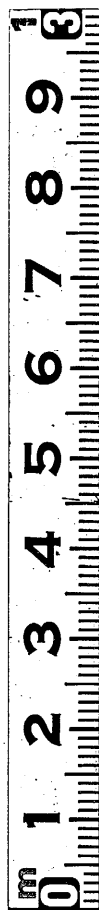


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AUTHENTIC
MEMOIRS
OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LATE
EARL
OF
CHATHAM.

—Clarum et venerabile nomen
Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi.

L O N D O N :

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MDCCLXXVIII.

AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS

O F

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

The late Earl of Chatham.

THIS illustrious nobleman, patriot, orator, politician, and statesman, was the youngest son of Robert Pitt*, of Boconnock, in the county of Cornwall, Esq; by his wife Harriet, sister of John Villiers, Earl of Grandifon, in Ireland. He represented Old Sarum in the ninth Parliament of Great-Britain, Seaford in the tenth, Aldborough in the eleventh, and the city of Bath in the twelfth, till he was called up to the house of peers, July 30, 1766, by the title of the

* Thomas Pitt, Esq; who was governor of Fort St. George, in the East-Indies, in the reign of Queen Anne, sold an extraordinary fine diamond to the French king for 135,000l. sterling. He was father of Robert, the father of the late Lord Chatham; of Thomas, created Earl of Londonderry in Ireland; and of Colonel John Pitt.

Right Honourable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Viscount Pitt of Burton-Pynsent, in the county of Somerset. He married Lady Hester (only daughter of Richard Grenville, Esq; by the late Countess Temple, and sister to the present Richard Earl Temple), who was created a Baroness December 4, 1761. By her he has left issue,
 1. John, Lord Viscount Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, born October 9, 1756. 2. William, born May 28, 1759. 3. James-Charles, born April 24, 1761. 4. Lady Hester, born October 18, 1755. 5. Lady Harriet, born April 14, 1758.

Mr. Pitt spent the early part of his life in the pursuit of virtue, and a political knowledge of the happy constitution under which he lived. His genius for the arduous business of government was soon discovered, and his merit called him forth into the actual service of the state; but so moderate was his fortune, that it barely entitled him to a seat in the senate.

His first appointment was that of cornet of horse, which, in 1737, was taken from him, for opposing in the house the measures of the court, who thereby convinced the world, (as Mr. Pitt himself expressed it) that "corruption stood so low, as to take the standard out of the hands of a cornet." Though thus shamefully deprived of public

public support, his virtue bore him up against every thing, and the loss of his pay was supplied by a reduction of expences. Being descended from a good family, and allied to many noble ones, he determined never, by any ill conduct on his part, to sully the glory of his house; and as, in his martial character, he had been free, brave, and uncorrupt, so in retirement he was frugal, temperate, honest, sincere, and benevolent. Luxury and parade he ever held in detestation, and he sighed over the venal and corrupt manners of the age.

Mr. Pitt was always the antagonist of Mr. Walpole, who frequently found it very difficult to answer the young patriot. Mr. Pitt having expressed a laudable indignation at the seamens bill, then depending in the house, which he considered as a hasty stride towards despotic power, Mr. Walpole thought proper to attack him with personal sarcasms: he reflected upon his youth; and observed, that the discovery of truth was little promoted by pompous diction, and theatrical emotion. These insinuations exposed him to a severe reply. Mr. Pitt, standing up again, said, he would not undertake to determine, whether youth could be justly imputed to any man as a reproach; but he affirmed, that the wretch, who,

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after having seen the consequences of repeated errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his grey head should secure him from insults : much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation ; who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy, and spends the remains of his life in the ruins of his country. “ Mr. Pitt (says Dr. Smollett in his History of England) displayed a surprising extent and precision of political knowledge, and irresistible energy of argument, and such power of elocution, as struck the hearers with astonishment and admiration. It flashed like the lightning of heaven against the ministers and sons of Corruption, blasted where it smote, and withering the nerves of Opposition : but his more substantial praise was founded upon his disinterested integrity, his incorruptible heart, his unconquerable spirit of independence, and his invariable attachment to the interest and liberty of his country.”

It is nothing singular, that Mr. Pitt should have enemies : great abilities will always excite jealousies in mean souls, who, having nothing to recom-

recommend them to public notice, fawn and cringe at the feet of their superiors and patrons, and make their way into life by sacrificing their own virtue, and railing at others who possess virtuous and exalted talents. Mr. Pitt was fully sensible of this, and, confident of his own integrity, he paid no regard to men, but boldly and undauntedly attacked those measures, which appeared to him as unconstitutional, and as ruinous to his country. Like Cato, he was rigid and inflexible in his temper, yielding only to the powers of virtue and reason.

The insult offered him, in being so unjustly discharged from the army, roused every talent he possessed, not to revenge it as an individual, but as an infringement on the rights and liberties of his country, and as a most egregious affront on every independent member of the senate. In those days of corruption and degeneracy, (which still encrease upon us) he connected himself with the virtuous few, and, by the power of his eloquence and manly firmness, which was never to be daunted, he struck dumb the tools of ambition and arbitrary power, who had vainly been opposed to him. It is no wonder, therefore, that those men, who had hitherto treated him with contempt, and considered him as a man of little fortune

fortune and consequence, should now seek to soften and smooth him, to buy him over to their party, or, at least, seek some method to silence him. Truth is hard food for servile ministers to digest: Mr. Pitt, when in office, gave more than one proof, that he admired and rewarded sincerity, though it opposed his own measures.

Men, however dissolute in their private characters, always affect virtue in public, and seek the few who possess it: thus, by associating with the virtuous, they in some measure draw a veil over their own vices. With this view Mr. Pitt, in 1746, was appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland, and soon after paymaster-general of the forces, and sworn a privy-counsellor. He discharged the office of paymaster with such honour, steadiness, and inflexible integrity, refusing many of the perquisites of the office, that even his bitterest enemies could not accuse him of the least tincture of venality. For a man to be honest in the public offices of state is so singular a matter, that it is no wonder Mr. Pitt soon established his popularity, and became the darling of the people.

In 1755, he resigned his office of Pay-master-General, on the promotion of Mr. Fox in preference to him. Indeed, it was hardly to be expected, to see Mr. Pitt rise in office, at a time

when he was strongly opposing in the house every ministerial measure, and thereby rendering himself obnoxious to his sovereign, and odious to a venal and corrupt administration.

The whole nation caught fire at Mr. Pitt's resignation, and the cry became general against administration, who were just entered on a war, the first specimens of which promised nothing but losses, disappointment, and disgrace. The loud and unanimous voice of the people pointed out Mr. Pitt, and the necessity of the times, and the humour of the nation, confirmed the choice: In consequence of which he was again called into public action, being appointed, on the 4th of December, 1756, Secretary of State, in the room of Mr. Fox; afterwards Lord Holland; and other promotions were made, such as were necessary to second his plans.

The old ministry, who were now retired in disgrace, and loaded with the imprecations of the people, formed themselves into a party to oppose Mr. Pitt in the house; and, by every artifice that jealousy, rage, and disappointed ambition, could suggest, to prejudice him in the opinion of his sovereign, whose prerogative, they insinuated, was considerably weakened by admitting this favourite of the people into office. Mr. Pitt, in the mean

time, regardless of their wicked machinations, was steady in pursuing the interest of his country, and promoting a proper understanding between the king and the subject.

His first object was that of establishing a national militia, which he carried with a high hand, notwithstanding the opposition it met with. His next step was to put our navy on a respectable footing, and to restore discipline among the army, the officers of which lived, at that time, in a state of indolence, dissipation, and effeminacy. He declared against continental measures, as ruinous to this country; and, during his whole administration, was an utter enemy to ministerial jobs, which are now become so fashionable, and have obtained such sanction by custom, that even the parliament cannot stop that tide of corruption, down which the vitals of this nation are now precipitating.

The wisdom and justice of Mr. Pitt's measures were now conspicuous to every one, except to those whom interest had blinded, whom avarice had seduced, and whom disappointed ambition had made frantic; but an event soon happened to check all the pleasing hopes the people had formed from Mr. Pitt's administration.

His majesty, fearful for the security of his German dominions, had taken some steps to secure it from

from the arms of France, by forming an army of observation in Westphalia; at the head of which the Duke of Cumberland was placed; and, on February 17, 1757, Mr. Pitt was sent to the house with a message, informing them of the preparations of France, and asking their assistance in support of his German territories, which was immediately complied with. But Mr. Pitt continuing inflexible in his opposition to German connections, the seals were taken from him on the 5th of April following. His friends undoubtedly followed him, and the nation was once more destitute of a ministry. This ministry was no sooner dismissed, than they received every possible mark of public approbation, and the whole nation was now more than ever in a flame on the dismissal of men, who, in so short a time, had brought about such an amazing and singular change in the affairs of the nation. Mr. Pitt had sent Commodore Stevens with a squadron to the East Indies, and Admiral Coates with another to Jamaica. He had procured great resources for the security of America, which were ready to be sent at the time of his dismissal. He well knew the enormous expences of a continental war, and therefore determined to rest every thing on the navy, our most natural support, and from which every thing alone was to be expected. This
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conduct contributed to making his dismissal the more insupportable to the people.

The triumph of the faction, however, on the removal of Mr. Pitt and his friends, was but of short duration; for the loud and continual complaints of the people echoed even round the throne, and filled its false friends with terror and amazement. His late majesty's principal failing (if it may be so called) was his attachment to his native country; but, if this was a defect, it was amply repaid, by his ever being willing to listen to the voice of his people; for *obstinacy* formed no part of his character. Not born among us, it is no wonder if he attached himself to a few, who had art and cunning enough to deceive him, and who led him into errors, merely to second their own interested and ambitious views; for it is the peculiar misfortune of kings to be constantly surrounded by such people; and hence we too often accuse sovereigns of faults not their own. His majesty, however, wisely and justly restored his former ministers, in compliance with the universal voice of his people; for, on the 29th of June, 1757, Mr. Pitt was again appointed Secretary of State; and, in a day or two afterwards, the Duke of Newcastle was made first Lord of the Treasury; Mr. Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Anson,

Anson, first Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Fox, Paymaster of the forces; and Lord Temple, Lord Privy Seal.

We are now entering on that æra, so glorious to the memory of our illustrious patriot. The unhappy situation of public affairs, previous to this period, shews how terrible is the situation of a nation, when governed by intriguing, ignorant, and corrupt ministers, and when national disunion and discontent pervert even the few measures that might have been properly planned: On the other hand, the successes of Mr. Pitt, his glorious conquests, and the respectable situation, into which he brought all our affairs, will be a lasting testimony of what may be done by a wise, honest, and virtuous minister, assisted by the unanimous efforts of a generous people.

Though Mr. Pitt could not be at first persuaded to engage in the German war, yet he formed the scheme of annoying the French on their own coast, and thereby calling their attention from foreign wars to protect themselves at home. In the mean time, the British arms were very unsuccessful in Germany, from their receiving little assistance from home, and having an army to cope with, far more numerous and better supported than their own; so that the Duke of Cumberland,

crossing the Weser, was overpowered by numbers, and defeated at Hostenbeck, where he gave such evident proofs of his courage and skill, as clearly shewed, that he failed only through want of proper support. Being afterwards blocked up in Stade, he was forced to consent to a convention of neutrality, which was signed the very day, that Admiral Hawke set sail with a fleet, with troops under the command of Sir John Mordaunt, on a secret expedition.

The first object of this armament, was to attack Rochfort; but the attempt was found impracticable, and the fleet returned to England in the end of September, 1757, without having done any thing, except taking the little island of Aix: to the no small disappointment of the people in general. Several causes were attributed for the failure of this expedition, but the true one was perhaps never publicly known. Mr. Pitt, however, escaped all censure; for the people were well acquainted with his abilities, and had no reason to suspect his integrity.

