

T H E  
S P E E C H

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHARLES JAMES FOX,

O N

AMERICAN Independence :

Spoken in the HOUSE of COMMONS,

On TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1782.

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for M. FOLINGSBY, Temple-Bar; and Miss DAVIS,  
the Corner of Sackville-Street, Piccadilly.



TO THE RIGHT HON.

*CHARLES JAMES FOX.*

*S I R,*

**W**HILE I request Your  
Permission to inscribe  
this Speech to You, as being  
its respectable Author, I have  
to ask Your Pardon for any  
Error I may, unintentionally,  
have committed in giving either  
Your Sentiments or Expres-  
sions. It has been my parti-  
cular Study not to deviate from  
the Spirit of those Ideas which  
You gave with such Dignity,  
Candour, and Liberality on  
the most interesting of Subjects  
to

to this Nation—*American Independence*. So that, if I have not been able to recollect the exact Words by which those Ideas were either positively or negatively expressed, I trust the Preservation of Your Sentiments will be considered the best Argument to entitle me to Your Pardon. In this Confidence I remain,

*S I R,*

*With all possible Respect,*

*Your very obedient Servant,*

**THE EDITOR.**

**ADVER.**

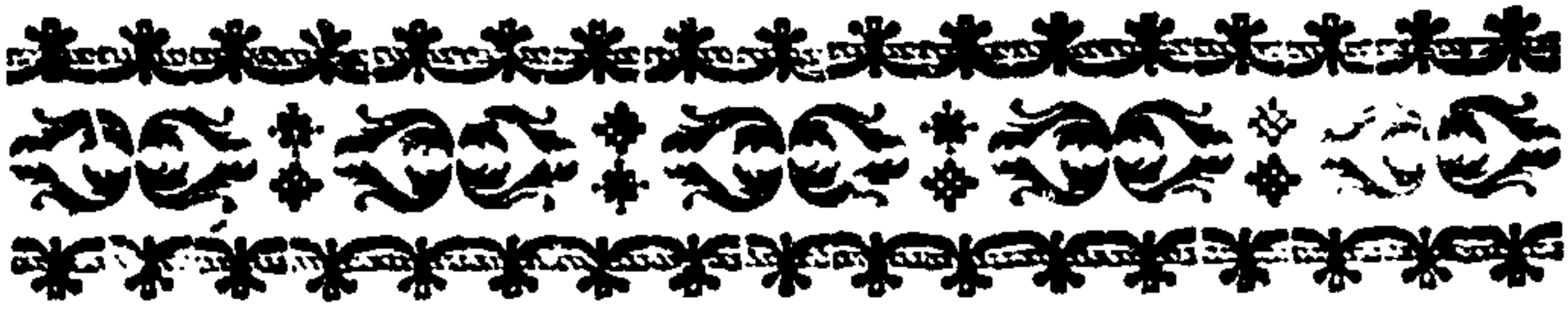
---

## ADVERTISEMENT.

**T**HE following **SPEECH** was made in consequence of **Sir George Saville** making a motion to exclude the word "America" from the *Colonial Place Bill*, then before the consideration of the House. His reasons were, that, in his opinion-- unless the word was excluded, it would be a revival of the dispute which had been the cause of all the differences between Great-Britain and America. It would be a tacit legislation for  
America.

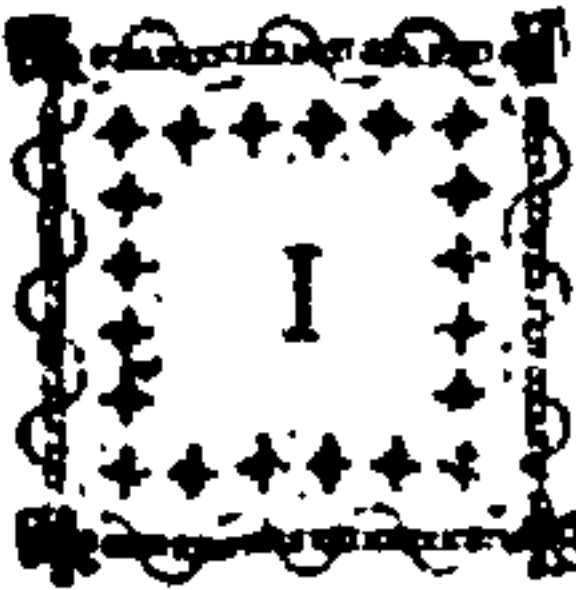
America. From this idea, he dreaded the consequences would be, that whatever were the present prospects for peace with America, they would all be destroyed. He thought there was not the least occasion for the word America to remain, when he had always understood---that it was the intentions of the present administration to grant them their independence.





