. The instructions given to the commissioners evince a moderation and equity, proceeding from a sincere love of peace, and a liberality having no restriction but the essential interests and dignity of the United States. The attempt, however, of an amicable negotiation having been frustrated, the troops have marched to act offensively. Although the proposed treaty did not arrest the progress of military preparation, it is doubtful, how far the advance of the season, before good faith justified active movements, may retard them during the remainder of the year. From the papers and intelligence which relate to this important subject, you will determine, whether the deficiency in the number of troops, granted by law, shall be compensated by succours of militia; or additional encouragements shall be proposed to recruits. An anxiety has been also demonstrated by the Executive, for peace with the Creeks and the Cherokees. The former have been relieved with corn and with clothing, and offensive measures against them prohibited, during the recess of Congress. To satisfy the complaints of the latter, prosecutions have been instituted for the violences committed upon them. But the papers which will be delivered to you, disclose the critical footing on which we stand in regard to both those tribes, and it is with Congress to pronounce what shall be done.

After they shall have provided for the present emergency, it will merit their most serious labours, to render tranquillity with the savages, permanent, by creating ties of interest. Next to a rigorous execution of justice on the violators of peace, the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations in behalf of the United States, is most likely to conciliate their attachment. But it ought to be conducted without fraud, without extortion, with constant and plentiful supplies, with a ready market for the commodities of the Indians, and a stated price for what they give in payment, and receive in exchange. Individuals will not pursue such a traffic, unless they be allured by the hope of profit; but it will be enough for the United States to be reimbursed only.—

Should this recommendation accord with the opinion of Congress, they will recollect that it cannot be accomplished by any means yet in the hands of the Executive.

President Washington's Address to the People of the United States, announcing his intention of retiring from Public Service.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuits of inclination in-

compatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety ; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organisation and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious,—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected.—Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing prayers that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine,

the happiness of the people of these states under the auspices of liberty may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his council. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the

rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts of common danger, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north* in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *south* in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted.—The *east*, in a like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home.—The *west* deprives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation—Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and un-

natural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations;—and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.—Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty; in this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire.—Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere?—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorised to hope that a proper organisation of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by *geographical* discriminations—*northern* and *southern*—*atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from

these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of the policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard of the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens.

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management, of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed; adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation; completely free in its principles; in the distribution of its powers uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment; has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish a government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combina-

tions and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and actions of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organise faction ; to give it an artificial and extraordinary force ; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising minority of the community ; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government ; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion : and remember, especially, that from the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, were the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society:

within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of persons and property

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties, in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party, are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country, are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour,

upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands an uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another.—The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers, be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the

oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace; but remembering also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all: religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it! It will be worthy of a free, enlightened,

and at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.—Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest.—Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion, what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another, produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation, of privileges denied to others, which are apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges

are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, (who devote themselves to the favourite nation), facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity: gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils? Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it.—Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other.—Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendship' or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we

may defy material injury from external annoyance: when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantage of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, in a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences: consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard,

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish ; that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations : But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good ; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit ; to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue ; to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism ; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude of your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles that have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me ; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent

institutions, and to progress, without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error; I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realise, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.

United States, September 17th, 1796.

General, now Chief Justice, Marshall's Speech in Congress, announcing the Death of Washington, December, 1799.

Mr. Speaker—The melancholy event which was yesterday announced with doubt, has been rendered but too certain. Our Washington is no more. The hero, the patriot, and the sage of America; the man on whom in times of danger every eye was turned, and all hopes were placed, lives now only in his own great actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and afflicted people.

If, sir, it had even not been usual openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom Heaven has selected as its instruments for dispensing good to man, yet such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents which have marked the life of him whose loss we all deplore, that the whole American nation, impelled by the same feelings, would call with one voice for a public manifestation of that sorrow, which is so deep and so universal.

More than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide spreading empire, and to give to the western world, independence and freedom.

Having effected the great object for which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have seen him convert the sword into the ploughshare, and sink the soldier into the citizen.

When the debility of our federal system had become manifest, and the bonds which connected this vast continent were dissolving, we have seen him the chief of those patriots who formed for us a constitution, which, by preserving the union, will, I trust, substantiate and perpetuate those blessings which our revolution had promised to bestow.

In obedience to the general voice of his country, calling him to preside over a great people, we have seen him once more quit the retirement he loved, and in a season more stormy and tempestuous than war itself, with calm and wise determination, pursue the true interests of the nation, and contribute more than any other could contribute, to the establishment of that system of policy which will, I trust, yet preserve our peace, our honour, and our independence.

Having been twice unanimously chosen the chief magistrate of a free people, we have seen him, at a time when his re-election with universal suffrage could not be doubted, afford to the world a rare instance of moderation, by withdrawing from his station to the peaceful walks of private life.

However the public confidence may change, and the public affections fluctuate with respect to others, with respect to him they have, in war and in peace, in public and in private life, been as steady as his own firm mind, and as constant as his own exalted virtues.

Let us then, Mr. Speaker, pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the grand council of the nation display those sentiments which the nation feels. For this purpose I hold in my hand some resolutions which I take the liberty of offering to the House.

Resolved, That this house will wait on the president, in condolence of this mournful event.

Resolved, That the speaker's chair be shrouded with black, and that the members and officers of the house wear black during the session.

Resolved, That a committee, in conjunction with one from the senate, be appointed, to consider on the most suitable

manner of paying honour to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens.

Extract from Major General Lee's Funeral Oration on the Death of General Washington, delivered before both Houses, at the request of Congress, December 26th, 1799.

In obedience to your will, I rise your humble organ, with the hope of executing a part of the system of public mourning, which you have been pleased to adopt, commemorative of the death of the most illustrious and most beloved personage this country has ever produced ; and which, while it transmits to posterity your sense of the awful event, faintly represents your knowledge of the consummate excellence you so cordially honour.

Desperate indeed is any attempt on earth to meet correspondently this dispensation of heaven ; for, while with pious resignation we submit to the will of an all-gracious Providence, we can never cease lamenting in our finite view of omnipotent wisdom, the heart-rending privation for which our nation weeps. When the civilised world shakes to the centre ; when every moment gives birth to strange and momentous changes ; when our peaceful quarter of the globe, exempt as it happily has been from any share in the slaughter of the human race, may yet be compelled to abandon her pacific policy, and to risk the doleful casualties of war : what limit is there to the extent of our loss ?—None within the reach of my words to express ; none which our feelings will not disavow.

The founder of our federal republic—our bulwark in war, our guide in peace, is no more ! Oh that this were but questionable ! Hope, the comforter of the wretched, would pour into our agonising hearts its balmy dew. But, alas ; there is no hope for us ! Our Washington is removed forever ? Possessing the stoutest frame, and purest mind, he had passed nearly to the age of sixty-eight years, in the enjoyment of high health, when, habituated by his care of us to neglect himself, a slight cold, disregarded, became inconvenient on Friday, oppressive on Saturday, and, defying every medical interposition, before the morning of Sunday, put an end to the best of men ? An end did I say !—his fame survives ! bounded only by the limits of the earth, and by the extent of the human mind. He survives in our hearts, in the grow-

ing knowledge of our children, in the affection of the good throughout the world; and when our monuments shall be done away; when nations now existing shall be no more; when even our young and far spreading empire shall have perished, still will our Washington's glory unfaded shine, and die not, until love of virtue cease on earth, or earth itself sink into chaos.

How, my fellow citizens, shall I single out to your grateful hearts his pre-eminent worth! where shall I begin in opening to your view a character throughout sublime? shall I speak of his warlike achievements, all springing from obedience to his country's will—all directed to his country's good?

Moving in his own orbit, he imparted heat and light to his most distant satellites; and combining the physical and moral force of all within his sphere, with irresistible weight he took his course, commiserating folly, disdaining vice, dismaying treason, and invigorating despondency: until the auspicious hour arrives, when he brought to submission the since conqueror of India; thus finishing his long career of military glory, with a lustre corresponding to his great name, and in this his last act of war, affixing the seal of fate to our nation's birth.

To the horrid din of battle, sweet peace succeeded; and our virtuous chief, mindful only of the common good in a moment tempting personal aggrandisement, hushed the discontents of growing sedition; and, surrendering his power into the hands from which he had received it, converted his sword into a ploughshare, teaching an admiring world, that to be truly great you must be truly good.

Was I to stop here, the picture would be incomplete, and the task imposed, unfinished—Great as was our Washington in war, and as much as did that greatness contribute to produce the American Republic, it is not in war alone his pre-eminence stands conspicuous. His various talents, combining all the capacities of a statesman with those of a soldier, fitted him alike to guide the councils and the armies of our nation. Scarcely had he rested from his martial toils, while his invaluable parental advice was still sounding in our ears, when he who had been our sword and our shield, was called forth to act a less splendid, but more important part.

Possessing a clear and penetrating mind, a sound and strong judgment, calmness and temper for deliberation, with invincible firmness and perseverance in resolutions maturely formed, drawing information from all, acting from himself,

with incorruptible integrity and unvarying patriotism; his own superiority, and the public confidence alike marked him as the man designed by Heaven to lead in the political as well as the military events which have distinguished the era of his life.

The finger of an over-ruling Providence, pointing at Washington, was neither mistaken nor unobserved; when, to realise the vast hopes to which our revolution had given birth, a change of political system became indispensable. How novel, how grand the spectacle! Independent States stretched over an immense territory, and known only by common difficulty, clinging to their union as the rock of their safety; deciding by frank comparison of their relative condition, to rear on that rock, under the guidance of reason, a common government, through whose commanding protection, liberty and order, with their long train of blessings, should be safe to themselves and the sure inheritance of their posterity.

This arduous task devolved on citizens selected by the people, from knowledge of their wisdom, and confidence in their virtue. In this august assembly of sages and patriots, Washington, of course, was found; and, as if acknowledged to be the most wise, where all were wise, with one voice, he was declared their chief. How well he merited this rare distinction, how faithful were the labors of himself and his compatriots, the work of their hands, and our union, strength and prosperity, the fruits of that work best attests.

But to have essentially aided in presenting to his country this consummation of her hopes, neither satisfied the claims of his fellow-citizens on his talents, nor those duties which the possession of those talents imposed. Heaven had not infused into his mind such an uncommon share of its ethereal spirit to remain unemployed, nor bestowed on him his genius, unaccompanied with the corresponding duty of devoting it to the common good. To have framed a constitution, was shewing only, without realising, the general happiness. This great work remained to be done; and America, stedfast in her preference, with one voice summoned her beloved Washington, unpractised as he was in the duties of civil administration, to execute this last act in the completion of the national felicity. Obedient to her call, he assumed that high office with that self-distrust peculiar to his innate modesty, the constant attendant of pre-eminent virtue.

What was the burst of joy through our anxious land on this exhilarating event, is known to us all. The aged, the young,

the brave, the fair, rivalled each other in demonstrations of gratitude ; and this high wrought, delightful scene was heightened in its effect, by the singular contest between the zeal of the bestowers and the avoidance of the receiver of the honors bestowed. Commencing his administration, what heart is not charmed with the recollection of the pure and wise principles announced by himself, as the basis of his political life. He best understood the indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and individual felicity ; watching with equal and comprehensive eye over this great assemblage of communities and interests, he laid the foundation of our national policy in the unerring, immutable principles of morality, based on religion, exemplifying the pre-eminence of a free government, by all the attributes which win the affections of its citizens, or command the respect of the world.

Inaugural Speech of President Adams, March 4th, 1797.

Fellow-Citizens—When it was first perceived, in early times, that no middle course for America remained, between unlimited submission to a foreign legislature, and a total independence of its claims, men of reflection were less apprehensive of danger from the formidable power of fleets and armies they must determine to resist, than from those contests and dissensions which would certainly arise concerning the forms of government to be instituted over the whole and over the parts of this extensive country. Relying, however, on the purity of their intentions, the justice of their cause, and the integrity and intelligence of the people, under an over-ruling Providence, which had so signally protected this country from the first, the representatives of this nation, then consisting of little more than half its present numbers, not only broke to pieces the chains which were forging, and the rod of iron that was lifted up, but frankly cut asunder the ties which had bound them, and launched into an ocean of uncertainty.

The zeal and ardour of the people, during the revolutionary war, supplying the place of government, commanded a degree of order, sufficient at least for the temporary preservation of society. The confederation, which was early felt to be necessary, was prepared from the models of the Batavian and Helvetic confederacies, the only examples which re-

main with any detail and precision in history, and certainly the only ones which the people at large had ever considered. But reflecting on the striking difference, in so many particulars, between this country and those, where a courier may go from the seat of government to the frontier in a single day, it was then certainly foreseen by some who assisted in congress at the formation of it, that it could not be durable.

Negligence of its regulations, inattention to its recommendations, if not disobedience to its authority, not only in individuals but in states, soon appeared, with their melancholy consequences; universal languor, jealousies and rivalries of states; decline of navigation and commerce; discouragement of necessary manufactures; universal fall in the value of lands and their produce; contempt of public and private faith; loss of consideration and credit with foreign nations; and at length, in discontents, animosities, combinations, partial conventions, and insurrections, threatening some great national calamity.

In this dangerous crisis, the people of America were not abandoned, by their usual good sense, presence of mind, resolution or integrity. Measures were pursued to concert a plan, to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. The public disquisitions, discussions, and deliberations ensued in the present happy constitution of government.

Employed in the service of my country abroad, during the whole course of these transactions, I first saw the constitution of the United States in a foreign country. Irritated by no literary altercation, animated by no public debate, heated by no party animosity, I read it with great satisfaction, as a result of good heads, prompted by good hearts; as an experiment, better adapted to the genius, character, situation and relations of this nation and country, than any which had ever been proposed or suggested. In its general principles and great outlines, it was conformable to such a system of government, as I had ever most esteemed, and in some states, my own native state in particular, had contributed to establish. Claiming a right of suffrage, in common with my fellow-citizens, in the adoption or rejection, of a constitution which was to rule me and my posterity, as well as them and theirs, I did not hesitate to express my approbation of it, on all occasions, in public and in private. It was not then, nor has been since, any objection to it, in my mind, that the executive and senate were not more permanent. Nor have I

ever entertained a thought of promoting any alteration in it, but such as the people themselves, in the course of their experience should see and feel to be necessary or expedient and by their representatives in congress and the state legislatures, according to the constitution itself, adopt and ordain.

Returning to the bosom of my country, after a painful separation from it, for ten years, I had the honour to be elected to a station under the new order of things, and I have repeatedly laid myself under the most serious obligations to support the constitution. The operation of it has equalled the most sanguine expectations of its friends; and from an habitual attention to it, satisfaction in its administration, and delight in its effects, upon the peace, order, prosperity and happiness of the nation, I have acquired an habitual attachment to it, and veneration for it.

What other form of government indeed can so well deserve our esteem and love?

There may be little solidity in an ancient idea, that congregations of men into cities and nations, are the most pleasing objects in the sight of superior intelligences; but this is very certain, that to a benevolent human mind, there can be no spectacle presented by any nation, more pleasing, more noble, majestic or august, than an assembly like that which has so often been seen in this and the other chamber of congress, of a government in which the executive authority, as well as that of all the branches of the legislature, are exercised by citizens selected, at regular periods, by their neighbours, to make and execute laws for the general good. Can any thing essential, any thing more than mere ornament and decoration be added to this by robes or diamonds? Can authority be more amiable or respectable, when it descends from accidents, or institutions established in remote antiquity, than when it springs fresh from the hearts and judgments of an honest and enlightened people? For it is the people only that are represented: it is their power and majesty that is reflected, and only for their good, in every legitimate government, under whatever form it may appear. The existence of such a government as ours, for any length of time, is a full proof of a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue through the whole body of the people. And what object or consideration more pleasing than this can be presented to the human mind? If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable, it is when it springs, not from power or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information, and benevolence.

In the midst of these pleasing ideas, we should be unfaithful to ourselves, if we should ever lose sight of the danger to our liberties, if any thing partial or extraneous should infect the purity of our free, fair, virtuous, and independent elections. If an election is to be determined by a majority of a single vote, and that can be procured by a party, through artifice or corruption, the government may be the choice of a party for its own ends, not of the nation, for the national good. If that solitary suffrage can be obtained, by foreign nations, by flattery or menaces, by fraud or violence, by terror, intrigue or venality, the government may not be the choice of the American people, but of foreign nations. It may be foreign nations who govern us, and not we the people, who govern ourselves. And candid men will acknowledge, that in such cases choice would have little advantage to boast of, over lot or chance.

Such is the amiable and interesting system of government, and such are some of the abuses to which it may be exposed, which the people of America have exhibited to the admiration and anxiety of the wise and virtuous of all nations, for eight years, under the administration of a citizen, who, by a long course of great actions, regulated by prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude, conducting a people, inspiring with the same virtues, and animated with the same ardent patriotism and love of liberty, to independence and peace, to increasing wealth and unexampled prosperity, has merited the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, commanded the highest praises of foreign nations, and secured immortal glory with posterity.

In that retirement which is his voluntary choice, may he long live to enjoy the delicious recollection of his services, the gratitude of mankind; the happy fruits of them to himself and the world, which are daily increasing, and that splendid prospect of the future fortunes of his country, which is opening from year to year. His name may be still a rampart, and the knowledge that he lives a bulwark against all open or secret enemies of his country's peace.

This example has been recommended to the imitation of his successors, by both houses of congress, and by the voice of the legislatures and the people throughout the nation.

On this subject it might become me better to be silent or to speak with diffidence; but as something may be expected, the occasion, I hope, will be admitted as an apology, if I venture to say, that

If a preference, upon principle, of a free republican government, formed upon long and serious reflection, after a diligent and impartial inquiry after truth; if an attachment to the constitution of the United States, and a conscientious determination to support it, until it shall be altered by the judgments and wishes of the people, expressed in the mode prescribed in it;—if a respectful attention to the constitutions of the individual states, and a constant caution and delicacy towards the state governments; if an equal and impartial regard to the rights, interests, honour, and happiness of all the states in the union, without preference or regard to a Northern or Southern, an Eastern or Western position, their various political opinions on unessential points, or their personal attachments; if a love of virtuous men of all parties and denominations; if a love of science and letters, and a wish to patronise every rational effort to encourage schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue, and religion among all classes of the people, not only for their benign influence on the happiness of life, in all its stages and classes, and of society in all its forms, but as the only means of preserving our constitution from its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, the spirit of intrigue, the profligacy of corruption, and the pestilence of foreign influence, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments: if a love of equal laws, of justice and humanity, in the interior administration; if an inclination to improve agriculture, commerce and manufactures for necessity, convenience and defence; if a spirit of equity and humanity towards the aboriginal nations of America, and a disposition to meliorate their condition, by inclining them to be more friendly to us, and our citizens to be more friendly to them; if an inflexible determination to maintain peace and inviolable faith, with all nations, and that system of neutrality and impartiality among the belligerent powers of Europe, which has been adopted by this government, and so solemnly sanctioned by both houses of congress, and applauded by the legislatures of the states and the public opinion, until it shall be otherwise ordained by congress; if a personal esteem for the French nation, formed in a residence of seven years, chiefly among them, and a sincere desire to preserve the friendship which has been so much for the honor and interest of both nations; if, while the conscious honor and integrity of the people of America and the internal sentiment of their own power and energies must be preserved, an earnest endeavour to investigate every just cause, and remove

every colourable pretence of complaint ; if an intention to pursue, by amicable negotiation, a reparation for the injuries that have been committed on the commerce of our fellow-citizens by whatever nation ; and if success cannot be obtained, to lay the facts before the legislature, that they may consider, what further measures the honour and interest of the government and its constituents demand ; if a resolution to do justice, as far as may depend upon me, at all times and to all nations, and maintain peace, friendship and benevolence with all the world ; if an unshaken confidence in the honor, spirit, and resources of the American people, on which I have so often hazarded my all, and never been deceived ; if elevated ideas of the high destinies of this country, and of my own duties towards it, founded on a knowledge of the moral principles and intellectual improvements of the people, deeply engraven on my mind in early life, and not obscured but exalted by experience and age ;—and with humble reverence I feel it to be my duty to add, if a veneration for the religion of a people, who profess and call themselves christians, and a fixed resolution to consider a decent respect for christianity, among the best recommendations for the public service, can enable me, in any degree, to comply with your wishes, it shall be my strenuous endeavour that this sagacious injunction of the two houses shall not be without effect.

