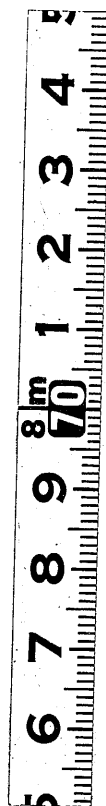


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SPEECH  
OF  
*Sir Francis Burdett,*  
AT THE  
*Crown and Anchor Tavern,*  
JULY 31, 1810,  
ON THE OCCASION OF  
DINING WITH HIS CONSTITUENTS,  
AFTER HIS  
LIBERATION  
FROM THE  
TOWER.

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## SPEECH, &c.

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*Gentlemen,*

I consider this as one of the proudest and happiest moments of my life. I know not whether it may be imputed to vanity, or any other motive, but I own I am always ready to acknowledge that the great, the only object I have in view, after the attempts to do you essential service, is to merit, and I hope always to meet with your approbation. Gentlemen, I know of no other method of obtaining that approbation, but by being certain of my own. Having no other view in all my endeavours than to serve you, and in speaking to you, I mean the people of England, I think I never shall be turned aside to the right hand, or to the left, by any prospect of advantage that can be held out to me on the one hand, or by any mode of intimidation that can be employed on the other. It is a great satisfaction to me undoubtedly to say, that in thus addressing you, I feel a consciousness of having endeavoured to fulfil the great trusts you have placed in my hands to the utmost of my power and ability; and I have the satisfaction to think, I may say with confidence I know, that the great cause in which we have been so long, I trust not altogether unsuccessfully, engaged, though it has not been advanced to the extent of our wishes or our hopes---I mean the great cause of Reform in Parliament---yet I have the satisfaction of saying, that I know it has within the last few months been considerably advanced in the country at large. Gentlemen, it will be necessary, in the few remarks which you will expect from me, on the general state of the country, to animadvert a little on some of those things which passed in the two Houses of Parliament, after my detention in the Tower. Many are the exaggerated statements and misrepresentations which, by interested persons, were made in those assemblies, hostile to the best

interests of the people; and unquestionably it is a phenomenon, new to the present times, to find in those assemblies, particularly that assembly denominated the Lower House, which ought to be the safeguard of the people, that there are no topics more palatable, no doctrines more readily received, or more applauded, than those which cut up the liberties of the people by the roots, and vilify the character of the country. It has been the object of many worthy individuals, attached to particular parties, to hold out that we are of no party, and in truth we affect to belong to no party but that of the people. They say we are always endeavouring to undervalue, to run down, and to calumniate, as it is called, every public character in the country. I wish they would leave general assertions and descend to particulars. I wish they would point out the characters who have been so calumniated, and then perhaps we shall have some answer to make to the charge. I am well aware, that there are many honourable men, coming under the denomination of those attached to party connections, who do wish well to the public; but who, being the dupes of party-leaders, or of fanciful notions of party, abandon the principles on which parties were originally founded, and quarrel for nothing else but a share of the emoluments and power enjoyed by their opponents. Gentlemen, great fault was found with me, by a friend of mine, on some former occasion, for having too severely and too generally, as he thought, attacked parties. That I believe to have been occasioned by a total misconception: my attack was directed only against a faction which wished to get others out of place in order that it might have the distribution of those beneficial things which a rival faction before enjoyed; but it was not my intention to say that all party-men were to be condemned. I never said that a party acting upon public principles was not desirable; but I merely meant to express my dislike of a party without principle, where all virtue was compromised, where nothing of principle was to be found, but instead of