T H E  
S P E E C H  
OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
C. J. FOX,  
O N  
*American Independence.*

S I R,


 RISE most earnestly to entreat my Honourable Friend (Sir GEORGE SAVILLE) to withdraw his motion. It cannot answer the salutary purpose which I am sure his patriotic principles intend. Instead of promoting confidence it will sow jealousies. These have too long subsisted between Great-Britain and America. The day, I hope, is come of their annihilation. Let not, then, any diffidence in the sentiments of his

B Majesty's

Majesty's ministers create them anew. What must be the consequence of a division upon this subject but a tacit demonstration of distrusting the consistency of character, which I declare shall, in myself, preserve the man, though it may destroy the minister? I will no longer act officially than I can consistently; nor will I act in concert with any set of men, if one shall be found to destroy the unison of the whole by his simple discordance. Surely there can be no reason for this motion. What has the Hon. Gentleman seen in the conduct of administration to countenance such a motion? Have they been found, like their predecessors, eager for war, ruin, rapine, and plunder? But however the Hon. Gentleman may, in his solicitude and jealousy for the peace and welfare of America, fancy evils may arise where blessings are intended to be sown, let me appeal to the judgment of the worthy and patriotic Baronet. His warmth of feelings may err—but a reflection of his judgment never. He is too wise for deliberate error, and too warm not to be prejudiced. But, in this instance, I hope the prejudice which his patriotism has excited so unjustly against his Majesty's ministers will be destroyed by considering with them—that it would now be the interest of Great-Britain



to seek the obedience of America either by coercion or negotiation. Were they now to return to their allegiance, we should suspect its principle. It would naturally be considered to have arisen from their imbecility to establish their independence. There would be no confidence in their allegiance nor our moderation. They would be jealous of our authority, and we should be suspicious of their loyalty. These suspicions would fetter the proceedings of government. Nothing destroys more the happiness and prosperity of a state, than a reciprocal distrust between the subjects and the sovereign—I say the sovereign, for he is the representative of government. So that I hope, neither my Hon. Friend, nor any Gentleman either in or out of the House, would consider the present administration can have any motive or intention to subjugate the Americans. It is the interest of no parent state to restrain the mature independence of their colonies. When colonies have power to be free, independence is their natural, as well as political, charter. I cannot state this maxim of policy clearer than by the example of a parent and his children, which is the general metaphor for political dependence. Infants are to be nurtured and tutored into maturity; when they become mature, they are no



longer the burthen but the support of the parent. They are educated into relative and filial prepossessions. They have the same habits, religion, and connections, which constitute their union of interest. So that a son will naturally preserve its parent, provided that parent has not severed these natural and relative ties by an ill-judged restraint of their independence. A confiding state is, therefore, more desirable than a distrustful colony. It is, thus, I declare most solemnly, both for myself and for those who profess the same sentiments, that it was our united declaration when in opposition—not to step into office without promoting the independence of America; and not to continue in office a moment longer than that power was allowed us. In respect to myself, I will be free to aver, that if I find one among his Majesty's council inimical to the independence of America, I will no longer continue a minister. But if I am to give my opinion, I do not believe there is that man to be found in his Majesty's councils. If there is, it is unknown to me. For I again declare, that it is the intention of administration to give America UNCONDITIONAL AND UNEQUIVOCAL INDEPENDENCE.

I A M

I AM sorry to enter into this subject so explicitly. But I trust it will be attributed to the necessity of giving every satisfaction to the House,—to the nation at large—and to the Americans of our friendly disposition towards peace, freedom, and unanimity. So that I hope the Hon. Gentleman being possessed of these declarations will see the propriety of withdrawing his motion.

