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EDMUND BURKE.

GOVERNMENT.

“ But as long as reputation, the most precious possession of every individual, and as long as opinion, the great support of State, depend entirely upon that voice (the voice of the people), it can never be considered as a thing of little consequence, either to individuals or to government. Nations are not primarily governed by laws; less by violence. . . . Nations are governed by the same methods and on the same principles by which an individual without authority is often able to govern those who are his equals or superiors by a knowledge of their temper and a judicious management of it—I mean, when public affairs are steadily and quietly conducted; not when Government is nothing but a continued scuffle between the magistrate and the multitude in which sometimes the one and sometimes the other is uppermost, in which they alternately yield and prevail in a series of contemptible victories and scandalous submissions.”

“ If any ask me what free government is, I answer that for any practical purpose it is what the people think so, and that they and not I are the natural lawful and competent judges of this matter. . . . There are people who have split and anatomised the doctrine of free government as if it were an abstract question concerning metaphysical liberty and necessity, and not a matter of moral prudence and natural feeling.”

“ The benefit of those that are governed is the ultimate end of all government, and not any supposed dignity of the governing power.”

COERCION, OR "RESOLUTE" GOVERNMENT.

"But I confess, possibly for want of this knowledge, my opinion is much more in favour of prudent management than of force, considering force not as an odious, but a feeble instrument for preserving a people so numerous, so active, so growing, so spirited as this, in a profitable and subordinate connection with us. First, sir, permit me to observe that the use of force alone is but *temporary*. It may subdue for a moment; but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered.

"My next objection is its *uncertainty*. Terror is not always the effect of force; and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without recourse; for conciliation failing, force remains; but force failing, no further hope of conciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness; but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence.

"A further objection to force is that you *impair the object* by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover, but depreciated, sunk, wasted, and consumed in the contest. Nothing less will content me than *whole America*. I do not choose to consume its strength along with our own, because in all parts it is the British strength that I consume. I do not choose to be caught by a foreign enemy at the end of this exhausting conflict, and still less in the midst of it. I may escape; but I can make no assurance against such an event. Let me add that I do not choose wholly to break the American spirit, because it is the spirit that has made the country.

"Lastly, we have no sort of *experience* in favour of force as an instrument in the rule of our colonies (unfortunately we have a long experience of its mischievous futility in Ireland). Their growth and their utility have been owing to methods altogether different."

"I hear it indeed sometimes asserted that a steady perseverance in the present measures and a rigorous punishment of those who oppose them, will in course of time infallibly put an end to these disorders. But this, in my opinion, is said without much observation . . . and without any knowledge at all of

the general nature of mankind. . . . Particular punishments are the cures for accidental distempers in the State ; they inflame rather than allay those heats which arise from the settled mismanagement of the Government, or from a natural ill-disposition of the people.”

“They contend that no adequate provocation has been given for so spreading a discontent, our affairs having been conducted throughout with remarkable temper and consummate wisdom. The wicked industry of some libellers joined to the intrigues of a few disappointed politicians have, in their opinion, been able to produce this unnatural ferment in the nation. Nothing, indeed, can be more unnatural than the present convulsions of this country if the above account is a true one. I confess I shall assent to it with great reluctance, and only on the compulsion of the clearest and firmest proofs ; because their account resolves itself into this short but discouraging proposition : ‘ That we have a very good Ministry, but that we are a very bad people ’ ; that we set ourselves to bite the hand that feeds us ; that like a malignant insanity we oppose the measures and ungratefully vilify the persons of those whose sole object is our own peace and prosperity. If a few puny libellers acting under a knot of factious politicians without virtue, parts, or character (such they are constantly represented by these gentlemen), are sufficient to excite this disturbance, very perverse must be the disposition of that people amongst whom such a disturbance can be excited by such means. . . . We seem, therefore, to be driven to absolute despair, for if we have no other materials to work upon but those out of which God has been pleased to form the inhabitants of this island—if these be radically and essentially vicious—all that can be said is that those men are very unhappy to whose fortune or duty it falls to administer the affairs of this untoward people.”