public principle, private ambition. I say, when such parties have any controul in the Government of the Country, we are in the high road to the destruction of the liberties of the people. Gentlemen, a speech has recently been published, which I think, upon an occasion of this kind, deserves some remarks, because it comes with the authority of having been pronounced by a leading member of an important party in the Legislature. I know not whether he is the head of that party, for that party having joined another party, has produced a monster, not a Cerberus, which has three heads---but a two-headed party---a sort of *Bifrons*. The speech purports to be the speech of Earl Grey, at the close of the last Session of Parliament. When I comment upon this speech, I do not assert it to have been delivered by Earl Grey---I will not fix on any man any thing which may appear in print, under his name, without his authority; it would be uncandid and unfair to do so---but, at the same time, as it does purport to be the speech of Earl Grey, taken in short hand, it may be so considered, for the purpose of allowing me to controvert the fallacy, the sophistry, and pretended constitutional doctrines which are found in a speech ascribed to this Noble Person. There is a vast deal of specious generalities---a vast deal of abuse on a particular class of men, who are described as being the advocates of wild and visionary Reform. At the same time, the Noble Earl having, before he was Earl, pledged himself to the doctrine of Reform, now wishes to conciliate that pledge with the doctrine which the new party, denominated Whigs, now hold. There is in this speech a deal of declamation against men who are described as men of mischievous character. Who the persons are against whom this insinuation is directed, I am at a loss to know; they are generally described as misguided men, who, under the pretence of Reform, want to destroy the country. What is the occasion of this?---to whom is this applied?---what set of men are to be pointed at?---I am sure it is not

those men whom I have been in the habit of acting with. I have never heard any thing but what the most moderate might utter; and I may say this without the hazard of question, because the doctrines I am accustomed to hear from those to whom this speech alludes are the doctrines of the Law; and he who pretends to be wiser than the Law, is neither wise nor prudent. Upon an occasion when we are met for conviviality, it may not be amiss to mix a little of the useful with what is agreeable. I shall not take up much of your time in commenting on this long, laboured, and sophistical speech; yet there are some observations in it that are so directly marshalled against the cause of Reform, that I think it may be important to notice, in order to controvert them. The first great fallacy of this speech is the doctrine now supported by both parties, with respect to what they please to term the Privilege of Parliament; and the fallacy is this---they set out with stating that those who argue against their doctrine, argue against the powers of Parliament, which, in fact, no body does. We argue not against the powers of *Parliament*, but only against the assumed powers of the *House of Commons*. They object to us, that we forget that Supreme Power must exist somewhere. I say that is all a fallacy. The contrivance of the British Constitution is, that the Supreme Power should be lodged nowhere; and therefore we say it is a Government of checks and controul. It is not because the supreme power has been exercised at different times by one branch of the Government, that supreme power of right belongs to that branch. The struggles of Kings and Parliament to obtain this supreme power, have more than once occasioned all the confusion and anarchy which we are charged with contriving. The final supreme power in all countries is in the people themselves; we find proofs of this in the history of our own country, without going to remote periods. We find it recognized in the Bill of Rights, and in the principles which are the foundation of the Act of

Settlement, and in all the Constitutional Laws of the Country. The people undoubtedly do delegate a large portion of their power: but it is, however, only delegated for their own benefit. The King is the only part of the Government entrusted by the Constitution with *supreme executive authority*; but the House of Commons cannot, nor can the King, do any of those acts which have lately been usurped by the House of Commons. Now, Gentlemen, it has been the fashion for all parties--- I mean by parties, those men who look to power and emolument from the borough-mongering-system---to pack boroughs like cards, in order to usurp the rights of the people of England, and defraud them of their privileges. The practice of these persons has been to hold up the power of the King as that dreadful object which is to alarm the whole country; they tell us that it is the power of the King which is to be guarded against; whereas, in my opinion, the people have nothing to dread from the power of the King:---the power of the King and the power of the people are equal, and no throne is or can be secure that does not stand upon that principle. Short-sighted must that King be, and still more short-sighted must those Ministers be, who do not see that they place the throne in a slippery situation when they wish to make it independent of the power of the people. Wise ministers ought to lift the state of the King to that situation which is pointed out by the Constitution, and is so pointed out because it is only in the due exercise of his powers, that the people can find their safety. Mr. Pensonby, in particular, who seems to be one of these party-men, is reported to have said that a King never can love a Parliament. Why? Because they are a check and controul on his authority. How is that proved? When has Parliament checked the authority of the Crown? We can easily shew where it has impaired the authority of the people. I can point you out numerous instances in which it has imposed checks and restraints on the