HOWEVER I must now take notice that was this even the act of the preceding administration, I should not think there was the least danger in trusting the word “AMERICA” to remain where it is. They could never enforce it without power, and that power they have long since forfeited by their temerity. So that it could only imply those parts of our American possessions which have never yet adopted the idea, much less the substance, of independence. I am, therefore, surprized, that any idea of inimicality to the Americans could ever have arisen from the wording of this bill. I am sure the Hon. Gentleman must see the impropriety of adopting such an opinion. He surely must forget the temper, conduct, and principles of those who framed it. Does he imagine that men must necessarily change their sentiments with

with their seats in this House? Much corruption, it is certain, hath arisen from this seat. It hath tainted the hearts and turned the minds of too many. But I trust the present possessors have given sufficient demonstration of their having most effectually destroyed its principle. So that until the Hon. Gentleman finds some visible effects in the conduct of administration of their being affected by the *influenza* of the Treasury, I hope he will have too much confidence in us to persist in the present motion.

THE Hon. Gentleman has expressed his fears from this bill having been proposed by a noble Lord whose sentiments have always been found inimical to independence. But I am sure the Hon. Gentleman has too much knowledge of the theory, and has seen too much of the practice of government, not to know that political sentiments must change with political circumstances. The noble Lord might, some time since, have had a basis for this opinion in a prospect of its being crowned with success. But hope has been long since destroyed by a tempest of adverse circumstances. Our nerves of war have been stretched beyond their tone. The flower of our army have been captived.

Our

Our allies have either been too cautious to assist, or too treacherous even to preserve a neutrality. Are not these reasons sufficient to suppose a possibility for a change of sentiment in the noble Lord? It would be a tacit condemnation of both his principles and judgment to suppose he could, under these circumstances, remain in the same opinion. He must be a political Quixote indeed, who would presume to stop the continental mill of independence, whose sails are filled from every quarter of the globe. Has the noble Lord any assurances of success from a view of that distracted continent? Is a captived army of seven thousand men an encouragement to prosecute the war? Are the few garrisons we possess there, by an expence that exhausts this nation almost to a state of debility, an encouragement to prosecute the war? Are two millions of people, whom we have only been exercising to teach them either to conquer or to captive ourselves, an encouragement to send over any more men for their diversion and improvement in military discipline. In my opinion these twelve years should now be thought sufficient. America hath given us fatal demonstrations of her being no longer a nursling in arms. It would, therefore, be our best policy to accept of the many broad hints she hath given us of her strength, and  
 withdraw



withdraw the few troops which remain there, and set them apart in an hospital as a memento of what hath been sacrificed in this most sanguinary proceeding.

**B**UT after this review of our absolute situation in respect to America, is there any necessity to revert to our situation with respect to other European states and nations, to shew the necessity of granting, or rather acknowledging, America her independence? Is there a necessity to shew the formidable foes we have to encounter, in a state of relative ruin to what we have been in former wars? Does Gentlemen think from the late brilliant successes which have happened in the West and in the East Indies, that it has raised in his Majesty's councils any presumption of conquest? It may inspirit us against our natural foes—But it can never render us so full of temerity as to forfeit the friendship of America as a state, through the vague and preposterous idea of compelling them to their wonted allegiance—in other words to *enslave* them; for in my opinion, compelled allegiance is positive slavery. So that if we would preserve our constitution, we must disdain the idea of governing America. The government of England is destroyed the moment

ment she accepts or compels the obedience of a slave. America was once loyal. Then she was our greatest blessing. She was free, and we reaped the fruits of that freedom in glory and prosperity. But we were intoxicated with our happiness. Her power and inclination to confer, gave us the idea of tyrannical unjust compulsion. From that moment her natural and political allegiance was destroyed. She asserted her freedom upon the principles of our constitution. She took the spirit, and left us the body a prey to that corruption with which it is now tainted. While she, like the Phœnix, rose from the flames which we had kindled for her destruction. She is now in possession of her rights, and no coercion will ever oblige her to resign them. The noble Lord, therefore, cannot have the most distant idea of such an intention as meaning to renew the exploded subject of our legislating for America. On the contrary, I am certain he is possessed of the necessity of granting her, as before observed, an unconditional and unequivocal independence.

