

determined to acknowledge our independence, and make a treaty with us of amity and commerce; that, in this treaty, no advantage would be taken of our present situation to obtain terms from us, which otherwise would not be convenient for us to agree to, his majesty desiring that the treaty, once made, should be durable, and our amity subsist for ever, which could not be expected, if each nation did not find its interest in the continuance, as well as in the commencement of it: It was therefore his intention that the terms of the treaty should be such, as we might be willing to agree to if our state had been long established, and in the fulness of strength and power, and such as we should approve of when that time should come: that his majesty was fixed in his determination, not only to acknowledge, but to support our independence by every means in his power: that in doing this, he might probably be soon engaged in a war, with all the expence, risk and damages usually attending it; yet he should not expect any compensation from us, nor pretend that he acted wholly for our sakes, since, besides his *real goodness* to us and our cause, it was manifestly the interest of France that the power of England should be diminished by our separation from it."

What was the predilection, or in other words, the *goodness* of France for our cause will be the subjects of a future paper. At present it is sufficient to observe that which is the most stable ground of observation, viz. That France, in the part which she has taken with America, and in the fair and equal treaty ratified between us, has found her true interest. For on the one hand she is freed from all apprehensions of the overgrown colonial power of Britain, who had long been her haughty and disdainful adversary: and on the other hand, the powers of Europe are in love with her moderation, her good sense and generosity, all which spring from the wisdom of her counsels, and the justice of her prince. Lastly, she has pleased America, and has bound her with a chain of kind acts, which will not easily be broken.

Let not the enemies of France in these states or elsewhere tell me, as if it could excite distrust between us, that self-interest has moved France to take part with us in this debate. For I do assert it, that a true knowledge of one's own happiness is with individuals the best guide to equity, and generosity and good deeds to others; and a true knowledge and pursuit of the best interests of any nation will produce the happiness and best interest of those that are around her. I have been indeed sometimes diverted with observing into what variety of forms the ingenuity of man will convert itself, in favour of a point which it is willing to establish. Heretofore we were told by the disaffected persons of America, for I hate to blot my paper with the word tory, that France would not espouse the cause of these states, because it was not her interest to espouse it; and again we were told by the same men, that France had espoused the cause of these states, because it was her interest to espouse it. In this they were almost as ingenious and as inconsistent with themselves as the devil was with Job; for the arch fiend, as the Rabbits tell us, on presenting himself amongst the sons of God, gave it as a reason for the uprightness of the dweller in the land of Uz that he was too rich; and afterwards, when in a sad reverse of situation he retained his integrity with equal firmness, it was because he was too poor. I do well recollect that I could not make it my opinion that France would not espouse our cause, and that it was not her interest. Now it is my opinion, with the disaffected persons of America, that France has taken part with us because it was her interest to take part with us, and it is the only difference between us, that whereas he observes this in order to detract from the merit of the interposition of the court of France, I, on the other hand, observe it as that which is honourable to her counsels, and which is the best security that we can have for the continuance of her friendship.

We well know, that however high the passions of a nation may be seen in favour of a neighbouring state, yet it will be sober policy and a regard to self-interest that will ultimately govern. Warm affections of the heart, operating from abstracted causes, can last but for a while; for by and by they will revert, and after a few vibrations fix in the medium of their own interest. Strong feelings of this nature, like a spring tide, may flow high, and for six hours, but they must again return, and be lost in a less remote object, as the streams and tides are lost in the ocean.

Happy is the friendship of individuals, when they mean the same, and their interest is the same. "Idem velle, atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est," says the historian Salust; that is, "a unity of interest is the only

lasting bond of friendship." Happy is the amity of states, when the councils that subserve the interests of the one do equally subserve the interests of the other. Happy is the amity of these states with France; for the object is the same with both. If we conceive two lines meeting in a centre, we shall have an adequate idea of the interests of France and the interests of these states, and their consequent co-operations, which tend to one point, the dismemberment of the British power; and the establishment of this empire independent of her and of all the world. What then hinders but that our amity shall be perpetual? In a unity of interests between us, there is a strong foundation of our hope that we shall be an allied people, and a people happy in alliance to the most remote ages; or, to use the expression of the Greeks, "While water runs, and the tall trees grow."

THE HONEST POLITICIAN.

L O N D O N,

HOUSE OF COMMONS, Nov. 26.

A MOTION was made by the honourable Charles Francis Greville, one of the commissioners of trade and plantations, member for Warwick, and seconded by Price Campbell Esq; member for Nairn and Cromartyshires, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of this house, for his most gracious speech from the throne; to acknowledge his majesty's paternal regard for the happiness of his people, in his earnest and uniform endeavours to preserve the public tranquillity—that we cannot but feel concern and regret, that the measures taken by his majesty, for disappoising these hostile and malignant designs have not been attended with all the success, which the justice of the cause, and the vigour of the exertions, seemed to promise—that it would have given his faithful commons the truest happiness to have received the communication from his majesty, that the just and humane purposes of his majesty and his parliament, for quieting the minds of his revolted subjects, had taken the desired effect, and had brought the troubles in North-America to a happy conclusion—to assure his majesty, that his majesty may rely on the hearty and zealous concurrence and assistance of his faithful commons, in enabling his majesty to make the most active and vigorous exertions by sea and land, &c. &c. &c."