“The first duty of a State is to provide for its own conservation. Until that point is secured it can preserve and protect nothing else. But if possible it has greater interest in acting according to strict law than even the subject himself. For if the people see that the law is violated to crush them they will certainly despise the law. They or their party will be easily led to violate it, whenever they can, by all the means in their power.

Except in cases of direct war, whenever Government abandons law it proclaims anarchy.”

“It affords no matter for very pleasing reflection to observe that our subjects diminish as our laws increase.”

“Liberty, too, must be limited in order to be possessed. The order of restraint it is impossible in any case to settle precisely. But it ought to be the constant aim of every wise public counsel to find out by cautious *experiments* and rational, cool endeavours with how *little*, not how much of this restraint, the community can subsist.”

“People crushed by law have no hopes but from power. If laws are their enemies they will be enemies to laws, and those who have much to hope and nothing to lose will always be dangerous more or less.”

On change of venue for certain offences from America to England:—“We may call the effect of our victory peace, or obedience, or what we will, but the war is not ended; the hostile mind continues in full vigour, and it continues under a worse form. If your peace be nothing more than a sullen pause from arms; if their quiet be nothing but the meditation of revenge, where smitten pride, smarting from its wounds, festers into new rancour, neither the Act of Henry VIII., nor its handmaid of this reign, will answer any wise end of policy or justice.”

CONCESSION.

“Their support must be purchased by the removal of every cause of discontent. This is the only magic, the only charm which can draw their affection—which can cement and unite the different members of the empire, and make it act as if inspired by one soul. . . . He who gives any other advice, can hardly be an honest, much less a wise counsellor.”

“I mean to give peace. Peace implies reconciliation: and when there has been a material dispute reconciliation does in a manner always imply concession on the one part or on the other. In this state of things I make no difficulty in affirming that the proposal ought to originate from us. . . . The superior power may offer peace with honour and with safety. Such an offer from such a power will be attributed to magnanimity. But the concessions of the weak are the concessions of fear.”

“ If you mean to please any people you must give them the boon which they ask ; not what you may think better for them, but of a kind totally different. . . . The question with me is not whether you have a right to render your people miserable, but whether it is not your interest to make them happy. It is not what a lawyer tells me I *may* do, but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I ought to do. Is a politic act the worse for being a generous one ? ”

OTHER EXPEDIENTS.

“ They may be assured that however they amuse themselves with a variety of projects for substituting something else in the place of *that great and only foundation of Government, the confidence of the people*, every attempt will but make their condition worse. When men imagine that their food is only a cover for poison, and when they neither love nor trust the hand that serves it, it is not the name of the roast beef of Old England that will persuade them to sit down to the table that is spread for them. In the meantime, the voice of law is not to be heard. Fierce licentiousness begets violent restraints. The military arm is the sole reliance ; and then, call your Constitution what you please, it is the sword that governs. The civil power, like every other that calls in the aid of an ally stronger than itself, perishes by the assistance it receives.”

“ They begin with treating America harshly ; they afterwards speak of her as disaffected ; they at last drive her to despair ! . . . They menace and use compulsion first, and then use softening measures ! . . They reverse the rule of all wise and prudent governments, which try gentle measures first, and if those fail have recourse to compulsive ones.”

A LITTLE CONCESSION AND A LITTLE COERCION.

(*Lord Hartington and Mr. Trevelyan.*)

“ The profession of kindness with that sword in the hand, and that demand of surrender, is one of the most provoking acts of hostility.”

THE IRISH PEOPLE.

“THE PEOPLE HAVE NO INTEREST IN DISORDER. When they do wrong it is their error and not their crime. But with the governing power of the State it is far otherwise, they certainly may act ill by design, as well as by mistake.” “Pour la POPULACE ce n'est jamais par envie d'attaquer qu'elle se soulève, mais par impatience de souffrir.”

