

of him who makes it, that success, in crowning his efforts for the public good, would render him perfectly happy and content. In disclosing the objects of this motion, I would willingly dispense with calling back to your remembrance circumstances, which can only cause pain: But, to establish the foundations of it, it is indispensably necessary to recur to the origin of misfortunes, which now threaten us.

"By your votes, my Lords, you have taken away the property of the Americans without their consent: When they laid their complaints before you, you would not hearken to them: You have treated them as factious, seditious and rebellious: You yourselves quarrelled with your subjects beyond the Atlantic, for a pitiful tax upon tea, and you have expended millions in endeavouring to establish that tax by force. The war, my Lords, is now come to such a height, that no person can foresee the consequences; to a degree which actually threatens this country with ruin. America is lost. England, I fear, is ruined for ever. What have you done, my Lords? You have reduced Great-Britain to the condition of a dependent state, trusting to the precarious friendship, or to the still more precarious neutrality of France. What can you expect to do, my Lords? You have condemned a whole province without a hearing, without even demanding satisfaction for the wrong that you had suffered: You have proscribed it: You have shut up its ports and harbours: You have taken away its chartered rights: You have stripped it of its most precious privilege, of the unalienable birth-right of every Englishman, the right of being tried by a jury of the vicinage, by judges who know the parties, the crime, the provocation, and the adequate punishment. What has been the consequence of it, my Lords? Three millions of people refused to be subject to your arbitrary edicts—I ask pardon, my Lords. It was the Ministry who deceived themselves. It was Englishmen whom they wanted to subject and reduce to slavery. They have refused it, my Lords. The experience, the valour of your Generals, the bravery of your troops, even your fleet, the strength and glory of the nation, formerly so powerful, is found ineffectual.—To what are you reduced? You are not able to procure men sufficient among yourselves. Englishmen delight not in subjecting Englishmen to the yoke of slavery, nor to trample under foot the rights of their fellow-citizens. What did you then? You hired 20,000 German peasants: Your Ministers, shall I say, hired them to cut the throats of your innocent Colonists.

"These Colonists, my Lords, we now call rebels: We brand them with all the injurious and vile epithets that our language can furnish. However, my Lords, I remember when this country was engaged in a war with the united powers of France and Spain, when there was a rebellion, a Scotch rebellion, in the heart of this kingdom; when our fleets were become useless, and our armies defeated: I remember that then those very men whom we now call most vile and detestable rebels—those men, do I say?—yes, that very colony, which we represent as the bed whence the sedition and treason sprung, and have been nourished—that colony, against which the most dreadful thunders of government have been denounced, and powerfully hurled—I remember, I say, it was that same colony that sent four regiments of undisciplined militia, who gave the first check to France in her haughty career, and planted the standard of conquest on the walls of Louisburg.

"But it is not necessary, my Lords, for me to adduce particular facts in proof of the bravery, zeal, fidelity and affection of this people: The annals of the last war will inform those amongst you who are not old enough to remember it, how they fought, how they shed their blood in their country's cause; they will tell them with what generosity they ran to its defence, with what fraternal affection they partook of the burden and common danger. These, my Lords, are the unfortunate men you have devoted to destruction, whose cities you would raze, whose commerce you would annihilate, whose liberties you would destroy, whose estates you would confiscate, and whose persons you would enslave? This is the people, whom your Ministers wish to extirpate!

"What has been the system adopted by Administration, and what have been the measures taken to execute it? Your system has been a government built on the ruins of the constitution, founded upon the right of conquest; and in order to effect it, you have collected all the refuse of Germany. There is not a petty Prince, however despicable, in that country, to whom you have not applied for succour: You are become humble suitors in every court in Germany: Your ministers are there put upon the chancery records as private contractors, in the name of this empire, no longer great or glorious. The laurels of Great-Britain are faded, her arms are dishonoured, her negotiations rejected with disdain, her councils fallen into disrepute. You have in vain attempted, my Lords, to conquer America by the assistance of foreign mercenaries—by the arms of 20,000 undisciplined German peasants, gleaned and scraped together from every obscure corner of their country. You have granted sub-

dies to their masters; you have poured forth the public treasure with profusion into their hands. After all, what have you effected? Nothing, my Lords, but forced the colonies to declare themselves Independent States! You have excited them to act with vigour and resolution; you have united and bound them together. By this unnatural conduct you have cemented their union; you have given them one and the same soul; their hearts are filled with indignation; they are inflamed with just resentment; they burn with ardour to revenge the injuries which you have done them, and to return them with interest upon their cruel and merciless oppressors.