powers and privileges of the people : but I defy Mr. Ponsonby to point out an instance wherein Parliament has performed the office of checking and controuling the power of the crown, although he says that is the duty it ought to perform. The people have been long enough duped by sham parties, who would not have any controul placed on that omnipotent power which exists not theoretically, but practically, in the borough-mongering system---their insolence they have carried to such a height, that they have even threatened the King with the consequences of committing high treason against their authority. You are not to learn that in those famous or rather infamous trials which took place in the year 1794,---those infamous attempts against the lives of some of the most loyal and honourable men in the country,---what were the doctrines which were held forth by the then Attorney-General, since created Lord Eldon ; once a private tutor at Oxford, and now the greatest man in England, for no one knew the extent of his power and patronage. What were the doctrines he avowed ? They are recorded in public instruments which were meant to be laid before the King, in order to awaken him to a true sense of his situation.

He said that if the King consented to the general wishes of an oppressed nation, if he yielded to the express instances of his people, he hoped that the King, in so yielding, if it was to have the effect of restoring to the people the power of appointing their own representatives, would die before he should be able so to consent to what was required of him. I say that no man charged at the Bar for high treason had any mind attempted to be fixed on him that approached so near to high treason as the words spoken by the King's own Officer, the Attorney General. Why then, Gentlemen, I say it is important to be known, that the interests of the People and the King are one. It is important that all should feel, and that the King should know they feel, that the interests of the People and the King are one and the same. It should

be known that our object is only the destruction of that infamous, that legally stigmatized monster, the borough-mongering faction ; that we are not afraid of the King ; that we know the prerogatives of the King are only according to the law ; that they are controuled and bound by the law ; and that it is only the borough-mongering Ministers that transgress the law, and know no limits to their authority. We are told in this same speech of Earl Grey, that it is the fashion of the times to vilify and defame all public men. I should like one of these vilified and defamed characters to come forward, and point out in what he has been calumniated. In this very speech, Earl Grey says, he has somewhat changed the opinions which he held in his youth ; he confesses that when he pressed Parliamentary Reform, he pressed it with all the ardour which belongs to a state of youth and inexperience, but that, after some years of experience, his opinion underwent some variations. He does not favour us with any account of what those variations are, or were, but he only tells us that his opinions were different from what they were before, and he attributes the alteration in his sentiments to the effect of experience. If this is the case ; if the principles of men can change as they advance in years---if no man can be pledged for the consistency of his opinions---if it is to be a sufficient answer for every man who thinks proper to change his political opinions to say, that " to-day I am older than I was when I pledged myself to a different opinion," then I say that such men do cut up and destroy all confidence, and shew that there ought not to be any confidence placed in them. We ought to ask whether such men could ever have been actuated by any principle at all ? A principle is not a new thing which may be thrown aside after it has been once established : a principle, once formed, remains for ever the same ; it does not alter by time ; the man professing it may grow older, perhaps he may not grow wiser or honester, but the principle he has professed con-

tinues one and the same---that cannot change; and when a man once binds and pledges himself to certain principles, whether wisely or not it is for himself to consider, he has stamped on himself the character which he intends shall belong to him; and if he departs from those principles, it is impossible for any reasonable man ever after to put trust and confidence in him; indeed such a man has no right to have any confidence in himself. There is another remarkable thing in the speech of Earl Grey---remarkable, because it is a falsehood, asserted in the very teeth of the history of the country. He says, that all the great public men, from the Revolution downwards, have maintained the doctrines for which he contends; and you observe, that it is the Whigs that go this length; they are the Whigs who are assisting the Ministers, by doing their dirty work for them; such is their ardor in the new course they have chosen, that they would not suffer the Ministers to get out of the mire as well as they could, but they have plunged themselves in *neck deep*, in order that the Ministers might go free.---He says, that all the great public men of this country have acknowledged this doctrine of the Privileges of the House of Commons---that Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt concurred in opinion. A gentleman favoured me with a communication yesterday which contradicts this statement. It is an extract from one of Mr. Pitt's speeches. He says, "In reading Mr. Gifford's Life of Mr. Pitt, at page 508, vol. 2, 8vo. edit. I met with the following paragraph, and as it appears to me to apply to your case, and as perhaps you might never be acquainted with it, I have taken the liberty of transcribed it for your perusal." This must be taken as the authority of a man of ability; not that I do, or ever did entertain any opinion of his integrity or ability as a Statesman; but having been a very eloquent pleader in defence of the Borough-mongers, he is supposed to be a great authority among them, and within their walls. In his speech on the privilege of Parliament, he says,---