“We found the people heretics and idolators; we have by way of improving their condition rendered them slaves and beggars. They remain in all the misfortune of their old errors and all the superadded misery of their recent punishment. They were happy enough—in their opinion at least—before the change. What benefits society then had they partook of them all. They are now excluded from those benefits, and so far as civil society comprehends them, and as we have managed the matter, our persecutions are so far from being necessary to its existence, that our very Reformation is made in a degree noxious. If this be improvement, truly I know not what can be called a depravation of society.’

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

him from those who had been the old inhabitants of that land before him.”

“The declared object was to reduce the Catholics of Ireland to a miserable populace, without property, without estimation, without education. . . . They divided the nation into two distinct bodies, without common interest, sympathy, or connection. One of these bodies was to possess *all* the franchises, *all* the property, *all* the education; the other was to be composed of drawers of water and cutters of turf for them. Are we to be astonished when by the efforts of so much violence in conquest and so much policy in regulation continued without intermission for nearly a hundred years, we had reduced them to a mob; that whenever they came to act at all many of them would act exactly like a mob, without temper, measure, or foresight?”

ARE THE IRISH NATURALLY THRIFTLESS?

Answer to the allegation that the Irish people are naturally improvident and thriftless.

“The desire of acquisition is always a passion of long views. Confine a man to momentary possession and you at once cut off that laudable avarice which every wise state has cherished as one of the first principles of its greatness. Allow a man but a temporary possession, lay it down as a maxim that he never can have any other and you immediately and infallibly turn him to temporary enjoyments; and these enjoyments are never the pleasures of labour and free industry, whose quality it is to furnish the present hours and squander all upon prospect and futurity; they are, on the contrary, those of a thoughtless, loitering, and dissipated life. The people must be inevitably led into such pernicious habits merely from the short duration of their tenure which the law has allowed. But it is not enough that industry is checked by the confinement of its views; it is further discouraged by the limitation of its own direct object—profit. This is a regulation extremely worthy of our attention, as it is not a consequential but a direct discouragement to melioration as directly as if the law had said in express terms ‘Thou shalt not improve.’”

“But we have an additional argument to demonstrate the ill

policy of denying the occupiers of land any solid property in it. Ireland is a country wholly unplanted. The farms have neither dwelling houses nor good offices, nor are the lands, almost anywhere, provided with fences and communications ; in a word in a very unimproved state. The landowner there never takes upon him, as it is usual in this kingdom, to supply all these conveniences and to set down his tenant in what may be called a completely furnished farm. If the tenant will not do it it is never done."

THE IRISH MINORITY.

"I am sorry to find that pride and passion, and that sort of zeal for religion which never shows any wonderful heat but when it afflicts and mortifies our neighbour, will not let the ruling description perceive that the privilege for which your clients contend is very nearly as much for the benefit of those who refuse it as those who ask it."

"New ascendancy is the old mastership. It is neither more nor less than the resolution of one set of people in Ireland to consider themselves as the sole citizens in the commonwealth, and to keep a dominion over the rest by reducing them to absolute slavery under a military power ; and thus fortified in their power, to divide the public estate, which is the result of general contribution, as a military booty amongst themselves."

NOT THE UNIVERSAL DESIRE OF IRELAND.

"But what argument is it to say that the petitions do not express any general discontent, because the principal gentlemen do not sign them ! . . . The Justices do not sign ! The Justices of Peace are under the immediate appointment of the Crown ; and if it were true that they did not sign, I should hope it would be one of the last arguments against the petitions, if ever it can be any. Good God ! sir, is there no discontent if *all* the counties do not petition ? What would they have that government to be, where every member of the community is to complain against it ! I never heard of such an argument as this before, and hope it will now be for the last time."

THE NATIONALIST LEADERS AND IRISH AGITATORS.

“ A species of men to whom a state of order would become a sentence of obscurity, are nourished into a dangerous magnitude by the heat of intestine disturbances ; and it is no wonder that by a sort of sinister piety they cherish, in their turn, the disorders which are the parents of all their consequence. Superficial observers consider such persons as the cause of the public uneasiness, when in truth they are nothing more than the effect of it.”