"Yes, my Lords, I say it; three millions of freemen will never submit to 20,000 mercenaries. The idea is absurd; the attempt is ridiculous. As well might I promise to conquer them with this crutch, as to suppose you can subject them with so paltry a force. I recommend peace to you at all events; the longer this unhappy war is continued, the more difficult will it be to terminate, and the less able will we be to do it with honour or advantage."

After having considered the American war by itself, he pointed out the dangers to be apprehended from the rivals of Great-Britain. "The Ministry," said he, "as they have committed blunder upon blunder from the beginning, are still in a fatal error respecting our natural enemies the French. They imagine nothing is to be feared from that quarter, because France has not directly interposed in favour of America. But, my Lords, when they build such fine hopes upon this circumstance, do they reflect, that they reason as if France were mad? Do they think she would expose herself to the risk or hazard of a fresh war, when Great-Britain was doing every thing that power could wish or desire? It is the grossest folly to suppose that France has ever one moment thought of giving direct succours to the Colonies; she never dreamed of interrupting this country in its mad career, nor to interpose betwixt it and the Colonies. No, my Lords, she has taken care, by her conduct, to cherish the foolish ideas of conquest and dominion; and she has been equally attentive to give that degree of support and protection, which has served for the present to maintain the civil war, to overturn your designs, and cause yourselves to consume your own strength.

"I fear, my Lords, I fear this war, as cruel as it is unnatural, will be a fatal war in the end. You have shut your ears to their dutiful petitions and ardent prayers; their decent and constitutional remonstrances you have treated as treasonable and rebellious. You have lost America; you have turned her riches into the lap of the House of Bourbon. Could France so far forget her real interest as to think of war? To what purpose, my Lords? Would it be to effect what this country will of itself bring about, at the annual expence of twenty millions sterling; France knows her interests better: She fills her arsenals with naval stores; she procures vent for her merchandize, and she amasses in her warehouses the produce of America. By these means, while she prepares for war, she cultivates and extends her commerce; she wisely opens new sources of riches within and from without; whilst we continue uselessly to lavish our resources, and whilst our commerce languishes."

"We have already made attempts, my Lords, but without success. Is there the most distant prospect of matters being in a more prosperous situation at the end of this year than the last? We have exerted all our force, in its greatest extent, with little or no effect. We have talked of conquering America: Have we done it? No! my Lords, we have nothing to boast of, except a few trifling advantages, and which, if we consider the price they have been bought at, are in fact defeats. We continue to send out more troops, and we have voted millions; and after all what are we told? That with all the reinforcements, our army will be just equal to what it was last year, when it effected nothing, or at least very little to the purpose."

This observation upon the little effect of the immense preparations of last year, led his Lordship to show the absurdity of confiding in the force of arms alone; he then urged, in the most pathetic terms, the necessity of a speedy reconciliation. "We are," said he, "upon the brink of a precipice, upon the very borders of destruction: Seize, my Lords, the present moment; perhaps the last, in which you may have an opportunity of saving the nation. A few weeks, even a day's delay, and it may be too late. We have tried war, let us now see if we can find out the means of conciliation; let us keep in mind our critical situation; let us consider the inevitable alternative which awaits us, if we persist in the same mad, ruinous and oppressive system. If we lose America, in effect America will be added to the empire of France. If we have even the better in this dispute, weakened, wearied, impoverished, as we will be, we shall in that case have conquered America for France. If supposing neither one nor the other of these events happening, France changes her present system, (which I cannot much persuade myself she would do, unless some alteration happened in her Councils) then America, (which is very natural to think) will be lost for ever to this kingdom. If the last case should happen, and that power