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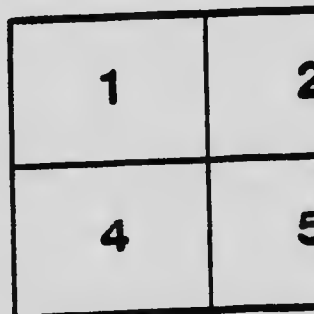
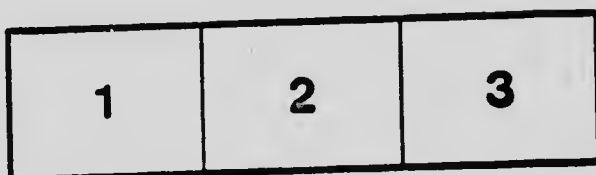
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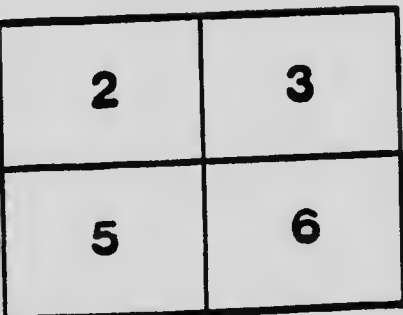
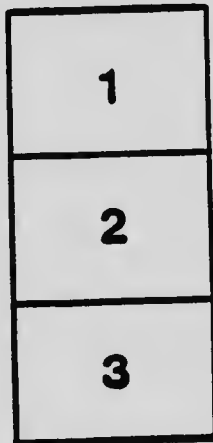
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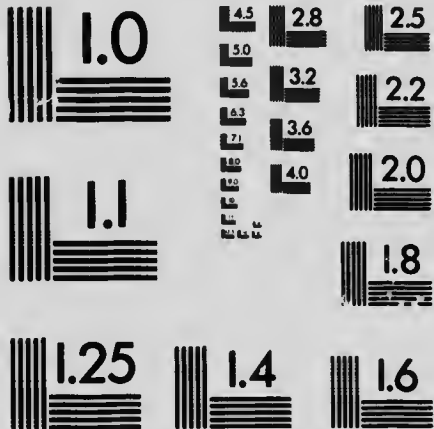
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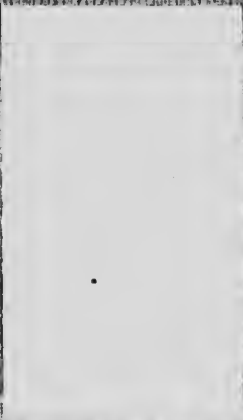


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MACAULAY'S ESSAY  
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WILLIAM PITT  
EARL OF CHATHAM

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# MACAULAY'S ESSAY ON WILLIAM PITT

## INTRODUCTION

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY, the eldest son of Zachary Macaulay, was the descendant of a long line of stern Scotsmen of honest and fiery patriotism, and of the Whig party in politics. Zachary Macaulay belonged to the famous Clapham sect of philanthropists, chief of whom was Wilberforce, strenuous opponents of the slave traffic and arduous workers for improved conditions of living for the negroes in Africa and America.

At the time of Macaulay's birth, in 1800, his parents were staying at Rothley Temple in Leicestershire, but his early years were spent at a house in Clapham High Street, where he grew into an affectionate and manly boy, not given to active sports, but endowed with a passion for reading and with a splendid memory. At the age of seven years he had written a universal history and three cantos of a poem in the manner of Scott on the Battle of Cheviot. In 1812 he was sent to Mr. Preston's private school at Little Shelford, a when the school moved to Aspenden in Hertfordshire he went with it. Of a generous and sincere disposition, with conversational powers that manifested themselves even in early youth, he was a favourite wherever he went. He graduated in mathematics at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1822, having gained various distinctions and established a reputation as a clever debater and fluent writer in non-mathematical fields. He was made a fellow of Trinity in 1824, and left Cambridge intending to enter politics, but owing to the failure of his father's firm he was obliged to prepare himself for lucrative work, studied law, and became a barrister in 1826.

But already, in 1825, Macaulay had begun that connection with the *Edinburgh Review* which was to bring him fame and

popularity. His first essay on Milton was widely read and admired, and London society opened its doors to the young writer. At last, in 1830, with the help of Lord Lansdowne, Macaulay entered Parliament for the pocket-borough of Calne. This was at the time when the famous Reform Bill, which was to alter the basis of parliamentary representation, was under discussion. In 1832 a Parliament on a new basis had to be elected and Macaulay was returned for Leeds, at the same time being put into office as secretary of the Board of Control. He had established a reputation as a speaker in his maiden speech on the Jewish Disabilities' Bill, and whenever afterwards he gave notice of a speech, the House rapidly filled to hear him. A critic of the time writes on his manner of speaking, "In all probability it was that fulness of mind which broke out in many departments that constituted him a born orator. Vehemence of thought, vehemence of language, vehemence of manner were his chief characteristics. The listener might almost fancy he heard ideas and words gurgling in the speaker's throat for priority of utterance. . . . He plunged at once into the heart of the matter and continued his loud resounding pace from beginning to end."

Macaulay was a strenuous politician on the Whig side, always generous to his opponents and never knowingly unjust. He was not a great reader of character nor did he trouble to follow the subtleties of men's minds. Never doubting the rightness of his own opinions, he was apt to be superficial in his judgments, and his wealth of illustration in conversation and oratory was due rather to wide reading than to deep reflection. His views were those of the majority of the people of his time, and possibly to this is due his great contemporary popularity.

In 1834 Macaulay sailed for India as a member of the Supreme Council. With him went his sister Hannah, for whom he had a great affection, as for all his family. This appointment was welcome to him, chiefly because from his large salary he would be able to save enough to support himself and his sisters, and so have leisure and freedom from monetary difficulties to pursue his literary work. While in India he helped to forward a scheme for the education of the natives in the English language and literature, and with other eminent lawyers drew up a penal code adapted especially to Indian manners and morals. In 1838 he returned to

England, and in the same year set out on a tour in Italy which bore fruit in the *Lays of Ancient Rome*, poems which he considered equal to any that had lately been published. The classics of ancient Greece and Rome always had a powerful interest for Macaulay, and as he went through Italy he lived over again the scenes of ancient history. "My journey lay over the field of Thrasymenus, and as soon as the sun rose I read Livy's description of the scene. . . . I was exactly in the situation of the Consul Flaminius; completely hid in the morning fog. I did not discern the lake till the road came quite close to it, and then my view extended only over a few yards of reedy mud and shallow water, so that I can truly say that I have seen precisely what the Roman army saw on that day. . . ." And again: "I saw Mount Soracte, and, unlike Lord Byron, I loved the sight for Horace's sake."

In 1839 Macaulay was elected member for Edinburgh. He had begun his *History of England from the reign of James II.*, he was writing frequent articles for the *Edinburgh Review*, and from 1839-1841 was Secretary for War. His life was a happy and busy one, spent at his rooms at the Albany, at the House of Commons, and with his many friends. In 1842 he published the *Lays of Ancient Rome*, and in the following year his *Collected Essays* from the *Edinburgh Review*. In 1846 he became Paymaster-General, a lucrative and not over-worked appointment, in the government of Lord John Russell; but he was defeated in the Edinburgh elections in 1847, and was able to retire from public life and devote all his time to his *History*. He visited all the scenes of events in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and was able to fill his descriptions with local colour; he read widely pamphlets and records of the time until he lived in the past rather than in the present, in the governments of William III. rather than those of Queen Victoria.

In 1852 he was re-elected for Edinburgh but refused a seat in the government, and owing to a serious illness in that year was unable to speak often in Parliament. Public duties became more onerous and difficult; he felt that his only course was to retire from politics, and gave up his seat in 1856. At the same time he took a house, Holly Lodge at Campden Hill, where he tried to interest himself in gardening and domestic matters, and where his friends collected round him, never failing to enjoy his lively talk and his interesting

library. He was made Baron Macaulay of Rothley in 1857, and received amongst other honours the Prussian Order of Merit. Two volumes of his *History* had been published in 1848, and two in 1855. He was engaged on the fifth volume when he died in 1859.

Macaulay's works were more immediately popular than those of any serious writer have ever been. It was his wish that his *History* should replace the latest novels on young ladies' tables. The later volumes were awaited with great eagerness, and the whole translated into French and German, and later into most European and some Oriental languages. He had a genius for narration, a sense of colour in description, and a feeling for action and movement rather than for meditation and reflection. Images from poets of all ages, characters from plays and novels, historical figures of ancient and modern times, as Lord Morley says, "throng Macaulay's pages with the bustle and variety and animation of some glittering masque and cosmoramic revel of great books and heroic men." His influence on style was great but not altogether beneficial, his faults were easier to copy than his virtues, and would-be imitators, of whom there were many, were wont to write in a journalistic style of not the highest type. It was the style of "great literary knowledge," not the style of mellow and deep reflection; his meaning was never obscure, but there is a certain over-bearingness of language, evidence of a too great confidence in the rightness of his opinion; there is no large breadth of sympathy; and though his opinions are always honest and sincere, they are limited in judgment and without real depth; as a famous writer says, his "prose is not like a flowing vestment to his thought, but like a suit of armour."

Macaulay was a strong man, an honest and upright politician, a skilful narrator, and a friend, often too generous, to those writers who were less fortunate than himself. He was worthy of the honour of a tomb in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey, an honour which he would have appreciated had he known it was to be his.

## WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM

(January 1834)

*A History of the Right Honourable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, containing his Speeches in Parliament, a considerable Portion of his Correspondence when Secretary of State, upon French, Spanish, and American Affairs, never before published; and an Account of the principal Events and Persons of his Time, connected with his Life, Sentiments, and Administration.* By the Rev. FRANCIS THACKERAY, A.M. 2 Vols. 4to. London: 1827.

THOUGH several years have elapsed since the publication of this work, it is still, we believe, a new publication to most of our readers. Nor are we surprised at this. The book is large, and the style heavy. The information which Mr. Thackeray has obtained from the State Paper Office is new; but much of it is very uninteresting. The rest of his narrative is very little better than Gifford's or Tomline's Life of the second Pitt, and tells us little or nothing that may not be found quite as well told in the *Parliamentary History*, the *Annual Register*, and other works equally common.