In the course of this year, Cape Breton was added to the English possessions in America, and the fleets of the French dared no where to face us. They were dishearted at their ill successes and

and disgraces abroad; while the joy and satisfaction of the English were raised in proportion.

Mr. Pitt, notwithstanding the little success at Rochfort, had formed the scheme of a second expedition to the coast of France. Two squadrons were equipped by the latter end of May, one of which was given to the command of Lord Anson, and the other to Commodore Howe; but their destinations were kept an impenetrable secret, which considerably alarmed the court of France. Secrecy is the life and support of every naval and military operation, and no man ever knew better than Mr. Pitt, how to conceal his own intentions from an enemy, or more easily to penetrate into theirs.

The Duke of Marlborough embarked on board Commodore Howe's fleet, with a large body of land forces; and both fleets proceeded to sea on the first of June, 1758. The Commodore arrived near St. Maloes on the 5th, and landed without opposition; while Lord Anson blocked up the harbour of Brest, and covered the transports. They continued here six days on shore, during which time they burnt and destroyed a great many stores, and upwards of an hundred ships, among which were two French men of war, and more than thirty privateers, which

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lay under the cannon of St. Maloes. In the month of August, Lieutenant General Bligh, convoyed by Commodore Howe, landed at Des Mares Bay, and took Cherburg, where they destroyed the bason, and the two piers at the entrance of the harbour, and brought away thirty five pieces of brass cannon; but the unfortunate affair of St. Cas, which happened in September following, was the last expedition of this kind. The general, who lost his life in the retreat, was much blamed in this affair, for having staid longer on shore than the prudence of a good general would admit of. This defeat, however, though it proved fatal to many brave officers and soldiers, was not, at that time the cause of much complaint at home, our successes in every other part of the world rendering the people insensible to trifling calamities. Whether these expeditions answered the intended purposes, and the immense expences they occasioned, I shall leave others to determine.

We now come to that period, in which Mr. Pitt was accused of inconsistency. He had hitherto strenuously opposed continental connections, and had frequently declared that neither men or money should be sent to Germany. It is certain, that in private life, the change of times and cir-

cumstances

cumstances make a step at one time absolutely necessary, which at another would perhaps be not only imprudent, but ruinous; and there is certainly no crime, but rather a virtue, in giving up our fondest maxims to the dictates of interest. Mr. Pitt, in his public character, considered this; and though continental connections were wholly disagreeable to him at the commencement of his administration, yet he now saw they could not prudently be avoided. Prussia was to be supported, and Hanover defended, unless we submitted to the destruction of both; for the confederacy formed against them was so powerful, that nothing but the strenuous support of England could save her affairs from total ruin in Germany. Had he continued inflexible in his former resolutions, he must have quitted the seals; and such a step would, at that time, not only have thrown the nation into confusion, but have even been attended with ruinous consequences. Sensible of this, he complied with the wishes of his aged sovereign, and continued to serve his country with his usual prudence and abilities.

On the 11th of April, 1758, a treaty was signed with Prussia, by which his Britannic Majesty engaged to pay the King of Prussia 670,000l.

sterling; which his Prussian Majesty was to employ in keeping up and augmenting his forces, to act in the most advantageous manner for the common cause, and for their reciprocal defence and mutual security. In this treaty it was further stipulated, that neither should conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, but in concert, and by mutual consent, and expressly comprehending each other therein. It is well known, after Mr. Pitt quitted administration, how far this last article was fulfilled on the part of England.

It is here curious to observe, how great is the power of a minister, in whose integrity the people have an unlimited confidence. While Mr. Pitt opposed continental measures, the people considered them as destructive and ruinous; and, not a shilling or a man to be sent to Germany was so universally the cry, that it would have been dangerous for any man to oppose it, even in common conversation; but no sooner did Mr. Pitt think that measure expedient, than every one stood aghast, wondering how they came not to see the necessity of it sooner. There have been ministers, who *affect* to despise popularity; but I believe few instances can be produced of any minister, who has been honest, prudent, sensible, and

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in every respect capable of fulfilling his office, but has been *popular*, and has taken singular pride in being so. It has indeed been said, and may in some instances be true, that *popularity* is but a fickle and fleeting being; but be it remembered, that Mr. Pitt and Lord Chatham never lost theirs. It was perhaps lessened a little, when Mr. Pitt sunk into Lord Chatham. The people, however, soon saw through the snare, in which their guardian and patron was taken: It increased their hatred for the *secret* enemy; but in a little time increased their affection for a man, who, though fettered by the dignity of title, broke through those bands, and, on every occasion, stood forth as the champion of Liberty and Virtue, in whose cause he may be truly said to have died a martyr.

The sums granted this year were amazing, and it would be almost impossible to suppose that so much money could be necessary to carry on a war, had we not lately seen similar supplies granted, even at a time when we were at peace with all the world, but *ourselves*. The German expences of this year were 1,861,897l. and the supplies in the whole amounted to 10,486,457l. Yet the people submitted without murmuring, being fully convinced, that what they cheerfully

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gave, would be faithfully expended, and not perverted to the worst of all purposes, that of bribing and pensioning servile harpies and dependents.

Though it was at first proposed to send money only to Germany, yet men also were soon found necessary, and the Duke of Marlborough, at the head of a considerable number of British troops, was sent to the continent. They landed at Embden, and from thence marched to join the confederate forces.

It is not to my purpose to enter into a long detail of sieges and battles, or the different motions and operations of the allied armies in Germany, as these may be found in works of a more copious nature, and where they may be more reasonably expected. The great patriot was not personally at the head of armies, I shall therefore look for him, where he was always to be found, in the honourable department he so ably filled. His views were extended to the remotest parts of the world, and there was not a place, how distant soever, but felt the power of his favour or resentment. Even Africa, a remote part of the world, of which his predecessors in administration knew little more than the name, was taught to feel and dread the power of the British flag. The French settlements at Senegal, under his direction, were

were compelled to acknowledge another master; which not only greatly added to the credit and reputation of England and her minister, but strengthened the commercial interest, and enriched her traders. It is but justice to observe, that the first idea of reducing Senegal was conceived by one Mr. Cumming, a sensible quaker, who had been a factor on the coast of Africa, and well acquainted with the Moorish King. It has too often been the system of some ministers, to treat with indifference every project, which is not the child of their own brain. It was otherwise with Mr. Pitt: He listened to every thing, he weighed whatever was proposed in the scale of Reason and Experience, and the good of his country ever carried the balance.

If our arms, under the direction of Mr. Pitt were successful in Africa, they were no less so in the East Indies, where General Lally, after gaining some few advantages, was obliged to give them up, and the dominion of that part of the world soon fell to the conquering Britons. The Dutch, though perfectly at peace with us, assisted the French in every thing conducive to their interest: They were carriers to the French under the veil of neutrality, and, by false bills of lading, and other arts, (the same as they now practise with regard to America) for some time eluded

our vigilance; but our minister was not long to be deceived, and, soon discovering their subtilty and artifice, he treated them with very little ceremony: He ordered all such ships to be seized, and numbers of them were legally condemned. The Dutch complained; but their complaints ended only in words; for they knew the influence; and dreaded the power of Mr. Pitt.

The parliament met in November; and, though the French had so considerably suffered in the course of this year, 1758, they seemed no ways inclined to give up the contest. Vigorous measures appeared therefore indispensibly necessary on the part of England, and the House of Commons cheerfully voted the enormous supply of 12,761,310*l*. The imaginations of every class of people were wound to the highest pitch by the amazing successes, which the wisdom and skill of one man had procured; and it is probable, that even double the sum would not have been much thought of at that time. No people upon earth part more freely with their money than the English; and the man, whose measures they approve of, is never thwarted in his schemes for want of supplies. The amazing grants of money Mr. Pitt obtained have been made use of as an argument in support of our present extravagance; but the two cases are by no means

means similar. Mr. Pitt's war was against a foreign enemy, and, in some measure, unavoidable in its nature: The present war was begun upon the principles of tyranny and oppression, and was the handy work of an arbitrary administration, who after they have lavished millions, spilt the blood of thousands of our bravest officers and soldiers, and spread desolation and carnage over the whole continent of America, would willingly give up more than they at first contended for, could they now but appease the rage of our American brethren.

If the glory of our naval officers received a wound in the preceding year, by the disgraceful death of Admiral Byng, the honour this year conferred on Admiral Boscawen made more than ample amends, and hands down to posterity a lasting monument of British valour in our admirals, and a sense of gratitude in a generous people. The admiral was called upon, standing in his place in the house of commons, and received, from the Right Honourable Arthur Onslow, the following address, with all the majesty and eloquence peculiar to that greater speaker.

“ Admiral Boscawen,

“ The house have unanimously resolved, that their thanks should be given to you for the services

vices you have done to your king and country in North America; and it is my duty to convey their thanks to you. I wish I could do it in a manner suitable to the occasion, and as they ought to be given to you, now standing in your place as a member of this house. But were I able to enumerate and set forth, in the best manner, the great and extensive advantages accruing to this nation from the conquest of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, I could only exhibit a repetition of what has already been, and is, the genuine and uniform sense and language of every part of this kingdom. Their joy too has been equal to their sentiments upon this interesting event; and in their sentiments and joy they have carried their gratitude also to you, Sir, as a principal instrument in these most important acquisitions. You are now therefore receiving the acknowledgments of the people only in a more solemn way—by the voice, the general voice, of their representatives in parliament—the most honourable fame that any man can arrive at in this or any other country. It is, on those occasions, a national honour from a few people, ever cautiously to be conferred, in order to be the more esteemed—to be the greater reward, and which ought to be reserved for the most signal

nal services to the state, and the most approved merit in them; such as this house has usually, and very lately, made the objects of public thanks. The use, I am persuaded, you will make of this just testimony, and high rewards of your services and merit, will be the preserving in your own mind a lasting impression of what the commons of Great-Britain are now tendering to you, and in a constant continuance of the zeal and ardour for the glory of your king and country, which have made you to deserve it. In obedience to the commands of the house, I do, with great pleasure to myself, give you the thanks of the house, for the services you have done to your king and country in North America.”

That bravery and modesty are inseparable companions in the human bosom, is evident from the following short reply, which that brave admiral made to this honourable address.

“ Mr. Speaker,

“ I am happy in having been able to do my duty; but have not words to express my sense of the distinguishing reward, that has been conferred upon me by this house; nor can I enough thank you, Sir, for the polite and elegant manner, in which you have been pleased to convey to me the resolution of the house.”

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As we have mentioned the honour paid by the representatives of the people to Admiral Boscawen, it would be unjust not to transcribe the answer the house received from Admiral Osborne, on his obtaining the like honour. It breaths that spirit of bravery, generosity, and modesty, peculiar only to the bosoms of Englishmen.

“ Sir, I want words to express my sense of the honours the house of commons has been pleased to confer upon me, and only hope that you, Sir, will be as gracious to me in representing my gratitude to that august assembly, as you have been in acquainting me with their favourable acceptance of my services. I have done no more than my duty. I have only been the humble, though happy instrument of executing the wise measures directed by his majesty. I have no title, Sir, to any glory, but what is common to me as a seaman, and as an Englishman zealous for the service of my country, which is pleased to reward me with this instance of their approbation. From the situation of my health, Sir, I can flatter myself with having but few opportunities of employing the remainder of my life, in grateful exertion of my abilities for the honour and interest of my country. But as the house of commons is
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so gloriously watchful to encourage the greatest merit by rewarding the least, England can never want good officers; and however I am honoured by this distinction, may my services be the most inconsiderable that shall be thus acknowledged. I am, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

Dec. 8, 1758. Henry Osborne.”

By these means Mr. Pitt, during the whole course of his administration, raised the naval and military ardour of our officers, without any additional expence to the nation. He sought merit, and cherished it when he found it. He eat not the bread of indolence himself, nor suffered he others to abuse the perquisites of office; and even his enemies acknowledge, that if ever Venality hung her head, it was during the administration of this great commoner.