An amendment was moved by the right honourable Thomas Townshend, member for Whitechurch, and seconded by the honourable Charles James Fox, member for Malmesbury, "to assure his majesty, that with the truest zeal for the honour of the crown, and the warmest affection for his majesty's person and family, we are ready to give the most ample support to such measures as may be thought necessary for the defence of these kingdoms, or for frustrating the designs of that restless power, which has so often disturbed the peace of Europe, but that we think it one of our most important duties in the present melancholy posture of affairs to enquire by what fatal counsels or unhappy systems of policy this country has been reduced from that splendid situation, which in the early part of his majesty's reign made her the envy of all Europe, to such a dangerous state, as that, which has of late called forth our utmost exertions without any adequate benefit."

Mr. Wilkes said, Mr. Speaker, I have given all the attention, of which I am capable, to the speech delivered from the throne, and since, according to our forms, twice read by you, Sir, to this house. I am unhappy that I find myself obliged to remark, that there are scarcely more than two particulars in the whole speech, from which I am not forced to withhold my assent, they are, that we are called together in a conjuncture, which demands our most serious attention, and, that a restoration of the blessings of peace ought to be our first wish, and the great object of our endeavours. The conjuncture, Sir, must indeed be allowed to be most critical, and peace is not only desirable now, as at all times, but at the present period appears of absolute necessity to save this convulsed state from impending ruin. Thus far I believe a real unanimity prevails; but let me proceed. It is asked by several gentlemen, how is peace now to be obtained? Can any man point out a mode of restoring to us that blessing? I will hazard, Sir, an opinion, of which my own mind is fully convinced. The measure appears to me the only possible way of salvation to this country in the present dreadful dilemma; a dilemma into which we have been precipitated by ministers, whose conduct calls for the strictest inquiry, and the forfeit of whose heads, if the guilt lies at their door, can be but a poor amends to a ruined nation. The proposition is indeed most humiliating, but, if founded in necessity, the consequent national dif-

ference is solely to be attributed to those created that necessity. I believe, the acknowledgment of the independence of the revolted colonies is the only measure which can re-establish the public tranquillity. I sincerely think it would both with America and France, and probably prevent a future Spanish war. It would at the moment perhaps shut the temple of Janus, from the tyranny and mad conduct of an incapable and wicked administration it is become the measure of a fatal necessity, if we are in earnest to preserve in any degree of prosperity what remains, if we would save our country from the brink of ruin, if we seek to avoid absolute beggary and bankruptcy. An universal discontent now prevails. The people have no confidence in administration. They are detested by the nation, and therefore continued in power. We are over American affairs, and all parties agree in lamenting that so little has been done by our fleets against France, after such an amazing expediture of the public money on the navy.

The honourable gentleman, Sir, who moved the address, told us, that the Americans were determined to separate their rights from ours, to dissolve all connections between us. The fact is true, stated. They no longer consider themselves as embarked with us on board the sinking vessel of this state. They avoid us, as a tyrannical, unprincipled, rapacious, and ruined nation. Their only fear is, that the luxury and profligacy of this country should gain their people. It was a long patience and forbearance they practised before the idea of being dismembered from the mother country gained ground among the Americans. They were driven into it by our injustice and violence. Repeated violations of their rights, accumulated injuries, wanton insults, and cruelties shocking to human nature, have brought about this wonderful revolution. Now it appears to me an impossibility to bring back the Americans to any dependence on this kingdom. Their first steps were marked by temper and moderation. They made the most humble and dutiful supplications to the throne, but at last were told, that no answers would be given. From that moment their minds were totally alienated. At the beginning of their justifiable resistance, they were not in the least terrified *secu formidulis maris*, when only peaceful inhabitants of the country, or of open towns and villages. Since the declaration of independence, firmness and vigour have governed all the counsels of the congress. The declaration was made at a moment, which proved them strangers to fear, and in their idea superior to all the efforts of which we were capable. It was in July 1776, immediately after the arrival of the whole fleet of transports, victuals, and store-ships, without any loss or separation, and after his majesty's troops under the command of general Howe had been landed on Staten-land, without any opposition or interruption, as we were informed by our own Gazette. From that fatal era has the congress, or any one of the Thirteen United States discovered the faintest wish of returning to the obedience of our sovereign? No man will be bold enough to assert it. On the contrary, the Americans have increased in their hatred of us, and aversion from the yoke of bondage, which we were preparing for them since we have brought into the quarrel the mercenaries of Germany, and the savages of America, since plunder and cruelty have marked the progress of the royal army and its allies.

I will state our present situation with respect to North-America. Torrents of noble blood have already flowed in this quarrel, yet the few conquests we have made, we were obliged to abandon. Towards the close of the last year, we congratulated ourselves on the taking of Philadelphia, which was then called the most important city of North-America, the seat of the congress, in the installing language of administration. Before the present year is half expired, pursuant to his majesty's instructions, Sir Henry Clinton evacuated Philadelphia at three o'clock in the morning, and escaped through infinite difficulties to New-York, very judiciously avoiding the direct road, where he knew the enemy was in force. The congress returned in triumph to Philadelphia, and congratulated the inhabitants of North-America on the important victory of Monmouth over the British grand army, and the evacuation of Philadelphia, as they had before done on the evacuation of Boston by general Howe. They have bravely stood all the storms of adverse fortune, and are now almost sure of out-riding the tempest. Sir, the Americans have suffered greatly, but their sufferings were supported with temper and courage, for they were in the cause of public virtue. They bore adversity like men of fixed principles and honour, engaged in a righteous cause, and determined never to crouch to oppression. The war on their side was founded in the primary