BUT with respect to our natural enemies, as far as the honour and happiness is concerned in prosecuting the war against them, our late



successes may have given administration new spirits and sentiments. And thus far I will accede to the measure—every prospect of destroying, or even debilitating our natural and political foes, should encourage us to persevere in that war which they have so unprovoked and undeservedly occasioned us to commence. We can have no confidence in their friendship. We should, therefore, endeavour to despoil their enmity of its sting. But while I urge the necessity of this measure from policy, I should rather condemn it from prudence. Were I to revert to our situation in respect to our ability for prosecuting a war of such a magnitude, I should rather sheathe the sword than sound the trumpet. Every means that could be devised for even a temporary suspension of arms, I should think it the absolute interest of this country to adopt. Every pause of hostility is a renovation of our exhausted sources. We are not in a state to countenance presumptive measures. We are rather in a state that should teach us caution, if we have not conduct. It is by no means a time for ambitious experiments, or sanguinary vengeance. We should rather court safety than tempt destruction. Who, that views the state of our finance and our situation of national exigence, can imagine

any

any success—even of a miraculous nature, could excite any idea of temerity in his Majesty's councils? No!—While we can preserve our national existence, we can have no reason to flatter ourselves with the glory of natural conquest. We have too long confided on the former successes of our courage, conduct, and resources. It is thus that we have even played with national neutrality, when we could not depend on national friendship. But our late disasters have too fatally convinced us of our error. We are now taught that national neutrality was even a negative friendship to a state so debilitated with war as at the period in which we so madly commenced hostilities against the Dutch. But our presumption seemed to encrease with our disasters. Instead of learning prudence and forbearance from misfortune, we learnt madness and insult. It was not sufficient to have severed the empire, forfeited our friends—but we must, even, commence hostilities against a people by reason they preferred their own interest to our perishing friendship.

IF this be a true state of our former political conduct, and our present national situation, we must learn that peace is to be courted upon any terms short of disgrace and infamy. So

that from this necessity of obtaining peace, I am the more convinced of the policy of granting America her independence. While we are contending for a name—having already lost the substance, we are giving our enemies the strongest argument against negotiating with us for a peace. They will be convinced of our inability to make them repent of war, while we are engaged in this unnatural, impolitic, and impracticable measure of coercing the Americans to their wonted allegiance. But by granting the Americans their independence in that manner which it must be their positive interest to accept, we then cut the navel string which nourishes our enemies with the means, while it furnishes them with their only pretence for war. However, I must allow, that with national enemies power and ambition will always furnish them with a pretence for commencing war with a rival neighbour. But yet I think they cannot lessen their own dignity so much as to look upon us with any degree of envy for our present power of rivalship. No! —Unhappy for this once glorious country, that day has passed its meridian. We were, indeed, not many years since, a most potent rival. In truth, we soared beyond rivalship. We had wrested from them the possession of

every thing that is estimable belonging to a people. Our trade flourished, our arms conquered, our glory reigned in the zenith of applause, and our imperial command adorned Neptune with Britannia's regalia. Fallen indeed are we now! But it would be invidious to trace the authors of our disgraces and calamities. Were it not invidious it would be unnecessary, for they are too notorious to require the finger of scorn, contempt, or punishment, to point out their persons or habitations. Have they feeling, they cannot but have their share of every distress that a mind can feel from contemplating itself the origin of their fellow subjects' distresses. I would not wish them to endure more than what they must have felt in being removed by the indignation of the people. Can a mind suffer a greater indignity than to receive such an unprecedented condemnation of their measures? If they are callous to such an aggravated circumstance of ignominy, it would be futile indeed to invent a further punishment. But if they are susceptible of shame—as I trust they are, their present punishment should content the minds of the nation, however they may feel at this time the pressure of their execrable measures.

HOWEVER, while we are content with the punishment attendant on such atrocious conduct,



we are to exert ourselves to prevent even a possibility of such destructive measures being again adopted. This is the principle of the present Colonial Place-Bill. How the Hon. Gentleman (Sir George Saville) could, therefore, suppose that it meant a revival of the system, which it is known the present administration have always opposed, is to me a subject of the greatest astonishment. It gives me a degree of anxiety that such a distrust should exist in the Hon. Gentleman's mind of the present ministry, as to render it necessary for him to bring forward such a motion. For certain I am, that nothing comes from that Hon. Gentleman but what arises from the purest of principles, and the wisest of determinations. So that a motion of this nature from him, would rather make me suspect there must be something latently inimical to America in our conduct which is not observed even by ourselves. For one at least, I trust I shall have the confidence of this house, and the people at large, when I again declare it on my best opinion, that such a disposition is the most foreign to the temper of his Majesty's present servants.

