

out his ideas, we can but piece together scattered acts and sayings, and must be content with a result on which we cannot dogmatise. This I tried to do in *Queen's Quarterly* for July, 1908, taking as my text a compilation of the various scattered reports of his speech on 9th December, 1762, on the Preliminaries of the Peace of Paris; let us now see what can be learned from his attitude on one or two later questions.

When in 1769, after his long illness, Chatham returned to the House, he found that the American situation had greatly altered for the worse. It was not so much that anything had been done, as that feelings on both sides had become exasperated; the little rift had widened into a chasm. Power was falling, as often in time of discontent, into the hands of extremists. For the cry of "No taxation without representation," the colonists, in part at least, had substituted the more ominous watchword, "No legislation without representation." In many an American heart the desire for complete independence was beginning to grow conscious. In Great Britain too the feeling had grown bitter. American lawlessness had roused the spirit of Imperial domination, the spirit that brooks no doubt of its mastery. "America must fear you before she can love you," said Lord North in November, 1768, in the debate on the address, "I am against repealing the last Act of Parliament, securing to us a revenue out of America. I will never think of repealing it, till I see America prostrate at my feet." "We can grant nothing to the Americans," said in 1769 Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies, a new office created in 1768, "except what they may ask with a halter round their necks." "They are a race of convicts," said Dr. Johnson, "and ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short of hanging." Against this, which there can be little doubt was the dominant feeling in the nation, Pitt stood firm. He realised at once the importance to the Empire of the American colonies, and their uselessness if kept by force. All through these years, his great desire was to get back to the days before 1763, when things were running smoothly; to repeal the obnoxious Acts; to get time for deliberation; and then calmly and quietly to make such arrangements between loving mother and dutiful daughter as should seem best. Unlike most of the Whigs, he makes no attempt to palliate the lawless-