With this great example before me ; with the sense and spirit, the faith and honour, the duty and interest of the same American people, pledged to support the constitution of the United States, I entertain no doubt of its continuance in all its energy, and my mind is prepared without hesitation, to lay myself under the most solemn obligations to support it, to the utmost of my power.

And may that Being, who is supreme over all, the patron of order, the founder of justice, and the protector, in all ages of the world, of virtuous liberty, continue his blessing upon this nation and its government, and give it all possible success and duration, consistent with the ends of his Providence.

JOHN ADAMS.

Washington, March 4th, 1797.

Inaugural Speech of President Jefferson, March 4th, 1801.

Friends and Fellow Citizens,—Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens,

which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks, for the favour with which they have been pleased to look towards me ; to declare a sincere consciousness, that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments, which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers, so justly inspire.

A rising nation spread over a wide and fruitful land—traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry—engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right—advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye : When I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honour, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country, committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many whom I here see, remind me that in the other high authorities provided by our constitution, I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have past, the animation of discussion, and of exertions, has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers, unused to think freely, and to write what they think : but this being now decided by the voice of the union, announced according to the rules of the constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle—that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable—that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse, that harmony and affection without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect, that having banished from our land, that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions.

During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, —during the agonising spasms of infuriated man, seeking, through blood and slaughter, his long lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows, should reach even this distant and peaceful shore—that this should be more felt and feared by some, and less by others—and should divide opinions as to measures of safety. But every difference of opinion, is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names, brethren of the same principle. We are all **REPUBLICANS**: we are all **FEDERALISTS**. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear a republican government cannot be strong—that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear, that this government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order, as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings, to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us then with courage and confidence, pursue our own federal and republican principles—our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe—too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others—possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation—entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties—to the acquisitions of our own industry—to honour and confidence from our fellow-citizens; resulting not from birth, but from our actions, and their sense of them, enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man—acknowledging and adoring an over-ruling Providence, which, by all its dispensations, proves that it delights in the

happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter—with all these blessings what is more necessary to make us a prosperous and happy people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens, a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another; shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from the mouth of labour what it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercises of duties which comprehend every thing dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political—peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none—the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies—the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigour, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad—a zealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided—absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal, but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism—a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them—the supremacy of the civil over the military authority—economy in the public expense, that labour may be lightly burdened—the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of public faith—encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as its handmaid—the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason—freedom of religion—freedom of the press—freedom of person under the protection of the *habeus corpus*, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment. They should

be the creed of our political faith—the text of civic instruction—the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust: and should we wander from them in the moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

I repair then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me, with experience enough in subordinate offices, to have seen the difficulties of this, the greatest of all; I have learned to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man, to retire from this station with the reputation and the favour which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only, as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong, by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional: and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not, if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past: and my future solicitude will be, to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

Relying then on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choices it is in your power to make. And may that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe, lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favourable issue for your peace and prosperity.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Washington, March 4th, 1801.

Inaugural Speech of President Madison, March 4th, 1809.

Fellow-Citizens,—Unwilling to depart from examples of the most revered authority, I avail myself of the occasion now presented, to express the profound impression made on

me, by the call of my country, to the station, to the duties of which I am about to pledge myself, by the most solemn of sanctions. So distinguished a mark of confidence proceeding from the deliberate and tranquil suffrage of a free and virtuous nation, would, under any circumstances, command my gratitude and devotion—as well as fill me with an awful sense of the trust to be assumed. Under the various circumstances which give peculiar solemnity to the existing period, I feel that both the honour and the responsibility allotted to me, are inexpressibly enhanced.

The present situation of the world is indeed without a parallel, and that of our own country full of difficulties. The pressure of these too, is the more severely felt, because they have fallen upon us at a moment, when national prosperity being at a height not before attained, the contrast resulting from the change has been rendered the more striking. Under the benign influence of our republican institutions, and the maintenance of peace with all nations, whilst so many of them were engaged in bloody and wasteful wars, the fruits of a just policy were enjoyed in an unrivalled growth of our faculties and resources. Proofs of this were seen in the improvements of agriculture ; in the successful enterprises of commerce ; in the progress of manufactures and useful arts ; in the increase of the public revenue, and the use made of it in reducing the public debt, and in the valuable works and establishments every where multiplying over the face of our land.

It is a precious reflection that the transition from this prosperous condition of our country to the scene which has for some time been distressing us, is not chargeable on any unwarrantable views, nor, as I trust, on any involuntary errors in the public councils. Indulging no passions which trespass on the rights or the repose of other nations, it has been the true glory of the United States to cultivate peace by observing justice, and to entitle themselves to the respect of the nations at war, by fulfilling their neutral obligations with the most scrupulous impartiality. If there be candor in the world, the truth of these assertions will not be questioned. Posterity at least will do justice to them.

This unexceptionable course could not avail against the injustice and violence of the belligerent powers. In their rage against each other, or impelled by more direct motives, principles of retaliation have been introduced, equally contrary to universal reason and acknowledged law. How long their arbitrary edicts will be continued, in spite of the demonstrations that not even a pretext for them has been given by the United

States, and of the fair and liberal attempts to induce a revocation of them, cannot be anticipated. Assuring myself that, under every vicissitude, the determined spirit and united councils of the nation will be safeguards to its honour and its essential interests, I repair to the post assigned me, with no other discouragement than what springs from my own inadequacy to its high duties. If I do not sink under the weight of this deep conviction, it is because I find some support in a consciousness of the purposes, and a confidence in the principles, which I bring with me into this arduous service.

To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations, having correspondent dispositions ; to maintain sincere neutrality towards belligerent nations ; to prefer, in all cases, amicable discussions and reasonable accommodations of differences, to a decision of them by an appeal to arms ; to exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities, so degrading to all countries and so baneful to free ones ; to foster a spirit of independence, too just to invade the rights of others, too proud to surrender our own ; too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudice ourselves, and too elevated not to look down upon them in others ; to hold the union of the states as the basis of their peace and happiness ; to support the constitution which is the cement of the union, as well in its limitations, as in its authorities ; to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the states and to the people, as equally incorporated with and essential to the success of the general system ; and to avoid the slightest interference with the rights of conscience, or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction ; to preserve in their full energy the other salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights, and of the freedom of the press ; to observe economy in public expenditures ; to liberate the public resources by an honourable discharge of the public debts ; to keep within the requisite limits a standing military force, always remembering that an armed and trained militia is the firmest bulwark of republican governments, that without standing armies their liberty can never be in danger, nor, with large ones, safe ; to promote by authorised means improvements friendly to agriculture, and to external, as well as internal commerce ; to favour, in like manner, the advancement of science and the diffusion of information, as the best aliment to true liberty ; to carry on the benevolent plans which have been so meritoriously applied to the conversion of our aboriginal neighbours, from the degradation and wretchedness of savage life, to a participation of the improvements of which the human mind and manners

are susceptible in a civilised state. As far as sentiments and intentions, such as these, can aid the fulfilment of my duty, they will be a resource which cannot fail me.

It is my good fortune moreover to have the path in which I am to tread lighted by examples of illustrious services, successfully rendered in the most trying difficulties by those who have marched before me. Of those of my immediate predecessor, it might least become me here to speak—I may however be pardoned for not suppressing the sympathy with which my heart is full, in the rich reward he enjoys in the benedictions of a beloved country, gratefully bestowed for exalted talents, zealously devoted through a long career, to the advancement of its highest interest and happiness.—But the source to which I look for the aids which alone can supply my deficiencies, is in the well tried intelligence and virtue of my fellow-citizens, and in the care of the national interest. In these my confidence will, under every difficulty, be best placed, next to that which we have all been encouraged to feel, in the guardianship and guidance of that Almighty Being, whose power regulates the destiny of nations—whose blessings have been so conspicuously dispensed to this rising republic, and to whom we are bound to address our devout gratitude for the past, as well as our fervent supplications and best hopes for the future.

JAMES MADISON.

Washington, March, 4th 1809.

Inaugural Speech of President Monroe, March 4th, 1817.

I should be destitute of feeling if I was not deeply affected by the strong proof which my fellow-citizens have given me of their confidence, in calling me to the high office, whose functions I am about to assume. As the expression of their good opinion of my conduct in the public service, I derive from it a gratification, which those who are conscious of having done all that they could to merit it, can alone feel. My sensibility is increased by a just estimate of the importance of the trust, and of the nature and extent of its duties; with the proper discharge of which the highest interests of a great and free people are intimately connected. Conscious of my own deficiency, I cannot enter on these duties without great anxiety for the result. From a just responsibility I will never shrink; calculating with confidence, that in my best efforts to promote the public welfare, my motives will always be duly

appreciated, and my conduct be viewed with that candor and indulgence which I have experienced in other stations

In commencing the duties of the chief executive office, it has been the practice of the distinguished men who have gone before me, to explain the principles which would govern them in their respective administrations. In following their venerated example, my attention is naturally drawn to the great causes which have contributed in a principal degree, to produce the present happy condition of the United States. They will best explain the nature of our duties, and shed much light on the policy which ought to be pursued in future.

From the commencement of our revolution to the present day, almost forty years have elapsed, and from the establishment of this constitution, twenty eight. Through this whole term, the government has been, what may emphatically be called, self government; and what have been the effect? To whatever object we turn our attention, whether it relates to our foreign or domestic concerns, we find abundant cause to felicitate ourselves in the excellence of our institutions. During a period fraught with difficulties, and marked by very extraordinary events, the United States have flourished beyond example. Their citizens, individually, have been happy, and the nation prosperous.

Under this constitution our commerce has been wisely regulated with foreign nations, and between the states; new states have been admitted into our union; our territory has been enlarged, by fair and honourable treaty, and with great advantage to the original states; the states respectively, protected by the national government, under a mild parental system, against foreign dangers, and enjoying within their separate spheres, by a wise partition of power, a just proportion of the sovereignty, have improved their police, extended their settlements, and attained a strength and maturity which are the best proofs of wholesome laws well administered. And if we look to the condition of individuals, what a proud spectacle does it exhibit! On whom has oppression fallen in any quarter of our Union? Who has been deprived of any right of person or property? Who restrained from offering his vows, in the mode which he prefers, to the Divine Author of his being? It is well known that all these blessings have been enjoyed in their fullest extent; and I add, with peculiar satisfaction, that there has been no example of a capital punishment being inflicted on any one for the crime of high treason.

Some who might admit the competency of our government to these beneficent duties, might doubt it, in trials, which put to the test its strength and efficiency, as a member of the great community of nations. Here, too, experience has afforded us the most satisfactory proof in its favor. Just as this constitution was put into action, several of the principal states of Europe had become much agitated, and some of them seriously convulsed. Destructive wars ensued, which have, of late only, been terminated. In the course of these conflicts, the United States received great injury from several of the parties. It was their interest to stand aloof from the contest, to demand justice from the party committing the injury, and to cultivate, by a fair and honorable conduct, the friendship of all. War became at length inevitable, and the result has shewn that our government is equal to that, the greatest of trials, under the most unfavourable circumstances. Of the virtue of the people, and of the heroic exploits of the army, the navy, and the militia, I need not speak.

Such, then, is the happy government under which we live ; a government adequate to every purpose for which the social compact is formed ; a government elective in all its branches, under which every citizen may by his merit, obtain the highest trust recognised by the constitution ; which contains within it no cause of discord ; none to put at variance one portion of the community with another ; a government which protects every citizen in the full enjoyment of his rights, and is able to protect the nation against injustice from foreign powers.

Other considerations, of the highest importance, admonish us to cherish our union, and to cling to the government which supports it. Fortunate as we are, in our political institutions, we have not been less so in other circumstances, on which our prosperity and happiness essentially depend. Situated within the temperate zone, and extending through many degrees of latitude along the Atlantic, the United States enjoy all the varieties of climate, and every production incident to that portion of the globe. Penetrating, internally, to the great lakes, and beyond the sources of the great rivers which communicate through our whole interior, no country was ever happier with respect to its domain. Blessed too with a fertile soil, our produce has always been very abundant, leaving even in years the least favourable, a surplus for the wants of our fellow men in other countries. Such is our peculiar felicity, that there is not a part of our union that is not particularly interested in preserving it. The great agricultural in-

terest of the nation prospers under its protection. Local interests are not less fostered by it. Our fellow citizens of the north engaged in navigation, find great encouragement in being made the favoured carriers of the vast productions of the other portions of the United States, while the inhabitants of these are amply recompensed, in their turn, by the nursery for seamen and naval force, thus formed and reared up for the support of our common rights. Our manufacturers find a generous encouragement by the policy which patronises domestic industry; and the surplus of our produce, a steady and profitable market by local wants, in less favored parts, at home.

Such, then, being the highly favored condition of our country, it is the interest of every citizen to maintain it. What are the dangers which menace us? If any exist, they ought to be ascertained and guarded against.

In explaining my sentiments on this subject, it may be asked, what raised us to the present happy state? How did we accomplish the revolution? How remedy the defects of the first instrument of our union, by infusing into the national government sufficient power for national purposes, without impairing the just rights of the states, or affecting those of individuals? How sustain, and pass with glory through the late war? The government has been in the hands of the people. To the people, therefore, and to the faithful and able depositories of their trust, is the credit due. Had the people of the United States been educated in different principles; had they been less intelligent, less independent, or less virtuous, can it be believed that we should have maintained the same steady and consistent career, or been blessed with the same success! While then, the constituent body retains its present sound and healthful state, every thing will be safe.—They will choose competent and faithful representatives for every department. It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt; when they degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising the sovereignty. Usurpation is then an easy attainment, and an usurper soon found. The people themselves become the willing instruments of their own debasement and ruin. Let us then look to the great cause, and endeavour to preserve it in full force. Let us, by all wise and constitutional measures, promote intelligence among the people, as the best means of preserving our liberties

Dangers from abroad are not less deserving of attention. Experiencing the fortune of other nations, the United States

may again be involved in war, and it may in that event be the object of the adverse party to overset our government, to break our union, and demolish us as a nation. Our distance from Europe, and the just, moderate and pacific policy of our government may form some security against these dangers, but they ought to be anticipated and guarded against. Many of our citizens are engaged in commerce and navigation, and all of them are in a certain degree dependent on their prosperous state. Many are engaged in the fisheries. These interests are exposed to invasion in the wars between other powers, and we should disregard the faithful admonitions of experience if we did not expect it. We must support our rights or lose our character, and with it perhaps our liberties. A people who fail to do it, can scarcely be said to hold a place among independent nations. National honor is national property of the highest value. The sentiment in the mind of every citizen, is national strength. It ought therefore to be cherished.

To secure us against these dangers, our coast and inland frontiers should be fortified, our army and navy regulated upon just principles as to the force of each, be kept in perfect order, and our militia be placed on the best practicable footing. To put our extensive coast in such a state of defence, as to secure our cities and interior from invasion, will be attended with expense, but the work when finished will be permanent, and it is fair to presume that a single campaign of invasion, by a naval force, superior to our own, aided by a few thousand land troops, would expose us to a greater expense, without taking into the estimate the loss of property and distress of our citizens, than would be sufficient for this great work. Our land and naval forces should be moderate, but adequate to the necessary purposes. The former to garrison and preserve our fortifications and to meet the first invasions of a foreign foe, and, while constituting the elements of a greater force, to preserve the science, as well as all the necessary implements of war, in a state to be brought into activity in the event of war. The latter, retained within the limits proper in a state of peace, might aid in maintaining the neutrality of the United States with dignity in the wars of other power and in saving the property of their citizens from spoliation. In time of war, with the enlargement, of which the great naval resources of the country render it susceptible, and which should be duly fostered in time of peace, it would contribute essentially, both as an auxiliary of defence, and as a powerful engine of annoyance, to diminish the cala-

mities of war, and to bring the war to a speedy and honorable termination.

But it ought always to be held prominently in view, that the safety of these states, and of every thing dear to a free people, must depend, in an eminent degree, on the militia. Invasions may be made, too formidable to be resisted by any land and naval force, which it would comport, either with the principles of our government, or the circumstances of the United States, to maintain. In such cases, recourse must be had to the great body of the people, and in a manner to produce the best effect. It is of the highest importance, therefore, that they be so organised and trained, as to be prepared for any emergency. The arrangement should be such as to put at the command of the government the ardent patriotism, and youthful vigor of the country. If formed on equal and just principles, it cannot be oppressive. It is the crisis which makes the pressure, and not the laws, which provide a remedy for it. This arrangement should be formed, too, in time of peace, to be the better prepared for war. With such an organisation, of such a people, the United States have nothing to dread from foreign invasion. At its approach, an overwhelming force of gallant men might always be put in motion.

Other interests, of high importance, will claim attention; among which, the improvement of our country, by roads and canals, proceeding always with a constitutional sanction, holds a distinguished place. By thus facilitating the intercourse between the states, we shall add much to the convenience and comfort of our fellow-citizens, much to the ornament of the country; and, what is of greater importance, we shall shorten distances, and by making each part more accessible to and dependent on the other, we shall bind the union more closely together. Nature has done so much for us by intersecting the country with so many great rivers, bays and lakes, approaching from distant points so near to each other, that the inducement to complete the work seems to be peculiarly strong. A more interesting spectacle was, perhaps, never seen than is exhibited within the limits of the United States; a territory so vast, and advantageously situated, containing objects so grand, so useful, so happily connected in all their parts.

Our manufactures will, likewise, require the systematic and fostering care of the government. Possessing, as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend, in the degree we have done, on supplies

from other countries. While we are thus dependent, the sudden event of war, unsought and unexpected, cannot fail to plunge us into the most serious difficulties. It is important, too, that the capital which nourishes our manufactures should be domestic, as its influence in that case, instead of exhausting, as it may do in foreign hands, would be felt advantageously on agriculture, and every other branch of industry. Equally important is it, to provide at home a market for our raw materials, as by extending the competition, it will enhance the price, and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets.

With the Indian tribes it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations, and to act with kindness and liberality in all our transactions. Equally proper is it, to persevere in our efforts to extend to them the advantages of civilisation.

The great amount of our revenue, and the flourishing state of the treasury, are a full proof of the competency of the national resources, for any emergency, as they are of the willingness of our fellow-citizens to bear the burdens which the public necessities require. The vast amount of vacant lands, the value of which daily augments, forms an additional resource of great extent and duration. These resources, besides accomplishing every other necessary purpose, puts it completely in the power of the United States to discharge the national debt at an early period. Peace is the best time for improvement, and preparation of every kind: it is in peace that our commerce flourishes most, that taxes are most easily paid, and that the revenue is most productive.