But had this motion of my Hon. Friend come from another quarter, I should not have found it necessary to have been so explicit with regard to the temper, inclinations, or intentions  
of

of the present servants of the crown. I should have treated such a motion with the contempt it would then have appeared to me to have deserved. I should then have thought it the mis-representation of illiberal, invidious prejudice — not the dictates of a sound understanding, influenced by the sentiments of the most honest and virtuous patriotism. For I am certain my Hon. Friend himself, were he convinced of the motion being unnecessary, he would be the first to oppose it on the principle of its tendency to promote suspicion when a confidence in the executive part of the government is so necessary to the existence of the country. The Hon. Gentleman knows too well the necessity of both domestic and foreign confidence being placed in the measures of government.—That nothing but the most atrocious and abandoned conduct on the part of administration could have justified the opposition of a recent period. It is, therefore, somewhat extraordinary, that in the day in which we are exerting ourselves to deserve and receive the confidence of the people, a motion of such a nature as the present should come from so worthy and patriotic a character. I am surprized that our actions—the little time we have had the honour to act in his Majesty's councils—should wear so unfriendly an aspect to the liberties of the people. For under the general idea  
of



of preserving the liberties of the people, I trust it will be recollected that I have always opposed the American war. We have executed our endeavours to remove that pernicious influence from whence originated every idea of unjustly legislating for the colonies to a very bad purpose. Our destruction of the cause seems to have created the suspicion of our renewing the evil as the consequence.

IF such are to be the interpretations of our actions, I know not who would covet to be a minister. There can be only this excitement, which will ever animate the breast of every honest man—the knowledge of his actions being immediately directed—and ultimately effecting the honour and happiness of his country. This excitement is sufficient to counter-balance every mis-conception, or more invidious mis-interpretation of our actions. I do not mean to infer this present motion is the least invidious mis-interpretation of our actions. No! The Hon. Gentleman has too thorough a knowledge of his own integrity to suppose I, or any of his Majesty's ministers, can apply this idea to him as the author of the motion. He must know my opinion of him, and his abilities, is too respectable for this idea to contain the least reference to him. He will therefore see, that  
it

it only refers to those illiberal ideas and reflections which this nation may create in minds too envious and invidious not to prostitute it to the most scandalous of purposes. He will see this motion may be made the engine of perpetual jealousy, between those who have hitherto had the greatest confidence in each other's, principles and abilities. He will see this motion may, in the hands of some, be the very means of perpetuating that war which has brought this country to its present state of decrepitude.

THOSE who were formerly the authors of every distress and calamity this nation hath suffered, in first taxing, and then coercing the Americans, will use this motion as an argument of friendship for those to whom they have been the worst of enemies. They will make it an argument for preventing the Americans having the least confidence in us for the purpose of negotiating for a peace. The only means by which a peace might have been obtained will be destroyed if this motion be not withdrawn. It will be a proof as well as a precedent for them to consider every act of the present administration as inimical to their interests, as what they have so fatally experienced from the late administration. However, my Hon. Friend may have conceived this

D

motion

motion from the best of motives, and the most politic foresight, yet I cannot but think it the most destructive to this nation as could possibly be thought of or devised at this immediate juncture. My Hon. Friend, I am certain, does not see how unnecessary it is in itself—nor much less does he conceive its pernicious and destructive tendency. Would he have brought it forward had he seen its tendency to destroy even the least hope of our pacification with America? He did not consider that America can have no other excitement to enter into a negotiation for peace with us, than having a thorough and permanent idea of the late destructive system having been destroyed with the administration from whence it had originated. He did not consider that this motion could only serve as fuel to that jealousy which has severed the interests and connection of America from her parent state. The very principle in which this motion is brought forward, is to prevent our losing the opportunity and expectations that we have at present of a peace being concluded. But let me take the liberty of observing, that this motion must eventually destroy that which is meant by the Hon. Baronet to promote. It will effectually destroy the foundation of every treaty or negotiation that the Americans may be inclined to enter into with this country. They will have no thoughts of  
treating

treating for a peace, when a motion of this House informs them that the present administration could not be trusted with the word "*America*" in the colonial place-bill. When they saw such a motion was brought forward by so respectable a character—and adopted by the House, they must—and they would, have the most apparent reasons to suppose we were only deluding them into a peace for the purpose of preparing the means of more effectually precipitating them into that slavery from whence we have only pretended to save them.