The next year, 1759, Mr. Pitt dispatched the Admirals Holmes and Saunders to North America, with a powerful fleet; and, in the course of this season, Quebec, the capital of Canada, defended by General Montcalm, was taken by General Wolfe, who lost his life, as well as the French General, at the close of the siege. Mr. Wolfe had been appointed to this arduous and dangerous task by the minister himself, who well
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knew his worth, and lamented his death, as did the nation at large. While success thus attended our operations in Canada, General Amherst took possession of Crown Point and Ticonderoga; and General Johnson, after defeating the French army, made himself master of the important fort of Niagara.

This great minister's plans were not confined to one single quarter, but to every part of the possessions of the enemy, who found themselves attacked on all sides; for, while Fame was founding the glories of our victories over the whole continent of North America, the French West-India Islands were feeling the power of our arms: Guadaloupe and Marigalante were forced to yield to British valour, and receive on their proud battlements the triumphant colours of England.

Nor were matters this year little less successful in the East-Indies, where Admiral Pocock disputed the superiority of the sea with M. d'Ache, who, after a bloody and desperate engagement off Pondicherry, on the 10th of September, which was maintained with great fury on both sides for two hours, was obliged to fly in the best manner he was able; and the minister, with his usual prudence and caution, taking care properly to reinforce the admiral on that station, our marine force became

became so powerful there, that, in a little time, the force of France, on the coast of Coromandel, was almost destroyed.

In the Mediterranean, Admiral Boscawen was no less troublesome to the Toulon fleet, as it was attempting to pass the straits of Gibraltar, on the 17th of August, when two of Monsieur de la Clue's ships were taken, a third burnt, a fourth destroyed, and the rest saved themselves by flight.

The French court, ashamed and enraged at these amazing successes, at last awakened from the lethargy surprize had thrown them into, and determined on a bold stroke, in order, if possible, to recover their lost glory; but happily for England, she had, at that time, her guardian genius at the helm of public affairs, who, with a kind of prophetic knowledge, could penetrate the most latent views of the enemy, could foresee and provide against all difficulties, and turn every attempt of our insidious neighbours to our own advantage, and to their destruction.

The minister was now perfectly calm, while the nation in general was terribly alarmed with an intended invasion from France, and the very idea of a flat-bottomed boat had then in it something terrifying. Indeed, the French had formed such a scheme, and were actually preparing to put it

in execution. A small squadron, to be commanded by M. Thurot, was prepared at Dunkirk; while a grand armament, for M. Conflans, was equipping at Brest, and troops were collecting at Vannes to put on board them. At Havre they were preparing a few ships, and a number of flat-bottomed boats, to land their troops on this devoted island; on the success of which, the French had centered all their hopes.

Unluckily, however, for our Gallic friends, Admiral Rodney was sent to Havre, where he beat most of their boats to pieces, and Thurot himself, with much difficulty, escaped into the north sea. Admiral Hawke, on the 20th of November, came up with Conflans, and attacked him off Belleisle, though the waves ran mountains high, and the pilots were unacquainted with that rocky and dangerous coast; but no difficulties or dangers could deter that brave officer from the pursuit of glory, and the interest of his country. He sunk two of their ships, in which, every soul perished; a third was taken; and the rest sought security in flight, in which they were favoured by the darkness of the closing day. Seven ships escaped up the river Villaine, after having thrown their guns over board, and part of the rest got out to sea; but the light of the next morning proved unfortunate

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to the French Admiral, who, finding himself in the midst of the British fleet, ran his ship aground and deserted it; in which condition it was burnt by the conquerors. Thurot was a little more fortunate with his small squadron, having escaped their grand scene of destruction. His good fortune, however, soon put on a different countenance; for, having come round to Ireland, he was received by Captain Elliot, who attacked him with an equal force, on the 21st of February following, when Thurot's head was carried off by a cannon ball, and his three ships taken. Thus ended this grand expedition, the preparations for which had so much alarmed this nation.

These amazing successes, while they filled all Europe with astonishment, and our enemies with horror, amazement, and despair, raised the cheerful countenance of every Englishman up to the minister, (who was the sole planner of these mighty feats) as to a man something more than human.

As the affairs of Germany are not the immediate objects of my attention, it will be sufficient to observe, that, at the close of the campaign, all parties seemed to be nearly in the same state as at the beginning. It is however but justice to observe, that, though Germany was not the field on which Eng-

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land was to hope to reap many advantages, yet such was the bravery and intrepidity of the handful of British troops, that they frustrated all the hopes the French Court had formed of making themselves masters of Hanover, and of thereby being enabled, to put the restoration of that electorate in the balance against all our other conquests of what nature soever. Nor must we here omit to mention, that in this year was fought the celebrated battle, under Prince Ferdinand, on the plains of Minden, in which Lord George Sackville so *remarkably distinguished* himself. Future ages will hardly believe, that so wise a Prince, as King George the Second, could disgrace a man, and even declare him incapable of future services, whom King George the Third has honourably distinguished with one of the most important posts in the kingdom. Posterity will be still more astonished at this measure of his late majesty, when history shall tell them, that this same Lord George Germain was the *happy* planner of the *happy* expedition, under the *happy* and *fortunate* General Burgoyne; and that our *glorious* disputes with the colonies were raised to the highest pitch under his *wise* and *ever-famous* administration.

The approaching winter put an end to the campaign, and the effusion of human blood for that
season;

season; but the court of France were not disposed for peace. Their schemes had been every where thwarted and defeated; and, as they had nothing to balance against our conquests, they determined to try the event of another year, hoping still to recover their lost credit and glory. The British parliament met in the month of November, and such was the confidence of the people in their minister, that they then cheerfully granted him the amazing sum of *fifteen* millions. Indeed, if we consider how amazingly our trade was increased at this period, and that riches flowed into the nation from every quarter of the globe, our commerce being extended to a degree beyond whatever had before been known, it is not at all surprizing, that these supplies were so cheerfully granted. It was naturally expected, that a peace would have been made *adequate* to our successes, and that the addition of new commercial resources, would soon have enabled us, when the war should be happily finished, to reduce this hydra-headed national debt to a skeleton. Alas! what has experience taught us? After a glorious and successful war, and a long and uninterrupted peace, our present administration have wantonly and tyrannically plunged us into an unnatural war with our colonies, ruinous to our trade, fatal to our tranquility, and

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which, so far from lessening the national debt, is every year enormously adding thereto; so that it is now swelled to such a magnitude as to threaten the total ruin of the state by a national bankruptcy.

Let us, however, quit this gloomy prospect, and turn to that glorious period of Mr. Pitt's administration.

The East Indies in the early part of the year 1762, afforded us new objects of triumph. The power of France on the coast of Coromandel was hastily approaching to its end. General Lally was defeated by Colonel Coote, and driven to seek an asylum in Pondicherry, the capital of their territories in that part of the world; which, by the assistance of the fleet, was soon added to the other conquests of England, and Lally himself was made prisoner.

In America, every thing succeeded: Canada was entirely conquered by the reduction of Montreal by General Amherst; while Commodore Holmes, at Jamaica, took two French frigates, and destroyed three others. At the same time, the French fleets in Europe were blocked up in their ports; and, not being able any longer to protect their trade, their commerce was now totally at a stand, and their merchants ruined. Never was France so humbled as at this period.

Germany

Germany continued to be the scene of blood and slaughter, and thousands fell in the field to satiate the ambition, rancour, and animosities, of France and her allies. The Marquis of Granby succeeded to the command of the British troops on the resignation of Lord George Sackville, and distinguished himself greatly as a General at the battle near Warburg.

Great part of this summer was employed at home, in making preparations for a grand expedition. A powerful fleet was got ready, and a considerable body of land forces were intended to be put on board it; but, unfortunately, just as they were upon the point of sailing, his late majesty bid adieu to the cares of this world, dying on the 25th of October, which put a stop to the expedition, and, in some measure, to the glory of Mr. Pitt's administration.

At the accession of George the Third, Great Britain had arrived at the highest pitch of glory and felicity. Blessed with concord at home, and victory abroad, it saw its trade and influence extended beyond the example of any former period. Though the late King has by some been considered as remarkable neither for very shining abilities, nor for his partiality to these realms, yet certain it is, that the series of success, which distinguished the close

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of his reign, procured him much popularity. The glory of the minister reflected its light on the sovereign; and it was forgotten, that he had been forced into office, in a great measure, against the royal consent: But the popularity of the late King was nothing like that of his successor.

“ No sooner was his majesty’s accession known, than all ranks of men vied with each other in testifying their joy and satisfaction. They poured in addresses of congratulation, before it was possible for them to be acquainted with the qualities of their new sovereign, who had hitherto led a retired life, without interfering in state affairs, or mingling with the people. He was only known by the reports of courtiers, who, of all men, are the least to be depended upon in their delineations of a prince’s character. Having never taken his seat in the House of Peers, where the heir apparent should learn the arts of government, and practise the duties of a subject, before he commences sovereign, the knowledge of his talents were left to conjecture, and the future proofs of them, which he might give in the exercise of his authority. Not that flatterers were wanting, or even historians, who in their fulsome panegyrics anticipated the public hopes, and loaded him with every virtue. We might copy their example, and from

the stores of imagination build up no unseemly edifice; but, being aided by the prospect of no pension, we decline the attempt as superior to our strength. We must not, however, neglect remarking, that weak minds, who are ever fond of novelty, were prepossessed in his favour from that principle; while men of experience and observation rejoiced to see the throne at length filled by a Prince, who was born and bred among us, and was therefore in a great measure free from that predilection for Germany, which had in the two preceding reigns proved so prejudicial to the interests of Britain. Much was expected from his acquaintance with our laws and constitution, much from his knowledge of our manners and language. The prosperous issue of the war had put the people into a good humour, which was heightened by the near prospect of the total extinction of the exiled family, which was fallen into just and universal contempt. It was hoped that the nation would have time and leisure to attend fully to the extension of its trade and commerce, to the regulation of its finances, and the reduction of its enormous debts.”*

The new reign introduced new servants, though Mr. Pitt as yet kept his place; and the people’s

* Vide the History of the Reign of George the Third.

apprehension began to be alarmed on the great additions made to the number of the peers. Mr. Legge was dismissed being chancellor of the Exchequer, despising to pay servile obedience to the very humble abilities of a proud Favourite. The spirit of the war seemed to relax, and those measures, which had raised us from the lowest ebb of despair and contempt, were now regarded with indifference by the new servants. Party, which had been long fettered by the wisdom of the minister, and the prudence of the late king, now broke her chain, and stalked abroad in defiance. These proceedings damped the joy of the people, and gave umbrage to the *real* friends of the crown.

The war was however continued in Germany, and the allies opened their military operations in the month of February, 1761; but very little was done on our side; and the king of Prussia acted upon the defensive during the whole campaign. This, however, must be attributed to some overtures of peace, which were made at the congress held at Augsburg.

The illustrious secretary, who had thus humbled the haughty power of France, had now the mortification to see his measures not only slighted but opposed. His glory was envied, and the new
servants

servants in power determined to ruin his reputation in the opinion of the young monarch. The Favourite ruled every thing, and private interest, like a quick-sand, swallowed up whatever ventured to tread on its deceitful surface. Local distinction now took root, and, from an humble thistle, soon over-topped the lofty oak. Mr. Pitt, who had ever been an enemy to jundos, and rewarded merit wherever he found it, was now treated with insolence and ingratitude by those very people, to whom he had been the most generous friend; for, during the whole time of his administration, he gave the most ample proofs how much he was an enemy to national prejudices, and how much he valued the extinction of party, and the glory of this nation. It was in this period, that the great commoner did what none of his predecessors had ever attempted, by uniting the hearts of North Britain in the general cause against the enemies of their king and country. He laid the scheme before his royal master, who immediately saw the salutary ends it would produce. He soon carried it into execution, by giving encouragement to the sons and relations of those deluded clans and parties, and even tendered his services to those very people themselves,
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who had too long followed the ill-fated interests of the house of Stuart.