Almost every mechanical employment, it is said, has a tendency to injure some one or other of the bodily organs of the artisan. Grinders of cutlery die of consumption; weavers are stunted in their growth; smiths become blear-eyed. In the same manner almost every intellectual employment has a tendency to produce some intellectual malady. Biographers, translators, editors, all, in short, who employ themselves in illustrating the lives or the writings of others, are peculiarly exposed to the *Lues Boswelliana*, or disease of admiration. But we scarcely remember ever to have seen a patient so far gone in this distemper as Mr. Thackeray. He is not satisfied with forcing us to confess that Pitt was a great orator, a vigorous minister, an honourable and high-spirited gentleman. He will have it that all virtues and all accomplishments met in his hero. In spite of Gods, men, and columns, Pitt must be a poet, a poet capable of producing a heroic poem of the first order; and we are assured that we ought to find many charms in such lines as these:—

"Midst all the tumults of the warring sphere,  
My light-charged bark may haply *glide* ;  
Some gale may waft, some conscious thought shall cheer,  
And the small freight unanxious *glide*."<sup>1</sup>

Pitt was in the army for a few months in time of peace. Mr. Thackeray accordingly insists on our confessing that, if the young cornet had remained in the service, he would have been one of the ablest commanders that ever lived. But this is not all. Pitt, it seems, was not merely a great poet, *in esse*, and a great general *in posse*, but a finished example of moral excellence, the just man made perfect. He was in the right when he attempted to establish an inquisition, and to give bounties for perjury, in order to get Walpole's head. He was in the right when he declared Walpole to have been an excellent minister. He was in the right when, being in opposition, he maintained that no peace ought to be made with Spain, till she should formally renounce the right of search. He was in the right when, being in office, he silently acquiesced in a treaty by which Spain did not renounce the right of search. When he left the Duke of Newcastle, when he coalesced with the Duke of Newcastle, when he thundered against subsidies, when he lavished subsidies with unexampled profusion, when he execrated the Hanoverian connection, when he declared that Hanover ought to be as dear to us as Hampshire, he was still invariably speaking the language of a virtuous and enlightened statesman.

The truth is that there scarcely ever lived a person who had so little claim to this sort of praise as Pitt. He was undoubtedly a great man. But his was not a complete and well-proportioned greatness. The public life of Hampden or of Somers resembles a regular drama, which can be criticised as a whole, and every scene of which is to be viewed in connection with the main action. The public life of Pitt, on the other hand, is a rude though striking piece, a piece abounding in incongruities, a piece without any unity of plan, but redeemed by some noble passages, the effect of which is increased by the tameness or extravagance of what precedes and of what follows. His opinions were unfixed. His conduct at some of the most important conjunctures of his life was evidently determined by pride and resentment. He had one fault, which of all human faults is most rarely found in company with true greatness. He was extremely affected. He was an almost solitary

<sup>1</sup> The quotation is faithfully made from Mr. Thackeray. Perhaps Pitt wrote *guide* in the fourth line.



instance of a man of real genius, and of a brave, lofty, and commanding spirit, without simplicity of character. He was an actor in the Closet, an actor at Council, an actor in Parliament; and even in private society he could not lay aside his theatrical tones and attitudes. We know that one of the most distinguished of his partisans often complained that he could never obtain admittance to Lord Chatham's room till everything was ready for the representation, till the dresses and properties were all correctly disposed, till the light was thrown with Rembrandt-like effect on the head of the illustrious performer, till the flannels had been arranged with the air of a Grecian drapery, and the crutch placed as gracefully as that of Belisarius or Lear.

Yet, with all his faults and affectations, Pitt had, in a very extraordinary degree, many of the elements of greatness. He had genius, strong passions, quick sensibility, and vehement enthusiasm for the grand and the beautiful. There was something about him which ennobled conversation itself. He often went wrong, very wrong. But, to quote the language of Wordsworth,

" He still retained,  
'Mid such abasement, what he had received  
From nature, an intense and glowing mind."

In an age of low and dirty prostitution, in the age of Dodington and Sandys, it was something to have a man who might perhaps, under some strong excitement, have been tempted to ruin his country, but who never would have stooped to pilfer from her, a man whose errors arose, not from a sordid desire of gain, but from a fierce thirst for power, for glory, and for vengeance. History owes to him this attestation, that at a time when anything short of direct embezzlement of the public money was considered as quite fair in public men, he showed the most scrupulous disinterestedness; that, at a time when it seemed to be generally taken for granted that Government could be upheld only by the basest and most immoral arts, he appealed to the better and nobler parts of human nature; that he made a brave and splendid attempt to do, by means of public opinion, what no other statesman of his day thought it possible to do, except by means of corruption; that he looked for support, not, like the Pelhams, to a strong aristocratical connection, not, like Bute, to the personal favour of the sovereign, but to the middle class of Englishmen; that he inspired that class with a firm confidence in his integrity and

ability; that, backed by them, he forced an unwilling court and an unwilling oligarchy to admit him to an ample share of power; and that he used his power in such a manner as clearly proved him to have sought it, not for the sake of profit or patronage, but from a wish to establish for himself a great and durable reputation by means of eminent services rendered to the State.

The family of Pitt was wealthy and respectable. His grandfather was Governor of Madras, and brought back from India that celebrated diamond which the Regent Orleans, by the advice of Saint Simon, purchased for upwards of two millions of livres, and which is still considered as the most precious of the crown jewels of France. Governor Pitt bought estates and rotten boroughs, and sat in the House of Commons for Old Sarum. His son Robert was at one time member for Old Sarum, and at another for Oakhampton. Robert had two sons. Thomas, the elder, inherited the estates and the parliamentary interest of his father. The second was the celebrated William Pitt.

He was born in November, 1708. About the early part of his life little more is known than that he was educated at Eton, and that at seventeen he was entered at Trinity College, Oxford. During the second year of his residence at the University, George the First died; and the event was, after the fashion of that generation, celebrated by the Oxonians in many middling copies of verses. On this occasion Pitt published some Latin lines, which Mr. Thackeray has preserved. They prove that the young student had but a very limited knowledge even of the mechanical part of his art. All true Etonians will hear with concern that their illustrious school-fellow is guilty of making the first syllable in *labanti* short.<sup>1</sup> The matter of the poem is as worthless as that of any college exercise that was ever written before or since. There is, of course, much about Mars, Themis, Neptune, and Cocytus. The Muses are earnestly entreated to weep over the urn of Cæsar; for Cæsar, says the Poet, loved the Muses; Cæsar, who could not read a line of Pope, and who loved nothing but punch and fat women.

Pitt had been, from his school-days, cruelly tormented by the gout, and was advised to travel for his health. He accordingly left Oxford without taking a degree, and visited France

<sup>1</sup> So Mr. Thackeray has printed the poem. But it may be charitably hoped that Pitt wrote *labanti*.

and Italy. He returned, however, without having received much benefit from his excursion, and continued, till the close of his life, to suffer most severely from his constitutional malady.

His father was now dead, and had left very little to the younger children. It was necessary that William should choose a profession. He decided for the army, and a cornet's commission was procured for him in the Blues.

But, small as his fortune was, his family had both the power and the inclination to serve him. At the general election of 1734, his elder brother Thomas was chosen both for Old Sarum and for Oakhampton. When Parliament met in 1735, Thomas made his election to serve for Oakhampton, and William was returned for Old Sarum.

Walpole had now been, during fourteen years, at the head of affairs. He had risen to power under the most favourable circumstances. The whole of the Whig party, of that party which professed peculiar attachment to the principles of the Revolution, and which exclusively enjoyed the confidence of the reigning house, had been united in support of his administration. Happily for him, he had been out of office when the South-Sea Act was passed; and, though he does not appear to have foreseen all the consequences of that measure, he had strenuously opposed it, as he had opposed all the measures, good and bad, of Sutherland's administration. When the South-Sea Company were voting dividends of fifty per cent., when a hundred pounds of their stock were selling for eleven hundred pounds, when Threadneedle Street was daily crowded with the coaches of dukes and prelates, when divines and philosophers turned gamblers, when a thousand kindred bubbles were daily blown into existence, the periwig-company, and the Spanish-jackass-company, and the quicksilver-fixation-company, Walpole's calm good sense preserved him from the general infatuation. He condemned the prevailing madness in public, and turned a considerable sum by taking advantage of it in private. When the crash came, when ten thousand families were reduced to beggary in a day, when the people, in the frenzy of their rage and despair, clamoured, not only against the lower agents in the juggle, but against the Hanoverian favourites, against the English ministers, against the King himself, when Parliament met, eager for confiscation and blood, when members of the House of Commons proposed that the directors should be treated like

parricides in ancient Rome, tied up in sacks, and thrown into the Thames, Walpole was the man on whom all parties turned their eyes. Four years before he had been driven from power by the intrigues of Sunderland and Stanhope; and the lead in the House of Commons had been intrusted to Craggs and Aislabe. Stanhope was no more. Aislabe was expelled from Parliament on account of his disgraceful conduct regarding the South-Sea scheme. Craggs was perhaps saved by a timely death from a similar mark of infamy. A large minority in the House of Commons voted for a severe censure on Sunderland, who, finding it impossible to withstand the force of the prevailing sentiment, retired from office, and outlived his retirement but a very short time. The schism which had divided the Whig party was now completely healed. Walpole had no opposition to encounter except that of the Tories; and the Tories were naturally regarded by the King with the strongest suspicion and dislike.

For a time business went on with a smoothness and a despatch such as had not been known since the days of the Tudors. During the session of 1724, for example, there was hardly a single division except on private bills. It is not impossible that, by taking the course which Pelham afterwards took, by admitting into the Government all the rising talents and ambition of the Whig party, and by making room here and there for a Tory not unfriendly to the House of Brunswick, Walpole might have averted the tremendous conflict in which he passed the later years of his administration, and in which he was at length vanquished. The Opposition which overthrew him was an opposition created by his own policy, by his own insatiable love of power.

In the very act of forming his Ministry he turned one of the ablest and most attached of his supporters into a deadly enemy. Pulteney had strong public and private claims to a high situation in the new arrangement. His fortune was immense. His private character was respectable. He was already a distinguished speaker. He had acquired official experience in an important post. He had been, through all changes of fortune, a consistent Whig. When the Whig party was split into two sections, Pulteney had resigned a valuable place, and had followed the fortunes of Walpole. Yet, when Walpole returned to power, Pulteney was not invited to take office. An angry discussion took place between the friends. The Ministry offered a peerage. It was impossible for Pulteney

not to discern the motive of such an offer. He indignantly refused to accept it. For some time he continued to brood over his wrongs, and to watch for an opportunity of revenge. As soon as a favourable conjuncture arrived he joined the minority, and became the greatest leader of Opposition that the House of Commons had ever seen.

