

than to be the slaves of a single tyrant. They did not confine this idea to speculation; they put to death one king, and expelled another. This was done in *England*, the seat of our haughty enemies, who seem to think the right of resistance is confined alone to their own kingdom. It is under this expulsion (for such it in fact was) that the present sovereign of that country, holds his title to the throne. Whatever doubt there might have been entertained before, there could be none afterwards, that the family, who were seated upon the vacant throne by the voice of the people, held it liable to the same resistance which had provided the vacancy for them. Accordingly, ever since this glorious revolution, it has been considered by the generality of the kingdom, and is now almost a settled axiom in their government, that all government was instituted for the good of the people, and that when it no longer answers this end, and they are in danger of slavery or great oppression, they have a right to change it. I lay it down thus generally, because the principle extends so far, and no man of reason and candour would attempt to narrow it. It is a principle founded in the clearest reason. It is applicable to all conditions and circumstances. It is not calculated for one party, or one set of men, or to colour a particular *Job*. It affords universal relief to all who groan under any species of tyranny, and have the virtue and opportunity of resisting it.—I trust, as it has had its influence under one species of arbitrary power in *England*, it will not want its effect under one, if possible, still more severe and detestable, attempted in *America*.

I confess, gentlemen, when I speak on this subject, I cannot avoid expressing myself with warmth; that such great, such real advantages should be lost, in pursuit of no essential object, is a consideration extremely affecting. We cannot help comparing, with a degree of regret and indignation, the former honourable and political conduct of the crown of *Great Britain* to the *American* colonies, with that which has been since pursued. Happy in the enjoyment of liberty, in the formation of our own laws, in the grant of our own money, (subject only to a restriction we submitted to with pleasure, the negative of our sovereign) we felt a felicity that could only be equaled by the hardships with which it was originally obtained, and the mixture of filial and social gratitude with which it was enjoyed. *Great Britain* was the constant centre of our thoughts; her prosperity, the most ardent desire of our affections. We contemplated with a pleasure which no scene of human life perhaps ever gave occasion for before, the entire and cordial union of many distant people, descended from the same ancestors, possessed nearly of the same rights, endued with generous and noble minds, warm in their affection, and zealous in their attachment to each other, under the influence of one common sovereign, and by the participation of a common interest, mutually contributing to the prosperity of the whole; the authority of the sovereign, sufficient to preserve the whole in due order, but not to invade the liberties of any; all the branches of the great stock willingly resigning to the parent kingdom the absolute management of the only concern that could probably interfere with the general happiness, unless the minds of the people should grow irritated and discontented; which their exemplary loyalty seemed a sufficient guard against, except in the case of a just and severe provocation. And though we viewed such a scene at a distance, and indeed as almost a thing impossible (at least to happen in our day, never dreaming of men sacrificing real advantages to vain and visionary expectations) yet we had been too well instructed in the principles of liberty, to view it with unconcern. We blessed Heaven, that it had made us, not only a happy, but a free people. Our ancestors came here to enjoy the blessings of liberty. They purchased it at an immense price. Their greatest glory was, that they had obtained it for themselves, and transmitted it to their posterity. God forbid, that their posterity should be base or weak enough to resign, or to let it appear, that the true *British* spirit, which has done such wonders in *England*, has been lost, or weakened by being transplanted to *America*. The very people who are now embroiling their hands in the blood of the *Americans*, in support of the most arbitrary principles, have a thousand times bled in opposition to them, themselves. Will you entertain so wretched an idea, that you are as worthy of liberty as they are, and that merely because your

ancestors quitted *England*, though with the public sanction, and guaranteed for the secure enjoyment of freedom, you are less deserving of happiness than those who happen to reside in it, and not even entitled to the common benefits of what the world of men have a right to claim. *The sacred observance of public faith?* But in this contest, I will dare to affirm, the people of *Britain* sacrifice to their pride and ambition, not only the immense advantages I have already spoke of, but the first principles of liberty, which are the common right of all mankind, and the sacred ties of honour, which even the worst people cannot violate without infamy.