Battalion after battalion was raised, even in the remotest parts of the Highlands: Frazers, Macdonalds, Macleans, Macphersons, and others of disaffected names, were enrolled. Their heads, chieftains, or connections, got commissions; the lower class, always ready to follow, endeavoured who should be first enlisted. Thus, by this political stroke, he drained the country of those men who might have been suspected.

A second battalion of Royal Highlanders was soon sent to America; Parflow's and Pettitot's with others, were soon recruited in the country: Frazer's and Montgomery's Highlanders, in a short time trod the wilds of America; while Morris's ploughed the ocean, and assisted at completing the conquest of Pondicherry; nor were the sons of Liberty, in the plains of Minden, and forests of Germany, wanting of the assistance of their northern brethren; while the battalions of Campbell and Keith acted the part of good and faithful subjects to their king and country, of which the annals of those times bear ample testimony.

His conduct in the marine department deserves singular applause, since every honest tar is ready to acknowledge himself indebted to Mr. Pitt, for securing,

securing, in so easy and rational a manner, the payment of the seamens wages.*

Our attention, however, to naval expeditions were not totally laid aside; for Mr. Pitt was not yet out of administration. Belleisle, on the coast of France, was besieged and taken; and here the then Commodore, now Admiral Keppel, gave singular marks of his bravery, leaving his ship, and entering his barge among the flat-bottomed boats, exposing himself to the heavy fire of the enemy.

The island of Dominique was this year taken from the French; and though Martinico was not reduced till after Mr. Pitt had quitted the helm of state, yet no one will dispute, that it was during his administration the plan was formed. Such were the warlike operations and glories of this great statesman's administration, which I shall here draw into one view, in the words of a modern and judicious writer.†

* It was on account of these favours conferred on the Scotch by the commoner, that they were fond of acknowledging that Mr. Pitt was descended from a knightly family in the northern clime; that Mr. Pitt's grandmother was Elizabeth Innes, of the house of Innes, in Murrayshire, whose family has been in possession of that estate ever since the time of king Robert de Bruce.

† Vide a Review of Mr. Pitt's Administration,

“ Never

“ Never since the days of the establishment of monarchy in England, has such a successful war been carried on, nor such a power and spirit exerted. The first great merit of his administration lay in rousing the spirit of the people, in banishing dejection and despondency, and substituting joy and hope. His next chief praise is in restoring harmony and unanimity, not only in the king's council, but in parliament, and throughout the whole nation : and his last most important services are,

“ In the East-Indies, the total extirpation of the French arms and influence out of the kingdom of Bengal, the conquest of all their settlements on the coast of Coromandel, and every other part of the continent in Asia ; consequently encreasing our great trade to that distant quarter, and causing new riches to flow, as it were, from new worlds. In Africa, the reduction of Senegal and Goree, putting us into entire possession of the gum, and greatly augmenting our slave trade. In North America, the conquests of the islands of Cape-Breton and St. John, which put us into an *entire* possession of the fisheries, and restored tranquility to Nova Scotia ; of that vast and extensive province of Canada, with all its

its exterior forts and remote boundaries, which not only gave us the possession of the furr trade, but secured quiet and repose to all our settlements in that part, and gave us an empire, which, for extent and power, might have been improved beyond conception ; it likewise commanded all the interior savage counties, lakes, and fine lands, which good policy and good government might have so ordered and managed, as to have brought us great additional wealth and weight. In the West-Indies, the reduction of Guadaloupe, with the lesser islands contiguous to it, furnished such a fund of wealth to our merchants as the most exuberant fancy can scarce conceive. The conquest of Martinico, though not made during his administration, was in consequence of his preparation and plan, which were so unerringly laid, that it was almost impossible they should fail of success. The succeeding ministry would fain have derived great merit from this conquest ; but the candid and impartial instantly despised those pitiful and dishonest efforts of extorting praise, and though they readily allow Mr. Pitt's successor all the merit of *permitting* a fleet to sail, which had been destined and prepared before, yet they would not suffer the unhallowed hands of Faction to tear the laurel from his brow. The navy of France was destroyed

stroyed by repeated victories; her ports were continually blocked up, which, together with the conquests of her islands and settlements, ruined her trade. Her coasts were several times insulted, contributions levied on them, her ships burned, one of her harbours destroyed, and thereby the terrors of an invasion, which she had so often sent over to England, reverted in reality upon herself. Belleisle, her principal and largest European island, taken. In Germany, all her efforts baffled and frustrated, notwithstanding her sending there every year great armies, and annually paying large sums to several powers, to keep them in alliance against the houses of Hanover and Brandenburg." These were those glorious times in which England may be truly said to have reached the meridian of her power, wealth, and honours; and future historians will, very probably, dignify this æra, as did the Roman writers that of Augustus, with the title of the *illustrious age*. Alas, are we no more to see those happy days? are we forever sunk in the lap of Folly, Luxury, and false Ambition? have our Statesmen lost all virtue, and quitted the care of the helm, to enlist in the ruinous service of Indolence, Dissipation, Party, and Cabal?

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We might here, properly enough, close the account of Mr. Pitt's glorious administration; for what followed was little more than the intrigues of party to procure his resignation: even this, however, we must not pass over in silence.

France, being reduced to this deplorable state, set on foot a negotiation for peace; but Mr. Pitt, plainly foreseeing the insincerity of France, and having discovered their real intentions, by their signing with Spain what was called the *family compact*, treated their proposals with the just contempt of an Englishman jealous for the glory of his country, and therefore instantly prepared for the renewal of the war. He meditated a stroke, which would have astonished all Europe, and at once have totally defeated all the purposes of the family compact. As he was perfectly satisfied of the inimical intentions of the court of Spain, he proposed to send thither a powerful armament to demand a categorical answer with respect to their intentions; and, if a *proper* one was not immediately given, to employ those forces by striking terror into the very bowels of Spain, and intercepting their treasures, which were then coming from the new world; which must have totally deprived the Spaniards of the very sinews of war.

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So bold and daring a project was too great to be adopted by those weak and timid souls who formed the opposition, and who could not be prevailed on to give credit to any hostile intentions on the part of Spain. Since that time, and even at the present, we have seen ministers very *hard of belief*, when it was not their interest, or consistent with the servile views they had formed, to give credit to the most authentic informations. They were told, that the Americans *would* fight; but they did not think proper to believe it, till they saw the whole continent of America was lost; They were long since told of the hostile intentions of France, and had timely intimation of the treaty she was signing with the congress; but how could men, like such as our present administration is formed of, suspect the sincerity of a *Frenchman*? Events have publicly convinced them of their folly and incredulity, and they now stare each other in the face, uttering with inarticulate sounds, *who could have thought it!*

Mr. Pitt was now surrounded by opponents, who made it a fixed point to oppose all his measures; and it was in consequence of this, that he addressed himself to the council, in nearly the following terms: "This is the time for humbling the house of Bourbon: if this opportunity is let slip, it
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may never be recovered; and, if I cannot prevail in this instance, this shall be the *last* time. I will sit in this council. I thank the ministers of the *late king* for their support: I was called into the ministry by the people, to whom I consider myself as accountable for my conduct; and I will no longer remain in a situation, which makes me responsible for measures I am no longer allowed to guide."

Such power and influence had the new servants of the crown acquired, that none but Lord Temple supported Mr. Pitt in his proposed measure. The immediate consequence was, that Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple resigned, on the 5th of October, 1761. Thus the great commoner retired from office; a pension of 3000l. a year was settled on him, and his lady received a title. Those, who had thwarted all his measures to promote his resignation, now attempted to sully his private character, and represented him to the public as a man, who had made a bargain of his country, and sold it for a pension. Mr. Pitt, finding himself traduced day after day in the public papers, explained the cause of his and Lord Temple's resignations, in the following letter to his friend in the city.

"Dear

“ Dear Sir,

“ Finding, to my great surprife, that the caufe and manner of my refigning the feals, is groffly misrepresented in the city, as well as that the moft gracious and *fpontaneous* marks of his majefty’s approbation of my fervices, which marks followed my refignation, have been infamoufly traduced as a bargain for my forfaking the public, I am under a neceffity of declaring the truth of both thefe facts, in a manner which, I am fure, no gentleman will contradict. A difference of opinion, with regard to meafures to be taken againft Spain, of the higheft importance to the honour of the crown, and to the moft effential national interefts, and this founded on what Spain had already done, not on what that court may further intend to do, was the caufe of my refigning the feals. Lord Temple and I fubmitted in writing, and figned by us, our moft humble fentiments to his majefty, which being over-ruled by the united opinion of all the reft of the King’s fervants, I refigned the feals on Monday, the 5th of this month, in order not to remain refponfible for meafures, which I was no longer allowed to guide. Moft gracious public marks of his majefty’s approbation of my fervices followed my refignation. They are unmerited and unfolicited, and I fhall ever be proud

to have received them from the beft of fovereigns.

“ I will now only add, my dear Sir, that I have explained thefe matters only for the honour of truth, not in any view to court the return of confidence from any man, who with a credulity, as weak as it is injurious, has thought fit haftily to withdraw his good opinion for one, who has ferved his country with fidelity and fuccefs, and who juftly reveres the candid and upright judgment of it, little follicitous about the cenfures of the capricious and the ungenerous. Accept my fincereft acknowledgments for all your kind friendships and believe me ever, with truth and efteem, my dear Sir, your faithful friend,

“ Oct. 14, 1765.

W. PITT.”

This letter was fo well received in the city, as not only to excufe, but even juftify him in the opinion of every impartial perfon. On the 22d of the fame month, the city of London refolved to give their thanks to Mr. Pitt for his many great and eminent fervices, and to lament the national lofs of fo able a minifter. At the fame time they alfo refolved to give inftructions to their members, with regard to their future behaviour in parliament.

No sooner had Mr. Pitt quitted the management of public affairs, than the new ministry, under the guidance and direction of the Favourite, shifted about the helm, and steered a new course. Instead of a powerful fleet, they sent an ambassador to Spain, and trifled away upwards of three months in futile negotiations, till in the month of January, 1762, a declaration of war against Spain made its pitiful appearance, which the rashness of the Spaniards, and not the firmness of the English ministry, made indispensibly necessary, in order to make the world believe, that they had some regard for the real dignity of the crown. The wisdom and foresight of Mr. Pitt were now conspicuous to the world, and to the shame and confusion of his opposers while in administration. The calumny of his enemies, which had lived for a moment, was now sunk in oblivion; and every tongue united in condemning those men, who, without abilities or integrity, and by the most mean and under-hand artifices, had circumvented a minister, who was justly considered as the spirit of the war, the genius of England, and the comet of the age. This was the beginning of that system of blunders which is adopted at this day, and is the parent of all the calamities we feel at present, and have still to dread in future:

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It would be extending this little work beyond the limits we have prescribed it, were we to enter into a detail of the events of the remainder of the war: It will be sufficient to say, that the attention of the Favourite was wholly employed on the ideas of peace, which he determined to procure at any rate; so that, on the 25th of November, 1762, the preliminary articles were signed at Fontainebleau, by the plenipotentiaries of France and Spain on one side, and Great Britain on the other, in which Portugal was to be included; and on the 22d the ratification of the three powers was exchanged at *Versailles*. Thus, after all our glorious conquests, Englishmen sneaked over to France to patch up a peace:

The merits of the peace were warmly debated in the House of Commons; but the Favourite well knew he was safe and secure in a venal majority. Mr. Legge attacked it on various grounds: He insisted, that the union of the whole House of Bourbon, which was replete with reciprocal advantages to both France and Spain, was not broken by this peace; that the fisheries granted to the former, would prove to her a mine of wealth; that the West India settlements, which were restored to both, would immediately, and without any expence, put their commerce on a respectable footing;

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ing; and that it would, in a short time, supply them with the means of maintaining another war.