Of all the members of the Cabinet Carteret was the most eloquent and accomplished. His talents for debate were of the first order; his knowledge of foreign affairs was superior to that of any living statesman; his attachment to the Protestant succession was undoubted. But there was not room in one Government for him and Walpole. Carteret retired, and was from that time forward one of the most persevering and formidable enemies of his old colleague.

If there was any man with whom Walpole could have consented to make a partition of power, that man was Lord Townshend. They were distant kinsmen by birth, near kinsmen by marriage. They had been friends from childhood. They had been schoolfellows at Eton. They were country neighbours in Norfolk. They had been in office together under Godolphin. They had gone into opposition together when Harley rose to power. They had been persecuted by the same House of Commons. They had, after the death of Anne, been recalled together to office. They had again been driven out together by Sunderland, and had again come back together when the influence of Sunderland had declined. Their opinions on public affairs almost always coincided. They were both men of frank, generous, and compassionate natures. Their intercourse had been for many years affectionate and cordial. But the ties of blood, of marriage, and of friendship, the memory of mutual services, the memory of common triumphs and common disasters, were insufficient to restrain that ambition which domineered over all the virtues and vices of Walpole. He was resolved, to use his own metaphor, that the firm of the house should be, not Townshend and Walpole, but Walpole and Townshend. At length the rivals proceeded to personal abuse before a large company, seized each other by the collar, and grasped their swords. The women squalled. The men parted the combatants. By friendly intervention the scandal of a duel between cousins, brothers-in-law, old friends, and old colleagues, was prevented. But the disputants could not long continue to act together. Townshend retired, and, with rare moderation and public

spirit, refused to take any part in politics. He could not, he said, trust his temper. He feared that the recollection of his private wrongs might impel him to follow the example of Pulteney, and to oppose measures which he thought generally beneficial to the country. He therefore never visited London after his resignation, but passed the closing years of his life in dignity and repose among his trees and pictures at Rainham.

Next went Chesterfield. He too was a Whig and a friend of the Protestant succession. He was an orator, a courtier, a wit, and a man of letters. He was at the head of *ton* in days when, in order to be at the head of *ton*, it was not sufficient to be dull and supercilious. It was evident that he submitted impatiently to the ascendancy of Walpole. He murmured against the Excise Bill. His brothers voted against it in the House of Commons. The Minister acted with characteristic caution and characteristic energy; caution in the conduct of public affairs; energy where his own supremacy was concerned. He withdrew his Bill, and turned out all his hostile or wavering colleagues. Chesterfield was stopped on the great staircase of St. James's, and summoned to deliver up the staff which he bore as Lord Steward of the Household. A crowd of noble and powerful functionaries, the Dukes of Montrose and Bolton, Lord Burlington, Lord Stair, Lord Cobham, Lord Marchmont, Lord Clinton, were at the same time dismissed from the service of the Crown.

Not long after these events the Opposition was reinforced by the Duke of Argyle, a man vainglorious indeed and fickle, but brave, eloquent and popular. It was in a great measure owing to his exertions that the Act of Settlement had been peaceably carried into effect in England immediately after the death of Anne, and that the Jacobite rebellion which, during the following year, broke out in Scotland, had been suppressed. He too carried over to the minority the aid of his great name, his talents, and his paramount influence in his native country.

In each of these cases taken separately, a skilful defender of Walpole might perhaps make out a case for him. But when we see that during a long course of years all the footsteps are turned the same way, that all the most eminent of those public men who agreed with the Minister in their general views of policy left him, one after another, with sore and irritated minds, we find it impossible not to believe that the real explanation of the phenomenon is to be found in the words of his son, "Sir Robert Walpole loved power so much that he

would not endure a rival." Hume has described this famous minister with great felicity in one short sentence,—“ moderate in exercising power, not equitable in engrossing it.” Kind-hearted, jovial, and placable as Walpole was, he was yet a man with whom no person of high pretensions and high spirit could long continue to act. He had, therefore, to stand against an Opposition containing all the most accomplished statesmen of the age, with no better support than that which he received from persons like his brother Horace or Henry Pelham, whose industrious mediocrity gave no cause for jealousy, or from clever adventurers, whose situation and character diminished the dread which their talents might have inspired. To this last class belonged Fox, who was too poor to live without office; Sir William Yonge, of whom Walpole himself said, that nothing but such parts could buoy up such a character, and that nothing but such a character could drag down such parts; and Winnington, whose private morals lay, justly or unjustly, under imputations of the worst kind.

The discontented Whigs were, not perhaps in number, but certainly in ability, experience, and weight, by far the most important part of the Opposition. The Tories furnished little more than rows of ponderous foxhunters, fat with Staffordshire or Devonshire ale, men who drank to the King over the water, and believed that all the fundholders were Jews, men whose religion consisted in hating the Dissenters, and whose political researches had led them to fear, like Squire Western, that their land might be sent over to Hanover to be put in the sinking-fund. The eloquence of these zealous squires, and remnant of the once formidable October Club, seldom went beyond a hearty Aye or No. Very few members of this party had distinguished themselves much in Parliament, or could, under any circumstances, have been called to fill any high office; and those who had generally, like Sir William Wyndham, learned in the company of their new associates the doctrines of toleration and political liberty, and might indeed with strict propriety be called Whigs.

It was to the Whigs in Opposition, the Patriots, as they were called, that the most distinguished of the English youth who at this season entered into public life attached themselves. These inexperienced politicians felt all the enthusiasm which the name of liberty naturally excites in young and ardent minds. They conceived that the theory of the Tory Opposition and the practice of Walpole's Government were



alike inconsistent with the principles of liberty. They accordingly repaired to the standard which Pulteney had set up. While opposing the Whig minister, they professed a firm adherence to the purest doctrines of Whiggism. He was the schismatic; they were the true Catholics, the peculiar people, the depositaries of the orthodox faith of Hampden and Russell, the one sect which, amidst the corruptions generated by time and by the long possession of power, had preserved inviolate the principles of the Revolution. Of the young men who attached themselves to this portion of the Opposition the most distinguished were Lyttelton and Pitt.

When Pitt entered Parliament, the whole political world was attentively watching the progress of an event which soon added great strength to the Opposition, and particularly to that section of the Opposition in which the young statesman enrolled himself. The Prince of Wales was gradually becoming more and more estranged from his father and his father's ministers, and more and more friendly to the Patriots.

Nothing is more natural than that, in a monarchy where a constitutional Opposition exists, the heir-apparent of the throne should put himself at the head of that Opposition. He is impelled to such a course by every feeling of ambition and of vanity. He cannot be more than second in the estimation of the party which is in. He is sure to be the first member of the party which is out. The highest favour which the existing administration can expect from him is that he will not discard them. But, if he joins the Opposition, all his associates expect that he will promote them; and the feelings which men entertain towards one from whom they hope to obtain great advantages which they have not are far warmer than the feelings with which they regard one who, at the very utmost, can only leave them in possession of what they already have. An heir-apparent, therefore, who wishes to enjoy, in the highest perfection, all the pleasure that can be derived from eloquent flattery and profound respect, will always join those who are struggling to force themselves into power. This is, we believe, the true explanation of a fact which Lord Granville attributed to some natural peculiarity in the illustrious House of Brunswick. "This family," said he at Council, we suppose after his daily half-gallon of Burgundy, "always has quarrelled, and always will quarrel, from generation to generation." He should have known something of the matter; for he had been a favourite with three succes-



sive generations of the royal house. We cannot quite admit his explanation; but the fact is indisputable. Since the accession of George the First, there have been four Princes of Wales, and they have all been almost constantly in Opposition.

Whatever might have been the motives which induced Prince Frederick to join the party opposed to the Government, his support infused into many members of that party a courage and an energy of which they stood greatly in need. Hitherto it had been impossible for the discontented Whigs not to feel some misgivings when they found themselves dividing night after night, with uncompromising Jacobites who were known to be in constant communication with the exiled family, or with Tories who had impeached Somers, who had murmured against Harley and St. John as too remiss in the cause of the Church and the landed interest, and who, if they were not inclined to attack the reigning family, yet considered the introduction of that family as, at best, only the least of two great evils, as a necessary but painful and humiliating preservative against Popery. The Minister might plausibly say that Pulteney and Carteret, in the hope of gratifying their own appetite for office and for revenge, did not scruple to serve the purposes of a faction hostile to the Protestant succession. The appearance of Frederick as the head of the Patriots silenced this reproach. The leaders of the Opposition might now boast that their course was sanctioned by a person as deeply interested as the King himself in maintaining the Act of Settlement, and that, instead of serving the purposes of the Tory party, they had brought that party over to the side of Whiggism. It must indeed be admitted that, though both the King and the Prince behaved in a manner little to their honour, though the father acted harshly, the son disrespectfully, and both childishly, the royal family was rather strengthened than weakened by the disagreement of its two most distinguished members. A large class of politicians, who had considered themselves as placed under sentence of perpetual exclusion from office, and who, in their despair, had been almost ready to join in a counter-revolution as the only mode of removing the proscription under which they lay, now saw with pleasure an easier and safer road to power opening before them, and thought it far better to wait till, in the natural course of things, the Crown should descend to the heir of the House of

Brunswick, than to risk their lands and their necks in a rising for the House of Stuart. The situation of the royal family resembled the situation of those Scotch families in which father and son took opposite sides during the rebellion, in order that, come what might, the estate might not be forfeited.

In April 1736, Frederick was married to the Princess of Saxe Gotha, with whom he afterwards lived on terms very similar to those on which his father had lived with Queen Caroline. The Prince adored his wife, and thought her in mind and person the most attractive of her sex. But he thought that conjugal fidelity was an unprincely virtue; and, in order to be like Henry the Fourth, and the Regent Orleans, he affected a libertinism for which he had no taste, and frequently quitted the only woman whom he loved for ugly and disagreeable mistresses.

The address which the House of Commons presented to the King on the occasion of the Prince's marriage was moved, not by the Minister, but by Pulteney, the leader of the Whigs in Opposition. It was on this motion that Pitt, who had not broken silence during the session in which he took his seat, addressed the House for the first time. "A contemporary historian," says Mr. Thackeray, "describes Mr. Pitt's first speech as superior even to the models of ancient eloquence. According to Tindal, it was more ornamented than the speeches of Demosthenes, and less diffuse than those of Cicero." This unmeaning phrase has been a hundred times quoted. That it should ever have been quoted, except to be laughed at, is strange. The vogue which it has obtained may serve to show in how slovenly a way most people are content to think. Did Tindal, who first used it, or Archdeacon Coxe and Mr. Thackeray, who have borrowed it, ever in their lives hear any speaking which did not deserve the same compliment? Did they ever hear speaking less ornamented than that of Demosthenes, or more diffuse than that of Cicero? We know no living orator, from Lord Brougham down to Mr. Hunt, who is not entitled to the same eulogy. It would be no very flattering compliment to a man's figure to say, that he was taller than the Polish Count, and shorter than Giant O'Brien, fatter than the *Anatomie Vivante*, and more slender than Daniel Lambert.

