

he says, and at dinner, left the table to send off a reply, which has been printed by Lord FitzMaurice, editor of the *Life of Shelburne*, in *MacMillan's Magazine* for July, 1894 (vol. lxx, p. 193). In it occurs the phrase, "I will as soon subscribe to transubstantiation, as to sovereignty (by right) in the colonies." Putting together these two sentences, both of them from private letters, do they not go to show that Chatham was revolving some such system as that which now binds the self-governing colonies to the Empire, by rights asserted in theory only, though their own sovereignty by right is denied. I do not suppose for a moment that Chatham had worked this out into a connected theory, or that he would have been satisfied with an Empire such as the present, in which the colonies are allowed to tax the goods of the mother country to an extent which has sometimes involved practical discrimination against her; but that he had in view this practical freedom, though nominal subjection, seems to me from these passages to be highly probable. If you say that such a theory was outside the horizon of any statesman of that day I shall not reply that he is a rash man who would set bounds to the horizon of Chatham, but shall content myself with a quotation from Charles Townshend, who hit off our present Imperial system to perfection, when he said that he refused to consider the colonies in the light of "our allies in war, our rivals in time of peace." What Charles Townshend could image, though only to reject, can hardly be considered outside the range of Chatham.

With this theory and in these circumstances, what would he have done? What was the plan which he and Temple came down to the House to propose, on that last day when death sealed his lips. The evidence is found in two passages, one from Almon's *Anecdotes*, which are known to contain reminiscences of Temple, the other from Lord FitzMaurice's *Life of Shelburne*. "The first part of the plan was, to recommend to his Majesty to take Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick immediately into his service. Lord Chatham's desire in this design was to make an impression upon France on the continent; in order to prevent her sending the assistance to the Americans which he knew the French court had promised. Another part of the plan was to recommend a treaty of union with the Americans—that America should make peace and war in com-