“ It is not fair to judge of the temper and dispositions of any man, or any set of men, when they are composed or at rest from their conduct, or *their expressions in a state of disturbance and irritation.*”

THE LAW OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE MORE POWERFUL THAN
THE LAW.

“ We thought, sir, that the utmost which the discontented colonies could do was to disturb authority ; we never dreamt they could of themselves supply it ; knowing in general what an operose business it is to establish a government absolutely new. But having for our purposes in this contention resolved that none but an obedient assembly should sit, the humours of the people, thus finding all passage through the legal channel stopped, with great violence broke out another way. Some provinces have tried *their* experiment as we have tried ours ; and *theirs* has succeeded. *They have formed a government sufficient for its purposes without the bustle of a revolution or the troublesome formality of an election.* Evident necessity and tacit consent have done the business in an instant. So well they have done it that Lord Dunmore tells you **THE NEW CONSTITUTION IS INFINITELY BETTER OBEYED THAN THE ANCIENT GOVERNMENT** ever was in its most fortunate periods. Obedience is what makes government, and not the names by which it is called.”

IS THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT A CRIMINAL ONE ?

“ The thing seems a great deal too big for my ideas of jurisprudence. It should seem to my way of conceiving such matters

that there is a very wide difference in reason and policy between the mode of proceeding on the irregular conduct of scattered individuals, or even of bands of men who disturb order within the State, and the civil dissensions which may from time to time on great questions agitate the several communities which compose a great empire. It looks to me to be narrow and pedantic to apply the ordinary ideas of criminal justice to this great public contest. I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people. I cannot insult and ridicule the feelings of millions of my fellow creatures. . . . I really think for wise men this is not judicious ; for sober men not decent ; for minds tinctured with humanity not mild and merciful."

NECESSITY OF A JUDICIAL AND IMPARTIAL CONSIDERATION.

"We are, indeed, in all disputes with the colonies by the necessity of things the judge. It is true, sir. But I confess that the character of judge in my own cause is a thing that frightens me. I cannot proceed with a stern, assured, judicial confidence until I find myself in something more like a judicial character. I must have these hesitations as long as I am compelled to recollect that in my little reading upon such contests as these the sense of mankind has at least as often decided against the superior as the subordinate power. . . . But justice is the same, let the judge be in what situation he will."

PRESENT MEASURES AND POLICY OF MR. GLADSTONE'S GOVERNMENT.

"Nothing is more discouraging to the loyalty of any description of men than to represent to them that their humiliation and subjection make a principal part in the fundamental and invariable policy which regards the conjunction of these two kingdoms. This is not the way to give them a warm interest in that conjunction. My poor opinion is that the closest connection between Great Britain and Ireland is essential to the well-being, I had almost said to the very being, of the two kingdoms. For that purpose I humbly conceive that the whole of the superior, and what I should call *imperial*, politics ought to have its resi-

dence here, and that Ireland, locally, civilly, and commercially independent, ought politically to look up to Great Britain in all matters of peace or of war ; in all those points to be guided by her ; and, in a word, with her to live and to die. At bottom Ireland has no other choice, I mean no other rational choice.”

“ The Parliament of GREAT BRITAIN sits at the head of her extensive empire in two capacities : one as the local legislature of this island providing for all things at home. The other, and I think her nobler capacity, is what I call her *imperial character* ; in which, as from the throne of heaven, she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and controls them all, without annihilating any. She is never to intrude into the place of others whilst they are equal to the common ends of their institution. Such, sir, is my idea of the constitution of the British Empire, as distinguished from the Constitution of Britain, and on these grounds I think subordination and liberty may be sufficiently reconciled through the whole.”

“ But I do assure you that if ever one man lived more zealous than another for the supremacy of parliament and the rights of this imperial crown it was myself.”