Pitt's speech, as it is reported in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, certainly deserves Tindal's compliment, and deserves no other. It is just as empty and wordy as a maiden speech on

such an occasion might be expected to be. But the fluency and the personal advantages of the young orator instantly caught the ear and eye of his audience. He was, from the day of his first appearance, always heard with attention; and exercise soon developed the great powers which he possessed.

In our time, the audience of a member of Parliament is the nation. The three or four hundred persons who may be present while a speech is delivered may be pleased or disgusted by the voice and action of the orator; but, in the reports which are read the next day by hundreds of thousands, the difference between the noblest and the meanest figure, between the richest and the shrillest tones, between the most graceful and the most uncouth gesture, altogether vanishes. A hundred years ago, scarcely any report of what passed within the walls of the House of Commons was suffered to get abroad. In those times, therefore, the impression which a speaker might make on the persons who actually heard him was everything. His fame out of doors depended entirely on the report of those who were within the doors. In the Parliaments of that time, therefore, as in the ancient commonwealths, those qualifications which enhance the immediate effect of a speech, were far more important ingredients in the composition of an orator than at present. All those qualifications Pitt possessed in the highest degree. On the stage, he would have been the finest Brutus or Coriolanus ever seen. Those who saw him in his decay, when his health was broken, when his mind was untuned, when he had been removed from that stormy assembly of which he thoroughly knew the temper, and over which he possessed unbounded influence, to a small, a torpid, and an unfriendly audience, say that his speaking was then, for the most part, a low, monotonous muttering, audible only to those who sat close to him, that when violently excited, he sometimes raised his voice for a few minutes, but that it sank again into an unintelligible murmur. Such was the Earl of Chatham, but such was not William Pitt. His figure, when he first appeared in Parliament, was strikingly graceful and commanding, his features high and noble, his eye full of fire. His voice, even when it sank to a whisper, was heard to the remotest benches; and when he strained it to its full extent, the sound rose like the swell of the organ of a great Cathedral, shook the house with its peal, and was heard through lobbies and down staircases to the Court of Requests and the precincts of Westminster

Hall. He cultivated all these eminent advantages with the most assiduous care. His action is described by a very malignant observer as equal to that of Garrick. His play of countenance was wonderful: he frequently disconcerted a hostile orator by a single glance of indignation or scorn. Every tone, from the impassioned cry to the thrilling aside, was perfectly at his command. It is by no means improbable that the pains which he took to improve his great personal advantages had, in some respects, a prejudicial operation, and tended to nourish in him that passion for theatrical effect which, as we have already remarked, was one of the most conspicuous blemishes in his character.

But it was not solely or principally to outward accomplishments that Pitt owed the vast influence which, during nearly thirty years, he exercised over the House of Commons. He was undoubtedly a great orator; and, from the descriptions given by his contemporaries, and the fragments of his speeches which still remain, it is not difficult to discover the nature and extent of his oratorical powers.

He was no speaker of set speeches. His few prepared discourses were complete failures. The elaborate panegyric which he pronounced on General Wolfe was considered as the very worst of all his performances. "No man," says a critic who had often heard him, "ever knew so little what he was going to say." Indeed, his facility amounted to a vice. He was not the master, but the slave of his own speech. So little self-command had he when once he felt the impulse, that he did not like to take part in a debate when his mind was full of an important secret of state. "I must sit still," he once said to Lord Shelburne on such an occasion; "for, when once I am up, everything that is in my mind comes out."

Yet he was not a great debater. That he should not have been so when first he entered the House of Commons is not strange. Scarcely any person has ever become so without long practice and many failures. It was by slow degrees, as Burke said, that Charles Fox became the most brilliant and powerful debater that ever lived. Charles Fox himself attributed his own success to the resolution which he formed when very young, of speaking, well or ill, at least once every night. "During five whole sessions," he used to say, "I spoke every night but one; and I regret only that I did not speak on that night too." Indeed, with the exception of Mr. Stanley, whose knowledge of the science of parliamentary defence

resembles an instinct, it would be difficult to name any eminent debater who has not made himself a master of his art at the expense of his audience.

But, as this art is one which even the ablest men have seldom acquired without long practice, so it is one which men of respectable abilities, with assiduous and intrepid practice, seldom fail to acquire. It is singular that, in such an art, Pitt, a man of great parts, of great fluency, of great boldness, a man whose whole life was passed in parliamentary conflict, a man who, during several years, was the leading minister of the Crown in the House of Commons, should never have attained to high excellence. He spoke without premeditation; but his speech followed the course of his own thoughts, and not the course of the previous discussion. He could, indeed, treasure up in his memory some detached expression of an opponent, and make it the text for lively ridicule or solemn reprehension. Some of the most celebrated bursts of his eloquence were called forth by an unguarded word, a laugh, or a cheer. But this was the only sort of reply in which he appears to have excelled. He was perhaps the only great English orator who did not think it any advantage to have the last word, and who generally spoke by choice before his most formidable antagonists. His merit was almost entirely rhetorical. He did not succeed either in exposition or in refutation; but his speeches abounded with lively illustration, striking apophthegms, well-told anecdotes, happy allusions, passionate appeals. His invective and sarcasm were terrific. Perhaps no English orator was ever so much feared.

But that which gave most effect to his declamation was the air of sincerity, of vehement feeling, of moral elevation, which belonged to all that he said. His style was not always in the purest taste. Several contemporary judges pronounced it too florid. Walpole, in the midst of the rapturous eulogy which he pronounces on one of Pitt's greatest orations, owns that some of the metaphors were too forced. Some of Pitt's quotations and classical stories are too trite for a clever school-boy. But these were niceties for which the audience cared little. The enthusiasm of the orator infected all who heard him; his ardour and his noble bearing put fire into the most frigid conceit, and gave dignity to the most puerile allusion.

His powers soon began to give annoyance to the Government; and Walpole determined to make an example of the patriotic cornet. Pitt was accordingly dismissed from the

service. Mr. Thackeray says that the Minister took this step, because he plainly saw that it would have been vain to think of buying over so honourable and disinterested an opponent. We do not dispute Pitt's integrity; but we do not know what proof he had given of it when he was turned out of the army; and we are sure that Walpole was not likely to give credit for inflexible honesty to a young adventurer who had never had an opportunity of refusing anything. The truth is, that it was not Walpole's practice to buy off enemies. Mr. Burke truly says, in the *Appeal to the Old Whigs*, that Walpole gained very few over from the Opposition. Indeed that great minister knew his business far too well. He knew that, for one mouth which is stopped with a place, fifty other mouths will be instantly opened. He knew that it would have been very bad policy in him to give the world to understand that more was to be got by thwarting his measures than by supporting them. These maxims are as old as the origin of parliamentary corruption in England. Pepys learned them, as he tells us, from the counsellors of Charles the Second.

Pitt was no loser. He was made Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, and continued to declaim against the ministers with unabated violence and with increasing ability. The question of maritime right, then agitated between Spain and England, called forth all his powers. He clamoured for war with a vehemence which it is not easy to reconcile with reason or humanity, but which appears to Mr. Thackeray worthy of the highest admiration. "We will not stop to argue a point on which we had long thought that all well-informed people were agreed. We could easily show, we think, that, if any respect be due to international law, if right, where societies of men are concerned, be anything but another name for might, if we do not adopt the doctrine of the Buccaneers, which seems to be also the doctrine of Mr. Thackeray, that treaties mean nothing within thirty degrees of the line, the war with Spain was altogether unjustifiable. But the truth is, that the promoters of that war have saved the historian the trouble of trying them. They have pleaded guilty. "I have seen," says Burke, "and with some care examined, the original documents concerning certain important transactions of those times. They perfectly satisfied me of the extreme injustice of that war, and of the falsehood of the colours which Walpole, to his ruin, and guided by a mistaken policy, suffered to be daubed over that measure. Some years after,

it was my fortune to converse with many of the principal actors against that minister, and with those who principally excited that clamour. None of them, no, not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct. They condemned it as freely as they would have done in commenting upon any proceeding in history in which they were totally unconcerned." Pitt, on subsequent occasions, gave ample proof that he was one of these penitents. But his conduct, even where it appeared most criminal to himself, appears admirable to his biographer.

The elections of 1741 were unfavourable to Walpole; and after a long and obstinate struggle he found it necessary to resign. The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke opened a negotiation with the leading Patriots, in the hope of forming an administration on a Whig basis. At this conjuncture, Pitt and those persons who were most nearly connected with him acted in a manner very little to their honour. They attempted to come to an understanding with Walpole, and offered, if he would use his influence with the King in their favour, to screen him from prosecution. They even went so far as to engage for the concurrence of the Prince of Wales. But Walpole knew that the assistance of the Boys, as he called the young Patriots, would avail him nothing if Pulteney and Carteret should prove intractable, and would be superfluous if the great leaders of the Opposition could be gained. He, therefore, declined the proposal. It is remarkable that Mr. Thackeray, who has thought it worth while to preserve Pitt's bad college verses, has not even alluded to this story, a story which is supported by strong testimony, and which may be found in so common a book as Coxe's *Life of Walpole*.

The new arrangements disappointed almost every member of the Opposition, and none more than Pitt. He was not invited to become a place-man; and he therefore stuck firmly to his old trade of patriot. Fortunate it was for him that he did so. Had he taken office at this time, he would in all probability have shared largely in the unpopularity of Pulteney, Sandys, and Carteret. He was now the fiercest and most implacable of those who called for vengeance on Walpole. He spoke with great energy and ability in favour of the most unjust and violent propositions which the enemies of the fallen minister could invent. He urged the House of Commons to appoint a secret tribunal for the purpose of investigating the conduct of the late First Lord of the Treasury.



This was done. The great majority of the inquirers were notoriously hostile to the accused statesman. Yet they were compelled to own that they could find no fault in him. They therefore called for new powers, for a bill of indemnity to witnesses, or, in plain words, for a bill to reward all who might give evidence, true or false, against the Earl of Orford. This bill Pitt supported, Pitt, who had himself offered to be a screen between Lord Orford and public justice. These are melancholy facts. Mr. Thackeray omits them, or hurries over them as fast as he can; and, as eulogy is his business, he is in the right to do so. But, though there are many parts of the life of Pitt which it is more agreeable to contemplate, we know none more instructive. What must have been the general state of political morality, when a young man, considered, and justly considered, as the most public-spirited and spotless statesman of his time, could attempt to force his way into office by means so disgraceful!