As every trader sells his commodities to the best bidder, so those, who make a trade of government, dispose of their *voices* to the best advantage, and administration is the sure and certain market, where they always find a purchaser. On this grand-day of debate in the House of Commons, some were absent through sickness, others had *more* important business to attend; some were *permitted* to be absent, and others staid away, without even a shadow of an excuse for their shameful desertion. But be it remembered to the honour of Mr. Pitt, that though a severe fit of the gout had long confined him to his chamber, he was brought to the house in flannels, and spoke near three hours on the nature of the peace. He went through each article separately; and, without paying regard to any party or faction, he condemned some articles, and applauded others. He laid the greatest stress, however, on the fisheries, as it had always been his and Lord Temple's resolutions, to insist on the whole of them. He concluded by giving his opinion, that the terms were *inadequate* to the conquests, and the just expectations of the nation. He was at that time so infirm, and afflicted with such violent pains, that, being no longer able to stand, though supported

supported by his friends, he was permitted to deliver the remainder of his sentiments fitting; and at last, overcome by fatigue, he was obliged to quit the house before it divided.

As soon as the peace was concluded, every ministerial artifice was made use of, to procure addresses from every part of the kingdom, where they were to be obtained, expressing the people's approbation of, and congratulations on, the *glorious* peace so *wisely* concluded. Mr. Pitt received no uneasiness on that account, well knowing in what manner they were procured: But the address from Bath seemed to have made some impression on his mind. I shall here therefore transcribe that address.

The Bath Address.

“ To the King's most Excellent Majesty,
“ We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, of the ancient and loyal City of Bath, do beg leave to congratulate and thank your majesty for an *adequate* and advantageous peace, which you have graciously procured for your people, after a long and very expensive, though necessary and glorious war, which your majesty, upon your accession to the throne, found your kingdoms engaged in.

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“ And

“ And we take the liberty to assure your majesty, that, upon all occasions, we shall be ready to give the most evident proofs of the truest zeal and duty, which the most dutiful subjects can testify to the most gracious and best of princes.

“ In testimony whereof we have hereunto affixed our common seal, the 8th day of May, 1763.”

In consequence of this address, the following letters passed between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Allen, the particulars of which will sufficiently explain themselves.

“ Dear Sir, Hayes, June 2, 1763.

“ Having declined accompanying Sir John Seabright, in presenting the address from Bath, transmitted to us jointly by the Town Clerk, I think it, on all accounts, indispensably necessary, that I should inform you of the reason of my conduct. The epithet of *adequate* given to the peace, contains a description of the conditions of it, so repugnant to my unalterable opinion concerning many of them, and fully declared by me in parliament, that it was as impossible for me to obey the corporation's commands in presenting their address, as it was unexpected to receive such a commission. As to my opinion of the peace, I will only say, that I formed it with sincerity, according to such lights

as my little experience, and small portion of understanding, could afford me. This conviction must remain to myself the constant rule of my conduct; and, I leave to others, with much deference to their better information, to follow their own judgment. Give me leave, my dear, good Sir, to desire to convey, through you, to Mr. Mayor, and to the gentlemen of the corporation, these my free sentiments; and with the justest sense of their past goodness towards me, plainly to confess, that I perceive I am but ill qualified to form pretensions to the future favour of gentlemen, who have come to think so differently from me, on matters of the highest importance to the national welfare. I am ever, with respect and affectionate esteem, my dear Sir, your faithful friend and obliged humble servant.

Signed W. PITT.

“ Lady Chatham joins me in all compliments to the family of Prior Park.

“ To Ralph Allen, Esq.”

“ Prior Park, June 4, 1763.

“ My dearest Sir,

“ It is extremely painful to me, to find by the letter, which you was pleased to send to me the second of this month, that the word *adequate* in the Bath address has been so very offensive to you, as to

to hinder the sincerest and most zealous of your friends in the corporation from testifying for the future their great attachment to you.

“ Upon this occasion, in justice to them, it is incumbent on me to acquaint you, that the exceptionable word does not rest with them, but myself, who suddenly drew up that address, to prevent their sending of another, which the Mayor brought to me, in terms that I could not concur in. Copies of the two terms I have taken the liberty to send to you in the inclosed paper, for your private perusal; and Sir John Seabright having, in his letter to Mr. Clutterbuck, only acquainted him, that in your absence in the country he delivered the address, I shall decline executing your commands to the corporation on this delicate point, unless you renew them, upon the perusal of this letter, which for safety I have sent by a messenger; and I beg your answer to it by him, who has orders to wait for it.

“ Permit me to say, that I have not the least objection to, but the highest regard, and even veneration for your whole conduct; neither have I any apology to make for the expression, in which I am so unfortunate to differ from you. And with the utmost respect, affection, and gratitude,
you

you will always find me to be, my dearest Sir, your most humble and obedient servant.

Signed R. ALLEN.

“ To the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt.

“ The best wishes of this family always attend Lady Chatham.”

“ My dear Sir, Hayes, June 5, 1763.

“ I am sorry that my letter of the second inst. should give you uneasiness, and occasion to you the trouble of sending a messenger to Hayes. I desire you to be assured, that few things can give me more real concern, than to find, that my notions of the public good differ so widely from those of the man, whose goodness of heart, and private virtues, I shall ever respect and love. I am not insensible to your kind motives for wishing to interpose time for second thoughts; but knowing how much you approve an open and ingenuous proceeding, I trust that you will see the unfitness of my concealing from my constituents the insurmountable reasons, which prevented my obeying their commands in presenting an address, containing a disavowal of my opinion delivered in parliament relating to the peace. As their servant, I owe to these gentlemen an explanation of my conduct on this occasion; and as a man

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not forgetful of the distinguished honour of having been invited to represent them, I owe it, in gratitude, to them, not to think of embarrassing and incumbering, for the future, friends to whom I have such obligations, and who now view with approbation measures of an administration, founded on the subversion of that system, which once procured me the countenance and favour of the city of Bath. On these plain grounds, very coolly weighed, I will venture to beg again, that my equitable good friend will be so good to convey to Mr. Mayor, and the gentlemen of the corporation, my sentiments, as contained in my letter of the second instant.

“ I am ever, with unchanging sentiments of respect and affection, my dear Sir, most faithfully yours.

“ W. PITT.”

“ Prior Park, June 9, 1763.

“ My dearest Sir,

“ With the greatest anxiety and concern, I have, in obedience to your repeated and positive commands, executed the most painful commission that I ever received.

“ Upon this disagreeable occasion, give me leave just to say, that however different our abilities

ities may be, it is the duty of every honest man, after he has made the strictest enquiry, to act pursuant to the light which the Supreme Being has been pleased to dispense to him; and this being the rule that I am persuaded we both govern ourselves by, I shall take the liberty now only to add, that it is impossible for any person to retain higher sentiments of your late glorious administration than I do, nor can be with truer fidelity, zeal, affection, and respect, than I have been, still am, and always shall be, my dearest Sir,

“ Your most humble

“ and most obedient servant,

“ Signed, R. ALLEN.

“ To the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt.

“ The best wishes of this family wait upon Lady Chatham.”

Mr. Pitt now retired from the noise and bustle of public business, and from the venal and corrupt boundaries of a court, to enjoy in retirement the pleasing recollection of the services he had done his country, and the honours he had acquired during his upright and glorious administration. The popular heats were but little subsided, and the Favourite was restless, and unsteady

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in all his resolutions. He was but little satisfied with his new administration, and formed some thoughts of dissolving them, or at least making such alterations as might give them a different appearance. He had constantly in contemplation the idea of restoring Mr. Pitt to his former office, for clandestine politics were his darling study; but how to make the haughty patriot subservient to his secret and over-ruling influence, was a matter not easily to be settled. He flattered himself, that should he be able to accomplish this point, he might then rule in private, without exposing himself to the hatred of the people, and at the same time strengthen his power at court.

In the month of September, on the death of the Earl of Egremont, some overtures were made by the Favourite to Mr. Pitt, through the assistance of Mr. Alderman Beckford, and he flattered himself with some hopes of success; and, on the 29th of September, 1763, Mr. Pitt was introduced to the king at the queen's palace, in consequence of this opinion; what passed at this interview, it may reasonably be supposed was never really known but to the parties present; and indeed secrets of so delicate a nature ought never to be disclosed. However, though we know not what the terms were, yet certain it is, that they were

were rejected, as not being consistent with the honour and reputation of Mr. Pitt; and, upon a second interview with the king, the whole matter subsided.

Attempts were again made by the Favourite to bring Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt into office; but they were constantly steady in their resolutions of never submitting to the dictates of the secret manager. The Duke of Cumberland now came forward to promote this desired end; and Mr. Pitt was again twice more closeted at the queen's palace, and a third time, both he and Lord Temple; but, as they found the Favourite was still lurking at the bottom of these negotiations, and as they were to be linked with men, whose maxims and principles were totally opposite to theirs, they determined not to hazard their reputation on such connections, and they declared they would not accept.

The day, however, was hastily approaching, in which the popularity of Mr. Pitt was to receive a severe check. The Rockingham administration (in which Conway and Grafton were secretaries of state, and Dowdeswell Chancellor of the Exchequer) were formed, under the mediation of the Duke of Cumberland, on the 10th of July, 1765.

The following account of this administration will sufficiently shew its complexion.

In that short space of time, the distractions of the British empire were quieted, by the repeal of the American stamp-act, but the constitutional superiority of Great-Britain was preserved, by the act for securing the dependence of the colonies. Private houses were relieved from the jurisdiction of excise, by the repeal of the cyder-act; and the personal liberty of the subject was confined, by the resolution against *general warrants*. The lawful secrets of business and friendship were rendered inviolable, by the resolution for condemning the seizure of papers.

The trade of America was set free from injudicious and ruinous impositions; its revenues were improved, and settled upon a rational foundation; its commerce extended with foreign countries; while all the advantages were secured to Great-Britain, by the act for repealing certain duties, and encouraging, regulating, and securing the trade of this kingdom, and the British dominions in America.

Materials were insured and provided to our manufactures, the sale of these manufactures were increased, the African trade preserved and extended; the principles of the act of navigation pursued,

and the plan improved; and the trade for bullion rendered free, secure, and permanent, by the act for opening certain ports in Dominica and Jamaica.

That administration was the first which proposed and encouraged public meetings and free consultations of merchants from all parts of the kingdom; by which means the truest lights were received, great benefits were derived to manufactures and commerce, and the most extensive prospects were opened for further improvements.

Under them, the interests of our northern and southern colonies, before that time jarring and dissonant, were understood, compared, adjusted, and perfectly reconciled. The passions and animosities of the colonies, by judicious and lenient measures, were allayed and composed, and the foundation laid for a lasting agreement among them.

Whilst that administration provided for the liberty and commerce of their country, as the true basis of its power, they consulted its interests, they asserted its honour abroad, with temper and firmness, by making an advantageous treaty of commerce with Russia; by obtaining a liquidation of the Canada bills, to the satisfaction of the proprietors; by reviving and raising from its ashes
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the negociation for the Manilla ransom, which had been extinguished and abandoned by their predecessors.

They treated their sovereign with decency and reverence; they discountenanced the dangerous and unconstitutional practice of removing military officers for their votes in parliament. They firmly adhered to those friends of liberty, who had run all hazards in its cause, and provided for them in preference to every other claim.

In the prosecution of their measures, they were traversed by an opposition of a new and singular character, an opposition of placemen and pensioners; and, having justly acquired some popularity by the prudence of their conduct, they began to alarm the jealousy of the Favourite, who was ever suspicious, restless, and unfettered. He therefore determined to form a new administration, which he accomplished on the 30th of July, 1766.

The removal of that administration from power was not to them premature, since they were in office long enough to accomplish many plans of public utility, and, by their perseverance and resolution, rendered the way smooth and easy to their successors, having left their king and their country in a much better condition than they found them.