“ I had, indeed, very earnest wishes to keep the whole body of this authority (of parliament) perfect and entire as I found it, and to keep it so, not for our advantage solely, but principally for the sake of those on whose account all just authority exists. I mean the people to be governed. For I thought I saw that many cases might well happen in which the exercise of *every* power, comprehended in the broadest idea of legislature, might become in its time and circumstances not a little expedient for the peace and union of the colonies amongst themselves, as well as for their perfect harmony with Great Britain. Thinking so, I was at the same time very sure that the authority of which I was so jealous could not, under the actual circumstances of our plantations be at all preserved in any of its members but by the greatest reserve in its application.”

I.—*Separation.*

“ Ireland *constitutionally* is independent, politically she never can be so.”

“ Ireland cannot be separated one moment from England

without losing every source of her present prosperity and even hope of her future. I am very much and bitterly afflicted to see that a very small faction in Ireland should arrogate to itself to be the whole of that great kingdom. I am more afflicted in seeing that a very minute part of that small faction should be able to persuade any person here that on the support of their power the connection of the two kingdoms essentially depends. This strange error, if persevered in (as I am afraid it will) must accomplish the ruin of both countries."

"I assure you that I take a sincere part in the general joy, and hope that mutual affection will do more for mutual help and mutual advantage between the two kingdoms than any ties of artificial connection. . . . I am convinced that no reluctant tie can be a strong one, and that a natural cheerful alliance will be a far securer link of connection than any principle of subordination borne with grudging and discontent."

"In every arduous enterprise we consider what we are to lose and what we are to gain, and the more and better stake of liberty every people possess the less they will hazard in a vain attempt to make it more. These are the cords of man—man acts from adequate motives relative to his interest and not on metaphysical speculations. . . . The Americans will have no interest contrary to the grandeur and glory of England when they are not oppressed by the weight of it. . . . and I confess I feel not the least alarm from the discontents which are to arise from putting people at their ease, nor do I apprehend the destruction of this Empire from giving, by an act of free grace and indulgence to two millions of my fellow citizens, some share of those rights upon which I have always been taught to value myself."

"My hold of the colonies is in her close affection, which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron."

"This mode of yielding would, it is said, give way to independency without a war. I am persuaded by the nature of things, and from every information, that it would have had a directly contrary effect. But if it had this effect I confess I should prefer independency without war to independency with

it ; and I have so much trust in the inclinations and prejudices of mankind, and so little in anything else, that I should expect ten times more benefit to this kingdom from the affection of America, though under a *separate* establishment, than from her perfect submission to the Crown and Parliament accompanied with her terrors, mistrust, and abhorrence. Bodies tied together by so unnatural a bond of union or mutual hatred are only connected to their ruin."

II.—*The Integrity of Empire.*

"It is said indeed, that this power of granting, vested in American assemblies, would dissolve the *unity of the Empire*, which was preserved entire, although Wales, and Chester, and Durham were added to it. Truly, Mr. Speaker, I do not know what this unity means, nor has it even been heard of, that I know, in the constitutional policy of this country. The very idea of the subordination of parts excludes this notion of simple and undivided unity. England is the head ; but she is not the head and the members too. Ireland has ever had from the beginning a separate, but not an independent legislature, which, far from distracting, promoted the union of the whole. . . . I do not see that the same principles might not be carried into twenty islands, and with the same good effect. This is my model with regard to America, as far as the internal circumstances of the two countries are the same. I know no other unity of this Empire than I can draw from its example during those periods, when it seemed to my poor understanding more united than it is now, or than it is likely to be by the present methods."

"Perhaps, sir, I am mistaken in my idea of an empire but my idea of it is this, that an empire is the aggregate of many states under one common head, whether this head be a monarch or a presiding republic. It does in such constitutions frequently happen that the subordinate parts have many local privileges and immunities. Between these privileges and the supreme common authority the line may be extremely nice, but though every privilege is an exemption (in the case) from the ordinary exercise of the supreme authority, it is no denial of it. The claim of a privilege seems rather *ex vi termini* to imply a

superior power. For to talk of the *privileges* of a state or of a person who has no superior, is hardly any better than speaking nonsense. Now in such unfortunate quarrels among the component parts of a great political union of communities, I can scarcely conceive anything more completely imprudent than for the head of the Empire to insist that if any privilege is pleaded against his will or his acts that his whole authority is denied, instantly to proclaim rebellion, to beat to arms, and to put the offending provinces under the ban. Will it not teach them that the Government against which a claim of liberty is tantamount to high treason is a government to which submission is equivalent to slavery?"