The Bill of Indemnity was rejected by the Lords. Walpole withdrew himself quietly from the public eye; and the ample space which he had left vacant was soon occupied by Carteret. Against Carteret Pitt began to thunder with as much zeal as he had ever manifested against Sir Robert. To Carteret he transferred most of the hard names which were familiar to his eloquence, sole minister, wicked minister, odious minister, execrable minister. The chief topic of Pitt's invective was the favour shown to the German dominions of the House of Brunswick. He attacked with great violence, and with an ability which raised him to the very first rank among the parliamentary speakers, the practice of paying Hanoverian troops with English money. The House of Commons had lately lost some of its most distinguished ornaments. Walpole and Pulteney had accepted peerages; Sir William Wyndham was dead; and among the rising men none could be considered as, on the whole, a match for Pitt.

During the recess of 1744, the old Duchess of Marlborough died. She carried to her grave the reputation of being decidedly the best hater of her time. Yet her love had been infinitely more destructive than her hatred. More than thirty years before, her temper had ruined the party to which she belonged and the husband whom she adored. Time had made her neither wiser nor kinder. Whoever was at any moment great and prosperous was the object of her fiercest detestation. She had hated Walpole; she now hated Carteret.



Pope, long before her death, predicted the fate of her vast property.

“ To heirs unknown descends the unguarded store,  
Or wanders, heaven-directed, to the poor.”

Pitt was then one of the poor; and to him Heaven directed a portion of the wealth of the haughty Dowager. She left him a legacy of ten thousand pounds, in consideration of “ the noble defence he had made for the support of the laws of England, and to prevent the ruin of his country.”

The will was made in August. The Duchess died in October. In November Pitt was a courtier. The Pelhams had forced the King, much against his will, to part with Lord Carteret, who had now become Earl Granville. They proceeded, after this victory, to form the Government on that basis, called by the cant name of “ the broad bottom.” Lyttelton had a seat at the Treasury, and several other friends of Pitt were provided for. But Pitt himself was, for the present, forced to be content with promises. The King resented most highly some expressions which the ardent orator had used in the debate on the Hanoverian troops. But Newcastle and Pelham expressed the strongest confidence that time and their exertions would soften the royal displeasure.

Pitt, on his part, omitted nothing that might facilitate his admission to office. He resigned his place in the household of Prince Frederick, and, when Parliament met, exerted his eloquence in support of the Government. The Pelhams were really sincere in their endeavours to remove the strong prejudices which had taken root in the King's mind. They knew that Pitt was not a man to be deceived with ease or offended with impunity. They were afraid that they should not be long able to put him off with promises. Nor was it their interest so to put him off. There was a strong tie between him and them. He was the enemy of their enemy. The brothers hated and dreaded the eloquent, aspiring, and imperious Granville. They had traced his intrigues in many quarters. They knew his influence over the royal mind. They knew that, as soon as a favourable opportunity should arrive, he would be recalled to the head of affairs. They resolved to bring things to a crisis; and the question on which they took issue with their master was whether Pitt should or should not be admitted to office. They chose their time with more skill than generosity. It was when rebellion was actually raging in Britain, when the Pretender was master of the northern

extremity of the island, that they tendered their resignations. The King found himself deserted, in one day, by the whole strength of that party which had placed his family on the throne. Lord Granville tried to form a Government; but it soon appeared that the parliamentary interest of the Pelhams was irresistible, and that the King's favourite statesman could count only on about thirty Lords and eighty members of the House of Commons. The scheme was given up. Granville went away laughing. The ministers came back stronger than ever; and the King was now no longer able to refuse anything they that might be pleased to demand. He could only mutter that it was very hard that Newcastle, who was not fit to be chamberlain to the most insignificant prince in Germany, should dictate to the King of England.

One concession the ministers graciously made. They agreed that Pitt should not be placed in a situation in which it would be necessary for him to have frequent interviews with the King. Instead, therefore, of making their new ally Secretary at War as they had intended, they appointed him Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and in a few months promoted him to the office of Paymaster of the Forces.

This was, at that time, one of the most lucrative offices in the Government. The salary was but a small part of the emolument which the Paymaster derived from his place. He was allowed to keep a large sum, which, even in time of peace, was seldom less than one hundred thousand pounds, constantly in his hands; and the interest on this sum he might appropriate to his own use. This practice was not secret, nor was it considered as disreputable. It was the practice of men of undoubted honour, both before and after the time of Pitt. He, however, refused to accept one farthing beyond the salary which the law had annexed to his office. It had been usual for foreign princes who received the pay of England to give to the Paymaster of the Forces a small percentage on the subsidies. These ignominious veils Pitt resolutely declined.

Disinterestedness of this kind was, in his days, very rare. His conduct surprised and amused politicians. It excited the warmest admiration throughout the body of the people. In spite of the inconsistencies of which Pitt had been guilty, in spite of the strange contrast between his violence in Opposition and his tameness in office, he still possessed a large share of the public confidence. The motives which may lead a politician to change his connections or his general line of con-

duct are often obscure; but disinterestedness in pecuniary matters everybody can understand. Pitt was thenceforth considered as a man who was proof to all sordid temptations. If he acted ill, it might be from an error in judgment; it might be from resentment; it might be from ambition. But poor as he was, he had vindicated himself from all suspicion of covetousness.

Eight quiet years followed, eight years during which the minority, which had been feeble ever since Lord Granville had been overthrown, continued to dwindle till it became almost invisible. Peace was made with France and Spain in 1748. Prince Frederick died in 1751; and with him died the very semblance of opposition. All the most distinguished survivors of the party which had supported Walpole and of the party which had opposed him, were united under his successor. The fiery and vehement spirit of Pitt had for a time been laid to rest. He silently acquiesced in that very system of continental measures which he had lately condemned. He ceased to talk disrespectfully about Hanover. He did not object to the treaty with Spain, though that treaty left us exactly where we had been when he uttered his spirit-stirring harangues against the pacific policy of Walpole. Now and then glimpses of his former self appeared; but they were few and transient. Pelham knew with whom he had to deal, and felt that an ally, so little used to control, and so capable of inflicting injury, might well be indulged in an occasional fit of waywardness.

Two men, little, if at all, inferior to Pitt in powers of mind, held, like him, subordinate offices in the Government. One of these, Murray, was successively Solicitor-General and Attorney-General. This distinguished person far surpassed Pitt in correctness of taste, in power of reasoning, in depth and variety of knowledge. His parliamentary eloquence never blazed into sudden flashes of dazzling brilliancy; but its clear, placid, and mellow splendour was never for an instant overclouded. Intellectually he was, we believe, fully equal to Pitt; but he was deficient in the moral qualities to which Pitt owed most of his success. Murray wanted the energy, the courage, the all-grasping and all-risking ambition, which make men great in stirring times. His heart was a little cold, his temper cautious even to timidity, his manners decorous even to formality. He never exposed his fortunes or his fame to any risk which he could avoid. At one time he might, in all prob-

ability, have been Prime Minister. But the object of his wishes was the judicial bench. The situation of Chief Justice might not be so splendid as that of First Lord of the Treasury; but it was dignified; it was quiet; it was secure; and therefore it was the favourite situation of Murray.

Fox, the father of the great man whose mighty efforts in the cause of peace, of truth, and of liberty, have made that name immortal, was Secretary at War. He was a favourite with the King, with the Duke of Cumberland, and with some of the most powerful members of the great Whig connection. His parliamentary talents were of the highest order. As a speaker he was in almost all respects the very opposite to Pitt. His figure was ungraceful; his face, as Reynolds and Nollekens have preserved it to us, indicated a strong understanding; but the features were coarse, and the general aspect dark and lowering. His manner was awkward; his delivery was hesitating; he was often at a stand for want of a word; but as a debater, as a master of that keen, weighty, manly logic, which is suited to the discussion of political questions, he has perhaps never been surpassed except by his son. In reply he was as decidedly superior to Pitt as in declamation he was Pitt's inferior. Intellectually the balance was nearly even between the rivals. But here, again, the moral qualities of Pitt turned the scale. Fox had undoubtedly many virtues. In natural disposition as well as in talents, he bore a great resemblance to his more celebrated son. He had the same sweetness of temper, the same strong passions, the same openness, boldness, and impetuosity, the same cordiality towards friends, the same placability towards enemies. No man was more warmly or justly beloved by his family or by his associates. But unhappily he had been trained in a bad political school, in a school, the doctrines of which were, that political virtue is the mere coquetry of political prostitution, that every patriot has his price, that government can be carried on only by means of corruption, and that the State is given as a prey to statesmen. These maxims were too much in vogue throughout the lower ranks of Walpole's party, and were too much encouraged by Walpole himself, who, from contempt of what is in our day vulgarly called *humbug*, often ran extravagantly and offensively into the opposite extreme. The loose political morality of Fox presented a remarkable contrast to the ostentatious purity of Pitt. The nation distrusted the former, and placed implicit confidence in the

latter. But almost all the statesmen of the age had still to learn that the confidence of the nation was worth having. While things went on quietly, while there was no opposition, while everything was given by the favour of a small ruling junto, Fox had a decided advantage over Pitt; but when dangerous times came, when Europe was convulsed with war, when Parliament was broken up into factions, when the public mind was violently excited, the favourite of the people rose to supreme power, while his rival sank into insignificance.

Early in the year 1754 Henry Pelham died unexpectedly. "Now I shall have no more peace," exclaimed the old King, when he heard the news. He was in the right. Pelham had succeeded in bringing together and keeping together all the talents of the kingdom. By his death, the highest post to which an English subject can aspire was left vacant; and at the same moment, the influence which had yoked together and rein d-in so many turbulent and ambitious spirits was withdrawn.

Within a week after Pelham's death, it was determined that the Duke of Newcastle should be placed at the head of the Treasury; but the arrangement was still far from complete. Who was to be the leading Minister of the Crown in the House of Commons? Was the office to be intrusted to a man of eminent talents? And would not such a man in such a place demand and obtain a larger share of power and patronage than Newcastle would be disposed to concede? Was a mere drudge to be employed? And what probability was there that a mere drudge would be able to manage a large and stormy assembly, abounding with able and experienced men?

Pope has said of that wretched miser Sir John Cutler,

"Cutler saw tenants break and houses fall  
For very want: he could not build a wall."