The executive is charged, officially, in the departments under it, with the disbursement of the public money, and is responsible for the faithful application of it, to the purposes for which it is raised. The legislature is the watchful guardian over the public purse. It is its duty to see that the disbursement has been honestly made. To meet the requisite responsibility, every facility should be afforded to the executive, to enable it to bring the public agents entrusted with the public money, strictly and promptly to account. Nothing should be presumed against them; but if, with the requisite facilities, the public money is suffered to lie long and uselessly, in their hands, they will not be the only defaulters, nor will the demoralising effect be confined to them. It will evince a relaxation, and want of tone in the administration; which will be felt by the whole community. I shall do all that I can to secure economy and fidelity in this important branch of the administration, and I doubt not, that the legislature will

perform its duty with equal zeal. A thorough examination should be regularly made, and I will promote it.

It is particularly gratifying to me, to enter on the discharge of these duties, at a time when the United States are blessed with peace. It is a state most consistent with their prosperity and happiness. It will be my sincere desire to preserve it, so far as depends on the executive, on just principles with all nations, claiming nothing unreasonable of any, and rendering to each what is its due.

Equally gratifying is it to witness the increased harmony of opinion which pervades our union. Discord does not belong to our system. Union is recommended, as well by the free and benign principles of our government, extending its blessings to every individual, as by the other eminent advantages attending it. The American people have encountered together great dangers, and sustained severe trials with success. They constitute one great family, with a common interest. Experience has enlightened us in some questions of essential importance to the country. The progress has been slow, dictated by a just reflection, and a faithful regard to every interest connected with it. To promote this harmony, in accord with the principles of our republican government, and in a manner to give them the most complete effect, and to advance, in all other respects, the best interests of our country, will be the object of my constant and zealous exertions.

Never did a government commence under auspices so favourable, nor ever was success so complete. If we look to the history of other nations, ancient or modern, we find no example of a growth so rapid, so gigantic: of a people so prosperous and happy. In contemplating what we have still to perform, the heart of every citizen must expand with joy, when he reflects how near our government has approached to perfection; that in respect to it we have no essential improvement to make; that the great object is to preserve it in the essential principles and features which characterise it, and that that is to be done by persevering the virtue and enlightening the minds of the people; and, as a security against foreign dangers, to adopt such arrangements as are indispensable to the support of our independence, our rights and liberties. If we persevere in the career in which we have advanced so far, and in the path already traced, we cannot fail, under the favour of a gracious Providence, to attain the high destiny which seems to await us.

In the administration of the illustrious men who have pre-

ceded me in this high station, with some of whom I have been connected by the closest ties from early life, examples are presented which will always be found highly instructive and useful to their successors. From these I shall endeavour to derive all the advantages which they may afford. Of my immediate predecessor, under whom so important a portion of this great and successful experiment has been made, I shall be pardoned for expressing my earnest wishes, that he may long enjoy in his retirement the affections of a grateful country, the best reward of exalted talents, and the most faithful and meritorious services. Relying on the aid to be derived from the other departments of government, I enter on the trust to which I have been called by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, with my fervent prayers to the Almighty that he will be graciously pleased to continue to us that protection which he has already so conspicuously displayed in our favour.

Extract from Mr. Ames's Speech on the British Treaty.

If any should maintain that the peace with the Indians will be stable without the Posts, to them I will urge another reply. From arguments calculated to produce conviction, I will appeal directly to the hearts of those who hear me, and ask whether it is not already planted there? I resort especially to the convictions of the western gentlemen, whether, supposing no posts and no treaty, the settlers will remain in security? Can they take it upon them to say, that an Indian peace, under these circumstances, will prove firm? No, sir, it will not be peace, but a sword; it will be no better than a lure to draw victims within the reach of the tomahawk.

On this theme, my emotions are unutterable. If I could find words for them, my powers bore any proportion to my zeal, I would swell my voice to such a note of remonstrance, it should reach every log-house beyond the mountains. I would say to the inhabitants, wake from your false security. Your cruel dangers, your more cruel apprehensions, are soon to be renewed: The wounds yet unhealed, are to be torn open again. In the day time, your path through the woods will be ambushed. The darkness of midnight will glitter with the blaze of your dwellings. You are a father—the blood of your sons shall fatten your corn-field. You are a mother—the war whoop shall wake the sleep of the cradle.

On this subject you need not suspect any deception on your feelings. It is a spectacle of horror which cannot be

overdrawn. If you have nature in your hearts, they will speak a language compared with which all I have said or can say, will be poor and frigid.

Will it be whispered that the treaty has made me a new champion for the protection of the frontiers ; it is known that my voice as well as vote have been uniformly given in conformity with the ideas I have expressed. Protection is the right of the frontiers ; it is our duty to give it.

Who will accuse me of wandering out of the subject ! Who will say that I exaggerate the tendencies of our measures ! Will any one answer by a sneer, that all this is idle preaching ? Would any one deny that we are bound, and I would hope to good purpose, by the most solemn sanctions of duty for the vote we give ! Are despots alone to be reproached for unfeeling indifference to the tears and blood of their subject ? Are republicans irresponsible ! Have the principles on which you ground the reproach upon cabinets and kings no practicable influence, no binding force ! Are they merely themes of idle declamation, introduced to decorate the morality of a newspaper essay, or to furnish pretty topics of harangue from the windows of that state house ! I trust it is neither too presumptuous nor too late to ask, Can you put the dearest interest of society at risk, without guilt, and without remorse ?

It is vain to offer as an excuse, that public men are not to be reproached for the evils that may happen to ensue from their measures. This is very true, where they are unforeseen or inevitable. Those I have depicted are not unforeseen ; they are so far from inevitable, we are going to bring them into being by our vote. We choose the consequences, and become as justly answerable for them as for the measure that we know will produce them.

By rejecting the posts, we light the savage fires, we bind the victims. This day we undertake to render account to the widows and orphans whom our decision will make, to the wretches that will be roasted at the stake, to our country, and I do not deem it too serious to say, to conscience and to God. We are answerable ; and if duty be any thing more than a word of imposture, if conscience be not a bugbear, we are preparing to make ourselves as wretched as our country.

There is no mistake in this case, there can be none. Experience has already been the prophet of events, and the cries of our future victims have already reached us. The Western inhabitants are not a silent and uncomplaining sacrifice. The

voice of humanity issues from the shade of the wilderness. It exclaims, that while one hand is held up to reject this treaty, the other grasps a tomahawk. It summons our imagination to the scenes that will open. It is no great effort of the imagination to conceive that events so near are already begun. I can fancy that I listen to the yells of savage vengeance, and the shrieks of torture. Already they seem to sigh in the west wind; already they mingle with every echo from the mountains.

BURR AND BLENNERHASSETT.

Extract from the Speech of Mr. Wirt, on the trial of Aaron Burr for High Treason.

A plain man, who knew nothing of the curious transmutations which the wit of man can work, would be very apt to wonder by what kind of legerdemain Aaron Burr had contrived to shuffle himself down to the bottom of the pack as an accessory, and turn up poor Blennerhassett as principal in this treason. It is an honour, I dare say, for which Mr. Blennerhassett is by no means anxious: one which he has never disputed with colonel Burr, and which I am persuaded, he would be as little inclined to dispute on this occasion, as on any other. Since, however, the modesty of colonel Burr declines the first rank, and seems disposed to force Mr. Blennerhassett into it in spite of his blushes, let us compare the cases of the two men, and settle this question of precedence between them. It may save a good deal of troublesome ceremony hereafter.

In making this comparison, sir, I shall speak of the two men and of the part they bore as I believe it to exist and to be substantially capable of proof: although the court has already told us, that as this is a motion to exclude *all* evidence, generally, we have a right, in resisting it, to *suppose* the evidence which is behind, strong enough to prove any thing and every thing compatible with the fact of Burr's absence from the island. If it will be more agreeable to the feelings of the prisoner to consider the parallel which I am about to run, or rather the contrast which I am about to exhibit, as a fiction, he is at liberty to do so; I believe it to be a fact.

Who then is Aaron Burr, and what the part which he has borne in this transaction! He is its author; its projector; its active executor. Bold, ardent, restless and aspiring, his brain

conceived it ; his hand brought it into action, Beginning his operations in New York, he associates with him, men whose wealth is to supply the necessary funds. Possessed of the main spring, his personal labour contrives all the machinery. Pervading the continent from New York to New Orleans, he draws into his plan, by every allurements which he can contrive, men of all ranks, and all descriptions. To youthful ardour he presents danger and glory ; to ambition, rank and titles and honours ; to avarice, the mines of Mexico. To each person whom he addresses, he presents the object adapted to his taste : his recruiting officers are appointed ; men are engaged throughout the continent ; civil life is indeed quiet upon its surface ; but in its bosom this man has contrived to deposit the materials which, with the slightest touch of his match, produces an explosion to shake the continent. All this his restless ambition has contrived ; and in the autumn of 1806, he goes forth for the last time, to apply this match.— On this excursion he meets with Blennerhassett.

Who is Blennerhassett ! A native of Ireland, a man of letters, who fled from the storms of his own country to find quiet in ours. His history shews that war is not the natural element of his mind ; if it had been, he would never have exchanged Ireland for America. So far is an army from furnishing the society natural and proper to Mr. Blennerhassett's character, that on his arrival in America, he retired even from the population of the Atlantic states, and sought quiet and solitude in the bosom of our western forests. But he carried with him taste and science and wealth ; and " lo, the desert smiled." Possessing himself of a beautiful island in the Ohio, he rears upon it a palace, and decorates it with every romantic embellishment of fancy. A shrubbery that Shensstone might have envied, blooms around him ; music that might have charmed Calypso and her nymphs, is his ; an extensive library spreads its treasures before him ; a philosophical apparatus offers to him all the secrets and mysteries of nature ; peace, tranquillity and innocence shed their mingled delights around him ; and to crown the enchantment of the scene, a wife, who is said to be lovely even beyond her sex, and graced with every accomplishment that can render it irresistible, had blessed him with her love, and made him the father of her children. The *evidence* would convince you, sir, that this is but a faint picture of the real life. In the midst of all this peace, this innocence, and this tranquillity, this feast of the mind, this pure banquet of the heart—The destroyer comes—he comes to turn this paradise into a hell

—yet the flowers do not wither at his approach, and no monitory shuddering through the bosom of their unfortunate possessor, warns him of the ruin that is coming upon him. A stranger presents himself. Introduced to their civilities by the high rank which he had lately held in his country, he soon finds his way to their hearts by the dignity and elegance of his demeanor, the light and beauty of his conversation, and the seductive and fascinating power of his address. The conquest was not a difficult one. Innocence is ever simple and credulous; conscious of no designs itself, it suspects none in others; it wears no guards before its breasts; every door and portal and avenue of the heart is thrown open, and all who choose it enter. Such was the state of Eden, when the serpent entered its bowers. The prisoner in a more engaging form, winding himself into the open and unpractised heart of the unfortunate Blennerhassett, found but little difficulty in changing the native character of that heart and the objects of its affection. By degrees he infuses into it the poison of his own ambition; he breathes into it the fire of his own courage; a daring and a desperate thirst for glory; an ardour panting for all the storm and bustle and hurricane of life. In a short time the whole man is changed, and every object of his former delight relinquished. No more he enjoys the tranquil scene: it has become flat and insipid to his taste: his books are abandoned: his retort and crucible are thrown aside: his shrubbery blooms and breathes its fragrance upon the air in vain—he likes it not; his ear no longer drinks the rich melody of music; it longs for the trumpet's clangor, and the cannon's roar; even the prattle of his babes, once so sweet, no longer affects him; and the angel smile of his wife, which hitherto touched his bosom with extasy so unspeakable, is now unfelt and unseen. Greater objects have taken possession of his soul—his imagination has been dazzled by visions of diadems, and stars and garters and titles of nobility; he has been taught to burn with restless emulation at the names of Cromwell, Cæsar, and Buonaparte. His enchanted island is destined soon to relapse into a desert; and in a few months, we find the tender and beautiful partner of his bosom, whom he lately “permitted not the winds of summer to visit too roughly,” we find her shivering, at midnight, on the winter banks of the Ohio, and mingling her tears with the torrents that froze as they fell. Yet this unfortunate man, thus deluded from his interest and his happiness—thus seduced from the paths of innocence and peace—thus confounded in the toils which were deliberately spread for him, and

overwhelmed by the mastering spirit and genius of another—this man, thus ruined and undone, and made to play a subordinate part in this grand drama of guilt and treason—this man is to be called the principal offender; while he, by whom he was thus plunged and steeped in misery, is comparatively innocent—a mere accessory. Sir, neither the human heart nor the human understanding will bear a perversion so monstrous and absurd; so shocking to the soul; so revolting to reason. O! no, Sir, there is no man who knows any thing of this affair, who does not know that to every body concerned in it, Aaron Burr was as the sun to the planets which surround him; he bound them in their respective orbits, and gave them their light, their heat and their motion. Let him not then shrink from the high destination which he has courted; and having already ruined Blennerhassett in fortune, character and happiness forever, attempt to finish the tragedy by thrusting that ill-fated man between himself and punishment.

Speech of Citizen Carnot, in the French Legislature, on the motion to make Bonaparte emperor.

Citizen Tribunes,

Among the speakers who have preceded me, and who have supported the motion to proceed to the order of the day, made by our colleague Curee, several have anticipated the objections that might be urged against it, and have answered them with equal talent and decorum: they have given an example of moderation which I shall endeavour to imitate, whilst I offer some observations which have escaped their attention. And as to those who, because I have opposed their opinion, may attribute to me motives at once selfish and unworthy of a man devoted to his country, I will answer them only by asking a scrupulous examination of my public conduct since the commencement of the revolution and of my private life.

I am far from diminishing the praises which have been bestowed on the first consul; if we were indebted to Bonaparte for nothing but the civil code, his name would deserve to be handed down to prosperity. But whatever services a citizen may have rendered his country, there are bounds to the national gratitude which honour and reason equally impose. If this citizen has restored the public liberty—if he has effected the salvation of his country, is it any recompense to offer him the sacrifice of that liberty? and would he not destroy his

own work by converting that country into his private patrimony?

The moment it was proposed to the French people to vote upon the question to the consulship for life, every one might easily judge that there was something in reserve, and foresee the ulterior object.

In fact, we have seen succeed each other a crowd of institutions evidently monarchical; but, at the establishment of each, pains were taken to relieve the anxiety of those who trembled for the fate of liberty, by protesting that these institutions were intended to render that blessing secure.

This day, at last, clearly discloses the end of so many preliminary measures. We are now called upon to express our sentiments upon a formal proposition to re-establish the monarchical system, and to confer the imperial and hereditary dignity upon the first consul.

I voted against the consulship for life; I shall also vote against the re-establishment of monarchy, as I sincerely believe my duty as a tribune obliges me to do; but, in pursuing this course, I shall be careful not to revive the spirit of party, nor to indulge in personalities, influenced only by a feeling for the public good, and always preserving my own consistency whilst I defend the popular cause.

I have always professed a disposition to submit myself to the existing laws, even when I was most dissatisfied with those laws. I have more than once been the victim of my attachment to them, and I shall not now begin a contrary course. I declare, then, whilst I oppose the proposition that has been made, that the moment a new order of things is established, with the assent of the great mass of the citizens, I shall be the first to conform all my actions to it, and to give to the supreme authority all those marks of deference which the constitutional hierarchy may command. May every member of society pour forth a vow as sincere and disinterested as my own!

I shall not mix in the discussion of whether this or that system of government is to be preferred in general; there exists on this subject innumerable volumes; I shall confine myself to examining, in a few words, and in the simplest manner, the particular case in which circumstances have placed us.

Every argument which we have yet heard in favour of the re-establishment of monarchy in France may be reduced to these—that there is no other means of insuring the stability of the government and the public tranquility; to avoid intestine discord and to unite against foreign enemies; that the

experiment of the republican system has been tried in every possible manner; that the result of so many efforts has been nought but anarchy, a revolution prolonged and incessantly renewed, the perpetual dread of new disorders, and consequently an universal and profound desire to see re-established the ancient hereditary government, changing only the dynasty. These are the arguments to be answered.

I would in the first place, remark, that nothing is a less sure pledge of stability and tranquillity than the government of a single man. The Roman empire did not last longer than the Roman Republic. The intestine troubles were greater and crimes more multiplied. Republican pride and heroism, with all the manly virtues, were replaced by vanity the most ridiculous, and adulation the most vile, by cupidity the most unrestrained, and an indifference for the public prosperity the most complete. What would have availed an hereditary throne? Was it not, in fact, considered as the inheritance of the house of Cæsar? Was not a Domitian the son of Vespasian, a Caligula the son of Germanicus, a Commodus the son of Marcus Aurelius?

It is true, that in France the late dynasty endured eight hundred years; but was the people less tormented? How many internal dissensions; how many foreign wars undertaken for pretensions and rights of succession, which were occasioned by the alliances of this dynasty with foreign powers! The moment a whole nation espouses the particular interests of a family, it is compelled to mingle in a multitude of transactions which it would otherwise consider as perfectly indifferent.

We have been unable to establish the republican system among us, although we have attempted it under various forms more or less democratic; but it should be considered, that of all the constitutions which have been successively tried without success, there is not one which was not produced in the bosom of faction and which was not the work of circumstances as imperious as fugitive; this, then, is the reason why they have all been vicious. But, since the 18th Brumaire,* there has existed a period, singular, perhaps, in the annals of the world, to meditate shielded from the storms, to found the edifice of liberty on solid basis, such as are justified by reason and experience. After the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte might have chosen between the republican and the monarchical system—he might have done whatever he wished

* The day on which Bonaparte assumed the reins of government.

—he would not have encountered the smallest opposition. The precious deposit of liberty was confided to him ; he had sworn to defend it ; by keeping inviolable this promise he would have fulfilled the expectations of the nation which had judged him alone capable of resolving the great problem of public liberty in an extensive country—he might have covered himself with immortal glory ! Instead of which what is now done ? It is proposed to give him the absolute and hereditary property of an authority which he has received only in trust. Is this for the true interest of the first consul himself ? I do not believe it.

It is very true that before the 18th Brumaire, the state was falling into ruins, and that absolute power snatched it from the borders of the abyss. But what is the inference from this fact ? that which the whole world knows, that political bodies are subject to diseases which cannot be cured except by violent remedies ; that a temporary dictatorship is sometimes necessary for the salvation of liberty. The Romans, who were so jealous of their freedom, recognised the necessity of sometimes calling into action this supreme power. But because a violent remedy has saved a sick man, shall we every day administer to him the same violent remedy ? Fabius, and Cincinnatus, and Camillus, saved the liberty of Rome by an absolute power, but it was by laying down that power as soon as possible : by retaining it they would have destroyed what it was intended they should have preserved. Cæsar was the first who sought to retain it : he was the victim of his criminal passion, but liberty was destroyed for ever. Thus, every thing which has been said respecting the necessity of absolute power only proves the necessity of a temporary dictatorship in certain critical moments, but does not prove the utility of a permanent and unchangeable despotism.

It is in the nature of their government that we are to seek for the instability of great republics ; it is because being hastily put together in the midst of civil convulsions, enthusiasm always presides over their establishment. One only has been the work of philosophy : organised in the calm of peace, this republic subsists full of wisdom and vigour ; the United States of North America present this phenomenon, and their prosperity constantly receives accessions which excite the wonder and admiration of other nations. Thus was it reserved for the new world to teach the old that nations may tranquilly exist under the dominion of liberty and equality. Yes ! I dare to lay it down as a principle, that when a new order of things is to be established without fear of factions, as it was in the

power of the first consul to have done, especially after the peace of Amiens, and as it is still in his power to do, it is easier to form a republic without anarchy than a monarchy without despotism. For how can we conceive of a limited power which will not be illusory in a government where the chief has the whole executive authority in his hands, and every office in his gift? We have heard something of institutions adapted to produce this effect. But previous to proposing the creation of a monarch, ought we not to be assured that such institutions are among the number of possibilities; that they are not among those metaphysical abstractions with which the contrary system is so constantly reproached?—Nothing has been hitherto invented to moderate supreme power, unless it be those intermediate bodies called the privileged orders. Is it, then, a new nobility which is spoken of under the name of *institutions*? But is not this remedy worse than the disease? for absolute power deprives us of nothing but liberty, whilst the institution of privileged orders deprives us at once of liberty and equality; and even if, in the first instance, the great dignities should only confer personal distinctions, it is well known that they would always terminate like the great fiefs of former times, by becoming hereditary.