III.—*Not a final Settlement?*

"The more moderate among the opposers of Parliamentary concession freely confess that they hope no good from taxation (the matter on which the American colonists demanded self-government), but they apprehend the Colonists have *further* views; and if this point were conceded, they would instantly attack the trade laws. These gentlemen are convinced that this was the intention from the beginning, and the quarrel with the Americans with taxation was no more than a cloak and cover to this design.

"I would, sir, recommend to your consideration, whether it be prudent to form a rule for punishing people, not on their own acts, but on your conjectures. Surely, it is preposterous at the very best. It is not justifying your anger by their misconduct, but it is converting your ill-will into their delinquency.

"But the colonies will go *further*. Alas! alas! where will this speculating against fact and reason end? What will quiet these panic fears which we entertain of the hostile effect of a conciliatory conduct? Is it true that no case can exist in which it is proper for the Sovereign to accede to the desires of his discontented subjects? Is there anything peculiar in this case to make a rule for itself? Is all authority of course lost when it is not pushed to the extreme? Is it a certain maxim that the fewer cases of dissatisfaction are left by government the more the subject will be inclined to resist and rebel? All these objections being in fact and experience, they did not, sir, dis-

courage me from entertaining the idea of a conciliatory concession, founded on the principles which I have just stated.”

“But still it sticks in our throats, if we go so far the Americans will go farther. We do not know that. We ought from experience rather to presume the contrary. Do we not know for certain that the Americans are going on as fast as possible whilst we refuse to gratify them? Can they do more or can they do worse if we yield this point? I think this concession will rather fix a turnpike to prevent a further progress. It is impossible to answer for bodies of men. But I am sure the natural effect of fidelity, clemency, kindness in governors, is peace, goodwill, order, and esteem on the part of the governed. I would certainly, at least, give these fair principles a fair trial; which, since the making of this Act, to this hour they never have had.”

IV.—*Rebellion.*

“I believe there are very few cases which will justify a revolt against the established Government of a country, let its constitution be what it will, and even though its abuses should be great and provoking; but I am sure there is no case in which it is justifiable either to conscience or to prudence, to menace resistance when there is no means of effecting it, nor perhaps in the major part any disposition.”

V.—*Social Aspect.*

“But Jacobinism from penury and invitation from scorned loyalty and rejected allegiance, has much deeper roots (*i.e.*, than Jacobinism speculative in its origin). They take their nourishment from the bottom of human nature and the unalterable constitution of things, and not from humour and caprice or the opinions of the day about privileges and liberties. Their roots will be shot into the depths of hell, and will at last raise up their proud tops to heaven itself.”

THE OPPOSITION.

“There is no hope for the body of the people of Ireland as long as those who are in power with you shall make it the great

object of their policy to propagate an opinion on this side of the water, that the mass of their countrymen are not to be trusted."

"Sufficient appearances will never be wanting to those who have a mind to deceive themselves."

THE FOLLOWERS OF MR. GOSCHEN.

"There were a race of men (I hope in God the species is extinct) who when they rose in their place, no man living could divine from any known adherence to parties, to opinions or to principles; from any order or system in their politics; or from any sequel or connection in their ideas, what part they were going to take in any debate. It is astonishing how much in critical times this uncertainty called the attention of all parties on such men. All eyes were fixed on them, all ears open to hear them; each party gaped, and looked alternately for their vote almost to the end of their speeches. While the house hung in this uncertainty, now the "*hear-hims*" rose from this side—now they re-bellowed from the other; and that party to whom they fell at length from their tremulous and dancing balance always received them in a tempest of applause. . . He was a candidate for contradictory honours, and his great aim was to make more agree in admiration of him who never agreed in anything else."