So that in viewing the motion in its relative consequences, I cannot but entreat my Hon. Friend to withdraw it. Had I not these public reasons, I should still persuade him to withdraw the motion from those of a personal consideration. For if he should persist in his motion for the exclusion of the word "*America*" from this bill, I must find myself in a situation that would be as repugnant to my feelings as, I trust, it would be to those of the Hon. Gentleman. I cannot suppose, that to find we were in opposite parts of a division, would be more agreeable to him than to myself. That such must be the result of his refusing to withdraw his motion, I believe he is already possessed of my reasons which must determine my vote in its opposition. Besides,



had I not already expressed my opinions of the bad tendency of this motion, I should think the declarations I have made, in respect to the disposition of his Majesty's ministers being entirely agreed to grant America unconditionally and unequivocally her independence, would be sufficient with my Hon. Friend. I trust he has that credit on my solemn assurances, which cannot countenance a diffidence of them in his afterwards persisting in his motion. Had I forfeited, by any act, my pretensions to his friendship or his confidence, I should then resort to further arguments to convince him of the necessity of what I now so seriously urge. But when I am conscious of never having done the least iota which could forfeit his good opinion of my political sentiments, I cannot but flatter myself—that I shall see this confirmed in the motion being immediately withdrawn. So that to argue on a point of this nature is almost a tacit self-crimination. For to me, the motion is so *mal-a-propos* to times, persons, and exigencies, that arguments against it cannot set it in a more improper point of view than what it wears on the first blush of the business. All arguments, therefore, that can be offered against it only serve to give this motion a credit which it really does not deserve. In proportion to the strength of these arguments, we appear to be under the necessity of

of

of resorting to them as a defence for our conduct. And to defend our conduct in such a subject appears to me a self-condemnation. Where the most upright intentions actuate the mind, all argument in their support only debases the purity of their nature. Arguments are no way useful but to clear difficulties or to screen guilt. But in the present instance can either be found? Is there any difficulty in seeing that this motion must sow distrust where only confidence is wanted? Is there any difficulty in seeing that this motion cannot even effect the purpose for which it is brought forward? Can the exclusion of "*America*" from this bill produce any thing more favourable to the independence of America, than the Americans already possess? But will it not, on the contrary, be the means of resigning our authority to legislature, in those parts of America where it has never yet been made a question? When these are the obvious consequences of such a motion being carried, I should find every difficulty to give it my support. Were I to vote in its favour, it would evince my distrust of my own confirmed principles and resolutions. It would be plainly demonstrating that this parliament has a right to legislate for our quondam colonies, which policy, necessity, and prudence made us, in this instance, restrain. The adopting this motion



tion would be a tacit resumption of a right in the moment that we have attempted to abolish it. My sentiments of internal legislation have already been so fully given, that any repetition of them now would be as tedious as they are unnecessary; otherwise it might be observed, that, under these declarations, it would be impossible for me, or any other of his Majesty's present ministers, to revive a principle that we have so explicitly and so unreservedly reprobated as impolitic and unjust. Under these circumstances, it is very extraordinary that we should be supposed to mean any thing unfriendly to the just privileges and interests of America. Our actions with respect to another part of the empire, must always remain as a bulwark against the revival of so execrated a system as that which has involved us in all our difficulties.

WHAT is acknowledged with respect to one part of an empire, surely must be applicable to another. But had not these declarations been made, the present situation of America has placed it beyond the power of any minister legislating effectually for them. And when the spirit of a power is lost, it is a mockery of every thing that is great or amiable in government to preserve the form. It shews tyranny tottering with debility. The obstinate adherence to the  
word

word *right* has made us lose the substance—*power*. So that if ever an administration was to be taught from the errors—not to give it a worse appellation, of their predecessors, we have the greatest reason to be rather diffident in exerting the rights of our constitution, than with wantonness and temerity to exert power without a principle of either justice, necessity, or prudence for its support.