However important were the services of this administration, the people did not think so much of them as they deserved, because they could not, without disgust, see Mr. Pitt decline any share of it. This administration declared against any connection with the Favourite; but they certainly came in under his influence, and, however far they might throw off his yoke, as they increased in power, yet one circumstance will incontrovertibly prove their dependence on that unpopular nobleman—the restoration of his brother Stuart Mackenzie to the office of Privy-seal of Scotland for life: a step, which was equally odious and unconstitutional, since it tended to renew the feudal system, and to make the great offices of state hereditary in certain families.

Every thing being now properly prepared, the new administration made its appearance, to the astonishment of the whole nation: The Duke of Grafton was appointed to the head of the Treasury, in the room of the Marquis of Rockingham; the Earl of Shelburne Secretary of State, in the room of the Duke of Richmond; Lord Camden Lord High Chancellor, in the room of the Earl of Northington; the Rt. Hon. Charles Townshend Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of Mr. Dowdeswell; and Mr. Pitt (then created Viscount Pynsent

Pynsent and Earl of Chatham) Lord Privy Seal. Many other changes took place, both at that time, and subsequently, in all the different departments of state.

The good opinion, which had been conceived of the late ministry, was much increased by the disinterestedness they shewed upon quitting their posts, as they retired, without a place, pension, or reversion, secured to themselves or their families, which perhaps much promoted those numerous addresses, which were presented to the Marquis of Rockingham upon that event. On the other hand, many of those, who were the most attached to the Earl of Chatham, regretted, that instead of weakening and dividing an interest, which the public wished to be supported, and contributing to remove a ministry, in which they had placed a confidence, he had not rather, by coinciding and acting along with them, contributed to give them that permanency, which was so much desired and wanted. There were other reasons, which greatly contributed to lessen his popularity, of which this noble Lord had before possessed so boundless a share: Among these, his quitting the House of Commons, and accepting a Peerage, was not the least; and his acting along with, and bringing into place and power, persons who had the misfortune to be sup-

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posed of a party, which had been long held very obnoxious, contributed its full share.

Lord Chesterfield, in his Letters to his Son, has treated these events very freely: As the opinion of so great a statesman will undoubtedly be more acceptable to our readers than mere conjectures of our own, we shall here present an abstract or two from that excellent collection.

“ August 1, 1766. The curtain was at last drawn up, the day before yesterday, and discovered the new actors, together with the old ones. I do not name them to you, because to-morrow's Gazette will do it full as well as I could. Mr. Pitt, who had a *carte blanche* given him, named every one of them: But what would you think he named himself for?—Lord Privy Seal, and (what will astonish you, as it does every mortal here) *Earl of Chatham*.

“ The joke here is, that he has had a *fall up stairs*, and has done himself so much hurt, that he will never be able to stand upon his legs again. Every one is puzzled how to account for this step; though it would not be the first time, that *great* abilities have been duped by *low* cunning. But be it what it will, he is now certainly only Earl of Chatham, and no longer Mr. Pitt, in any respect whatever.

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“ Such an event, I believe, was never read nor heard of. To withdraw, in the fulness of his power, and in the utmost gratification of his ambition, from the House of Commons, (which procured him his power, and which could alone insure it to him) and to go into *the hospital of incurables*, the House of Lords, is a measure so unaccountable, that nothing but proof positive could have made me believe it; but true it is. . . .

“ Charles Townshend has now the sole management of the House of Commons; but how long he will be contented to be only Lord Chatham's Vicegerent there, is a question which I will not pretend to determine. There is one very bad sign for Lord Chatham in his new dignity; which is, that all his enemies, without exception, rejoice at it, and all his friends are stupid and dumb-founded. If I mistake not much, he will, in the course of a year, enjoy perfect *otium cum dignitate*.”

“ September 12, 1766. I do not wonder, that you do wonder at Lord Chatham's conduct. If he was not outwitted into his Peerage by Lord B—, his accepting it is utterly inexplicable. The instruments he has chosen for the great offices, I believe, will never fit the same case. It was cruel to put such a boy as Lord G— over the head of old Ligonier; and, if I had been the former, I would

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would have refused that commission, during the life of that honest and brave old General. All this to quiet the Duke of R— to a resignation, and to make Lord B— Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, where, I will venture to prophecy, that he will not do.”

“ December 9, 1766. It may be you expect some political news from me; but I can tell you, that you will have none; for no mortal can comprehend the present state of affairs: Eight or nine people, of some consequence, have resigned their employments; upon which Lord Chatham made overtures to the Duke of Bedford and his party; but they could by no means agree, and his Grace went the next day, full of wrath, to Wooburn: So that negotiation is entirely at a stand. People wait to see who Lord Chatham will take in, for some he must have: Even *he* cannot be alone, *contra mundum*. Such a state of affairs, to be sure, was never seen before in this or any other country. When this ministry shall be settled, it will be the sixth ministry in six years time.”

“ October 30, 1767. I send you no politics, for here are neither politics nor ministers. Lord Chatham is quiet at Pynsent in Somersetshire, and his former subalterns do nothing, so that nothing is done. Whatever places or preferments are dis-

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posed of, come evidently from Lord B—, who affects to be invisible, and who, like a wood-cock, thinks that, if his head is but hid, he is not seen at all."

" December 27, 1767. *En nova progenies.* The outlines of a new ministry are now declared; but they are not yet filled up: It was formed by the Duke of Bedford. Lord Chatham seems to be out of the question, and is at his re-purchased house at Hayes, where he will not see a mortal. Lord Chatham has neither seen nor spoken to any one, and has been in the oddest way in the world."*

It will be endless to attempt to pursue administration through its various changes, as almost every week gave some new proof of its fluctuating and unsettled state; but one matter deserves particular notice. On the second of February, 1768, a commission was issued under the great seal, authorizing and empowering Richard Sutton, William Blair, and William Frazer, Esqrs. or any two of them, to execute the office of keeper of his Majesty's Privy Seal, for and during the space and term of six weeks, determinable nevertheless at his

* Mr. Stanhope, to whom these letters were written, died the 16th of November, 1768.

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majesty's pleasure; and also to grant, during his majesty's pleasure, to the Right Honourable William Earl of Chatham, the said office of keeper of his majesty's Seal, from and after the said term of six weeks, or other sooner determination of the said commission.

The plea for this step was, that the common course of business might not be interrupted or impeded by his Lordship's ill state of health; but it is well known, that a more powerful argument was the cause of it: A dark, gloomy, and iniquitous business was to receive the Seal and sanction of Lord Chatham: His virtue shuddered at the idea; but a long series of illness had so far weakened his mental faculties, that he resigned the Seals, *pro tempore*, for others to execute the diabolical deed, and then he re-accepted them on the 21st of the same month.

Lord Chatham, who was regarded as the founder of this ministry, had, from bodily disorders and other causes, in a great measure withdrawn from public business, and had totally lost that lead in their councils and measures, which it was thought he must always possess during the continuance of that system. They now found, totally unpopular as they were, that they were able to act of themselves, and his support being thought no longer necessary,

necessary, a total neglect and indifference soon took place: He was no longer thought of, nor consulted upon any occasion. He therefore, on the 2d of November following, resigned the Privy Seal, which was given to the Earl of Bristol.

The Favourite, now imagining he had totally subverted the popularity of Lord Chatham, considered himself as at full liberty to execute all the favourite maxims he had adopted, and therefore filled every department with men, who were implicitly obedient to his rule and conduct. Popery was established in Canada, as an introduction to its promotion in England; and the protestant colonies were intended to be made subservient to the tools of his ambition, by loading America with taxes, places, and pensions. To oblige America to contribute to the national debt was the plea; but, in all human probability, had he succeeded in this attempt, the revenues of America would have been applied as those of Ireland now are; and the nation at large, so far from being bettered by it, would have been only left to lament the approaching appearance of those shackles of slavery, which too constantly accompany an enormous increase of the power of the crown. A series of years passed in one continued chain of blunders, when Lord Chatham, having a little recovered his health,
again

again stepped forth as the champion of the people, to save, if possible, this devoted country from the disgrace and impending ruin, with which it was threatened.

In the beginning of the year 1775, Lord Chatham attended the house, and presented a bill, entitled, "A Provisional Act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority, and super-intending power, of Great Britain over the Colonies."

This bill set forth, that the king and parliament had full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the British colonies in America, in all matters touching the *general weal* of the whole dominion of the imperial crown of Great-Britain, and beyond the competency of the local representative of a distinct colony; and most especially an indispenfible and indubitable right to make and ordain laws for *regulating* navigation and trade throughout the complicated system of British commerce.

That no tallage, tax, or other charge for his majesty's revenue, should be commanded or levied from British freemen in America, without their common consent, by act of Provincial assembly there, duly convened for that purpose.

That the delegates from the respective provinces, lately assembled at Philadelphia, should there meet in general Congress at a time fixed, and make a free grant to the king, his heirs and successors, of a certain perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of the British parliament, to be by them appropriated to the alleviation of the national debt.

That the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts, in America, shall be restrained within their ancient limits; and the trial by Jury, in all civil cases, where the same may have been abolished, restored; and that no subject in America shall, in capital cases, be liable to be indicted and tried for the same, in any place out of the province, wherein such offence shall be alledged to have been committed, nor be deprived of a trial by his peers of the vicinage; nor shall it be lawful to send persons indicted for murder in any province of America, to another colony, or to Great Britain for trial.

That all the acts passed at different times, during the present reign, which are represented to have been found grievous, shall be suspended, finally repealed, and annulled.

That his majesty's judges in courts of law in the colonies of America, shall be appointed with salaries

salaries by the crown, shall hold their offices and salaries as his majesty's judges in England, *quandiu se bene gesserint*; and that the colonies are justly entitled to all the privileges granted by their several charters or constitutions.

These were the heads of that bill, which his lordship proposed, not only as the foundation, but as the only plan of reconciliation, and the surest means of healing the breach between the mother country and her colonies; but the ministry were at present too sanguine in their expectations, to submit to offer any other terms than those of *absolute* submission, and the bill was rejected by a great majority. Administration were too little acquainted with the nature of things to foresee what would happen in the fatal year of 1777—a year that will make one of the most frightful images in the annals of this country, and from which future historians will probably date the commencement of our ruin.

On the 30th of May, 1777, his lordship attended in his place in the house, and made the following motion: “That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most dutifully representing to the royal wisdom, that this house is deeply penetrated with the view of impending ruin to this kingdom, from the continuation of an unna-

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tural war against the British colonies in America ; and most humbly to advise his majesty, to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to such fatal hostilities, upon the only just and solid foundation ; namely, the removal of accumulated grievances ; and to assure his majesty, that this house will enter upon this great and necessary work with cheerfulness and dispatch, in order to open to his majesty, the only means of regaining the affections of the British colonies, and of securing to Great-Britain the commercial advantages of those invaluable possessions ; fully persuaded, that to heal and redress, will be more congenial to the goodness and magnanimity of his majesty, and more prevalent over the hearts of generous free-born subjects, than the rigours of chastisement, and horrors of civil war, which hitherto have served only to sharpen resentments, and consolidate union, and, if continued, must end finally in dissolving all ties between Great-Britain and her colonies."

His lordship supported his motion with peculiar sensibility, resolution and address. He endeavoured to impress on his auditors with the propriety and necessity of his motion, chiefly on the following grounds. He asserted generally, that the war with America was unnatural in itself, and odious

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to the people ; that, although the contrary were the case, Great-Britain, from the various circumstances combined with, or growing out of such a contest, would be drained of her millions, deprived of her resources drawn from trade and commerce, the evident consequence of which would be national bankruptcy. But however terrible and painful in the recollection, there would other events necessarily follow, much more fatal, and more to be dreaded. Those immense advantages, which we drew from our commerce with America, would not only be diverted into other channels, but poured into the lap of our determined, natural, and inveterate enemies, the different branches of the house of Bourbon, with whom, after such an accession of real strength, it would be then dangerous, if not totally ineffectual, to contend.