THE WHIGS.

"We are very uncorrupt and tolerably enlightened judges of the transactions of past ages; where no passions deceive and where the whole train of circumstances, from the trifling cause to the tragical event is set in an orderly series before us. Few are the partisans of departed tyranny, and to be a Whig on the business of a hundred years ago is very consistent with every advantage of present servility. This retrospective wisdom and historical patriotism are things of wonderful convenience, and serve admirably to reconcile the old quarrel between speculation and practice."

"When we are once ill-inclined to any men or set of men, we readily believe any evil of him or them that is inconvenient to our hostile designs."

INDEPENDENT LIBERALS.

“I remember an old scholastic aphorism which says that ‘the man who lives wholly detached from others must be either an angel or a devil.’ When I see in any of these detached gentlemen of our times the angelic purity, power, and beneficence I shall admit them to be angels. In the meantime we are born only to be men. We shall do enough if we form ourselves to be good ones. It is therefore our business to carefully cultivate in our minds, to rear to the most perfect vigour and maturity every sort of generous and honest feeling that belongs to our nature. . . . To be fully persuaded that all virtue which is unpracticable is spurious, and rather to run the risk of falling into faults in a course which leads us to act with effect and energy than to loiter out our days without blame and without use. Public life is a situation of power and energy; he trespasses against his duty who sleeps upon his watch as well as he that goes over to the enemy.”

THE CONSERVATIVE BOAST THAT ENGLISH OPINION IS OPPOSED TO THE IRISH APPEAL; THE LIBERALS CLAIM GOOD TO HAVE ALREADY RESULTED FROM THE DEMONSTRATION OF THEIR WILLINGNESS TO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH THE IRISH DESIRE.

“I declare that I cannot discern the least advantage which could accrue to us if we were able to persuade our colonies that they had not a single friend in Great Britain. On the contrary, if the affections and opinions of mankind be not exploded as principles of connection, I conceive it would be happy for us if they were taught to believe that there was even a formed American party in England to whom they could always look for support.”

“When any community is subordinately connected with another, the great danger of the connection is the extreme pride and self-complacency of the superior which in all matters of controversy will probably decide in its own favour. It is a powerful corrective to such a very rational cause of fear if the inferior body can be made to believe that the party inclination

or political views of several in the principal state, will induce them in some degree to counteract these blind and tyrannical partialities.”

WEALTH AND POWER AGAINST THE MEASURE.

Writing to his son, Richard Burke, who acted as agent for the Roman Catholics of Ireland :—“As your father has done, you must make enemies of many of the rich, of the proud, and of the powerful.”

THE LANGUAGE OF OPPONENTS PRODUCTIVE OF EVIL.

“I know many have been taught to think that moderation in a case like this is a sort of treason, and that all arguments for it are sufficiently answered by railing at rebels and rebellion and by charging all the present or future miseries which we may suffer on the resistance of our brethren. But I would wish them in this grave matter, and if peace is not wholly removed from their hearts, to consider seriously, first, that criminate and recriminate never yet was the road to reconciliation in any difference among men. Declaiming on rebellion never added a bayonet or a charge of powder to your military force ; but I am afraid it has been the means of taking up many muskets against you.”

THE TORY BULLY ENCOURAGING ORANGEMEN.

“I should be ashamed to make myself one of a noisy multitude to holloo and hearten them into doubtful and dangerous courses. A conscientious man would be cautious how he dealt in blood. He would feel some apprehension at being called to a tremendous account for engaging in so deep a play without any sort of knowledge of the game. It is no excuse for presumptuous ignorance that it is directed by insolent passion. The poorest being that crawls on earth, contending to save itself from injustice and oppression, is an object respectable in the eyes of God and man. But I cannot conceive any existence under Heaven that is more truly odious and disgusting than an impotent and helpless creature, without civil wisdom or military skill, without a consciousness of any other qualification for power but his servility to it, bloated with pride and arrogance,