To these general principles I will add a few remarks. I will take it for granted, that all the French give their consent to the measure proposed; but would that be the free voice of the French people which is conveyed in registers where every citizen is obliged to record individually his vote? Who does not know the influence of the authority which presides on such occasions? From all parts of France, it is said, is manifested the desire of the citizens for the re-establishment of hereditary monarchy; but are we not authorised to consider as factious an opinion, concentrated almost entirely among the public functionaries, when we know the inconveniences of expressing a contrary opinion! when we know the press is so enslaved that it is impossible to insert in any newspaper whatever, even the most respectful and moderate remonstrance?

Certainly there could be no hesitation respecting the choice of an hereditary chief, if it were necessary to have one.—
 —————. Is it hoped, by creating a new dynasty, to hasten the happy epoch of a general peace? Will it not rather be a new obstacle? Are you certain that the great powers of Europe will acknowledge this new title? and if they do not, will you take up arms to compel them? or, after having degraded the title of consul below that of emperor, will

you be contented with that of consul for foreign powers, and an emperor only for the French people? and will you jeopardise for a vain title, the security and prosperity of the whole nation.

It appears to me, then, extremely doubtful, whether the new order of things promises more stability than the present : there is but one means for the government to strengthen itself—*that is*, TO BE JUST ; not to suffer favouritism to prevail over services ; to provide some security against speculation and imposture. Far be from me all personality or criticism upon the conduct of government ! it is against arbitrary power itself that I speak, and not against those in whose hands this power may reside.

Was liberty, then, only shown to man that he might never enjoy it ? Was it incessantly offered to his desires as a fruit which he may not touch without being struck by the hand of death ? Has nature, then, after making this liberty one of our most pressing wants, refused us its blessings, like a cruel step-mother ? No ! I cannot consent to regard this good, so universally preferred to all others, and without which all others are nothing, as a mere phantom. My heart tells me that liberty is practicable ; that its dominion is more easy and more stable than any arbitrary government or oligarchy.

Nevertheless, I repeat it, always ready to sacrifice my dearest affections to the interest of our common country, I shall be content with having caused the voice of a free mind to be once more heard on this occasion ; and my respect for the law will be so much the more to be relied on, as it is the fruit of long misfortunes and of that reason which this day imperiously demands that we should unite together against the implacable enemy of all ; of that enemy who is always ready to foment our divisions ; and for whom all means are lawful, so that he can obtain his object—universal oppression and the dominion of the seas.

I vote against the proposition.

Speech delivered by Mr. Phillips, at a Public Dinner given to Mr. Finlay, by the Roman Catholics of the Town and County of Sligo.

I THINK, Sir, you will agree with me, that the most experienced speaker, might justly tremble in addressing you, after the display you have just witnessed. What, then, must I feel, who never before addressed a public audience ? How-

ever, it would be but an unworthy affectation in me, were I to conceal from you, the emotions with which I am agitated by this kindness. The exaggerated estimate which other countries have made of the few services so young a man could render, has, I hope, inspired me with the sentiments it ought; but *here*, I do confess to you, I feel no ordinary sensation—here, where every object springs some new association, and the loveliest objects, mellowed as they are by time, rise painted on the eye of memory—here, where the light of heaven first blessed my infant view, and nature breathed into my infant heart, that ardour for my country which nothing but death can chill—here, where the scenes of my childhood remind me, how innocent I was, and the grave of my fathers admonish me, how pure I should continue—here, standing as I do amongst my fairest, fondest, earliest sympathies,—such a welcome, operating, not merely as an affectionate tribute, but as a moral testimony, does indeed quite oppress and overwhelm me.

Oh! believe me, warm is the heart that feels, and willing is the tongue that speaks; and still, I cannot, by shaping it to my rudely inexpressive phrase, shock the sensibility of a gratitude too full to be suppressed, and yet (how far!) too eloquent for language.

If any circumstance could add to the pleasure of this day, it is that which I feel in introducing to the friends of my youth, the friend of my adoption, though perhaps I am committing one of our imputed blunders, when I speak of introducing one whose patriotism has already rendered him familiar to every heart in Ireland; a man, who, conquering every disadvantage, and spurning every difficulty, has poured around our misfortunes the splendour of an intellect, that at once irradiates and consumes them. For the services he has rendered to his country, from my heart I thank him, and, for myself I offer him a personal, it may be a selfish tribute for saving me, by his presence this night, from an impotent attempt at his panegyric. Indeed, gentlemen, you can have little idea of what he has to endure, who, in these times, advocates your cause. Every calumny which the venal and the vulgar, and the vile are lavishing upon you, is visited with exaggeration upon us. We are called traitors, because we would rally round the crown an unanimous people. We are called apostates, because we will not persecute Christianity. We are branded as separatists, because of our endeavours to annihilate the fetters that, instead of binding, clog the connexion. To these may be added, the frowns of

power, the envy of dulness, the mean malice of exposed self-interest, and, it may be, in despite of all natural affection, even the discountenance of kindred! Well, be it so,—

For thee, fair freedom, welcome all the past,
For thee, my country, welcome even the last!

I am not ashamed to confess to you, that there was a day, when I was bigoted as the blackest; but I thank the Being who gifted me with a mind not quite impervious to conviction, and I thank you, who afforded such convincing testimonies of my error. I saw you enduring with patience the most unmerited assaults, bowing before the insults of revived anniversaries; in private life, exemplary; in public, unoffending; in the hour of peace asserting your loyalty; in the hour of danger proving it. Even when an invading enemy victoriously penetrated into the very heart of our county I saw the banner of your allegiance beaming refutation on your slanderers; was it a wonder then, that I seized my prejudices, and with a blush burned them on the altar of my country!

The great question of Catholic, shall I not rather say, of Irish emancipation, has now assumed that national aspect which imperiously challenges the scrutiny of every one. While it was shrouded in the mantle of religious mystery, with the temple for its sanctuary, and the pontiff for its sentinel, the vulgar eye might shrink and the vulgar spirit shudder. But now it has come forth, visible and tangible, for the inspection of the laity; and I solemnly protest, dressed as it has been in the double haberdashery of the English minister and the Italian prelate, I know not whether to laugh at its appearance, or to loathe its pretensions—to shudder at the deformity of its original creation, or smile at the grotesqueness of its foreign decorations. Only just admire this far-famed security bill,—this motley compound of oaths and penalties, which, under the name of emancipation, would drag your prelates with a halter about their necks to the vulgar scrutiny of every village-tyrant, in order to enrich a few political traders, and distil through some state alembic the miserable rinsings of an ignorant, a decaying, and degenerate aristocracy! Only just admire it! Originally engendered by our *friends* the opposition, with a *cuckoo* insidiousness, they swindled it into the nest of the treasury ravens, and when it had been fairly hatched with the beak of the one, and the nakedness of the other, they sent it for its fea-

thers to **MONSEIGNEUR QUARANTOTTI**, who has obligingly transmitted it with the hunger of its parent, the rapacity of its nurse, and the coxcomby of its *flumassier*, to be baptised by the bishops, and received *æquo gratoque animo* by the people of Ireland!! Oh, thou sublimely ridiculous Quarantotti! Oh, thou superlative coxcomb of the conclave! what an estimate hast thou formed of the **MIND** of Ireland! Yet why should I blame this wretched scribe of the Propaganda! He had every right to speculate as he did; all the chances of the calculation were in his favour. Uncommon must be the people, over whom centuries of oppression have revolved in vain! Strange must be the mind, which is not subdued by suffering! Sublime the spirit, which is not debased by servitude! God, I give thee thanks!—he knew not **IRELAND**. Bent—broken—manacled as she has been, she will not bow to the mandate of an Italian slave, transmitted through an English vicar. For my own part, as an Irish Protestant, I trample to the earth this audacious and desperate experiment of authority: and for you, as Catholics, the time is come to give that calumny the lie, which represents you as subservient to a foreign influence. That influence, indeed, seems not quite so unbending as it suited the purposes of bigotry to represent it, and appears now not to have conceded more, only because more was not demanded. The theology of the question is not for me to argue; it cannot be in better hands than in those of your bishops; and I can have no doubt that when they bring their rank, their learning, their talents, their piety, and their patriotism to this sublime deliberation, they will consult the dignity of that venerable fabric which has stood for ages, splendid and immutable; which time could not crumble, nor persecutions shake, nor revolutions change; which has stood amongst us, like some stupendous and majestic Apennine, the earth rocking at its feet, and the heavens roaring round its head, firmly balanced on the base of its eternity; the relic of **WHAT WAS**; the solemn and sublime memento of **WHAT MUST BE**!

Is this my opinion as a professed member of the church of England? Undoubtedly it is. As an **IRISHMAN**, I feel my liberties interwoven, and the best affections of my heart as if were *enfibred* with those of my Catholic countrymen; and as a **PROTESTANT**, convinced of the purity of my own faith, would I not debase it by postponing the powers of reason to the suspicious instrumentality of this world's conversion? No; surrendering as I do, with a proud contempt, all the degrading advantages with which an ecclesiastical usur-

pation would invest me; so I will not interfere with a blasphemous intrusion between any man and his Maker. I hold it a criminal and accursed sacrilege, to rob even a beggar of a single motive for his devotion! and I hold it an equal insult to my own faith, to offer me any boon for its profession. This pretended emancipation-bill passing into a law, would, in my mind, strike a blow not at this sect or that sect, but at the very vitality of Christianity itself. I am thoroughly convinced that the anti-Christian connexion between church and state, which it was suited to increase, has done more mischief to the Gospel interests, than all the ravings of infidelity since the crucifixion. The sublime Creator of our blessed creed never meant it to be the channel of a courtly influence, or the source of a corrupt ascendancy. He sent it amongst us to heal, not to irritate; to associate, not to seclude; to collect together, like the baptismal dove, every creed and clime and colour in the universe, beneath the spotless wing of its protection. The union of church and state only converts good Christians into bad statesmen, and political knaves into pretended Christians. It is at best but a foul and adulterous connexion, polluting the purity of heaven with the abomination of earth, and hanging the tatters of a *political piety* upon the cross of an insulted Saviour. RELIGION, HOLY RELIGION, ought not, in the words of its Founder, to be "led into temptation." The hand that holds her chalice should be pure, and the priests of her temple should be spotless as the vestments of their ministry. Rank only degrades, wealth only impoverishes, ornaments but disfigure her. I would have her pure, unpensioned, unstipendiary; she should rob the earth of nothing but its sorrows: a divine arch of promise, her extremities should rest on the horizon, and her span embrace the universe; but her only sustenance should be the tears that were exhaled and embellished by the sun-beam. Such is my idea of what religion ought to be. What would this bill make it? A mendicant of the Castle, a menial at the levee, its manual the red-book, its liturgy the pension-list, its gospel the will of the minister. Methinks I see the stalled and fatted victim of its creation, cringing with a brute suppliancy through the venal mob of ministerial flatterers, crouching to the ephemeral idol of the day, and, like the devoted sacrifice of ancient heathenism, glorying in the garland that only decorates him for death! I will read to you the opinions of a celebrated Irishman, on the suggestion in his day, of a bill similar to that now proposed for our oppression. He was a man who

added to the pride not merely of his country but of his species—a man who robed the very soul of inspiration in the splendours of a pure and overpowering eloquence. I allude to Mr. Burke—an authority at least to which the sticklers for establishments can offer no objection. “Before I had written thus far,” says he, in his letter on the penal laws, “I heard of a scheme for giving to the castle the patronage of the presiding members of the Catholic clergy. At first I could scarcely credit it, for I believe it is the first time that the presentation to other people’s alms has been desired in any country. Never were the members of one religious sect fit to appoint the pastors to another. It is a great deal to suppose that the present Castle would nominate bishops for the Roman Church in Ireland, with a religious regard for its welfare. Perhaps they cannot, perhaps they dare not do it. But suppose them to be as well inclined, as I know that I am, to do the Catholics all kinds of justice, I declare I would not, if it were in my power, take that patronage on myself. I know I ought not to do it. I belong to another community; and it would be an intolerable usurpation in me, where I conferred no benefit, or even if I did confer temporal advantages. How can the Lord Lieutenant form the least judgment on their merits so as to decide which of the popish priests is fit to be a bishop? It cannot be. The idea is ridiculous. He will hand them over to Lords-Lieutenant of counties, justices of the peace, and others, who, for the purpose of vexing and turning into derision this miserable people, will pick out the worst and most obnoxious they can find amongst the clergy to govern the rest. Whoever is complained against by his brother, will be considered as persecuted; whoever is censured by his superior, will be looked upon as oppressed; whoever is careless in his opinions, loose in his morals, will be called a liberal man, and will be supposed to have incurred hatred because he was not a bigot. Informers, tale-bearers, perverse and obstinate men, flatterers, who turn their back upon their flock and court the Protestant gentlemen of their county, will be the objects of preferment, and then I run no risk in foretelling, that whatever order, quiet, and morality you have in the country will be lost.” Now, let me ask you, is it to such characters as those described by Burke, that you would delegate the influence imputed to your priesthood? Believe me, you would soon see them transferring their devotion from the Cross to the CASTLE; wearing their sacred vestments but as a masquerade-appendage, and under the degraded passport of the

Almighty's name, sharing the pleasures of the court, and the spoils of the people. When I say this, I am bound to add, and I do so from many proud and pleasing recollections, that I think the impression on the Catholic clergy of the present day would be late, and would be delible. But it is human nature. Rare are the instances in which a contact with the court has not been the beginning of corruption. The man of God is peculiarly disconnected with it. It directly violates his special mandate, who took his birth from the manger, and his disciples from the fishing-boat. JUDAS was the first who received the money of power, and it ended in the disgrace of his creed, and the death of his master. If I was a Catholic, I would peculiarly deprecate any interference with my priesthood. Indeed, I do not think, in any one respect in which we should wish to view the delegates of the Almighty, that, making fair allowances for human infirmity, they could be amended. The Catholic clergy of Ireland are rare examples of the doctrines they inculcate. Pious in their habits, almost primitive in their manners, they have no care but their flock—no study but their Gospel. It is not in the gaudy ring of courtly dissipation that you will find the MURRAYS, the COPPINGERS, and the MOYLANs of the present day—not at the levee, or the lounge, or the election-riot. No; you will find them wherever good is to be done or evil to be corrected—rearing their mitres in the van of misery, consoling the captive, reforming the convict, enriching the orphan; ornaments of this world, and emblems of a better: preaching their God through the practice of every virtue; monitors at the confessional, apostles in the pulpit, saints at the death-bed, holding the sacred water to the lip of sin, or pouring the redeeming unction on the agonies of despair. Oh, I would hold him little better than the Prometheus robber, who would turn the fire of their eternal altar into the impure and perishable mass of this world's ferment. Better by far that the days of ancient barbarism should revive—better that your religion should again take refuge among the fastnesses of the mountain, and the solitude of the cavern—better that the rack of a murderous bigotry should again terminate the miseries of your priesthood, and that the gate of freedom should be only open to them through the gate of martyrdom, than that they should gild their missals with the wages of a court, and expect their ecclesiastical promotion, not from their superior piety, but their comparative prostitution. But why this interference with your principles of conscience? Why is it that they will

not erect your liberties save on the ruin of your temples? Why is it that in the day of peace they demand securities from a people who in the day of danger constituted their strength? When were they denied every security that was reasonable? Was it in 1776, when a cloud of enemies, hovering on our coast, saw every heart a shield, and every hill a fortress? Did they want securities in Catholic Spain? Were they denied securities in Catholic Portugal? What is their security to-day in Catholic Canada? Return—return to us our own glorious WELLINGTON, and tell incredulous England what was her security amid the lines of Torres Vedras, or on the summit of Barrossa! Rise, libelled martyrs of the Peninsula!—rise from your “gory bed,” and give security for your childless parents! No, there is not a Catholic family in Ireland, that for the glory of great Britain is not weeping over a child’s, a brother’s, or a parent’s grave, and yet still she clamours for securities! Oh, Prejudice, where is thy reason! Oh, Bigotry! where is thy blush! If ever there was an opportunity for England to combine gratitude with justice, and dignity with safety, it is the present. Now, when Irish blood has crimsoned the cross upon her naval flag, and an Irish hero strikes the harp to victory upon the summit of the Pyrenees. England—England! do not hesitate. This hour of triumph may be but the hour of trial; another season may see the splendid panorama of European vassalage, arrayed by your ruthless enemy, and glittering beneath the ruins of another capital—perhaps of LONDON. Who can say it? A few months since, Moscow stood as splendid and as secure. Fair rose the morn on the patriarchal city—the empress of her nation, the queen of commerce, the sanctuary of strangers, her thousand spires pierced the very heavens, and her domes of gold reflected back the sun-beams. The spoiler came; he marked her for his victim; and, as if his very glance was destiny, even before the nightfall, with all her pomp, and wealth, and happiness, she withered from the world! A heap of ashes told where once stood Moscow! Merciful God, if this lord of desolation, heading his locust legions, were to invade our country; though I do not ask what would be your determination; though, in the language of our young enthusiast, I am sure you would oppose him with “a sword in one hand, and a torch in the other;” still I do ask, and ask with fearlessness, upon what single principle of policy or of justice, could the advocates for your exclusion solicit your assistance—could they expect you to support a constitution from whose benefits you were

debarred? With what front could they ask you to recover an ascendancy, which in point of fact was but re-establishing your bondage?

It has been said that there is a faction in Ireland ready to join this despot—"a French party," as Mr. GRATTAN thought it decent, even in the very senate-house, to promulgate. Sir, I speak the universal voice of Ireland when I say, she spurns the imputation. There is no "French party" here; but there is—and it would be strange if there was not—there is an Irish party—men who cannot bear to see their country taunted with the mockery of a constitution—men who will be content with no connexion that refuses them a community of benefits while it imposes a community of privations—men who, sooner than see this land polluted by the footsteps of a slave, would wish the ocean-wave became its sepulchre, and that the orb of heaven forgot where it existed. It has been said too (and when we were to be calumniated, what has not been said?) that Irishmen are neither fit for freedom or grateful for favours. In the first place, I deny that to be a favour which is a *right*; and in the next place, I utterly deny that a system of conciliation has ever been adopted with respect to Ireland. Try them, and my life on it, they will be found grateful. I think I know my countrymen; they cannot help being grateful for a benefit; and there is no country on the earth where one would be conferred with more characteristic benevolence. They are, emphatically, the school-boys of the heart—a people of sympathy; their acts spring instinctively from their passions; by nature ardent, by instinct brave, by inheritance generous. The children of impulse, they cannot avoid their virtues; and to be other than noble, they must not only be unnatural but unnatural. Put my panegyric to the test. Enter the hovel of the Irish peasant. I do not say you will find the frugality of the Scotch, the comfort of the English, or the fantastic decorations of the French cottager; but I do say, within those wretched bazaars of mud and misery, you will find sensibility the most affecting, politeness the most natural, hospitality the most grateful, merit the most unconscious; their look is eloquence, their smile is love, their retort is wit, their remark is wisdom—not a wisdom borrowed from the dead, but that with which nature has herself inspired them; an acute observance of the passing scene, and a deep insight into the motives of its agent. Try to deceive them, and see with what shrewdness they will detect; try to outwit them, and see with what humour they will elude; attack them with ar-

gument, and you will stand amazed at the strength of their expression, the rapidity of their ideas, and the energy of their gesture! In short, God seems to have formed our country like our people: he has thrown round the one its wild, magnificent, decorated rudeness; he has infused into the other the simplicity of genius and the seeds of virtue; he says audibly to us, "Give them cultivation."