After recapitulating every measure taken by administration respecting the colonies, and passing on each a separate censure, his lordship particularly arraigned the sending out Lord Howe with a commission to treat of conciliation ; while, at the same time, he took with him an army, who went to draw their swords on the Americans, and, by a system of slaughter, compel them to lay down their arms. But supposing the idea of concilia-

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tion, or conquest, were the objects of the commission, was not the conduct of administration equally reprehensible? Why not send out as friends or enemies? Friends to confer, to concede, to conciliate; enemies to dictate, threaten, or compel. "No, (said his lordship) the sword and olive-branch so loudly trumpeted forth and extolled, meant nothing: it taught the colonists to despise such a mixt heterogeneous system of peace and war. The insufficiency of the forces sent out filled the colonies with confidence in their own strength, and contempt for yours; and your offers of peace, on the terms of giving up the point in issue, filled them with resentment and indignation. In short, the Howes, if they went to fight carried too few; if to treat or conciliate, they carried too many."

His lordship insisted much on the good conduct of the Americans, in the war which was terminated by the peace of 1748, and adverted particularly to the conquest of Louisbourg, and the general zeal and courage manifested by the colonies during the late war; and how many signal proofs they had given, as soldiers and citizens, of their personal bravery, perseverance, loyalty, zeal and affection for the mother country. He condemned, in the strongest terms, the want of wisdom,

wisdom, and the inhumanity of sending over (to make use of his emphatical expression) 20,000 mercenary German boors to cut the throats of our own subjects, our own children, who were our best and surest bulwark against our ancient enemies.

His lordship felicitated the nation on the true English spirit, which rendered such a measure necessary on one side of the Atlantic, and defeated its objects on the other: for, as the people of this country could not be prevailed on to fight in a cause, which they so much disapproved of, and as an oppressive and unwise administration were compelled to have recourse to foreign arms to effect their destructive purposes of despotic dominion; so, on the other hand, the Americans retained too much of the free spirit of their English ancestors, ever to submit to treat with Great-Britain, till that mercenary foreign banditti should be withdrawn.

His lordship further observed, that France enjoyed the distracted state of this empire, and looked on with peculiar pleasure: as the only means, therefore, of arresting the horrors of civil war, and the threatened fate of this country, he earnestly solicited their lordships, that they would agree with him in the proposed address.

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This motion was seconded by Lord Camden, which brought on an interested and well-supported debate, and which was maintained much to the honour of Lord Chatham and his friends; but, as administration had adopted plans of a different nature, plans founded on tyrannical and arbitrary principles, it is no wonder that this motion was lost on a division; and both houses broke up on the 6th of June following, without doing any thing, or at least doing worse than nothing, since whatever they attempted only tended to widen the breach, and to remove to a still greater distance every hope of an accommodation with the colonies.

We are now entering on the fourth session, which was opened on the 20th of November, but which this illustrious statesman, unhappily for this nation, was not to see the close of—a session, which will be celebrated only as that in which Lord Chatham died, and in which the minister pursued his usual chain of blunders. It was opened by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty informed both houses of his intentions to pursue every measure to bring his deluded subjects in America to reason; and at the same time informed them of the repeated assurances from foreign powers of their pacific dispositions.

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Earl Percy moved for an address of thanks to his majesty for his gracious speech. The address being seconded by Lord Chesterfield, and opposed by Lord Coventry, the Earl of Chatham then stood up: and, after a few prefatory observations on the nature of those infirmities, which exiled him involuntarily from his country's service, he observed, that an address of thanks, at that juncture, was highly improper. He insisted, that his majesty stood in need of advice, not of flattery; that this was no time for offering the enticing balm of adulation, when the nation stood on the very brink of destruction; that the speech delivered by his majesty from the throne contained no scrap of information, nor spark of comfort; that there was all the reason in the world to believe, from the formidable preparations forming by the house of Bourbon, and from the palpable sanction they had given to the emissaries of the Americans, that hostile designs against us were brooding in that quarter; and that all the consolation offered from the throne was, that his majesty *hoped* they would not hurt us.

His Lordship affirmed, that if these hostile designs were carried into execution against us, that we were by no means in a situation to resist them; that England at this time could not boast of above

5000 men and twenty ships of the line; that the port of Lisbon, which used to afford us a comfortable asylum in cases of emergency, was now shut against us, and that, from all these combined causes, ruin was inevitable. He called upon any one to stand up, and avow in the face of the house, that measures of this kind were not folly, abject folly. He demanded, for what purpose our arms were then employed? Was it to communicate the science of fighting? Was it to learn morality from the Americans? Or was it to gain instructions in the art of butchering from the officers of Germany?

His Lordship further observed, that though, no doubt, men actuated by the spirit of faction were certainly to be found in America, yet others, many others, there were, that were influenced by the purest patriotism; and that, for himself, were he an American, he never would quit his arms, so long as foreigners were employed, not so properly to reduce, as to destroy. He declared, he was as much interested in the honour of the English nation, as any Lord who had the honour to sit in the house; but that the principles of justice and humanity inspired him with his present sentiments; that he was an advocate for pacific measures, yet, that he was of opinion, that the compliance of the Ame-

ricans in the navigation act should be the foundation of the reconciliation.

Lord Chatham then concluded with proposing an amendment to the address as offered by Lord Percy, and that, after the congratulation on the encrease of domestic happiness by the accession of a Princess, (which formed one part of the proposed address) should follow:

“ And this house does most humbly advise and supplicate his majesty, to be pleased to cause the most speedy and effectual measures to be taken for restoring peace in America; and that no time may be lost in proposing an immediate cessation of hostilities there, in order to the opening of a treaty for the final settlement of the tranquility of those invaluable provinces, by a removal of the unhappy causes of this ruinous civil war, and be a just and adequate security against the return of the like calamities in times to come. And this house desire to offer the most dutiful assurances to his majesty, that they will, in due time, cheerfully co-operate with the magnanimity and tender goodness of his majesty, for the preservation of his people, by such explicit and most solemn declarations and provisions of fundamental and irrevocable laws, as may be judged necessary for ascertaining and fixing, for ever,

ever, the respective rights of Great Britain and her colonies."

The house continued in debate on this motion till near eleven at night, when Lord Chatham's proposed amendment was rejected on a division, and the address of Earl Percy agreed to.

At the close of the month of November, the whole nation was thrown into a fit of gloomy despair on news being brought to England, that General Burgoyne and his whole army had been compelled to surrender their arms to the victorious American colonists. This was considered as a stroke equally inglorious and fatal to England, as was the battle of Cannæ to the Romans; and even the ministry themselves, for once, hung down their heads, and were astonished, ashamed, and confounded. On the 2d of December, Lord George Germain, in the House of Commons, related the misfortunes that had been befallen that General and his army. His Lordship requested, that no premature reflections might be made on the conduct of that unfortunate General; for *perhaps* he himself might be found to blame, in advising and directing the expedition which had proved so fatal. His Lordship added, that, in due time, he would inform the house on what grounds he had advised the

the measure; and, as, his intentions were just, he should submit to censure, if he had *erred in judgment*.

On the 5th of the same month, the Earl of Chatham, in the House of Lords, rose and made a very pathetic speech on the general unhappy state of the American war; but more particularly confining himself to the recent misfortunes of General Burgoyne and his army. In considering the great abilities of that General, he found it impossible to conceive an idea of his misconduct; and his Lordship therefore concluded, that his fate had been brought upon him in consequence of a plan at home, founded in imbecility, cruelty, and absurdity. He recapitulated the great events of the last war, conducted upon proper principles, and asked what reason could be assigned, why this nation, in the course of the fifteen last years, had fallen from the highest pinnacle of glory, with as brave commanders and troops as ever; and said it was owing to a set of men, hardly known at that time, who had destroyed the union that was the life of the whole empire, had divided one part against another, and had thrust themselves into office without a knowledge of public business. For his part, he thought the house ought to send up an

addresses of condolence to his majesty upon this melancholy occasion.

But if that was not thought proper, (continued his Lordship) it was high time to make an enquiry, who were the authors of the ill-concerted, rash expeditions, by which whole armies were cut off in a miserable manner, and the General, much to be pitied, could only comfort himself by saying, after Henry the Great of France, "I have lost every thing but my honour." His Lordship strongly enforced the necessity of re-calling the troops, lest we should lose a second army, and with it all America. He concluded with a motion, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, beseeching him to be graciously pleased to order the proper officers to lay before the house, copies of all orders and instructions sent to Lieut. General Burgoyne, relative to the military operations of his majesty's forces under his command."

This motion, however, met with the accustomed fate of all his others, by receiving a negative. Lord Lyttleton had opposed the motion as premature; and Lord Suffolk insisted, that the inquiry ought to stand over, till the whole of the melancholy news, which was now but little more than a report, was officially authenticated.

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Though it had been the constant and regular plan of administration, to put the negative upon every motion made by this noble patriot, yet it is an indisputable fact, that every means were employed to entice him to join with those very men, who so invariably opposed him. If we usually give credit to the words of the most profligate and abandoned, when uttered in the expiring moments of their lives, how can we dispute what Lord Chatham declared, when his virtuous soul was taking its flight from this vain world to the regions of bliss, where no wicked ministers tyrannise, where dignified slaves cannot sell their country, and where ambition, venality, and corruption, find no abode? It was in these moments he declared, that just before the American Commissioners failed, a remessage was sent to his Lordship, offering him a Dukedom and a Ribband, upon certain conditions, one of which was to act with Lord B—e as S—y of S—e, in conjunction with Lord S—e, &c. &c. This *great man* rejected these *great offers* with contempt. May we not from hence reasonably conclude, that there is a *something unseen*, which has, and still does, *privately* conduct all those ruinous measures, which have brought us into our present lamentable, humiliating, and dejected condition?

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We come now to the 7th of April, 1778, the last day in which this great and illustrious politician and statesman was to figure in the grand assembly of the nation.—The late defeat of General Burgoyne had thrown the whole ministry into such a state of despondency, that they began to consider the American war as no longer supportable; and even one of their first colleagues had declared in the House of Commons, that it was not in the power of England to carry on the war on its present plan. It was then we saw men, who, but a month before, could think of receiving America only on her knees, and in the most humble posture, and humiliating accents, begging pardon for her crimes, her folly, and her temerity, who before would not listen to the most humble petitions, to the most dutiful remonstrances, and the representations of the most distinguished characters—now, not only determine to send over commissioners to beg a peace, but were more than half inclined to confirm American independence. It was upon this account Lord Chatham attended the house of Lords, where he may be said, in some measure, to have sacrificed his life to the love of his country, since there is little room to doubt, that his exerting himself that day beyond his strength, hastened his departure from the cares of this life. Indeed, he
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appeared to be extremely feeble, and spoke with that difficulty of utterance which is the sure token of severe indisposition. How great must be the abilities of that man, who, in spite of the weight of years, and the load of bodily infirmities, could be still master of such powerful eloquence!

His lordship began with declaring, that his ill state of health had for some time obliged him to absent himself from the performance of his parliamentary duty: he rejoiced, however, that he was yet alive to give his vote against so impolitic, so inglorious a measure, as the acknowledgment of the independency of America, and declared that he would much rather be in his grave, than see the lustre of the British throne tarnished, the dignity of the empire disgraced, the glory of the nation sunk to such a degree as it must be, when the dependency of America on the sovereignty of Great Britain was foregone.