You will, I hope, excuse, gentlemen, the particularity, perhaps the great particularity, with which I have gone into this subject. Yet I thought it my duty to point out to you some of

the principles upon which the revolution in our government has taken place, and which, in my opinion, prove not only the propriety of its being effected, but the indispensable obligation we are under to maintain and support it. This can only be done by great public virtue and very spirited exertions. We have a great and exasperated people to contend against; a people who, though they have wantonly thrown away many of their resources, have many still left, and are, no doubt, capable of powerful efforts. These must be withstood by great efforts on our part. Let us not flatter ourselves, that the war is nearly over, and that we are on the eve of enjoying the blessings of peace. Such ideas are pleasing, but at present they seem to be chimerical, and certainly they are dangerous. They tend to throw us too much off our guard, and to lay us open to the artful designs of our enemies. Review the great scenes of history, you will find, mankind have always been obliged to pay dear for the blessings they enjoyed. This life may well be called a scene of trial, for vice has every where, and long been seen to triumph over virtue. But though the trial be severe, thank God, we have no reason to believe, it will be constantly unsuccessful.—The struggles of a great people, have almost always ended, in the establishment of liberty. The enjoyment of it is an object worthy of the most vigilant application, and the most painful sacrifices. Is there any thing we read with more pleasure than the sufferings and contentions of a brave people, who resist oppression with firmness, are faithful to the interests of their country, and disdain every advantage that is incompatible with them? Such a people are spoken of with admiration by all future ages. Their history is put into the hands of youth, to form them by a spirit of emulation, if possible, to equal their greatness of mind. Their posterity, for a long time (until the gradual corruption of all human affairs fixes upon them all) if they happen to be successful, which is generally the case reap the benefit of their ancestors virtue. Their souls glow with gratitude for the virtue and self-denial of their forefathers. They consider them as patterns for their own conduct on similar occasions, and are continually pointing them out to the reverence and imitation of their children. These are the glorious effects of patriotism and virtue. These are the rewards annexed to the faithful discharge of that great and honourable duty, fidelity to our country. On the contrary, what can we conceive more base and contemptible, than a set of men, careless and negligent of their rights, regardless of their value, indifferent to their preservation, mean enough to crouch under the first insolent menace, without spirit to defend, without virtue to deserve them, at length easily deprived of advantages which they might, without much difficulty, have secured, and which they are forced every instant to regret, with curses on themselves as the authors of their own, and their children's misery, under the gloomy tyranny of a proud and arbitrary despot.—I pray to God that the first character I have described, may be that of *America* to the latest ages, and that mankind never may be disgraced by the existence of so wretched and detestable a set of people, as in the last.

Remainder in our next.

The SPEECH of the Right Hon. the Earl of ABINGDON, in the House of Lords, on Thursday, the 15th of December, 1777.
My Lords,

I AM just come up from the country, as I supposed to do, with the rest of your lordships, our business in parliament; but I find that we are already met here to day, in order to be sent about our business into the country, as if the business of parliament was not our business, and that we are called up only to do the business of Ministers. Supplies are voted, and, at this tremendous conjuncture of events, there is, it seems, no further need of the great CONSTITUTIONAL council of the nation.

But, my lords, before I go, I will leave one word behind me; it is an important word, and its subject matter is of a very pressing nature.

My lords, when a noble duke, whose manly and spirited conduct against this war of slavery will ever have the testimony of my warmest applause, made his motion the other day for an enquiry into the state of the nation, his Grace said, that he desired his motion might be understood as a general motion, open to every enquiry, and not simply confined to any propositions of his own; it is therefore, my lords, under the shelter of this noble duke's motion, that I have now a motion of my own to make, in addition to those that have been already received.

My lords, humanity has ever been the characteristic of Englishmen; but, my lords, whether corruption has, with our morals, changed our very feelings, or whether it be owing to that EXOTIC influence which has so long directed our councils, or not, it is not for me to determine; but, my lords, instead of humanity, our national character is now stamped with inhumanity; and, what is worse, we have the damning proofs before our eyes.

My lords, I am informed, and my information is to be depended upon, that the *American* prisoners in this country (men who are made prisoners in the glorious cause of Liberty, and are nick-