"This was a question of considerable importance; for if a popular assembly had a right not only to be judges in their own cause, but to make their

own will the substitute for law, both in declaring the crime and fixing the punishment, there was an end to civil liberty; because there existed in the state a large body of men, who were not merely *above the law*, but who controuled the law, and acting in open defiance of the law, deprived the subject of his freedom at their pleasure, while they violated the *inviolability* which they had themselves proclaimed and established.

These sentiments of Mr. Pitt are the very reverse of those imputed to him in this speech, and support the very doctrine for which we contend. In this speech, there are repeated and frequent cautions to persons that they ought to be circumspect in all they do,---that they ought to look at every thing with a Statesman-like eye.---The person who composed the speech of Earl Grey, was unconscious of what he was doing, when he could quote a person in support of his argument who had contradicted the very doctrine for which he was contending, and who had more elaborately detailed those principles which I have stated. Perhaps we should enquire at what period of life Mr. Pitt gave this opinion---in the ardour of youth, or in the prime of manhood; for these great Statesmen, it seems, differ materially from themselves at different times. Persons who are going to share in offices in Government may have different views of things from what they had before. There is an Italian proverb,---"A man sees differently in the common place and in the palace." As a man in the valley has a different view of objects from a man on the hill. Circumstances may vary; but principles never: nor can we rationally trust a man, who, without having discovered a better principle, forsakes that in which he professed himself most sincere. There are other parts of this speech, which are exceedingly curious---"I protest," says he, "against men who, under pretence of Reform, would drive us into extravagant theories; but I was always a friend to moderate Reform." What can be more moderate, I would ask you, than the Reform which the people of this country wish for?--They are so moderate that they are contented to put up with all their wrongs, and to go without indemnity for the past;---they are con-

tent that those men who have fattened on the spoil shall keep possession of their plunder---they are content that those men who have raised themselves upon the ruins of their sinking Country, and who have sacrificed their public duty to their private interest, should not be called to account ;--they are content that they should retain all their unjust, ill-gotten possessions---they are content that they shall go with impunity; they only ask, let us have security for the future; let us put an end to this system. A great deal is said in the course of this speech about wild theory and speculation; while Lord Grey declares his readiness to effect all necessary practical Reform. I do not understand the use of this word speculation, as opposed to practice--A man who walks with his eyes shut, may be called a practical man without speculation. Is a "Statesman's eye" like that of Banquo's ghost, that had no speculation in it? All human wisdom is theory, and all acts are practical: but he who speculates in the dark will be apt to tumble over whatever lies in his way;--- I am for looking before me; and if I speculate, I am for speculating with the eyes of the law; we look not beyond that; we have only to open the Statute Book, and there we shall find recorded all and more than we claim. At the same time it is said in this speech, that there must be a resistance to popular clamour. I remember, and I have no doubt you were as attentive to the subject as myself, that when Lord Grey came into office, and was afterwards turned out, the excuse he made for having deluded the public, and for not having redeemed those pledges which he had placed in the hands of the public---you will recollect that the excuse he made was, that the people did not ask for Reform. Now, I think, that is quite a dishonest doctrine. I think we ought not to wait till we are asked for that which is good and fit to be bestowed; that it is not the way in which a Statesman ought to act. I think no man ought to wait to pay his debts till he is called upon to do so. I think that a good man and a Statesman ought to