Newcastle's love of power resembled Cutler's love of money. It was an avarice which thwarted itself, a penny-wise and pound-foolish cupidity. An immediate outlay was so painful to him that he would not venture to make the most desirable improvement. If he could have found it in his heart to cede at once a portion of his authority, he might probably have ensured the continuance of what remained. But he thought it better to construct a weak and rotten government, which tottered at the smallest breath, and fell in the first storm, than to pay the necessary price for sound and durable materials.

He wished to find some person who would be willing to accept the lead of the House of Commons on terms similar to those on which Secretary Craggs had acted under Sunderland, five-and-thirty years before. Craggs could hardly be called a minister. He was a mere agent for the Minister. He was not trusted with the higher secrets of State, but obeyed implicitly the directions of his superior, and was, to use Dodington's expression, merely Lord Sunderland's man. But times were changed. Since the days of Sunderland, the importance of the House of Commons had been constantly on the increase. During many years, the person who conducted the business of the Government in that House had almost always been Prime Minister. In these circumstances, it was not to be supposed that any person who possessed the talents necessary for the situation would stoop to accept it on such terms as Newcastle was disposed to offer.

Pitt was ill at Bath; and, had he been well and in London, neither the King nor Newcastle would have been disposed to make any overtures to him. The cool and wary Murray had set his heart on professional objects. Negotiations were opened with Fox. Newcastle behaved like himself, that is to say, childishly and basely. The proposition which he made was that Fox should be Secretary of State, with the lead of the House of Commons; that the disposal of the secret-service money, or, in plain words, the business of buying members of Parliament, should be left to the First Lord of the Treasury; but that Fox should be exactly informed of the way in which this fund was employed.

To these conditions Fox assented. But the next day everything was in confusion. Newcastle had changed his mind. The conversation which took place between Fox and the Duke is one of the most curious in English history. "My brother,"

Newcastle, "when he was at the Treasury, never told me what he did with the secret-service money. No more

The answer was obvious. Pelham had been, not only First Lord of the Treasury, but also manager of the House of Commons; and it was therefore unnecessary for him to confide to any other person his dealings with the members of that House. "But how," said Fox, "can I lead in the Commons without information on this head? How can I talk to gentlemen when I do not know which of them have received gratifications and which have not? And who," he continued, "is to have the disposal of places?"—"I myself," said the Duke.

—“How then am I to manage the House of Commons?”—  
“Oh, let the members of the House of Commons come to me.” Fox then mentioned the general election which was approaching, and asked how the ministerial boroughs were to be filled up. “Do not trouble yourself,” said Newcastle; “that is all settled.” This was too much for human nature to bear. Fox refused to accept the Secretaryship of State on such terms; and the Duke confided the management of the House of Commons to a dull, harmless man, whose name is almost forgotten in our time, Sir Thomas Robinson.

When Pitt returned from Bath, he affected great moderation, though his haughty soul was boiling with resentment. He did not complain of the manner in which he had been passed by, but said openly that, in his opinion, Fox was the fittest man to lead the House of Commons. The rivals reconciled by their common interest and their common enmities, concerted a plan of operations for the next session. “Sir Thomas Robinson lead us!” said Pitt to Fox. “The Duke might as well send his jack-boot to lead us.”

The elections of 1754 were favourable to the administration. But the aspect of foreign affairs was threatening. In India the English and the French had been employed, ever since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in cutting each other's throats. They had lately taken to the same practice in America. It might have been foreseen that stirring times were at hand, times which would call for abilities very different from those of Newcastle and Robinson.

In November the Parliament met; and before the end of that month the new Secretary of State had been so unmercifully baited by the Paymaster of the Forces and the Secretary at War that he was thoroughly sick of his situation. Fox attacked him with great force and acrimony. Pitt affected a kind of contemptuous tenderness for Sir Thomas, and directed his attacks principally against Newcastle. On one occasion he asked in tones of thunder whether Parliament sat only to register the edicts of one too powerful subject? The Duke was scared out of his wits. He was afraid to dismiss the mutineers; he was afraid to promote them; but it was absolutely necessary to do something. Fox, as the less proud and intractable of the refractory pair, was preferred. A seat in the Cabinet was offered to him on condition that he would give efficient support to the ministry in Parliament. In an evil hour for his fame and his fortunes he accepted the offer, and



abandoned his connection with Pitt, who never forgave this desertion.

Sir Thomas, assisted by Fox, contrived to get through the business of the year without much trouble. Pitt was waiting his time. The negotiations pending between France and England took every day a more unfavourable aspect. Towards the close of the session the King sent a message to inform the House of Commons that he had found it necessary to make preparations for war. The House returned an address of thanks, and passed a vote of credit. During the recess, the old animosity of both nations was inflamed by a series of disastrous events. An English force was cut off in America, and several French merchantmen were taken in the West Indian seas. It was plain that an appeal to arms was at hand.

The first object of the King was to secure Hanover; and Newcastle was disposed to gratify his master. Treaties were concluded, after the fashion of those times, with several petty German princes, who bound themselves to find soldiers if England would find money; and, as it was suspected that Frederic the Second had set his heart on the electoral dominions of his uncle, Russia was hired to keep Prussia in awe.

When the stipulations of these treaties were made known, there arose throughout the kingdom a murmur from which a judicious observer might easily prognosticate the approach of a tempest. Newcastle encountered strong opposition, even from those whom he had always considered as his tools. Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, refused to sign the Treasury warrants, which were necessary to give effect to the treaties. Those persons who were supposed to possess the confidence of the young Prince of Wales and of his mother held very menacing language. In this perplexity Newcastle sent for Pitt, hugged him, patted him, smirked at him, wept over him, and lisped out the highest compliments and the most splendid promises. The King, who had hitherto been as sulky as possible, would be civil to him at the levee; he should be brought into the Cabinet; he should be consulted about everything; if he would only be so good as to support the Hessian subsidy in the House of Commons. Pitt coldly declined the proffered seat in the Cabinet, expressed the highest love and reverence for the King, and said that, if his Majesty felt a strong personal interest in the Hessian treaty he



would so far deviate from the line which he had traced out for himself as to give that treaty his support. "Well, and the Russian subsidy," said Newcastle. "No," said Pitt, "not a system of subsidies." The Duke summoned Lord Hardwicke to his aid; but Pitt was inflexible. Murray would do nothing. Robinson could do nothing. It was necessary to have recourse to Fox. He became Secretary of State, with the full authority of a leader in the House of Commons; and Sir Thomas was pensioned off on the Irish establishment.

In November 1755, the Houses met. Public expectation was wound up to the height. After ten quiet years there was to be an Opposition, countenanced by the heir-apparent of the throne, and headed by the most brilliant orator of the age. The debate on the address was long remembered as one of the parliamentary conflicts of that generation. It began at three in the afternoon, and lasted till five the next morning. It was on this night that Gerard Hamilton delivered that single speech from which his nickname was derived. His eloquence threw into the shade every orator, except Pitt, who declaimed against the subsidies for an hour and a half with extraordinary energy and effect. Those powers which had formerly spread terror through the majorities of Walpole and Carteret were now displayed in their highest perfection before an audience long unaccustomed to such exhibitions. One fragment of this celebrated oration remains in a state of tolerable preservation. It is the comparison between the coalition of Fox and Newcastle, and the junction of the Rhone and the Saone. "At Lyons," said Pitt, "I was taken to see the place where the two rivers meet, the one gentle, feeble, languid, and though languid, yet of no depth, the other a boisterous and impetuous torrent: but different as they are, they meet at last." The amendment moved by the Opposition was rejected by a great majority; and Pitt and Legge were immediately dismissed from their offices.

During several months the contest in the House of Commons was extremely sharp. Warm debates took place in the estimates, debates still warmer on the subsidiary treaties. The Government succeeded in every division; but the fame of Pitt's eloquence, and the influence of his lofty and determined character, continued to increase through the Session; and the events which followed the prorogation made it utterly impossible for any other person to manage the Parliament or the country.

The war began in every part of the world with events disastrous to England, and even more shameful than disastrous. But the most humiliating of these events was the loss of Minorca. The Duke of Richelieu, an old fop who had passed his life from sixteen to sixty in seducing women for whom he cared not one straw, landed on that island, and succeeded in reducing it. Admiral Byng was sent from Gibraltar to throw succours into Port-Mahon; but he did not think fit to engage the French squadron, and sailed back without having effected his purpose. The people were inflamed to madness. A storm broke forth, which appalled even those who remembered the days of Excise and of South-Sea. The shops were filled with libels and caricatures. The walls were covered with placards. The city of London called for vengeance, and the cry was echoed from every corner of the kingdom. Dorsetshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Somersetshire, Lancashire, Suffolk, Shropshire, Surrey, sent up strong addresses to the throne, and instructed their representatives to vote for a strict inquiry into the causes of the late disasters. In the great towns the feeling was as strong as in the counties. In some of the instructions it was even recommended that the supplies should be stopped.

The nation was in a state of angry and sullen despondency, almost unparalleled in history. People have, in all ages, been in the habit of talking about the good old times of their ancestors, and the degeneracy of their contemporaries. This is in general merely a cant. But in 1756 it was something more. At this time appeared Brown's *Estimate*, a book now remembered only by the allusions in Cowper's *Table Talk* and in Burke's *Letters on a Regicide Peace*. It was universally read, admired, and believed. The author fully convinced his readers that they were a race of cowards and scoundrels; that nothing could save them; that they were on the point of being enslaved by their enemies, and that they richly deserved their fate. Such were the speculations to which ready credence was given at the outset of the most glorious war in which England had ever been engaged.

Newcastle now began to tremble for his place, and for the only thing which was dearer to him than his place, his neck. The people were not in a mood to be trifled with. Their cry was for blood. For this once they might be contented with the sacrifice of Byng. But what if fresh disasters should take place? What if an unfriendly sovereign should ascend the

throne? What if a hostile House of Commons should be chosen?

At length, in October, the decisive crisis came. The new Secretary of State had been long sick of the perfidy and levity of the First Lord of the Treasury, and began to fear that he might be made a scapegoat to save the old intriguer who, imbecile as he seemed, never wanted dexterity where danger was to be avoided. Fox threw up his office. Newcastle had recourse to Murray; but Murray had now within his reach the favourite object of his ambition. The situation of Chief-Justice of the King's Bench was vacant; and the Attorney-General was fully resolved to obtain it, or to go into Opposition. Newcastle offered him any terms, the Duchy of Lancaster for life, a tellership of the Exchequer, any amount of pension, two thousand a year, six thousand a year. When the Ministers found that Murray's mind was made up, they pressed for delay, the delay of a session, a month, a week, a day. Would he only make his appearance once more in the House of Commons? Would he only speak in favour of the address? He was inexorable, and peremptorily said that they might give or withhold the Chief-Justiceship, but that he would be Attorney-General no longer.