This is the way, Gentlemen, in which I have always looked upon your question—not as a party, or a sectarian, or a Catholic, but as an IRISH question. Is it possible that any man can seriously believe the paralysing five millions of such a people as I have been describing, can be a benefit to the empire! Is there any man who deserves the name not of a statesman but of a rational being, who can think it politic to rob such a multitude of all the energies of an honourable ambition! Look to Protestant Ireland, shooting over the empire those rays of genius, and those thunderbolts of war, that have at once embellished and preserved it. I speak not of a former era. I refer not for my example to the day just passed, when our Burkes, our Barrys, and our Goldsmiths, exiled by this system from their native shore, wreathed the "immortal shamrock" round the brow of painting, poetry, and eloquence! But now, even while I speak, who leads the British senate? A Protestant Irishman! Who guides the British arms? A Protestant Irishman! And why, why is Catholic Ireland, with her quintuple population, stationary and silent? Have physical causes neutralised its energies? Has the religion of Christ stupified its intellect? Has the God of mankind become the partisan of a monopoly, and put an interdict on its advancement? Stranger, do not ask the bigoted and pampered renegade who has an interest in deceiving you; but open the penal statutes and weep tears of blood over the reason. Come, come yourself, and see this unhappy people: see the Irishman, the only alien in Ireland, in rags and wretchedness, staining the sweetest scenery ever eye reposed on, persecuted by the extorting middle-man of some absentee landlord, plundered by the lay-proctor of some rapacious and unsympathising incumbent, bearing through life but insults and injustice, and bereaved even of any hope in death by the heart-rending reflection that he leaves his children to bear like their father an abominable bondage! Is this the fact? Let any man who doubts it walk out into your streets, and see the consequences of such a system; see it rearing up crowds in a kind of apprenticeship to the prison, absolutely permitted by their parents

from utter despair to lisp the alphabet and learn the rudiments of profligacy! For my part, never did I meet one of these youthful assemblages without feeling within me a melancholy emotion. How often have I thought, within that little circle of neglected triflers who seem to have been born in caprice and bred in orphanage, there may exist some mind formed of the finest mould and wrought for immortality; a soul swelling with the energies and stamped with the patent of the Deity, which under proper culture might perhaps bless, adorn, immortalise, or ennoble empires; some CINCINNATUS, in whose breast the destinies of a nation may lie dormant; some MILTON, "pregnant with celestial fire;" some CURRAN, who, when thrones were crumbled and dynasties forgotten, might stand the landmark of his country's genius, rearing himself amid regal ruins and national dissolution, a mental pyramid in the solitude of time, beneath whose shade things might moulder, and round whose summit eternity must play. Even in such a circle the young DEMOSTHENES might have once been found, and HOMER, the disgrace and glory of his age, have sung neglected! Have not other nations witnessed those things, and who shall say that nature has peculiarly degraded the intellect of Ireland? Oh! my countrymen, let us hope that under better auspices and a sounder policy, the ignorance that thinks so may meet its refutation. Let us turn from the blight and ruin of this wintry day to the fond anticipation of an happier period, when our prostrate land shall stand erect among the nations, fearless and unfettered; her brow blooming with the wreath of science, and her path strewn with the offerings of art; the breath of heaven blessing her flag, the extremities of earth acknowledging her name, her fields waving with the fruits of agriculture, her ports alive with the contributions of commerce, and her temples vocal with unrestricted piety. Such is the ambition of the true patriot; such are the views for which we are calumniated! Oh, divine ambition! Oh, delightful calumny! Happy he who shall see thee accomplished! Happy he who through every peril toils for thy attainment! Proceed, friend of Ireland and partaker of her wrongs, proceed undaunted to this glorious consummation. Fortune will not gild, power will not ennoble thee; but thou shalt be rich in the love and titled by the blessings of thy country; thy path shall be illumined by the public eye, thy labours lightened by the public gratitude; and oh, remember—amid the impediments with which corruption will oppose, and the dejection with which disappointments may depress

you—remember you are acquiring a name to be cherished by the future generations of earth, long after it has been enrolled amongst the inheritors of heaven.

Speech delivered by Mr. Phillips at an Aggregate Meeting of the Roman Catholics, of Cork.

IT is with no small degree of self-congratulation that I at length find myself in a province which every glance of the eye, and every throb of the heart, tells me is truly Irish; and that congratulation is not a little enhanced by finding that you receive me not as quite a stranger. Indeed, if to respect the Christian without regard to his creed, if to love the country but the more for its calamities, if to hate oppression though it be robed in power, if to venerate integrity though it pine under persecution, gives a man any claim to your recognition; then, indeed, I am not a stranger amongst you. There is a bond of union between brethren, however distant; there is a sympathy between the virtuous, however separated; there is a heaven-born instinct by which the associates of the heart become at once acquainted, and kindred natures as it were by magic see in the face of a stranger, the features of a friend. Thus it is that, though we never met, you hail in me the sweet association, and I feel myself amongst you even as if I were in the home of my nativity. But this my knowledge of you was not left to chance; nor was it left to the records of your charity, the memorials of your patriotism, your municipal magnificence, or your commercial splendour; it came to me hallowed by the accents of that tongue on which Ireland has so often hung with extacy, heightened by the eloquence and endeared by the sincerity of, I hope, our mutual friend. Let me congratulate him on having become in some degree naturalised in a province, where the spirit of the elder day seems to have lingered; and let me congratulate you on the acquisition of a man who is at once the zealous advocate of your cause, and a practical instance of the injustice of your oppressions. Surely, surely if merit had fair play, if splendid talents, if indefatigable industry, if great research, if unsullied principle, if a heart full of the finest affections, if a mind matured in every manly accomplishment, in short, if every noble, public quality, mellowed and reflected in the pure mirror of domestic virtue, could entitle a subject to distinction in a state, Mr. O'Connell should be distinguished;

but, it is his crime to be a Catholic, and his curse to be an Irishman. Simpleton! he prefers his conscience to a place, and the love of his country to a participation in her plunder! Indeed, he will never rise. If he joined the bigots of my sect, he might be a sergeant; if he joined the infidels of your sect, he might enjoy a pension, and there is no knowing whether some Orange-corporator, on an Orange-anniversary, might not modestly yield him the precedence of giving "the glorious and immortal memory." Oh, yes, he might be privileged to get drunk in gratitude to the man who colonised ignorance in his native land, and left to his creed the legacy of legalised persecution. Nor would he stand alone, no matter what might be the measure of his disgrace, or the degree of his dereliction. You well know there are many of your own community who would leave him at the distance-post. In contemplating their recreancy, I should be almost tempted to smile at the exhibition of their pretensions, if there was not a kind of moral melancholy intermingled that changed satire into pity, and ridicule into contempt. For my part, I behold them in the apathy of their servitude, as I would some miserable maniac in the contentment of his captivity. Poor creature! when all that raised him from the brute is levelled, and his glorious intellect is mouldering in ruins, you may see him with his song of triumph, and his crown of straw, a fancied freeman mid the clanking of his chains, and an imaginary monarch beneath the inflictions of his keeper! Merciful God! is it not almost an argument for the sceptic and the disbeliever, when we see the human shape almost without an aspiration of the human soul, separated by no boundary from the beasts that perish, beholding with indifference the captivity of their country, the persecution of their creed, and the helpless hopeless destiny of their children? But they have nor creed, nor consciences, nor country; their god is gold, their gospel is a contract, their church a counting-house, their characters a commodity; they never pray but for the opportunities of corruption, and hold their consciences, as they do their government-debentures, at a price proportioned to the misfortunes of their country. But let us turn from those mendicants of disgrace: though Ireland is doomed to the stain of their birth, her mind need not be sullied by their contemplation. I turn from them with pleasure to the contemplation of your cause, which, as far as argument can effect it, stands on a sublime and splendid elevation. Every obstacle has vanished into air; every favourable circumstance has hardened

into adamant. The POPE, whom childhood was taught to lisp as the enemy of religion, and age shuddered at as a prescriptive calamity, has by his example put the princes of Christendom to shame. This day of miracles, in which the human heart has been strung to its extremest point of energy; this day, to which posterity will look for instances of every crime and every virtue, holds not in its page of wonders a more sublime phenomenon than that calumniated pontiff. Placed at the very pinnacle of human elevation, surrounded by the pomp of the Vatican and the splendours of the court, pouring the mandates of CHRIST from the throne of the CÆSARS, nations were his subjects, kings were his companions, religion was his handmaid; he went forth gorgeous with the accumulated dignity of ages, every knee bending, and every eye blessing the prince of one world and the prophet of another. Have we not seen him, in one moment, his crown crumbled, his sceptre a reed, his throne a shadow, his home a dungeon! But if we have, Catholics, it was only to show how inestimable is human virtue compared with human grandeur; it was only to show those whose faith was failing, and whose fears were strengthening, that the simplicity of the patriarchs, the piety of the saints, and the patience of the martyrs, had not wholly vanished. Perhaps it was also ordained to show the bigot at home, as well as the tyrant abroad, that though the person might be chained, and the motive calumniated, Religion was still strong enough to support her sons, and to confound, if she could not reclaim, her enemies. No threats could awe, no promises could tempt, no sufferings could appal him; mid the damps of his dungeon he dashed away the cup in which the pearl of his liberty was to be dissolved. Only reflect on the state of the world at that moment! All around him was convulsed, the very foundations of the earth seemed giving way, the comet was let loose that "from its fiery hair shook pestilence and death," the twilight was gathering, the tempest was roaring, the darkness was at hand; but he towered sublime, like the last mountain in the deluge—majestic, not less in his elevation than in his solitude, immutable amid change, magnificent amid ruin, the last remnant of earth's beauty, the last resting-place of heaven's light! Thus have the terrors of the VATICAN retreated; thus has that cloud which hovered o'er your cause brightened at once into a sign of your faith and an assurance of your victory.—Another obstacle, the omnipotence of FRANCE; I know it was a pretence, but it was made an obstacle—What has become of it?

The spell of her invincibility destroyed, the spirit of her armies broken, her immense boundary dismembered, and the lord of her empire become the exile of a rock. She allows fancy no fear, and bigotry no speciousness; and, as if in the very operation of the change to point the purpose of your redemption, the hand that replanted the rejected lily was that of an *Irish Catholic*. Perhaps it is not also unworthy of remark, that the last day of her triumph, and the first of her decline, was that on which her insatiable chieftain smote the holy head of your religion.

You will hardly suspect I am imbued with the follies of superstition; but when the man now unborn shall trace the story of that eventful day, he will see the adopted child of fortune borne on the wings of victory from clime to clime, marking every movement with a triumph, and every pause with a crown, till time, space, seasons, nay, even nature herself, seeming to vanish from before him, in the blasphemy of his ambition he smote the apostle of his God, and dared to raise the everlasting Cross amid his perishable trophies? I am no fanatic, but is it not remarkable? May it not be one of those signs which the Deity has sometimes given in compassion to our infirmity; signs, which in the punishment of one nation not unfrequently denote the warning to another:—

“Signs sent by God to mark the will of Heaven,
Signs, which bid nations weep and be forgiven.”

The argument, however, is taken from the bigot; and those whose consciousness taught them to expect what your loyalty should have taught them to repel, can no longer oppose you from the terrors of invasion. Thus, then, the papal phantom and the French threat have vanished into nothing.—Another obstacle, the tenets of your creed. Has England still to learn them? I will tell her where. Let her ask Canada, the last plank of her American shipwreck. Let her ask Portugal, the first omen of her European splendour. Let her ask Spain, the most Catholic country in the universe, her Catholic friends, her Catholic allies, her rivals in the triumph, her reliance in the retreat, her last stay when the world had deserted her. They must have told her on the field of blood, whether it was true that they “*kept no faith with heretics.*” Alas, alas! how miserable a thing is bigotry, when every friend puts it to the blush, and every triumph but rebukes its weakness. If England continued still to accredit this calumny, I would direct her for conviction to the hero for whose

gift alone she owes us an eternity of gratitude; whom we have seen leading the van of universal emancipation, decking his wreath with the flowers of every soil, and filling his army with the soldiers of every sect; before whose splendid dawn, every tear exhaling and every vapour vanishing, the colours of the European world have revived, and the spirit of European liberty (may no crime avert the omen!) seems to have arisen! Suppose he was a Catholic, could this have been? Suppose Catholics did not follow him, could this have been? Did the Catholic Cortes inquire his faith when they gave him the supreme command? Did the regent of Portugal withhold from his creed the reward of his valour? Did the Catholic soldier pause at Salamanca to dispute upon polemics? Did the Catholic chieftain prove upon Barrossa that he kept no faith with heretics, or did the creed of Spain, the same with that of France, the opposite of that of England, prevent their association in the field of liberty? Oh, no, no, no! the citizen of every clime, the friend of every colour, and the child of every creed, liberty walks abroad in the ubiquity of her benevolence; alike to her the varieties of faith and the vicissitudes of country; she has no object but the happiness of man, no bounds but the extremities of creation. Yes, yes, it was reserved for Wellington to redeem his own country when he was regenerating every other. It was reserved for him to show how vile were the aspersions on your creed, how generous were the glowings of your gratitude. He was a Protestant, yet Catholics trusted him; he was a Protestant, yet Catholics advanced him? he is a Protestant Knight in Catholic Portugal, he is a Protestant Duke in Catholic Spain, he is the Protestant commander of Catholic armies: he is more, he is the living proof of the Catholic's liberality, and the undeniable refutation of the Protestant's injustice. Gentlemen, as a Protestant, though I may blush for the bigotry of many of my creed who continue obstinate in the teeth of this conviction, still were I a Catholic I should feel little triumph in the victory. I should only hang my head at the distresses which this warfare occasioned to my country. I should only think how long she had writhed in the agony of her disunion; how long she had bent, fettered by slaves, cajoled by blockheads, and plundered by adventurers; the proverb of the fool, the prey of the politician, the dupe of the designing, the experiment of the desperate, struggling as it were between her own fanatical and infatuated parties, those hell-engendered serpents which enfold her, like the Trojan seer, even at the worship of her

altars, and crush her to death in the very embraces of her children ! It is time (is it not ?) that she should be extricated. The act would be proud, the means would be Christian ; mutual forbearance, mutual indulgence, mutual concession ; I would say to the Protestant, Concede ; I would say to the Catholic, Forgive ; I would say to both, Though you bend not at the same shrine, you have a common God, and a common country ; the one has commanded love, the other kneels to you for peace. This hostility of her sects has been the disgrace, the peculiar disgrace, of Christianity. The Gentoo loves his cast, so does the Mahometan, so does the Hindoo, whom England out of the abundance of her charity is about to teach her creed ;—I hope she may not teach her practice. But Christianity, Christianity alone exhibits her thousand sects, each denouncing his neighbour here, in the name of God, and damning hereafter out of pure devotion ! “ You’re a heretic,” says the Catholic : “ You’re a Papist,” says the Protestant : “ I appeal to Saint Peter,” exclaims the Catholic : “ I appeal to Saint Athanasius,” cries the Protestant : “ and if it goes to damning, he’s as good at it as any saint in the calender.” “ You’ll all be damned eternally,” moans out the Methodist ; “ I’m the elect !” Thus it is, you see, each has his anathema, his accusation, and his retort, and in the end Religion is the victim ! The victory of each is the overthrow of all ; and Infidelity, laughing at the contest, writes the refutation of their creed in the blood of the combatants ! I wonder if this reflection has ever struck any of those reverend dignitaries who rear their mitres against Catholic emancipation. Has it ever glanced across their Christian zeal, if the story of our country should have casually reached the valleys of Hindostan, with what an argument they are furnishing the heathen world against their sacred missionary ? In what terms could the Christian ecclesiastic answer the Eastern Bramin, when he replied to his exhortations in language such as this ? “ Father, we have heard your doctrine ; it is splendid in theory, specious in promise, sublime in prospect ; like the world to which it leads, it is rich in the miracles of light. But, Father, we have heard that there are times when its rays vanish and leave your sphere in darkness, or when your only lustre arises from meteors of fire, and moons of blood : we have heard of the verdant island which the Great Spirit has raised in the bosom of the waters with such a bloom of beauty, that the very wave she has usurped worships the loveliness of her intrusion. The sovereign of our forests is not more generous in

his anger than her sons; the snow-flake, ere it falls on the mountain, is not purer than her daughters; little inland seas reflect the splendours of her landscape, and her vallies smile at the story of the serpent! Father, is it true that the isle of the sun, this people of the morning, find the fury of the ocean in your creed, and more than the venom of the viper in your policy? Is it true, that for six hundred years, her peasant has not tasted peace, nor her piety rested from persecution? Oh! Brama, defend us from the God of the Christian! Father, father, return to your brethren, retrace the waters; we may live in ignorance, but we live in love, and we will not taste the tree that gives us evil when it gives us wisdom. The heart is our guide, nature is our gospel; in the imitation of our fathers we found our hope, and if we err, on the virtue of our motives we rely for our redemption." How would the missionaries of the mitre answer him? How will they answer that insulted Being of whose creed their conduct carries the refutation?—But to what end do I argue with the BIGOT?—a wretch, whom no philosophy can humanise, no charity soften, no religion reclaim, no miracle convert; a monster, who, red with the fires of hell, and bending under the crimes of the earth, erects his murderous divinity upon a throne of skulls, and would gladly feed even with a brother's blood the cannibal appetite of his rejected altar! His very interest cannot soften him into humanity. Surely, if it could, no man would be found mad enough to advocate a system which cankers the very heart of society, and undermines the natural resources of government; which takes away the strongest excitement to industry, by closing up every avenue to laudable ambition; which administers to the vanity or the vice of a party, when it should only study the advantage of a people; and holds out the perquisites of state as an impious bounty on the persecution of religion.—I have already shown that the power of the Pope, that the power of France, and that the tenets of your creed, were but imaginary auxiliaries to this system. Another pretended obstacle, has, however, been opposed to your emancipation. I allude to the danger arising from a foreign influence. What a triumphant answer can you give to that! Methinks, as lately, I see the assemblage of your hallowed hierarchy surrounded by the priesthood, and followed by the people, waving aloft the crucifix of Christ alike against the seductions of the court, and the commands of the conclave! Was it not a delightful, an heart-cheering spectacle, to see that holy band of brothers preferring the chance of martyrdom to the certainty of pro-

motion, and postponing all the gratifications of worldly pride, to the severe but heaven-gaining glories of their poverty? They acted honestly, and they acted wisely also; for I say here, before the largest assembly I ever saw in any country—and I believe you are almost all Catholics—I say here, that if the see of Rome presumed to impose any temporal mandate directly or indirectly on the Irish people, the Irish bishops should at once abandon it, or their flocks, one and all, would abjure and banish both of them together. History affords us too fatal an example of the perfidious, arrogant, and venal interference of a papal usurper of former days in the temporal jurisdiction of this country; an interference assumed without right, exercised without principle, and followed by calamities apparently without end. Thus, then, has every obstacle vanished; but it has done more—every obstacle has, as it were, by miracle, produced a powerful argument in your favour! How do I prove it? Follow me in my proofs and you will see by what links the chain is united. The power of Napoleon was the grand and leading obstacle to your emancipation. That power led him to the menace of an Irish invasion. What did that prove? Only the sincerity of Irish allegiance. On the very threat, we poured forth our volunteers, our yeomen, and our militia; and the country became encircled with an armed and a loyal population. Thus, then, the calumny of your disaffection vanished. That power next led him to the invasion of Portugal. What did it prove? Only the good faith of Catholic allegiance. Every field in the Peninsula saw the Catholic Portuguese hail the English Protestant as a brother and a friend joined in the same pride and the same peril. Thus, then, vanished the slander that you could not keep faith with heretics. That power next led him to the imprisonment of the Pontiff, so long suspected of being quite ready to sacrifice every thing to his interest and his dominion. What did that prove? The strength of his principles, the purity of his faith, the disinterestedness of his practice. It proved a life spent in the study of the saints, and ready to be closed by an imitation of the martyrs. Thus, also, was the head of your religion vindicated to Europe. There remained behind but one impediment—your liability to a foreign influence. Now mark! The pontiff's captivity led to the transmission of Quarantotti's rescript; and on its arrival, from the priest to the peasant, there was not a Catholic in the land, who did not spurn the document of Italian audacity! Thus, then, vanished also the phantom of a foreign influence! Is this convic-

tion? Is not the hand of God in it? Oh yes! for observe what followed. The very moment that power, which was the first and last and leading argument against you, had, by its special operation, banished every obstacle; that power itself, as it were by enchantment, evaporated at once and peace with Europe took away the last pretence for your exclusion. Peace with Europe! alas, alas, there is no peace for Ireland: the universal pacification was but the signal for renewed hostility to us, and the mockery of its preliminaries were tolled through our provinces by the knell of the curfew. I ask, is it not time that this hostility should cease? If ever there was a day when it was necessary, that day undoubtedly exists no longer. The continent is triumphant, the peninsula is free, France is our ally. The hapless house which gave birth to Jacobitism is extinct for ever. The Pope has been found not only not hostile, but complying. Indeed, if England would recollect the share you had in these sublime events, the very recollection should *subsidise* her into gratitude. But should she not—should she, with a baseness monstrous and unparalleled, forget our services, she has still to study a tremendous lesson. The ancient order of Europe, it is true, is restored, but what restored it? Coalition after coalition had crumbled away before the might of the conqueror; crowns were but ephemeral; monarchs only the tenants of an hour; the descendant of Frederick dwindled into a vassal; the heir of Peter shrunk into the recesses of his frozen desert; the successor of Charles roamed a vagabond, not only throneless but houseless; every evening sun set upon a change; every morning dawned upon some new convulsion: in short, the whole political globe quivered as with an earthquake, and who could tell what venerable monument was next to shiver beneath the splendid, frightful, and reposeless heavings of the French volcano! What gave Europe peace and England safety amid this palsy of her Princes? Was it not the Landwehr and the Landsturm and the Levy en Masse? Was it not the PEOPLE?—that first and last, and best and noblest, as well as safest security of a virtuous government. It is a glorious lesson; she ought to study it in this hour of safety; but should she not—