anticipate the views and wishes of a nation, and not to withhold benefits, till they are wrung reluctantly from him. I think that the principles on which Earl Grey has acted, are neither wise or honest; and let me ask, How are the people to act with men who, in excuse for neglecting to do them justice, say they have not called for a particular measure, and then when they call for it, tell them it ought to be resisted, because of popular clamour? It seems that nothing is to be yielded to popular clamour. The public voice is not to be heard. Every creature of power, however base, has the magnanimity to despise public opinion. It is the road to fortune; there is no creature or dependant of power so contemptible, but he will spit forth his malice against the people at large---this is easily accounted for without supposing much magnanimity on the part of the person so conducting himself; the rewards are brilliant. There is no such ready way to fortune as to abuse the people---you are considered as low creatures. It is supposed that all who meet here must give the itch; but unfortunately for us, these men who slander you have themselves the itching palm: they have no objection to your money; they remind me of the Emperor Vespasian, who, when he laid a tax on common sewers, and was reproached for having recourse to so dirty an expedient, replied, that he did not find that the money had an unpleasant smell. So it is with these proud and magnanimous persons; they care not for you, but they like your money, and therefore the only connection they have with the people is through their pockets. Among other subjects in this curious speech, attributed to Lord Grey, I have the honour to be named. I am supposed to be a misguided man, lending myself to doctrines to the tendency of which I am blind. I am represented with just as much truth as Mr. Pitt's apologists have represented him on the question of privilege. I am said to hold myself forth as a martyr in the same cause with Sydney and Russel. Nothing could be more unfortunate than

such an observation; they were sacrificed to an arbitrary Tyrant, through the medium of flagitious Juries. What matters it how our liberties or lives are endangered; or, if we must be robbed, whether it be from the right pocket or the left? Here is a power assumed contrary to the laws---the fundamental law of the country; contrary to reason and common sense; contrary to the happiness and security of the public; and whether this assumption comes from the King, or the House of Commons, or the House of Lords, or the King, Lords, and Commons united, it is equally indifferent to us. What I deny, therefore, on the part of the people of England is, that *arbitrary sovereign power* is entrusted any where. I say that there is no such thing. I say that the people have trusted sovereign power, as far as they could with safety to themselves, in the King; and that they have, for the purpose of checking the abuse of that power, reserved to themselves the right of appointing their own Stewards; that they have retained the right of controuling that power by their Representatives in Parliament.

Moreover, there is a part of sovereign power that goes to affect the lives of men, and our forefathers wisely kept that in their own hands; the power to which I allude is the right of Trial by Jury. I shall shew you that the same kind of sophistry which has been applied to the subject of the Privileges of the House of Commons, would equally apply to do away the Trial by Jury. It may be said that Judges are more enlightened than Juries, and are better enabled, by the habits of their profession, to determine those questions which are usually submitted to Juries. A thousand arguments might be brought forward to blind the common sense of the country, and to do away all that is most valuable of the rights and privileges which have hitherto been enjoyed by the people. The people have kept this privilege in their own hands, and it behoves them to look with a jealous eye, in order that it may not be eventually abridged; for I have no hesitation in saying,