Newcastle now contrived to overcome the prejudices of the King, and overtures were made to Pitt, through Lord Hardwicke. Pitt knew his power, and showed that he knew it. He demanded as an indispensable condition that Newcastle should be altogether excluded from the new arrangement.

The Duke was in a state of ludicrous distress. He ran about chattering and crying, asking advice and listening to none. In the meantime, the Session drew near. The public excitement was unabated. Nobody could be found to face Pitt and Fox in the House of Commons. Newcastle's heart failed him, and he tendered his resignation.

The King sent for Fox, and directed him to form the plan of an administration in concert with Pitt. But Pitt had not forgotten old injuries, and positively refused to act with Fox.

The King now applied to the Duke of Devonshire, and this mediator succeeded in making an arrangement. He consented to take the Treasury. Pitt became Secretary of State, with the lead of the House of Commons. The Great Seal was put into commission. Legge returned to the Exchequer; and Lord Temple, whose sister Pitt had lately married, was placed at the head of the Admiralty.

It was clear from the first that this administration would last but a very short time. It lasted not quite five months; and, during those five months, Pitt and Lord Temple were treated with rudeness by the King, and found but feeble support in the House of Commons. It is a remarkable fact, that the Opposition prevented the re-election of some of the new Ministers. Pitt, who sat for one of the boroughs which were in the Pelham interest, found some difficulty in obtaining a seat after his acceptance of the seals. So destitute was the new Government of that sort of influence without which no Government could then be durable. One of the arguments most frequently urged against the Reform Bill was that, under a system of popular representation, men whose presence in the House of Commons was necessary to the conducting of public business might often find it impossible to find seats. Should this inconvenience ever be felt, there cannot be the slightest difficulty in devising and applying a remedy. But those who threatened us with this evil ought to have remembered that, under the old system, a great man called to power at a great crisis by the voice of the whole nation was in danger of being excluded, by an aristocratical cabal, from that House of which he was the most distinguished ornament.

The most important event of this short administration was the trial of Byng. On that subject public opinion is still divided. We think the punishment of the Admiral altogether unjust and absurd. Treachery, cowardice, ignorance amounting to what lawyers have called *crassa ignorantia*, are fit objects of severe penal inflictions. But Byng was not found guilty of treachery, of cowardice, or of gross ignorance of his profession. He died for doing what the most loyal subject, the most intrepid warrior, the most experienced seaman, might have done. He died for an error in judgment, an error such as the greatest commanders, Frederick, Napoleon, Wellington, have often committed, and have often acknowledged. Such errors are not proper objects of punishment, for this reason, that the punishing of such errors tends not to prevent them, but to produce them. The dread of an ignominious death may stimulate sluggishness to exertion, may keep a traitor to his standard, may prevent a coward from running away, but it has no tendency to bring out those qualities which enable men to form prompt and judicious decisions in great emergencies. The best marksman may be expected to fail when the apple which is to be his mark is set on his child's

head. We cannot conceive anything more likely to deprive an officer of his self-possession at the time when he most needs it than the knowledge that, if the judgment of his superiors should not agree with his, he will be executed with every circumstance of shame. Queens, it has often been said, run far greater risk in childbed than private women, merely because their medical attendants are more anxious. The surgeon who attended Marie Louise was altogether unnerved by his emotions. "Compose yourself," said Bonaparte: "imagine that you are assisting a poor girl in the Faubourg Saint Antoine." This was surely a far wiser course than that of the Eastern king in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, who proclaimed that the physicians who failed to cure his daughter should have their heads chopped off. Bonaparte knew mankind well; and, as he acted towards this surgeon, he acted towards his officers. No sovereign was ever so indulgent to mere errors of judgment; and it is certain that no sovereign ever had in his service so many military men fit for the highest commands.

Pitt acted a brave and honest part on this occasion. He ventured to put both his power and his popularity to hazard, and spoke manfully for Byng, both in Parliament and in the royal presence. But the King was inexorable. "The House of Commons, Sir," said Pitt, "seems inclined to mercy." "Sir," answered the King, "you have taught me to look for the sense of my people in other places than the House of Commons." The saying has more point than most of those which are recorded of George the Second, and, though sarcastically meant, contains a high and just compliment to Pitt.

The King disliked Pitt, but absolutely hated Temple. The new Secretary of State, his Majesty said, had never read Vattel, and was tedious and pompous, but respectful. The First Lord of the Admiralty was grossly impertinent. Walpole tells one story, which, we fear, is much too good to be true. He assures us that Temple entertained his royal master with an elaborate parallel between Byng's behaviour at Minorca, and his Majesty's behaviour at Oudenarde, in which the advantage was all on the side of the Admiral.

This state of things could not last. Early in April, Pitt and all his friends were turned out, and Newcastle was summoned to St. James's. But the public discontent was not extinguished. It had subsided when Pitt was called to power. But it still glowed under the embers; and it now burst at once into

a flame. The stocks fell. The Common Council met. The freedom of the city was voted to Pitt. All the greatest corporate towns followed the example. "For some weeks," says Walpole, "it rained gold boxes."

This was the turning point of Pitt's life. It might have been expected that a man of so haughty and vehement a nature, treated so ungraciously by the Court, and supported so enthusiastically by the people, would have eagerly taken the first opportunity of showing his power and gratifying his resentment; and an opportunity was not wanting. The members for many counties and large towns had been instructed to vote for an inquiry into the circumstances which had produced the miscarriage of the preceding year. A motion for inquiry had been carried in the House of Commons, without opposition; and, a few days after Pitt's dismissal, the investigation commenced. Newcastle and his colleagues obtained a vote of acquittal; but the minority were so strong that they could not venture to ask for a vote of approbation, as they had at first intended; and it was thought by some shrewd observers that, if Pitt had exerted himself to the utmost of his power, the inquiry might have ended in a censure, if not in an impeachment.

Pitt showed on this occasion a moderation and self-government which was not habitual to him. He had found by experience that he could not stand alone. His eloquence and his popularity had done much, very much for him. Without rank, without fortune, without borough interest, hated by the King, hated by the aristocracy, he was a person of the first importance in the State. He had been suffered to form a ministry, and to pronounce sentence of exclusion on all his rivals, on the most powerful nobleman of the Whig party, on the ablest debater in the House of Commons. And he now found that he had gone too far. The English Constitution was not, indeed, without a popular element. But other elements generally predominated. The confidence and admiration of the nation might make a statesman formidable at the head of an Opposition, might load him with framed and glazed parchments and gold boxes, might possibly, under very peculiar circumstances, such as those of the preceding year, raise him for a time to power. But, constituted as Parliament then was, the favourite of the people could not depend on a majority in the people's own House. The Duke of Newcastle, however contemptible in morals, manners, and understanding,

was a dangerous enemy. His rank, his wealth, his unrivalled parliamentary interest, would alone have made him important. But this was not all. The Whig aristocracy regarded him as their leader. His long possession of power had given him a kind of prescriptive right to possess it still. The House of Commons had been elected when he was at the head of affairs. The members for the ministerial boroughs had all been nominated by him. The public offices swarmed with his creatures.

Pitt desired power; and he desired it, we really believe, from high and generous motives. He was, in the strict sense of the word, a patriot. He had none of that philanthropy which the great French writers of his time preached to all the nations of Europe. He loved England as an Athenian loved the City of the Violet Crown, as a Roman loved the City of the Seven Hills. He saw his country insulted and defeated. He saw the national spirit sinking. Yet he knew what the resources of the empire, vigorously employed, could effect; and he felt that he was the man to employ them vigorously. "My Lord," he said to the Duke of Devonshire, "I am sure that I can save this country, and that nobody else can."

Desiring then, to be in power, and feeling that his abilities and the public confidence were not alone sufficient to keep him in power against the wishes of the Court and of the aristocracy, he began to think of a coalition with Newcastle.

Newcastle was equally disposed to a reconciliation. He, too, had profited by his recent experience. He had found that the Court and the aristocracy, though powerful, were not everything in the State. A strong oligarchical connection, a great borough interest, ample patronage, and secret-service money, might, in quiet times, be all that a Minister needed; but it was unsafe to trust wholly to such support in time of war, of discontent, and of agitation. The composition of the House of Commons was not wholly aristocratical; and, whatever be the composition of large deliberative assemblies, their spirit is always in some degree popular. Where there are free debates eloquence must have admirers, and reason must make converts. Where there is a free press, the governors must live in constant awe of the opinions of the governed.

Thus these two men, so unlike in character, so lately mortal enemies, were necessary to each other. Newcastle had fallen in November, for want of that public confidence which Pitt possessed, and of that parliamentary support which Pitt was better qualified than any man of his time to give. Pitt had



fallen in April, for want of that species of influence which Newcastle had passed his whole life in acquiring and hoarding. Neither of them had power enough to support himself. Each of them had power enough to overturn the other. Their union would be irresistible. Neither the King nor any party in the State would be able to stand against them.

Under these circumstances, Pitt was not disposed to proceed to extremities against his predecessors in office. Something, however, was due to consistency; and something was necessary for the preservation of his popularity. He did little; but that little he did in such manner as to produce great effect. He came down to the House in all the pomp of gout, his legs swathed in flannels, his arm dangling in a sling. He kept his seat through several fatiguing days, in spite of pain and languor. He uttered a few sharp and vehement sentences; but during the greater part of the discussion, his language was unusually gentle.

When the inquiry had terminated without a vote either of approbation or of censure, the great obstacle to a coalition was removed. Many obstacles, however, remained. The King was still rejoicing in his deliverance from the proud and aspiring Minister who had been forced on him by the cry of the nation. His Majesty's indignation was excited to the highest point when it appeared that Newcastle, who had, during thirty years, been loaded with marks of royal favour, and who had bound himself, by a solemn promise, never to coalesce with Pitt, was meditating a new perfidy. Of all the statesmen of that age, Fox had the largest share of royal favour. A coalition between Fox and Newcastle was the arrangement which the King wished to bring about. But the Duke was too cunning to fall into such a snare. As a speaker in Parliament, Fox might perhaps be, on the whole, as useful to an administration as his great rival; but he was one of the most unpopular men in England. Then, again, Newcastle felt all that jealousy of Fox, which, according to the proverb, generally exists between two of a trade. Fox would certainly intermeddle with that department which the Duke was most desirous to reserve entire to himself, the jobbing department. Pitt, on the other hand, was quite willing to leave the drudgery of corruption to any who might be inclined to undertake it.