“ Oh wo be to the Prince who rules by fear,
When danger comes upon him !”

She will adopt it. I hope it from her wisdom; I expect it from her policy; I claim it from her justice; I demand it

from her gratitude. She must at length see that there is a gross mistake in the management of Ireland. No wise man ever yet imagined injustice to be his interest; and the minister who thinks he serves a state by upholding the most irritating and the most impious of all monopolies, will one day or other find himself miserably mistaken. This system of persecution is not the way to govern this country; at least to govern it with any happiness to itself, or advantage to its rulers. Centuries have proved its total inefficiency, and if it be continued for centuries, the proofs will be but multiplied. Why, however, should I blame the English people, when I see our own representatives so shamefully negligent of our interests? The other day, for instance, when Mr. Peete introduced, aye, and passed too, his three newly-invented penal bills, to the necessity of which, every assizes in Ireland, and as honest a judge as ever dignified or redeemed the ermine, has given the refutation; why was it that no Irish member rose in his place to vindicate his country? Where were the nominal representatives of Ireland? Where were the renegade revilers of the demagogue? Where were the noisy proclaimers of the board? What, was there not one voice to own the country? Was the patriot of 1782 an assenting auditor? Were our hundred *itinerants* mute and motionless—"quite chopfallen?" or is it only when Ireland is slandered and her motives misrepresented, and her oppressions are basely and falsely denied, that their venal throats are ready to echo the chorus of ministerial calumny? Oh, I should not have to ask those questions, if in the late contest for this city, you had prevailed, and sent HURCHINSON into Parliament; he would have risen, though *alone*, as I have often seen him—richer not less in hereditary fame, than in personal accomplishments; the ornament of Ireland as she is, the solitary remnant of what she was. If slander dare asperse her, it would not have done so with impunity. He would have encouraged the timid; he would have shamed the recreant; and though he could not save us from chains, he would at least have shielded us from calumny. Let me hope that his absence shall be but of short duration, and that this city will earn an additional claim to the gratitude of the country, by electing him her representative. I scarcely know him but as a public man, and considering the state to which we are reduced by the apostacy of some, and the ingratitude of others, and venality of more,—I say you should inscribe the conduct of such a man in the manuals of your devotion, and in the primers of your children, but, above all,

you should act on it yourselves. Let me intreat of you, above all things, to sacrifice any personal differences amongst yourselves, for the great cause in which you are embarked. Remember, the contest is for your children, your country, and your God; and remember also, that the day of Irish union will be the natal day of Irish liberty. When your own Parliament (which I trust in Heaven we may yet see again) voted you the right of franchise, and the right of purchase, it gave you, if you are not false to yourselves, a certainty of your emancipation. My friends, farewell! This has been a most unexpected meeting to me; it has been our first—it may be our last. I can never forget the enthusiasm of this reception. I am too much affected by it to make professions; but, believe me, no matter where I may be driven by the whim of my destiny, you shall find me one in whom change of place shall create no change of principle; one whose memory must perish ere he forgets his country; whose heart must be cold when it beats not for her happiness.

Speech of Mr. Phillips, at a dinner given to Mr. Payne, an American Gentleman—a toast had been given, in which both Mr. Phillips and Mr. Payne were handsomely alluded to—Mr. Phillips rose and said,

IT is not with the vain hope of returning by words the kindnesses which have been literally showered on me during the short period of our acquaintance, that I now interrupt, for a moment, the flow of your festivity. Indeed, it is not necessary; an Irishman needs no requital for his hospitality; its generous impulse is the instinct of his nature, and the very consciousness of the act carries its recompense along with it. But, sir, there are sensations excited by an allusion in your toast, under the influence of which silence would be impossible. To be associated with Mr. Payne must be, to any one who regards private virtues and personal accomplishments, a source of peculiar pride; and that feeling is not a little enhanced in me by a recollection of the country to which we are indebted for his qualifications. Indeed the mention of America has never failed to fill me with the most lively emotions. In my earliest infancy, that tender season when impressions, at once the most permanent and the most powerful, are likely to be excited, the story of her then recent struggle raised a throb in every heart that loved liberty, and wrung a reluctant tribute even from discomfited oppression. I saw her spurning

alike the luxuries that would enervate, and the legions that would intimidate; dashing from her lips the poisoned cup of European servitude; and through all the vicissitudes of her protracted conflict, displaying a magnanimity that defied misfortune, and a moderation that gave new grace to victory. It was the first vision of my childhood; it will descend with me to the grave. But if, as a man, I venerate the mention of America, what must be my feelings towards her as an Irishman. Never, oh never, while memory remains, can Ireland forget the home of her emigrant, and the asylum of her exile. No matter whether their sorrows sprung from the errors of enthusiasm, or the realities of suffering, from fancy or infliction; that must be reserved for the scrutiny of those whom the lapse of time shall acquit of partiality. It is for the men of other ages to investigate and record it; but surely it is for the men of every age to hail the hospitality that received the shelterless, and love the feeling that befriended the unfortunate. Search creation round, where can you find a country that presents so sublime a view, so interesting an anticipation? What noble institutions! What a comprehensive policy! What a wise equalisation of every political advantage! The oppressed of all countries, the martyrs of every creed, the innocent victim of despotic arrogance or superstitious phrensy, may there find refuge; his industry encouraged, his piety respected, his ambition animated; with no restraint but those laws which are the same to all, and no distinction but that which his merit may originate. Who can deny that the existence of such a country presents a subject for human congratulation! Who can deny, that its gigantic advancement offers a field for the most rational conjecture! At the end of the very next century, if she proceeds as she seems to promise, what a wondrous spectacle may she not exhibit! Who shall say for what purpose a mysterious Providence may not have designed her! Who shall say, that when, in its follies or its crimes, the old world may have interred all the pride of its power, and all the pomp of its civilisation, human nature may not find its destined renovation in the new! For myself, I have no doubt of it. I have not the least doubt, that when our temples and our trophies shall have mouldered into dust—when the glories of our name shall be but the legend of tradition, and the light of our achievements only live in song; philosophy will rise again in the sky of her Franklin, and glory rekindle at the urn of her Washington. Is this the vision of a romantic fancy? Is it even improbable? Is it half so improbable as the events

which for the last twenty years have rolled like successive tides over the surface of the European world, each erasing the impression that preceded it? Thousands upon thousands, Sir, I know there are, who will consider this supposition as wild and whimsical; but they have dwelt with little reflection upon the records of the past. They have but ill observed the never-ceasing progress of national rise and national ruin. They form their judgment on the deceitful stability of the present hour, never considering the innumerable monarchies and republics, in former days, apparently as permanent, their very existence become now the subjects of speculation, I had almost said of scepticism. I appeal to History! Tell me, thou reverend chronicler of the grave, can all the illusions of ambition realised, can all the wealth of an universal commerce, can all the achievements of successful heroism, or all the establishments of this world's wisdom, secure to empire the permanency of its possessions? Alas, TROY thought so once; yet the land of Priam lives only in song—THEBES thought so once, yet her hundred gates have crumbled, and her very tombs are but as the dust they were vainly intended to commemorate! So thought PALMYRA—where is she? So thought Persepolis, and now—

“Yon waste, where roaming lions howl,
Yon aisle, where moans the grey-eyed owl,
Shows the proud Persian's great abode,
Where sceptred once, an earthly God,
His power-clad arm controlled each happier clime,
Where sports the warbling muse, and fancy soars sublime.”

So thought the countries of Demosthenes and the Spartan,* yet Leonidas is trampled by the timid slave, and Athens insulted by the servile, mindless, and enervate Ottoman! In his hurried march, Time has but looked at their imagined immortality, and all its vanities, from the palace to the tomb, have, with their ruins, erased the very impression of his footsteps! The days of their glory are as if they had never been; and the island that was then a speck, rude and neglected in the barren ocean, now rivals the ubiquity of their commerce, the glory of their arms, the fame of their philosophy, the eloquence of their senate, and the inspiration of their bards! Who shall say, then, contemplating the past, that England, proud and potent as she appears, may not one day be what Athens is, and the young America yet soar to be what Athens was! Who shall say, when the European column shall have mouldered, and the night of barbarism obscured its very

ruins, that that mighty continent may not emerge from the horizon, to rule for its time sovereign of the ascendant !

Such, Sir, is the natural progress of human operations, and such the unsubstantial mockery of human pride. But I should, perhaps, apologise for this digression. The tombs are at best a sad, although an instructive subject. At all events, they are ill suited to such an hour as this. I shall endeavour to atone for it, by turning to a theme, which tombs cannot inurn, or revolution alter. It is the custom of your board, and a noble one it is, to deck the cup of the gay with the garland of the great ; and surely, even in the eyes of its deity, his grape is not the less lovely when glowing beneath the foliage of the palm tree and the myrtle.—Allow me to add one flower to the chaplet, which, though it sprang in America, is no exotic. Virtue planted it, and it is naturalised every where. I see you anticipate me—I see you concur with me, that it matters very little what immediate spot may be the birth-place of such a man as WASHINGTON. No people can claim, no country can appropriate him ; the boon of Providence to the human race, his fame is eternity, and his residence creation. Though it was the defeat of our arms, and the disgrace of our policy, I almost bless the convulsion in which he had his origin. If the heavens thundered and the earth rocked, yet, when the storm passed, how pure was the climate that it cleared ; how bright in the brow of the firmament was the planet which it revealed to us ! In the production of Washington it does really appear, as if nature was endeavouring to improve upon herself, and that all the virtues of the ancient world were but so many studies preparatory to the patriot of the new. Individual instances no doubt there were ; splendid exemplifications of some single qualification : Cæsar was merciful, Scipio was continent, Hannibal was patient ; but it was reserved for Washington to blend them all in one, and like the lovely *chef d'œuvre* of the Grecian artist, to exhibit in one glow of associated beauty, the pride of every model, and the perfection of every master. As a general, he marshalled the peasant into a veteran, and supplied by discipline the absence of experience ; as a statesman, he enlarged the policy of the cabinet into the most comprehensive system of general advantage ; and such was the wisdom of his views, and the philosophy of his counsels, that to the soldier and the statesman, he almost added the character of the sage ! A conqueror, he was untainted with the crime of blood ; a revolutionist, he was free from any stain of treason ; for aggression commenced the contest, and his country called him to the

command. Liberty unsheathed his sword, necessity stained, victory returned it. If he had paused here, history might have doubted what station to assign him ; whether at the head of her citizens or her soldiers—her heroes or her patriots. But the last glorious act crowns his career, and banishes all hesitation. Who, like Washington, after having emancipated an hemisphere, resigned its crown, and preferred the retirement of domestic life to the adoration of a land he might be almost said to have created !

“ How shall we rank thee upon Glory’s page,
Thou more than soldier and just less than sage ;
All thou hast been reflects less fame on thee,
Far less than all thou hast forborne to be !”

Such, Sir, is the testimony of one not to be accused of partiality in his estimate of America. Happy, proud America ! the lightnings of heaven yielded to your philosophy ! The temptations of earth could not seduce your patriotism !

I have the honour, Sir, of proposing to you as a toast, the immortal memory of **GEORGE WASHINGTON!**

Speech delivered by Mr. Phillips, at a Public Dinner given to him by the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty in Liverpool.

BELIEVE me, Mr. Chairman, I feel too sensibly the high and unmerited compliment you have paid me, to attempt any other return than the simple expression of my gratitude ; to be just, I must be silent ; but though the tongue is mute, my heart is much more than eloquent. The kindness of friendship, the testimony of any class, however humble, carries with it no trifling gratification ; but stranger as I am, to be so distinguished in this great city, whose wealth is its least recommendation ; the emporium of commerce, liberality, and public spirit ; the birth-place of talent ; the residence of integrity ; the field where freedom seems to have rallied the last allies of her cause, as if, with the noble consciousness that, though patriotism could not wreath the laurel round her brow, genius should at least raise it over her ashes ; to be so distinguished, Sir, and in such a place, does, I confess, inspire me with a vanity which even a sense of my unimportance cannot entirely silence. Indeed, Sir, the ministerial critics of Liverpool were right. I have no claim to this enthusiastic welcome. But I cannot look upon this testimonial so much as a tribute to myself, as an omen to that coun-

try with whose fortunes the dearest sympathies of my soul are intertwined. Oh yes, I do foresee when she shall hear with what courtesy her most pretensionless advocate has been treated, how the same wind that wafts her the intelligence, will revive that flame within her, which the blood of ages has not been able to extinguish. It may be a delusive hope, but I am glad to grasp at any phantom that flits across the solitude of that country's desolation. On this subject you can scarcely be ignorant, for you have an Irishman resident amongst you, whom I am proud to call my friend; whose fidelity to Ireland no absence can diminish; who has at once the honesty to be candid, and the talent to be convincing. I need scarcely say I allude to Mr. Casey. I knew, Sir, the statue was too striking to require a name upon the pedestal.—Alas, Ireland has little now to console her, except the consciousness of having produced such men.—It would be a reasonable adulation in me to deceive you. Six centuries of base misgovernment, of causeless, ruthless, and ungrateful persecution, have now reduced that country to a crisis, at which I know not whether the friend of humanity has most cause to grieve or to rejoice; because I am not sure that the same feeling which prompts the tear at human sufferings, ought not to triumph in that increased infliction which may at length tire them out of endurance. I trust in God a change of system may in time anticipate the results of desperation; but you may quite depend on it, a period is approaching, when, if penalty does not pause in the pursuit, patience will turn short on the pursuer. Can you wonder at it? Contemplate Ireland during any given period of England's rule, and what a picture does she exhibit! Behold her created in all the prodigality of nature; with a soil that anticipates the husbandman's desires; with harbours courting the commerce of the world; with rivers capable of the most effective navigation; with the ore of every metal struggling through her surface; with a people, brave, generous, and intellectual, literally forcing their way through the disabilities of their own country into the highest stations of every other, and well rewarding the policy that promotes them, by achievements the most heroic, and allegiance without a blemish. How have the successive governments of England demeaned themselves to a nation, offering such an accumulation of moral and political advantages! See it in the state of Ireland at this instant; in the universal bankruptcy that overwhelms her; in the loss of her trade; in the annihilation of her manufactures; in the deluge of her debt; in the divi-

sions of her people: in all the loathsome operations of an odious, monopolising, hypocritical fanaticism on the one hand, wrestling with the untiring but natural reprisals of an irritated population on the other! it required no common ingenuity to reduce such a country to such a situation. But it has been done; man has conquered the beneficence of the Deity; his harpy touch has changed the viands to corruption; and that land, which you might have possessed in health and wealth and vigour, to support you in your hour of need, now writhes in the agonies of death, unable even to lift the shroud with which famine and fatuity try to encumber her convulsion. This is what I see a pensioned press denominates tranquillity. Oh, wo to the land threatened with such tranquillity; *solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*; it is not yet the tranquillity of solitude, it is not yet the tranquillity of death; but if you would know what it is, go forth in the silence of creation, when every wind is hushed, and every echo mute, and all nature seems to listen in dumb and terrified and breathless expectation, go forth in such an hour, and see the terrible tranquillity by which you are surrounded! How could it be otherwise; when for ages, upon ages invention has fatigued itself with expedients for irritation; when, as I have read with horror in the progress of my legal studies, the homicide of a "mere Irishman" was considered justifiable; and when his ignorance was the origin of all his crimes, his education was prohibited *by Act of Parliament!*—when the people were worm-eaten by the odious vermin which a Church and State adultery had spawned; when a bad heart and brainless head, were the fangs by which every foreign adventurer and domestic traitor fastened upon office; when the property of the native was but an invitation to plunder, and his non-acquiescence the signal for confiscation; when religion itself was made the odious pretence for every persecution, and the fires of hell were alternately lighted with the cross, and quenched in the blood of its defenceless followers! I speak of times that are passed: but can their recollections, can their consequences be so readily eradicated. Why, however, should I refer to periods that are distant! Behold, at this instant, five millions of her people disqualified on account of their faith, and that by a country professing freedom! and that under a government calling itself Christian! You (when I say you, of course I mean, not the high-minded people of England, but the men who misgovern us both) seem to have taken out a roving commission in search of grievances abroad, whilst you overlook the calam.

ties at your own door, and of your own infliction. You traverse the ocean to emancipate the African; you cross the line to convert the Hindoo; you hurl your thunder against the savage Algerine; but your own brethren at home, who speak the same tongue, acknowledge the same King, and kneel to the same God, cannot get one visit from your *itinerant humanity*! Oh, such a system is almost too abominable for a name; it is a monster of impiety, impolicy, ingratitude, and injustice! The pagan nations of antiquity scarcely acted on such barbarous principles. Look to ancient Rome, with her sword in one hand, and her constitution in the other, healing the injuries of conquest with the embrace of brotherhood, and wisely converting the captive into the citizen. Look to her great enemy, the glorious Carthaginian, at the foot of the Alps, ranging his prisoners round him, and by the politic option of captivity or arms, recruiting his legions with the very men whom he had literally conquered into gratitude? They laid their foundations deep in the human heart, and their success was proportionate to their policy. You complain of the violence of the Irish Catholic: can you wonder he is violent? It is the consequence of your own infliction—

“The flesh will quiver where the pincers tear,
The blood will follow where the knife is driven.”