that the form of the Trial by Jury may be preserved, after the spirit of it shall be destroyed; and if ever the day shall come, when the system of the Trial by Jury shall be as corrupt as the Borough-mongering system, the Trial by Jury will then become the grand master grievance of the country!--In adverting to this topic, can I pass over the worse than Star Chamber sentences, passed of late years upon men who have committed errors with the pen? Can I pass over the mode in which now, according to the law of libels, a law which has been confounded by the pretended *dicta* of Judges—a law not derived from the Constitution of the country, but growing out of an arbitrary system—can I pass over the practices of appointing Special Juries in those cases which are falsely called criminal? Can I pass over the exertion of that power which is known to exist at the present day, and to be carried into effect by every possible means? Can I pass over the manner in which men are tried for this imaginary offence—the King appointing the Judges---the King appointing the Juries---the crime unknown to the law, and in itself only a fanciful crime, for I deny a libel to be a crime---I defy our lawyers to shew me such a word in any of our Acts of Parliament, except what is called Mr. Fox's Libel Bill---a Bill which I regret should have ever found its way into our Statute Books, because it has operated by a side-wind to give a validity to that assumption of power, which, up to the time of its passing, had no legal colour of authority whatever. Except in that Bill, I defy any man to produce the evidence of the existence of such an offence as a libel in the Law of England. When you consider men writing with the best intentions, and for the best public objects---that the mind which dictates their sentiments is actuated by the noblest feelings, which may often hurry a man to use expressions beyond what his cooler judgment might chuse to adopt---when you consider that such an offence often flows from the purest feelings of human nature---that it is made an offence only by construction--



when you see persons tried as they are, brought before Juries so appointed by the Officers of Crown, subject to a prosecution unknown to the old law, accused by the Attorney-General, the immediate Officer of the Crown---when you find that Officer of the Crown at one stroke beating down the barriers with which the law had encompassed the subject---when you find all this done without transgressing the law, as it at present exists, I think you will have no reason to boast much of the Liberty of the Press. Once more to trespass on your time with respect to the Privileges of Parliament, about which so many sophistical arguments have been advanced, in order to deceive the people. Some gentlemen have pretended that these powers were necessary for the protection of the people, and that for the protection of the people it was necessary to grant these Privileges to their Representatives. They tell you that if they have been abused, you cannot argue from the abuse to the use of them. Unquestionably not. But you will see how hollow the pretence is for claiming this power, when it can only be exercised against the people, for whose sake that House enjoys all its Privileges: for with this power it may in conjunction with the Crown and the Borough-mongers, quite destroy the liberties of the People. Besides, what is to be said of a Privilege which can only be put in force by the King's troops? A Privilege, which can only be enforced by a Standing Army---German Soldiers and others,---none of which the King ought to keep, and the maintaining of which is contrary to the fundamental laws of the Country? But, Gentlemen, whether the King may keep them or not, they certainly have no right to murder the People in the streets. Gentlemen, the last act of the King's Ministers seems completely to draw the veil aside, and to shew Englishmen their situation, and undoubtedly I feel, as every man of common sense must feel, what is their real condition. I feel that there is no security for any man. I feel that by the duty we owe to our country, the consequences may be

to an extent which I may not name, and I see no means of preventing those consequences. In time the minds of Englishmen may become lowered to their condition. Gentlemen, the minds of slaves are not at once adopted. While we consider ourselves free, various are the duties which are expected from us; but when once we know ourselves to be slaves, we must bear in our minds that the slave has but one virtue, which is obedience. I greatly apprehend that I shall not be able to get so much of the Englishman out of me as to bring my mind to that condition. I feel, that if I must fall, I had rather fall with a falling Country, than stand elevated on its ruins. But, Gentlemen, the feelings which you express, give me better hopes, and better opinions; and I do hope and trust to be instrumental, for that is the great object of my life, in renovating the Liberties of my Country, and placing them on the immoveable rock of the Constitution. Gentlemen, you well know, as I know, and I am far from meaning to arraign the justice of the Country, but you are well aware that an eminent public writer has been sentenced to a long imprisonment, to the payment of a large fine, and has been obliged to submit to a custom introduced in modern times, of finding immense security for future good behaviour, as it is called; or, in case of inability to procure it, suffering imprisonment for life---and for what? For having expressed his indignation at that act, which I trust, there is no Englishman who does not participate in his abhorrence of. I do not mean to arraign the sentence: it is probable, that, according to the present system of what is called the Law of Libel, it may have been correct. I do not presume to say the contrary---it may have been a proper conviction; I do not say, it may not have been so; but this I do maintain, that if we are not to express our indignation that German soldiers should be brought to see Englishmen flogged, or if we cannot express our indignation that any Englishman should be flogged at all, I do say we are in a more base and de-