If any person will just consider from whence we attempted to legislate for America, he must be convinced, that in the first establishment of the Colonies it was indispensable. They were then merely the cultivators of the soil. It was not for them to establish a form of government independent of the state which could only be their protection. They were in every possession of privilege, and had only gone there to acquire the possession of property. But when the acquisition of property excited ambition to exert its authority beyond the limits of protection, it was then their immediate interest, upon every principle of natural and political justice, to resist this abuse of legislative authority. When a people have acquired property, it certainly should be at their own disposal. With that property they acquired the right of eternal legislation; for no empirical parliament can legislate with  
 justice

office and propriety, where the contingencies of locality and interests of individuality cannot be ascertained. Indeed, the greatest principle of legislation, in this instance, is lost.—The representatives themselves having no local attachment for their constituents.

WHAT then shall we say of those who, with minds as narrow as their hearts, could not see the impolicy—if they could not feel the injustice, of persevering in this atrocious abuse of authority? It was plain to every liberal mind, that granting them their natural rights as Englishmen—and as citizens of a new world, would have been the establishment of our own welfare and prosperity. A state can never lose aught of its power by acceding to the demands of natural justice. But it may, as we have too fatally seen, lose not only its power—but its honour, dignity, and prosperity, when it exerts authority as foreign to its nature as to its interests. In giving America the power of legislating for themselves, we should have found the ultimate advantage, while they would have enjoyed the immediate satisfaction. It was there only that laws with wisdom and with propriety could be formed. Here they could only have been made at random without effect and without principle. Here they would have retarded the business  
of

of *our* internal legislature, without promoting *their* interest. But neither their interest nor ours were consulted throughout these proceedings. The idea had been adopted with presumption, it was enforced with temerity, and preserved with obstinacy. It was not for them to consider whether it was just—it was only for them to consider how it could be established. They thought an acknowledgement of right was a diminution of authority. They had an idea that a separation of imperial interest would be the result of granting America her natural privileges. They had no resort to natural gratitude, affection, or political attachment. Nor could they perceive that our just power was sufficient to controul any act of their internal legislation that might prove detrimental to the general interests of the empire. Such were the acts, opinions, and prejudices of those whom my Hon. Friend has joined so frequently with me in opposing. From the same motives with which I then had the honour of acting with him, do I now find myself under the necessity of deviating, in this instance, from that unanimity of sentiment. This evinces how those of the same principles, and even prejudices, may see things differently, through the difference of the medium by which it is observed.

E

I cannot



I cannot suppose our difference of opinion arises from any change in our principles—but merely that of situation. I am certain the Hon. Gentleman not only does—but that he will always retain a consistency of sentiment which marks the stability and integrity of his character. Nothing, therefore, can be more irksome to me than finding myself in this dilemma of differing with him in opinion. Indeed the situation is so dissonant to my feelings, that I must be particularly unhappy, were I not convinced that our difference is merely in opinion. I know that our principles are still the same. From this assurance am I so anxious my Hon. Friend should withdraw his motion. Sorry, indeed, should I be to find myself in a different side of a division from him on this subject. This must necessarily happen if the Hon. Gentleman sees the propriety of persevering in his motion. It is, therefore, that I have taken up so much of the House's time in dissuading him from wishing to see this motion carried. I am aware of his never bringing forward any thing but from a conviction of its propriety. It is this has made me endeavour to convince him how unnecessary this motion is in itself, and how prejudicial it will ultimately prove to those interests of which this motion is meant to preserve.

serve. Let the Hon. Gentleman but consider these arguments with his usual candour and penetration, and I am confident of his agreeing with me that the motion should be withdrawn. He will see that it cannot answer a purpose except it be the revival of suspicions which I trust our conduct has hitherto tended to destroy. Indeed, for the credit of himself, I am the more anxious for its being withdrawn—rather than it should be negatived in a division. I have too great a respect for what comes from so worthy and estimable a character, to bear the idea of its meeting with the dis-approbation of parliament. Besides, as I am convinced it was brought forward from principle, and not from personal prejudice, I think the motion in itself deserves a better fate. Although I do not think it should meet with a parliamentary adoption—yet I would not have it meet with a parliamentary rejection. It is, therefore, from every point of view in which it presents itself—either with respect to its principle, or the character of its patron—that I must conclude sincerely and anxiously, by desiring my Hon. Friend would conclude this debate by his own voluntary act in withdrawing a motion which may otherwise be disposed of in a more dishonourable manner.

F I N I S.