Your friendship has been to him worse than hostility; he feels its embrace but by the pressure of his fetters! I am only amazed he is not more violent. He fills your exchequer, he fights your battles, he feeds your clergy from whom he derives no benefit, he shares your burdens, he shares your perils, he shares every thing except your privileges, *can you wonder he is violent?* No matter what his merit, no matter what his claims, no matter what his services; he sees himself a nominal subject, and a real slave; and his children, the heirs, perhaps of his toils, perhaps of his talents, certainly of his disqualifications—*can you wonder he is violent?* He sees every pretended obstacle to his emancipation vanished; Catholic Europe your ally, the Bourbon on the throne, the Emperor a captive, the Pope a friend, the aspersions on his faith disproved by his allegiance to you against, alternately, every Catholic potentate in Christendom, and he feels himself branded with hereditary degradation—*can you wonder then, that he is violent?* He petitioned humbly; his tameness was construed into a proof of apathy. He petitioned boldly; his remonstrance was considered as an

impudent audacity. He petitioned in peace; he was told it was *not the time*. He petitioned in war; he was told it was *not the time*. A strange interval, a prodigy in politics, a pause between peace and war, which appeared to be just made for him, arose; I allude to the period between the retreat of Louis and the restoration of Buonaparte; he petitioned then, and was told it was *not the time*. Oh, shame! shame! shame! I hope he will petition no more to a parliament so equivocating. However, I am not sorry they did so equivocate, because I think they have suggested one common remedy for the grievances of both countries, and that remedy is, a REFORM OF THAT PARLIAMENT. Without that, I plainly see, there is no hope for Ireland, there is no salvation for England; they will act towards you as they have done towards us; they will admit your reasoning, they will admire your eloquence, and they will prove their sincerity by a strict perseverance in the impolicy you have exposed, and the profligacy you have deprecated. Look to England at this moment. To what a state have they not reduced her! Over this vast island, for whose wealth the winds of Heaven seemed to blow, covered as she once was with the gorgeous mantle of successful agriculture, all studded over with the gems of art and manufacture, there is now scarce an object but industry in rags, and patience in despair: the merchant without a ledger, the fields without a harvest, the shops without a customer, the Exchange deserted, and the Gazette crowded, from the most heart-rending comments on that nefarious system, in support of which peers and contractors, stock-jobbers and sinecurists, in short, the whole trained, collared, pampered and rapacious pack of ministerial beagles, have been, for half a century, in the most clamorous and discordant uproar! During all this misery how are the pilots of the state employed? Why, in feeding the bloated mammoth of sinecure! in weighing the farthings of some underling's salary! in preparing Ireland for a garrison, and England for a poor-house! in the structure of Chinese palaces! the decoration of dragoons, and the erection of public buildings!!! Oh, it's easily seen we have a saint in the Exchequer? he has studied Scripture to some purpose! the famishing people cry out for *bread*, and the scriptural minister gives them *stones*! Such has been the result of the blessed Pitt system, which amid oceans of blood, and 800 millions expenditure, has left you, after all your victories, a triumphant dupe, a trophied bankrupt. I have heard before, of states ruined by the visitations of Providence, devastated by famine, wasted

by fire, overcome by enemies; but never until now did I see a state like England, impoverished by her spoils, and conquered by her successes! She has fought the fight of Europe; she has purchased all its *coinable blood*; she has subsidised all its dependencies in their own cause; she has conquered by sea, she has conquered by land; she has got peace, and, of course, or the Pitt apostles would not have made peace, she has got her "indemnity for the past, and security for the future," and here she is, after all her vanity and all her victories, surrounded by desolation, like one of the pyramids of Egypt; amid the grandeur of the desert, full of magnificence and death, at once a trophy and a tomb! The heart of any reflecting man must burn within him, when he thinks that the war thus sanguinary in its operations, and confessedly ruinous in its expenditure, was even still more odious in its principle? It was a war avowedly undertaken for the purpose of forcing France out of her undoubted right of choosing her own monarch: a war which uprooted the very foundations of the English constitution; which libelled the most glorious era in our national annals; which declared tyranny eternal, and announced to the people, amid the thunder of artillery, that, no matter how aggrieved, their only allowable attitude was that of supplication; which, when it told the French reformer of 1793, that his defeat was just, told the British reformer of 1688, his triumph was treason, and exhibited to history, the terrific farce of a Prince of the House of Brunswick, the creature of the Revolution, OFFERING AN HUMAN HECATOMB UPON THE GRAVE OF JAMES THE SECOND!! What else have you done? You have succeeded indeed in dethroning Napoleon, and you have dethroned a monarch, who, with all his imputed crimes and vices, shed a splendour around royalty, too powerful for the feeble vision of legitimacy even to bear. He had many faults; I do not seek to palliate them. He deserted his principles; I rejoice that he has suffered. But still let us be generous even in our enmities. How grand was his march! How magnificent his destiny! Say what we will, Sir, he will be the land-mark of our times in the eye of posterity. The goal of other men's speed was his starting-post; crowns were his play-things, thrones his footstool! he strode from victory to victory; his path was "a plane of continued elevations." Surpassing the boast of the too confident Roman, he but stamped upon the earth, and not only armed men, but states and dynasties, and arts and sciences, all that mind could imagine, or industry produce, started up, the creation of enchantment. He has fallen—as the late Mr. Whitbread

said, "you made him, and he unmade himself"—his own ambition was his glorious conqueror. He attempted, with a sublime audacity, to grasp the fires of Heaven, and his heathen retribution has been the vulture and the rock!! I do not ask what you have gained by it, because, in place of gaining any thing, you are infinitely worse than when you commenced the contest? But what have you done for Europe? what have you achieved for man? Have morals been ameliorated? Has liberty been strengthened? Has any one improvement in politics or philosophy been produced? Let us see how. You have restored to Portugal, a Prince of whom we know nothing, except that, when his dominions were invaded, his people distracted, his crown in danger, and all that could interest the highest energies of man at issue, he left his cause to be combated by foreign bayonets, and fled with a dastard precipitation to the shameful security of a distant hemisphere! You have restored to Spain a wretch of even worse than proverbial princely ingratitude; who filled his dungeons, and fed his rack with the heroic remnant that braved war, and famine, and massacre beneath his banners; who rewarded patriotism with the prison, fidelity with the torture, heroism with the scaffold, and piety with the Inquisition; whose royalty was published by the signature of his death-warrants, and whose religion evaporated in the *embroidering of petticoats for the blessed Virgin!* You have forced upon France a family to whom misfortune could teach no mercy, or experience wisdom; vindictive in prosperity, servile in defeat, timid in the field, vacillating in the cabinet; suspicion amongst themselves, discontent amongst their followers; their memories tenacious but of the punishments they had provoked, their piety active but in subserviency to their priesthood, and their power passive but in the subjugation of their people! Such are the dynasties you have conferred on Europe. In the very act, that of enthroning three individuals of the same family, you have committed in politics a capital error; but Providence has countermined the ruin you were preparing; and whilst the impolicy presents the chance, their impotency precludes the danger of a coalition. As to the rest of Europe, how has it been ameliorated? What solitary benefit have the deliverers conferred? They have partitioned the states of the feeble to feed the rapacity of the powerful; and after having alternately adored and deserted Napoleon, they have wreaked their vengeance on the noble, but unfortunate fidelity that spurned their example.

Do you want proofs? look to Saxony, look to Genoa, look to Norway, but, above all, to Poland! that speaking monument of regal murder and legitimate robbery—

Oh! bloodiest picture in the book of time—
Sarmatia fell—unwept—without a crime!

Here was an opportunity to recompense that brave, heroic, generous, martyred, and devoted people; here was an opportunity to convince Jacobinism that crowns and crimes were not, of course, co-existent, and that the high-way rapacity of one generation might be atoned by the penitential retribution of another! Look to Italy; parcelled out to temporising Austria—the land of the muse, the historian, and the hero; the scene of every classic recollection; the sacred fane of antiquity, where the genius of the world weeps and worships, and the spirits of the past start into life at the inspiring pilgrimage of some kindred Roscoe. You do yourselves honour by this noble, this natural enthusiasm. Long may you enjoy the pleasure of possessing, never can you lose the pride of having produced the scholar without pedantry, the patriot without reproach, the Christian without superstition, the man without a blemish! It is a subject I could dwell on with delight for ever. How painful our transition to the disgusting path of the deliverers. Look to Prussia, after fruitless toil and wreathless triumphs, mocked with the promise of a visionary constitution. Look to France, chained and plundered, weeping over the tomb of her hopes and her heroes. Look to England, eaten by the cancer of an incurable debt, exhausted by poor-rates, supporting a civil list of near a million and a half, annual amount, guarded by a standing army of 149,000 men, misrepresented by a House of Commons, 90 of whose members in places and pensions derive 200,000*l.* in yearly emoluments from the minister, mocked with a military peace, and girt with the fortifications of a war-establishment! Shades of heroic millions, these are thy achievements! **MONSTER OF LEGITIMACY**, this is thy consummation!!! The past is out of power; it is high time to provide against the future. Retrenchment and reform are now become not only expedient for our prosperity, but necessary to our very existence. Can any man of sense say that the present system should continue! What! when war and peace have alternately thrown every family in the empire into mourning and poverty, shall the fattened tax-gatherer extort the starving manufacturer's last shilling, to swell the unmerited and enormous sinecure of some wealthy pauper?

Shall a borough-mongering faction convert what is misnamed the National Representation into a mere instrument for raising the supplies which are to gorge its own venality? Shall the mock dignitaries of Whiggism and Toryism lead their hungry retainers to contest the profits of an alternate ascendancy over the prostrate interest of a too generous people? These are questions which I blush to ask, which I shudder to think must be either answered by the parliament or the people. Let our rulers prudently avert the interrogation. We live in times when the slightest remonstrance should command attention, when the minutest speck that merely dots the edge of the political horizon, may be the car of the approaching spirit of the storm? Oh! they are times whose omen no fancied security can avert; times of the most awful and portentous admonition. Establishments the most solid, thrones the most ancient, coalitions the most powerful, have crumbled before our eyes: and the creature of a moment robed, and crowned, and sceptred, raised his fairy creation on their ruins! The warning has been given; may it not have been given in vain.

I feel, Sir, that the magnitude of the topics I have touched, and the imminency of the perils which seem to surround us, have led me far beyond the limits of a convivial meeting. I see I have my apology in your indulgence—but I cannot prevail on myself to trespass farther. Accept, again, Gentlemen, my most grateful acknowledgments. Never, never can I forget this day: in private life it shall be the companion of my solitude; and if, in the caprices of that fortune which will at times degrade the high and dignify the humble, I should hereafter be called to any station of responsibility, I think I may at least fearlessly promise the friends who thus crowd around me, that no act of mine shall ever raise a blush at the recollection of their early encouragement. I hope, however, the benefit of this day will not be confined to the humble individual you have so honoured: I hope it will cheer on the young aspirants after virtuous fame in both our countries, by proving to them, that however, for the moment, envy, or ignorance, or corruption, may depreciate them, there is a reward in store for the man who thinks with integrity and acts with decision. Gentlemen, you will add to the obligations you have already conferred, by delegating to me the honour of proposing to you the health of a man, whose virtues adorn, and whose talents powerfully advocate our cause; I mean the health of your worthy Chairman, Mr. SHEPHERD.

Speech of Logan, a Mingo Chief, to Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia—1774.

“ I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan’s cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat : if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, ‘ Logan is the friend of white men.’ I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it : I have killed many : I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace : but do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan ? —Not one.”

Speech of the Chiefs of the Seneca Nation to the President of the United States—1790.

Father—the voice of the Seneca nation speaks to you—the great counsellor, in whose heart the wise men of all the thirteen fires have placed their wisdom ; it may be very small in your ears, and we therefore intreat you to hearken with attention, for we are about to speak of things which are to us very great.

When your army entered the country of the six nations, we called you the town destroyer : and to this day, when your name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers. Our counsellors and warriors are men, and cannot be afraid : but their hearts are grieved with the fears of our women and children, and desire that it may be buried so deep as to be heard no more.

When you gave us peace, we called you father ; because you promised to secure us in the possession of our lands. Do this, and so long as the land shall remain, that beloved name will be in the heart of every Seneca.

Father—we mean to open our hearts before you, and we

earnestly desire that you will let us clearly understand what you resolve to do.

When our chiefs returned from the treaty at Fort Stanwix, and laid before our council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give up to you, without your paying to us any thing for it. Every one said that your hearts were yet swelled with resentment against us, for what had happened during the war; but that one day you would consider it with more kindness. We asked each other, what have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?

Father—when you kindled your thirteen fires separately, the wise men assembled at them told us, that you were all brothers—the children of one great father—who regarded the red people as his children.—They called us brothers, and invited us to his protection. They told us that he resided beyond the great water, where the sun first rises—that he was a king whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was bright as the sun—what they said, went to our hearts. We accepted the invitation, and promised to obey him. What the Seneca nation promises, they faithfully perform: and when you refused obedience to that king, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober.—In obeying him, we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise. The men who claimed this promise, told us that you were children and had no guns; that when they had shaken you, you would submit. We hearkened unto them and were deceived until your army approached our towns. We were deceived; but your people teaching us to confide in that king, had helped to deceive us; and we now appeal to your heart—Is all the blame ours?

Father—when we saw that we had been deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us to draw near to the fire which you have kindled, and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste towards it. You then told us you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded from us a great country, as the price of that peace which you had offered to us; as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights. Our chiefs had felt your power, and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to, has bound our nation; but your anger against us must, by this time, be cooled, and although our strength has not increased, nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly—were the terms dictated to us by your commissioners reasonable or just?

Father—Hear our case. Many nations inhabited this country; but they had no wisdom; therefore they warred together—the six nations were powerful, and compelled them to peace. The land, for a great extent, was given up to them, but the nations which were not destroyed, all continued on those lands, and claimed the protection of the six nations, as brothers of their fathers. They were men, and when at peace, had a right to live upon the earth.

The French came among us, and built Niagara; they became our fathers, and took care of us. Sir William Johnson came and took that fort from the French; he became our father, and promised to take care of us; and he did so, until you were too strong for his king. To him we gave four miles round Niagara, as a place of trade. We have already said how we came to join against you; we saw that we were wrong; we wished for peace; you demanded a great country to be given up to you; it was surrendered to you, as the price of peace; and we ought to have peace and possession of a little land which you left us.

Father—when that great country was given up to you, there were but few chiefs present; and they were compelled to give it up. And it is not the six nations only that reproach those chiefs with having given up that country. The Chipaways, and all the nations who lived on these lands westward, call to us, and ask us, brothers of our fathers, where is the place which you have reserved for us to lie down upon?

Father—you have compelled us to do that which makes us ashamed; we have nothing to answer to the children of the brothers of our fathers. When last spring they called upon us to go to war, to secure them a bed to lie down upon, the Senecas intreated them to be quiet, until we had spoken to you; but on our way down, we heard that your army had gone towards the country which those nations inhabited, and if they meet together, the best blood on both sides will fall to the ground.

Father—we will not conceal from you, that the Great God, and not men, has preserved the Corn Plant from the hands of his own nation. For they ask continually, where is the land which our children, and their children after them, are to lie down upon? You told us, say they, that the line drawn from Pennsylvania to lake Ontario would mark it forever on the east, and the line running from Beaver creek to Pennsylvania, would mark it on the west; and we see that it is not so, for first one and then another come and take it away,

by order of that people which you tell us promised to secure it to us. He is silent, for he has nothing to answer.

When the sun goes down, he opens his heart before God, and earlier than the sun appears again upon the hills, he gives thanks for his protection during the night; for he feels that among men become desperate by the injuries they sustain, it is God only that can preserve him. He loves peace; and all he had in store he has given to those who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the innocent to repay themselves. The whole season which others have employed in providing for their families, he has spent in endeavours to preserve peace; and this moment his wife and children are lying on the ground, and in want of food; his heart is in pain for them; but he perceives that the Great Spirit will try his firmness in doing what is right.

Father—The game which the Great Spirit sent into our country for us to eat, is going from among us. We thought he intended we should till the ground with the plough, as the white people do; and we talked to one another about it. But before we speak to you concerning this, we must know from you, whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till. Speak plainly to us, concerning this great business.

Speech of the Chiefs of the Seneca Nation to the President of the United States—1790.

Father—Your speech, written on the great paper, is to us like the first light of the morning to a sick man, whose pulse beats too strongly in his temples, and prevents him from sleeping; he sees it, and rejoices, but is not cured.

You say you have spoken plainly on the great point, that you will protect us in our lands secured to us at fort Stanwix, and that we have a right to sell or refuse to sell it.—This is very good.

But our nation complain, that you compelled us, at that treaty, to give up too much of our lands. We confess that our nation was bound by what was done there, and acknowledge your power. We have now appealed to yourselves against that treaty, as made while you were too angry at us, and therefore unreasonable and unjust. To this you have given us no answer.

Father—Look at the land we gave you at the treaty, and then cast your eyes upon what we now ask you to restore to us; and you will see that what we ask is a very little piece.

By giving it back again, you will satisfy the whole of our nation. The chiefs who signed that treaty will be in safety; and peace between your children and our children will continue so long as your lands continue to join ours. Every man of our nation will turn his eyes away from all the other lands which we then gave up to you, and forget that our fathers ever said that they belonged to them.

Father—You say you will appoint an agent to take care of us. Let him come and take care of our trade; but we desire he may not have any thing to do with our lands; for the agents, who have come among us, and pretended to take care of us, have always deceived us whenever we sold lands; both when the king, and when the separate states have bargained with us. They have, by this means, occasioned many wars; and we are unwilling to trust them again.

Father—The blood that was spilt near Pine creek is covered, and we shall never look where it lies. We know that Pennsylvania will satisfy us for that which we speak of to them, before we speak to you. The chain of friendship will now, we hope, be made strong, as you desire it to be—we will hold it fast, and our end of it shall never rust in our hands.

Father—We told you what advice we gave to the people you are now at war with; and we now tell you, they have promised to come again next spring to our towns. We shall not wait for their coming, but set out very early in the season, and show them what you have done for us, which must convince them, that you will do for them every thing that they ought to ask. We think they will hear us, and follow our advice.

Father—You gave us leave to speak our minds concerning tilling of the ground. We ask you to teach us to plough and grind corn, and supply us with broad-axes, saws, augers, and other tools, to assist us in building saw-mills, so that we may make our houses more comfortable and durable; that you will send smiths among us; and above all, that you will teach our children to read and write, and our women to spin and weave. The manner of doing these things for us, we leave to you who understand them; but we assure you, we will follow your advice as far as we are able.

Speech of the Chiefs of the Seneca nation to the President of the United States—1790.

Father—No Seneca ever goes from the fire of his friend until he has said to him, I am going. We therefore tell you that we are now setting out for our own country.

Father—We thank you from our hearts that we now know that there is a country that we may call our own, and on which we may lie down in peace. We see, that there will be peace between our children and your children; and our hearts are very glad. We will persuade the Wyandots, and other western nations, to open their eyes, and look towards the bed which you have made for us, and to ask of you a bed for themselves and their children, that will not slide from under them. We thank you for your presents to us, and rely on your promise to instruct us in raising corn as the white people do. The sooner you do this the better for us; and we thank you for the care which you have taken to prevent bad people coming to trade among us. If any come without your license we will turn them back; and we hope our nation will determine to spill all the rum that shall hereafter be brought to our towns.