graded situation than any nation on the face of the globe. I do not assert that there may not have been some technicality in the mode of expression, which may have affixed the character of libel upon the publication to which I am referring; I do not arraign the Court of Justice that passed the sentence; but I do say, the situation to which we are reduced, whether it is by German soldiers or otherwise, of being a flogged nation---of being the only nation liable to the punishment of a dog---a punishment inflicted with a degree of inhumanity which no person would inflict upon a beast---if that is our situation, I say it is better to die than to live! Gentlemen, I have touched a few of the prominent evils of the times, and the prominent evils of the country, and I will venture to promise you this, that, in whatever situation it may be my fortune to be placed, whether I may have the honor to be lifted up by the opinion of the Electors of Westminster, or whether, from misconception, or mistake, or difference of opinion, I may be placed in a different situation; whether I may be high or low, I trust I shall be found willing to do the utmost of my duty, in endeavouring to restore the rights and liberties of the people. Gentlemen, I will only make this further observation, before I conclude the address I have had the honour to make this day. That whatever may be the condition of this country, no good man ought ever to despair; I do assure you that whatever the condition of the country may be, it is infinitely better than I have seen it, since I have been before the eye of the public; the soil we have so long laboured without any prospect of a return, and which has been so long cultivated with unremitting toil by an Honourable and Venerable Gentleman, Major Cartwright, at length promises us a fruitful harvest. I believe he will say, that he has reason to know, from communications which have been made to him from different parts of the country, that the subject of Reform never bore so favourable an appearance as it does at the present moment. Gentlemen, before I sit down,

I will, with your permission, say a word on the wretched and miserable condition of the Sister Kingdom. Hitherto we have been occupied with the encroachments on our own liberty---the uniform en-croachments which for a period of fifty years have gradually deprived the people of this country of their rights and privileges---for fifty long years the King has had the misfortune to lament in every address to his people the increase of those burdens which he was compelled to impose; while we have been so occupied with our own interest that we have had no leisure to sympathise with our Sister Kingdom of Ireland. Gentlemen, the cause of England and Ireland is one common cause; we must swim or sink together. Hitherto all our administrations seem with the eyes of Statesmen, eyes without speculation, to have viewed the situation of Ireland. It is time we should shew this gallant and oppressed people, and that we should shew it by the exertion of the power of this country in their behalf, that we are not deaf to their just complaints. Upon this subject I feel so much, I confess I have always felt so much, and I have so invariably endeavoured for fifteen years to attract the attention of the Government, in and out of Parliament, to the oppressions under which the People of Ireland have groaned, that it is impossible for me to add to what I have already said upon that subject;---but I do not despair of shewing to the much-injured people of that country, that there are many in this country who participate in their feelings, and have a common cause with them; and I own I should have been happy if, in the midst of the charitable donations some for the relief of the Spanish Patriots, some for the relief of the Swiss Patriots, and some by Philanthropic Societies for the general relief of all foreigners---I should, I say, have been happy to have observed a similar system of charity extended towards our suffering fellow-subjects in Ireland---I am sure it would have been to the honour, credit, and interest of this country---I am sure we have had

struggles enough of our own to make, without having our minds led to subjects which we have not been accustomed to contemplate, or to think of sufficient importance to attract our attention. The sufferings of our fellow-creatures in Ireland are of infinitely more account to us than those of persons, many of whom are the natural subjects of our enemies. I say that English, Irish, and Scots ought to feel as people of one country, having a common cause; for depend upon it, if one party goes to destruction, the rest will necessarily follow. I shall only make one observation before I drink your healths, and return you thanks for the honour you have done me; it is to recommend to you to do all that you can do; not to forego your claims to those rights which you have not at present the power to obtain, but to do all you can to attain them:--all that honest men can do at the present moment, is to try to keep alive the spark of liberty in a few breasts. I conclude by drinking all your good healths.

F I N I S.