The Earl next adverted to the conduct of the court of France, and observed, that, at a crisis like the present, he would openly speak his sentiments, although they might turn out to be dangerous. As a reason for throwing off reserve, he said, he did not approve of halting between two opinions, when there was no middle path; that it was necessary absolutely to declare either for peace or war, and,
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when the former could not be preserved with honour, the latter ought to be commenced without hesitation: Having made this remark, he asked, where was the ancient spirit of the nation, that a foreign power was suffered to bargain for that commerce which was her natural right, and enter into a treaty with her own subjects, without instantly resenting it? could it be possible, that we were the same people, who, but sixteen years ago, were the envy and admiration of all the world? he feared there was *something in the dark, something lurking near the throne*, which gave motion to government—*something unseen*, which caused such pusillanimous, such timid, such dastardly councils.—What! were we to sit down in ignominious tameness? to say, “Take from us what you will, but in God’s name let us be at peace?” Were we blinded by despair? could we forget that we were Englishmen? could we forget that the nation had stood the Danish irruptions, had stood the irruptions of other nations, had stood the inroads of the Scotch, had stood the Norman conquests, had stood the threatened invasion by the famous Spanish Armada, and the various efforts of the Bourbon compacts! why then should we now give up all, without endeavouring to prevent our losses, without a blow, without an attempt to resent the

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insults offered us? if France and Spain were for war, why not try an issue with them? if we fell afterwards, we should fall decently and like men.

Having spoken with some enthusiasm upon these points, his lordship said, he waged war against no set of men, neither did he wish for any of their employments: he therefore reverted to the subject of American independency; and, after recalling the attention of their lordships to the extent and revenue of the estate of the crown of England, when the present king came into the possession of it, asked what right the house of parliament had to deprive the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburgh, and the other rising hopes of the noble royal family, of the inheritance of the thirteen American colonies? the Earl declared he was exceedingly ill; but as long as he could crawl down to that house, and had strength to raise himself on his crutches, or to lift his hand, he would vote against the giving up the dependency of America on the sovereignty of Great Britain; and, if no other lord was of opinion with him, he would singly protest against the measure.

With regard to our power to carry on the war, or commence a new one with France, there was, he said, means, though he knew not what; if, however, he was called upon to give his advice,

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he would give it honestly; and, though from his exceeding ill state of health, he feared, he had not abilities enough to insure the execution of measures the wished-for success, he would make some amends by his sincerity.

The Duke of Richmond having differed a little in opinion from the Earl of Chatham, the latter rose to reply; but was so extremely ill that he fainted, and was soon after conveyed out of the house, never more to return to it: for after some flattering hopes of a recovery, on the 11th of May, 1778, died, at his seat at Hayes in Kent, the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, Earl of Chatham, aged Seventy-Two, and with him expired the glory and prosperity of England.

The next day, a motion was made and unanimously agreed to, to address his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions, that the remains of the late Earl of Chatham be interred, at the public expence, and that a monument be erected in Westminster-Abbey, to the memory of that great and excellent statesman, with an inscription, expressive of the sentiments of the people on so great and irreparable a loss, and to assure his majesty that they would make good the expences of the same.

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Two days afterwards, another motion was made in the same house, and likewise unanimously agreed to, to address his majesty, that he would be further graciously pleased to make such a lasting provision for the family of the late Earl of Chatham, as his majesty, in his wisdom and liberality, should think fit, as a mark of the sense the nation entertains of the services done to the kingdom by that able statesman; and to assure his majesty, that the house would make good the same. Both which addresses, to the honour of this nation, were readily complied with.

On the 20th of the same month, a court of common-council of the city of London was held at Guildhall, when a committee, appointed for that purpose, drew up a petition to the house of commons, praying, that the remains of the late Earl of Chatham might be deposited in the cathedral church of St. Paul. At the same time, they expressed a desire to attend the funeral of this illustrious nobleman in their gowns, and requested that indulgence of the proper officers of the crown.

It is very extraordinary, though at the same time much to the honour of the character of this deceased nobleman, that though he had the most frequent and fairest opportunity of being the rich-

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est subject in England, he died nearly insolvent: avarice formed no part of his character. The duchess of Marlborough left him 10,000l. as an honourable testimony of the regard she bore to his public abilities. He was for many years sole paymaster-general of the forces, one of the most lucrative places under the crown. He was afterwards left 3500l. per annum, by Sir Robert Pynsent; and during the course of the last war, which he so gloriously conducted, had the largest supplies granted him ever known in the annals of this country; yet, with all these opportunities, of which most statesmen would have availed themselves, he despised the *means*, and spent his own private fortune, with the bare emolument of office, in the honourable support of his family. His mind was too great to look to any accumulation but that of his own and his country's glory. These he has amply acquired; and, to the honour of this country, she is now gratefully repaying the debt, by settling 4000l. per annum on the family, to descend to the heirs of the present Earl.

Such a public testimony of the sense and gratitude of a free people for their departed statesman, begs every attempt that may be made to delineate his character. We cannot, however, avoid the temptation of transcribing the following,

ing, which is said to be written by one of the greatest historians now in being.

“ We find ourselves embarrassed to attempt, within the scanty limits we are confined to, even a sketch of the character of this eminent statesman and orator—one of the most celebrated, we will venture to affirm, that ever appeared on the political stage of this country, or perhaps in Europe, since the commencement of the present century; whether viewed in the light of an illustrious citizen, swaying, leading, controuling, or directing his fellow subjects in their several combinations, in their constituent and legislative capacities, up to the great governmental powers of the state; or as operating with no less facility, success, and irresistible dominion, over the whole, and almost every individual member of the grand European republic.

“ As Secretary of state, he stood alone. Modern degeneracy had not reached him. Original, and unaccommodating, the features of his character had the hardihood of antiquity. His august mind overawed majesty, and one of his sovereigns thought royalty so much impaired in his presence, that he conspired to remove him, in order to be relieved from his superiority. No state chicanery,

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no narrow system of vicious politics, no idle contents for ministerial victories, sunk him to the vulgar level of the great; but firm, persuasive, and bold, his object was England, his ambition the good of his country. Without dividing, he destroyed party; without corrupting, he made a venal age unanimous. France sunk beneath him. With one hand he smote the house of Bourbon, and wielded in the other the prosperity of England. The flight of his mind was infinite, and his schemes were to effect, not England, not the present age, only, but Europe and posterity. Wonderful were the means by which these schemes were accomplished; always seasonable, always adequate, the suggestions of an understanding animated by ardour, and enlightened by prophecy.

“ The ordinary feelings, which made life amiable and indolent, those sensations, which soften, allure, and vulgarise, were unknown to him. No domestic difficulties, no domestic weaknesses, reached him; but aloof from the sordid occurrences of life, and unfulled by its intercourse, he came occasionally into our system, to counsel, and to decide.

“ A character so exalted, so strenuous, so authoritative, astonished a corrupt age, and the treasury

treasury tumbled at the name of Pitt, through all her classes of venality. Corruption imagined, indeed, that she had found defects in this statesman, and talked much of the inconsistency of his glory, and much of the ruin of his victories; but the history of his country, and the calamities of the enemy, answered and refuted her.

“ Nor were his political abilities his only talent. His eloquence was an æra in the senate; peculiar and spontaneous, familiarly expressing the most lofty sentiments and instructive wisdom. Like Murray, he did not conduct the understanding through the painful subtilty of argument; nor was he, like Townshend, for ever on the rack of exertion; but rather lightened upon the subject, and reached the point, by the mind, which, like those of his eye, were felt, but could not be followed.

“ Upon the whole, there was in this statesman something that could create, subvert, or reform; an understanding, a spirit, and an eloquence to summon mankind to society, or to break the bonds of slavery asunder, and to rule the wilderness of free minds with unbounded authority: something that could establish or overwhelm empire, and strike a blow in the world that should resound through the universe.”

If there was a shade in the picture of this illustrious statesman, a member of the house of commons sufficiently explored it to public view in that assembly of the nation, by the following speech. But it should be remembered, that the party it came from, (though in other cases always a friend and admirer of the deceased Earl) is intimately connected with the Rockingham interest, whose administration Mr. Pitt was censured for not joining; but with what propriety, we do not presume to determine.

“ Lord Chatham, (said he) a great and celebrated name—a name that makes this country respectable in every other of the globe. It may truly be called

Clarum et venerabile nomen

Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi.

“ The venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills in the eyes of mankind, and, more than all the rest, his fall from power, which, like death, canonizes and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his conduct. I am sure, I am not disposed to blame him. Let those who have betrayed him by their adulation, insult

insult him with their malevolence; but what I do not presume to censure, I may have leave to lament. For a wise man, he seemed to me at that time, to be governed too much by general maxims. I speak with the freedom of history, and I hope without offence. One or two of these maxims, flowing from an opinion not the most indulgent to our unhappy species, and surely a little too general, led him into measures that were greatly mischievous to himself, and for that reason, among others, perhaps fatal to his country—Measures, the effects of which, I am afraid, are for ever incurable. He made an administration, so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery, so crossly indented and whimsically dove-tailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic, such a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans, whigs and tories, treacherous friends and open enemies, that it was indeed a very curious shew; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on.

“ The colleagues, whom he had assorted at the same boards, stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, ‘ Sir, your name? Sir, you have the advantage of me—Mr. Such-a-one—I beg a thousand pardons—.’ I venture to say, it did so happen.

pen, that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoken to each other in their lives, until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed.*

“ In consequence of this arrangement, having put so much the larger part of his enemies and opposers into office, the confusion was such, that his own principles could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were sure to predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to stand upon; when he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a minister.

“ When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. The gentlemen, his particular friends, who, with the names of various departments of ministry, were admitted to seem as if they acted a part under him, with a modesty that

* Supposed to allude to the Right Hon. Lord North, and George Cook, Esq; who were made joint paymasters in the summer of 1766, on the removal of the Rockingham administration.

becomes

becomes all men, and with a confidence in him which was justified even in its extravagance by his superior abilities, had never, in any instance, presumed upon any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the sport of every gust, and easily driven into any port; and as those who joined with them in manning the vessel were the most directly opposite to his opinions, measures, and character, and far the most artful and powerful of the set, they easily prevailed, so as to seize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends, and instantly turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy. As if it were to insult, as well as to betray him, even long before the close of the first session of his administration, when every thing was publicly transacted, and with great parade in his name, they made an act, declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America: for even then, even before this splendid orb was entirely set, and while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and for his hour became

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lord of the ascendant; but this light * too is
passed and set for ever."

Whatever may be said of the few failings of
this illustrious nobleman, certain it is, that the few
years of his administration are not to be equalled
in the annals of our nation. France and Spain,
who had learned to despise the futile schemes and
timid councils of a weak, corrupt, and disunited
ministry, were astonished at the rapid progress of
our arms, and the success of all his schemes. As
far as sail could feel a motion, the enemy was
attacked, surprised, and defeated, and France in
particular bled at every vein. All Europe beheld
our conquest in silent surprise; and, though they
envied our happiness, the very name of Pitt fi-
lenced their clamours and their jealousies. Even
till the day of his death, the people looked up
to him as their friend, patron, and protector; as
the only man, whose abilities could save them
from distress, and whose virtues could secure them
from that torrent of corruption, which now threa-
tens the ruin of the nation.

* Mr. B——ke here alludes to Charles Townshend, Esq;
who died long before the delivery of this celebrated speech,
in which he delineated the characters of so many states-
men.

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We shall conclude the memoirs of this illustri-
ous patriot with the following lines, written by
the late Earl of Chatham, to David Garrick,
Esq; when on a visit some years ago at Mount
Edgecumbe.

LEAVE, Garrick, the rich Landscape, proud-
ly gay,
Docks, Forts, and Navies bright'ning all the
bay;
To my plain roof repair, primæval seat!
Yet there no wonders your quick eye can meet,
Save should you deem it wonderful to find,
Ambition cur'd, and an unpassion'd mind;
A Statesman without pow'r, and without gall,
Hating no courtiers, happier than them all;
Bow'd to no yoke, nor crouching for ap-
plause,
Vot'ry alone to Freedom and the Laws;
Herds, Flocks, and smiling Ceres deck our
plain,
And interspers'd, an heart-enlivening train
Of sportive children frolic o'er the green,
Mean time pure Love looks on and consecrates
the scene.

Come

Come then, immortal Spirit of the Stage,
 Great Nature's Proxy, Glass of ev'ry Age;
 Come taste the simple life of Patriarchs old,
 Who rich in rural peace, ne'er thought of pomp
 or gold.

THE END.

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