Father—you have not asked of us any surety for peace on our part; but we have agreed to send nine Seneca boys to be under your care for education. Tell us at what time you will receive them, and they shall be sent at that time. This will assure you that we are indeed at peace with you, and determined to continue so. If you can teach them to be wise and good men, we will take care that our nation shall be willing to be instructed by them.

Speech of Farmer's Brother.

[The following Speech was delivered in a Public Council at Genesee River, Nov. 21, 1798, by *Ho-na-ya-wus*, commonly called Farmer's Brother, and after being written as interpreted, it was signed by the principal Chiefs present, and sent to the Legislature of the State of New York.]

The Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Seneca Nation, to the Sachems and Chiefs assembled about the great Council Fire of the State of New York.

“Brothers—As you are once more assembled in council for the purpose of doing honour to yourselves, and justice to your country; we, your brothers, the Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors of the Seneca Nation, request you to open your ears, and give attention to our voice and wishes.

“Brothers—You will recollect the late contest between you and your father, the great king of England. This contest threw the inhabitants of this whole island into a great tumult and commotion, like a raging whirlwind, which tears,

up the trees, and tosses to and fro the leaves, so that no one knows from whence they come, or where they will fall.

“Brothers—this whirlwind was so directed by the Great Spirit above, as to throw into our arms two of your infant children, Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones. We adopted them into our families and made them our children. We loved them and nourished them. They lived with us many years. At length, the Great Spirit spoke to the whirlwind, and it was still. A clear and uninterrupted sky appeared. The path of peace was opened, and the chain of friendship was once more made bright. Then these our adopted children left us, to seek their relations. We wished them to remain among us, and promised, if they would return and live in our country, to give each of them a seat of land for them and their children to set down upon.

“Brothers—They have returned and have for several years past been serviceable to us as interpreters. We still feel our hearts beat with affection for them, and now wish to fulfil the promise we made them, and to reward them for their services. We have therefore made up our minds to give them a seat of two square miles of land lying on the outlet of Lake Erie, about three miles below Black Rock, beginning at the mouth of a creek known by the name of Scoy-gu-quoy-des Creek, running one mile from the river Niagara, up said creek, thence northwardly as the river runs two miles, thence westwardly one mile to the river, thence up the river as the river runs, two miles to the place of beginning, so as to contain two square miles.

“Brothers—We have now made known to you our minds. We expect and earnestly request that you will permit our friends to receive this our gift, and will make the same good to them, according to the laws and customs of your nation.

“Brothers—Why should you hesitate to make our minds easy with regard to this our request? To you it is but a little thing, and have you not complied with the request, and confirmed the gift of our brothers the Oneidas, the Onondagas and Cayugas to their interpreters? And shall we ask and not be heard?

“Brothers—We send you this our speech, to which we expect your answer before the breaking up of your great council fire.”

Speech of Red Jacket.

[In the summer of 1805, a number of the principal Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations, principally Senecas, assembled at Buffalo Creek, in the State of New York, at the particular request of the Rev. Mr. Cram, a Missionary from the State of Massachusetts. The Missionary being furnished with an Interpreter, and accompanied by the Agent of the United States for Indian affairs, met the Indians in Council, when the following talk took place.]

FIRST, BY THE AGENT.

“Brothers of the Six Nations—I rejoice to meet you at this time, and thank the Great Spirit that he has preserved you in health, and given me another opportunity of taking you by the hand.

“Brothers—the person who sits by me, is a friend who has come a great distance to hold a talk with you. He will inform you what his business is, and it is my request that you would listen with attention to his words.”

MISSIONARY. “My friends—I am thankful for the opportunity afforded us of uniting together at this time. I had a great desire to see you, and enquire into your state and welfare: for this purpose I have travelled a great distance, being sent by your old friends, the Boston Missionary Society. You will recollect they formerly sent missionaries among you, to instruct you in religion, and labour for your good. Although they have not heard from you for a long time, yet they have not forgotten their brothers the Six Nations, and are still anxious to do you good.

“Brothers—I have not come to get your lands or your money, but to enlighten your minds, and to instruct you how to worship the Great Spirit agreeably to his mind and will, and to preach to you the gospel of his son Jesus Christ.—There is but one religion, and but one way to serve God, and if you do not embrace the right way, you cannot be happy hereafter. You have never worshipped the Great Spirit in a manner acceptable to him; but have all your lives been in great errors and darkness. To endeavour to remove these errors, and open your eyes, so that you might see clearly, is my business with you.

“Brothers—I wish to talk with you as one friend talks with another: and if you have any objections to receive the religion which I preach, I wish you to state them; and I

will endeavour to satisfy your minds, and remove the objections.

“ Brothers—I want you to speak your minds freely ; for I wish to reason with you on the subject, and, if possible, remove all doubts, if there be any on your minds. The subject is an important one, and it is of consequence that you give it an early attention while the offer is made you. Your friends, the Boston Missionary Society, will continue to send you good and faithful ministers, to instruct and strengthen you in religion, if, on your part, you are willing to receive them.

“ Brothers—Since I have been in this part of the country, I have visited some of your small villages, and talked with your people. They appear willing to receive instruction, but as they look up to you as their elder brothers in council, they want first to know your opinion on the subject.

“ You have now heard what I have to propose at present. I hope you will take it into consideration, and give me an answer before we part.”

[After about two hours consultation among themselves, the Chief commonly called by the white people Red Jacket, (whose Indian name is Sa-gu-yn-wha-hah, which interpreted is *Keeper awake*) rose and spoke as follows :]

“ Friend and Brother—It was the will of the great spirit that we should meet together this day. HE orders all things, and has given us a fine day for our Council. HE has taken his garment from before the sun, and caused it to shine with brightness upon us. Our eyes are opened, that we see clearly ; our ears are unstopped, that we have been able to hear distinctly the words you have spoken. For all these favours we thank the Great Spirit, and HIM *only*.

“ Brother—This council fire was kindled by you. It was at your request that we came together at this time. We have listened with attention to what you have said. You requested us to speak our minds freely. This gives us great joy ; for we now consider that we stand upright before you, and can speak what we think. All have heard your voice, and all speak to you now as one man. Our minds are agreed.

“ Brother—You say you want an answer to your talk before you leave this place. It is right you should have one, as you are a great distance from home, and we do not wish to detain you. But we will first look back a little and tell you what our fathers have told us, and what we have heard from the white people.”

“Brother—Listen to what we say.

“There was a time when our forefathers owned this great island. Their seats extended from the rising to the setting sun. The Great Spirit had made it for the use of Indians. HE had created the buffalo, the deer, and other animals for food. HE had made the bear and the beaver. Their skins served us for clothing. HE had scattered them over the country, and taught us how to take them. HE had caused the earth to produce corn for bread. All this HE had done for his red children, because HE loved them. If we had some disputes about our hunting ground, they were generally settled without the shedding of much blood. But an evil day came upon us. Your forefathers crossed the great water, and landed on this island. Their numbers were small. They found friends and not enemies. They told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and had come here to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat. We took pity on them, granted their request; and they sat down among us. We gave them corn and meat; they gave us poison (alluding, it is supposed, to ardent spirits) in return.

“The white people had now found our country. Tidings were carried back, and more came amongst us. Yet we did not fear them. We took them to be friends. They called us brothers. We believed them, and gave them a larger seat. At length their numbers had greatly increased. They wanted more land; they wanted our country. Our eyes were opened, and our minds became uneasy. Wars took place. Indians were hired to fight against Indians, and many of our people were destroyed. They also brought strong liquor amongst us. It was strong and powerful, and has slain thousands.

“Brother—Our seats were once large and yours were small. You have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets. You have got our country, but are not satisfied; you want to force your religion among us.

“Brother—continue to listen.

“You say that you are sent to instruct us how to worship the Great Spirit agreeably to his mind, and if we do not take hold of the religion which you white people teach, we shall be unhappy hereafter. You say that you are right and we are lost. How do we know this to be true? We understand that your religion is written in a book. If it was intended for us as well as you, why has not the Great Spirit

given to us, and not only to us, but why did he not give to our forefathers, the knowledge of that book, with the means of understanding it rightly! We only know what you tell us about it. How shall we know when to believe, being so often deceived by the white people?

“Brother—You say there is but one way to worship and serve the great spirit. If there is but one religion, why do you white people differ so much about it? Why not all agree, as you can all read the book?”

“Brother—We do not understand these things.

“We are told that your religion was given to your forefathers, and has been handed down from father to son. We also have a religion, which was given to our forefathers, and has been handed down to us their children. We worship in that way. It teaches us to be thankful for all the favours we receive; to love each other and to be united. We never quarrel about religion.

“Brother—The Great Spirit has made us all, but HE has made a great difference between his white and red children. HE has given us different complexions and different customs. To you he has given the arts. To these he has not opened our eyes. We know these things to be true. Since HE has made so great a difference between us in other things, why may we not conclude that HE has given us a different religion according to our understanding? The Great Spirit does right, HE knows what is best for his children; we are satisfied.

“Brother—We do not wish to destroy your religion, or take it from you. We only want to enjoy our own.

“Brother—We are told that you have been preaching to the white people in this place. These people are our neighbours. We are acquainted with them. We will wait a little while and see what effect your preaching has upon them. If we find it does them good, makes them honest, and less disposed to cheat Indians, we will then consider again of what you have said.

“Brother—You have now heard our answer to your talk, and this is all we have to say at present.

“As we are going to part, we will come and take you by the hand, and hope the Great Spirit will protect you on your journey, and return you safe to your friends.”

As the Indians began to approach the missionary, he rose hastily from his seat and replied, that he could not take them by the hand; that there was no fellowship between the religion of God and the works of the devil.

This being interpreted to the Indians, they smiled, and retired in a peaceable manner.

It being afterwards suggested to the missionary that his reply to the Indians was rather indiscreet; he observed, that he supposed the ceremony of shaking hands would be received by them as a token that he assented to what they had said. Being otherwise informed, he said he was sorry for the expressions.

Speech of Red Jacket, called by the Indians, Sa-gu-yu-whahah, or Keeper awake,

In answer to a Speech of the Rev. Mr. Alexander, a missionary from the Missionary Society in New York, to the *Seneca Nation* of Indians, delivered at a Council held at Buffalo Creek in May, 1811.

“Brother—We listened to the talk you delivered to us from the Council of black coats* in New York. We have fully considered your talk, and the offers you have made us; we perfectly understand them, and we return an answer, which we wish you also to understand. In making up our minds we have looked back, and remembered what has been done in our days, and what our fathers have told us was done in old times.

“Brother—great numbers of black coats have been amongst the Indians, and with sweet voices and smiling faces, have offered to teach them the religion of the white people. Our brethren in the East listened to the black coats—turned from the religion of their fathers, and took up the religion of the white people. What good has it done them? Are they more happy and more friendly one to another than we are? No, brother, they are a divided people—we are united—they quarrel about religion—we live in love and friendship—they drink strong water—have learned how to cheat—and to practise all the vices of the white men, which disgrace Indians, without imitating the virtues of the white men. Brother, if you are our well wisher, keep away and do not disturb us.

“Brother—We do not worship the Great Spirit as the white men do, but we believe that forms of worship are indifferent to the Great Spirit—it is the offering of a sincere heart that pleases him and we worship him in this manner. According to your religion we must believe in a father and a son, or we will not be happy hereafter. We have always believed in a father, and we worship him, as we were taught by

* The appellation given to the clergymen by the Indians.

our fathers. Your book says the son was sent on earth by the father—did all the people who saw the son believe in him? No, they did not, and the consequences must be known to you, if you have read the book.

“ Brother—You wish us to change our religion for yours—we like our religion and do not want another. Our friends (pointing to Mr. Granger, Mr. Parish, and Mr. Taylor) do us great good—they counsel us in our troubles—and instruct us how to make ourselves comfortable. Our friends the Quakers do more than this—they give us ploughs, and show us how to use them. They tell us we are accountable beings, but do not say we must change our religion. We are satisfied with what they do.

“ Brother—For these reasons we cannot receive your offers—we have other things to do, and beg you to make your mind easy, and not trouble us, lest our heads should be too much loaded, and by and by burst.”

Speech of Red Jacket,

[The occasion of the following speech, was, a white man had been murdered by an Indian at Buffalo, and the Indians were unwilling to deliver the perpetrator of the crime to our civil authority. Several meetings were held between them and the people of Canandaigua, for the purpose of reconciling them to the propriety and justice of surrendering him, to which, however, they at length reluctantly consented.]

“ Brothers—Open your ears, and give your attention.—This day is appointed by the Great Spirit to meet our friends at this place. During the many years that we have lived together in this country, good will and harmony have subsisted among us.

“ Brothers—We have now come forward upon an unhappy occasion :—We cannot find words to express our feelings upon it. One of our people has murdered one of your people. So it has been ordered by the Great Spirit who controls all events. This has been done : we cannot now help it. At first view, it would seem to have the effect of putting an end to our friendship ; but let us reflect, and put our minds together. Can't we point out measures whereby our peace and harmony may still be preserved? We have come forward to this place, where we have always had a superintendent and friend to receive us, and to make known to him such grievances as lay upon our minds ; but now we have none ; and we have no guardian—no protector—no one is now authorised to receive us.

“ Brothers—We therefore now call upon you to take our Speech in writing, and forward our ideas to the President of the United States.

“ Brothers—Let us look back to our former situation. While you were under the government of Great Britain, Sir William Johnson was our Superintendent, appointed by the king. He had powers to settle offences of this kind among all the Indian Nations, without adverting to the laws. But under the British government you were uneasy—you wanted to change it for a better. General Washington went forward as your leader. From his exertions you gained your independence. Immediately afterwards a treaty was made between the United States and the Six Nations, whereby a method was pointed out of redressing such an accident as the present. Several such accidents did happen, where we were the sufferers. We now crave the same privilege in making restitution to you, that you adopted towards us in a similar situation.

“ Brothers—At the close of our treaty at Philadelphia, General Washington told us that we had formed a chain of friendship which was bright: He hoped it would continue so on our part: That the United States would be equally willing to brighten it, if rusted by any means. A number of murders have been committed on our people.—We shall only mention the last of them. About two years ago, a few of our warriors were amusing themselves in the woods, to the westward of Fort Pitt: Two white men, coolly and deliberately, took their rifles, travelled nearly three miles to our encampment, fired upon the Indians, killed two men, and wounded two children. We then were the party injured. What did we do? We flew to the treaty, and thereby obtained redress, perfectly satisfactory to us, and we hope agreeable to you. This was done a short time before President Adams went out of office. Complete peace and harmony was restored. We now want the same method of redress to be pursued.

“ Brothers—How did the present accident take place?—Did our warriors go from home cool and sober, and commit murder on you? No. Our brother was in liquor, and a quarrel ensued, in which the unhappy accident happened. We would not excuse him on account of his being in liquor; but such a thing was far from his intention in his sober moments. We are all extremely grieved at it, and are willing to come forward and have it settled, as crimes of the same nature have been heretofore done.

“ Brothers—Since this accident has taken place, we have been informed, that by the laws of this state, if a murder is committed within it, the murderer must be tried by the laws of the state, and punished with death.

“ Brothers—When were such laws explained to us? Did we ever make a treaty with the state of New York, and agree to conform to its laws? No. We are independent of the state of New York.—It was the will of the Great Spirit to create us different in colour: We have different laws, habits and customs, from the white people. We will never consent that the government of this state shall try our brother. We appeal to the government of the United States.

“ Brothers—Under the customs and habits of our forefathers, we were a happy people; we had laws of our own; they were dear to us. The whites came among us and introduced their customs; they introduced liquor among us, which our forefathers always told us would prove our ruin.

“ Brothers—In consequence of the introduction of liquor among us, numbers of our people were killed. A council was held to consider of a remedy, at which it was agreed by us, that no private revenge should take place for any such murder—that it was decreed by the Great Spirit, and that a council should be called, to consider of redress to the friends of the deceased.

“ Brothers—The President of the United States is called a great man, possessing great power—he may do what he pleases—he may turn men out of office—men who held their offices long before he held his. If he can do these things, can he not even control the laws of this state? Can he not appoint a commissioner to come forward to our country and settle the present difference, as we, on our part, have heretofore often done to him upon a similar occasion.

“ We now call upon you, Brothers, to represent these things to the President, and we trust that he will not refuse our request, of sending a commissioner to us, with powers to settle the present difference. The consequence of a refusal may be serious. We are determined that our brother shall not be tried by the laws of the state of New York. Their laws make no difference between a crime committed in liquor, and one committed coolly and deliberately. Our laws are different, as we have before stated. If tried here, our brother must be hanged. We cannot submit to that—Has a murder been committed upon our people, when was it punished with death.

“ Brothers—We have now finished what we had to say on the subject of the murder. We wish to address you upon

another, and to have our ideas communicated to the President upon it also.

“Brothers—It was understood at the treaty concluded by Col. Pickering that our superintendant should reside in the town of Canandaigua, and for very good reasons: that situation is the most central to the Six Nations, and by subsequent treaties between the State of New York and the Indians; and there are still stronger reasons why he should reside here, principally on account of the annuities being stipulated to be paid to our superintendant at this place. These treaties are sacred. If their superintendant resides elsewhere, the state may object to sending their money to him at a greater distance. We would therefore wish our superintendant to reside here at all events.

“Brothers—With regard to the appointment of our present superintendant, we look upon ourselves as much neglected and injured. When general Chapin and captain Chapin were appointed, our wishes were consulted upon the occasion, and we most cordially agreed to the appointments. Captain Chapin has been turned out, however, within these few days. We do not understand that any neglect of duty has been alleged against him. We are told it is because he differs from the President in his sentiments on government matters. He has also been perfectly satisfactory to us; and had we known of the intention, we should most cordially have united in a petition to the President to continue him in office. We feel ourselves injured—we have nobody to look to—nobody to listen to our complaints—none to reconcile any differences among us. We are like a young family without a father.

“Brothers—we cannot conclude without again urging you to make known all these our sentiments to the President.”

Speech delivered over the grave of Black Buffalo, principal Chief of the Teton tribe of Indians, by the Big Elk Maha Chief.

Do not grieve. Misfortunes will happen to the wisest and best men. Death will come and always comes out of season. It is the command of the Great Spirit, and all nations and people must obey. What is past and cannot be prevented should not be grieved for. Be not discouraged or displeased, then, that in visiting your father here you have lost your chief. A misfortune of this kind may never again befall you, but this would have attended you perhaps at your own

village. Five times have I visited this land and never returned with sorrow or pain. Misfortunes do not flourish particularly in our path. They grow every where. (*Addressing himself to Governor Edwards and Col. Miller.*) What a misfortune for me, that I could not have died this day, instead of the chief that lies before us. The trifling loss my nation would have sustained in my death would have been doubly paid for, by the honours of my burial—They would have wiped off every thing like regret. Instead of being covered with a cloud of sorrow, my warriors would have felt the sunshine of joy in their hearts. To me it would have been a most glorious occurrence. Hereafter, when I die, at home, instead of a noble grave and a grand procession, the rolling music and the thundering cannon, with a flag waving at my head—I shall be wrapped in a robe (an old robe perhaps) and hoisted on a slender scaffold to the whistling winds, soon to be blown to the earth—my flesh to be devoured by the wolves, and my bones rattled on the plain by the wild beasts.

(*Addressing himself to Col. Miller*)

CHIEF OF THE SOLDIERS,—Your labours have not been in vain. Your attention shall not be forgotten. My nation shall know the respect that is paid over the dead. When I return I will echo the sound of your guns.

THE END.