During eleven weeks England remained without a ministry; and in the meantime Parliament was sitting, and a war was



raging. The prejudices of the King, the haughtiness of Pitt, the jealousy, levity, and treachery of Newcastle, delayed the settlement. Pitt knew the Duke too well to trust him without security. The Duke loved power too much to be inclined to give security. While they were haggling, the King was in vain attempting to produce a final rupture between them, or to form a Government without them. At one time he applied to Lord Waldegrave, an honest and sensible man, but unpractised in affairs. Lord Waldegrave had the courage to accept the Treasury, but soon found that no administration formed by him had the smallest chance of standing a single week.

At length the King's pertinacity yielded to the necessity of the case. After exclaiming with great bitterness, and with some justice, against the Whigs, who ought, he said, to be ashamed to talk about liberty while they submitted to the footmen of the Duke of Newcastle, his Majesty submitted. The influence of Leicester House prevailed on Pitt to abate a little, and but a little, of his high demands; and all at once, out of the chaos in which parties had for some time been rising, falling, meeting, separating, arose a government as strong at home as that of Pelham, as successful abroad as that of Godolphin.

Newcastle took the Treasury. Pitt was Secretary of State, with the lead in the House of Commons, and with the supreme direction of the war and of foreign affairs. Fox, the only man who could have given much annoyance to the new Government, was silenced by the office of Paymaster, which, during the continuance of that war, was probably the most lucrative place in the whole Government. He was poor, and the situation was tempting; yet it cannot but seem extraordinary that a man who had played a first part in politics, and whose abilities had been found not unequal to that part, who had sat in the Cabinet, who had led the House of Commons, who had been twice intrusted by the King with the office of forming a ministry, who was regarded as the rival of Pitt, and who at one time seemed likely to be a successful rival, should have consented, for the sake of emolument, to take a subordinate place, and to give silent votes for all the measures of a government to the deliberations of which he was not summoned.

The first acts of the new administration were characterised rather by vigour than by judgment. Expeditions were sent against different parts of the French coast with little success.

The small island of Aix was taken, Rochefort threatened, a few ships burned in the harbour of St. Maloes, and a few guns and mortars brought home as trophies from the fortifications of Cherbourg. But soon conquests of a very different kind filled the kingdom with pride and rejoicing. A succession of victories undoubtedly brilliant, and, as was thought, not barren, raised to the highest point the fame of the minister to whom the conduct of the war had been intrusted. In July 1758, Louisburg fell. The whole island of Cape Breton was reduced. The fleet to which the Court of Versailles had confided the defence of French America was destroyed. The captured standards were borne in triumph from Kensington Palace to the city, and were suspended in St. Paul's Church, amidst the roar of drums and kettle-drums, and the shouts of an immense multitude. Addresses of congratulation came in from all the great towns of England. Parliament met only to decree thanks and monuments, and to bestow, without one murmur, supplies more than double of those which had been given during the war of the Grand Alliance.

The year 1759 opened with the conquest of Goree. Next fell Guadaloupe; then Ticonderoga; then Niagara. The Toulon squadron was completely defeated by Boscawen off Cape Lagos. But the greatest exploit of the year was the achievement of Wolfe on the heights of Abraham. The news of his glorious death and of the fall of Quebec reached London in the very week in which the Houses met. All was joy and triumph. Envy and faction were forced to join in the general applause. Whigs and Tories vied with each other in extolling the genius and energy of Pitt. His colleagues were never talked of or thought of. The House of Commons, the nation, the colonies, our allies, our enemies, had their eyes fixed on him alone.

Scarcely had Parliament voted a monument to Wolfe, when another great event called for fresh rejoicings. The Brest fleet, under the command of Conflans, had put out to sea. It was overtaken by an English squadron under Hawke. Conflans attempted to take shelter close under the French coast. The shore was rocky; the night was black: the wind was furious: the waves of the Bay of Biscay ran high. But Pitt had infused into each branch of the service a spirit which had long been unknown. No British seaman was disposed to err on the same side with Byng. The pilot told Hawke that the attack could not be made without the greatest danger. "You

have done your duty in remonstrating," answered Hawke; "I will answer for everything. I command you to lay me alongside the French admiral." Two French ships of the line struck. Four were destroyed. The rest hid themselves in the rivers of Brittany.

The year 1760 came; and still triumph followed triumph. Montreal was taken; the whole province of Canada was subjugated; the French fleets underwent a succession of disasters in the seas of Europe and America.

In the meantime conquests equalling in rapidity, and far surpassing in magnitude, those of Cortes and Pizarro, had been achieved in the East. In the space of three years the English had founded a mighty empire. The French had been defeated in every part of India. Chandernagore had surrendered to Clive, Pondicherry to Coote. Throughout Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, and the Carnatic, the authority of the East India Company was more absolute than that of Acbar or Aurungzebe had ever been.

On the continent of Europe the odds were against England. We had but one important ally, the King of Prussia; and he was attacked not only by France, but also by Russia and Austria. Yet even on the Continent the energy of Pitt triumphed over all difficulties. Vehemently as he had condemned the practice of subsidising foreign princes, he now carried that practice further than Carteret himself would have ventured to do. The active and able Sovereign of Prussia received such pecuniary assistance as enabled him to maintain the conflict on equal terms against his powerful enemies. On no subject had Pitt ever spoken with so much eloquence and ardour as on the mischiefs of the Hanoverian connection. He now declared, not without much show of reason, that it would be unworthy of the English people to suffer their King to be deprived of his electoral dominions in an English quarrel. He assured his countrymen that they should be no losers, and that he would conquer America for them in Germany. By taking this line he conciliated the King, and lost no part of his influence with the nation. In Parliament, such was the ascendancy which his eloquence, his success, his high situation, his pride, and his intrepidity had obtained for him, that he took liberties with the House of which there had been no example, and which have never since been imitated. No orator could there venture to reproach him with inconsistency. One unfortunate man made the attempt, and was so much

disconcerted by the scornful demeanour of the Minister that he stammered, stopped, and sat down. Even the old Tory country gentlemen, to whom the very name of Hanover had been odious, gave their hearty Ayes to subsidy after subsidy. In a lively contemporary satire, much more lively indeed than delicate, this remarkable conversation is not unhappily described:

" No more they make a fiddle-faddle  
About a Hessian horse or saddle.  
No more of continental measures;  
No more of wasting British treasures.  
Ten millions, and a vote of credit,  
'Tis right. He can't be wrong who did it."

The success of Pitt's continental measures was such as might have been expected from their vigour. When he came into power, Hanover was in imminent danger; and before he had been in office three months, the whole electorate was in the hands of France. But the face of affairs was speedily changed. The invaders were driven out. An army, partly English, partly Hanoverian, partly composed of soldiers furnished by the petty princes of Germany, was placed under the command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. The French were beaten in 1758 at Crevelt. In 1759 they received a still more complete and humiliating defeat at Minden.

In the meantime, the nation exhibited all the signs of wealth and prosperity. The merchants of London had never been more thriving. The importance of several great commercial and manufacturing towns, of Glasgow in particular, dates from this period. The fine inscription on the monument of Lord Chatham in Guildhall records the general opinion of the citizens of London, that under his administration commerce had been " united with and made to flourish by war."

It must be owned that these signs of prosperity were in some degree delusive. It must be owned that some of our conquests were rather splendid than useful. It must be owned that the expense of the war never entered into Pitt's consideration. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the cost of his victories increased the pleasure with which he contemplated them. Unlike other men in his situation, he loved to exaggerate the sums which the nation was laying out under his direction. He was proud of the sacrifices and efforts which his eloquence and his success had induced his countrymen to make. The price at which he purchased faithful service and complete victory, though far smaller than that which his son, the most

profuse and incapable of war ministers, paid for treachery, defeat, and shame, was long and severely felt by the nation.

Even as a war minister, Pitt is scarcely entitled to all the praise which his contemporaries lavished on him. We, perhaps from ignorance, cannot discern in his arrangements any appearance of profound or dexterous combination. Several of his expeditions, particularly those which were sent to the coast of France, were at once costly and absurd. Our Indian conquests, though they add to the splendour of the period during which he was at the head of affairs, were not planned by him. He had undoubtedly great energy, great determination, great means at his command. His temper was enterprising; and, situated as he was, he had only to follow his temper. The wealth of a rich nation, the valour of a brave nation, were ready to support him in every attempt.

In one respect, however, he deserved all the praise that he has ever received. The success of our arms was perhaps owing less to the skill of his dispositions than to the national resources and the national spirit. But that the national spirit rose to the emergency, that the national resources were contributed with unexampled cheerfulness, this was undoubtedly his work. The ardour of his soul had set the whole kingdom on fire. It inflamed every soldier who dragged the cannon up the heights of Quebec, and every sailor who boarded the French ships among the rocks of Brittany. The Minister, before he had been long in office, had imparted to the commanders whom he employed his own impetuous, adventurous, and defying character. They, like him, were disposed to risk everything, to play double or quits to the last, to think nothing done while anything remained undone, to fail rather than not to attempt. For the errors of rashness there might be indulgence. For over-caution, for faults like those of Lord George Sackville, there was no mercy. In other times, and against other enemies, this mode of warfare might have failed. But the state of the French government and of the French nation gave every advantage to Pitt. The fops and intriguers of Versailles were appalled and bewildered by his vigour. A panic spread through all ranks of society. Our enemies soon considered it as a settled thing that they were always to be beaten. Thus victory begot victory; till, at last, wherever the forces of the two nations met, they met with disdainful confidence on one side, and with a craven fear on the other.

The situation which Pitt occupied at the close of the reign

of George the Second was the most enviable ever occupied by any public man in English history. He had conciliated the King; he domineered over the House of Commons; he was adored by the people; he was admired by all Europe. He was the first Englishman of his time; and he had made England the first country in the world. The Great Commoner, the name by which he was often designated, might look down with scorn on coronets and garters. The nation was drunk with joy and pride. The Parliament was as quiet as it had been under Pelham. The old party distinctions were almost effaced; nor was their place yet supplied by distinctions of a still more important kind. A new generation of country squires and rectors had arisen who knew not the Stuarts. The Dissenters were tolerated; the Catholics not cruelly persecuted. The Church was drowsy and indulgent. The great civil and religious conflict which began at the Reformation seemed to have terminated in universal repose. Whigs and Tories, Churchmen and Puritans, spoke with equal reverence of the constitution, and with equal enthusiasm of the talents, virtues, and services of the Minister.

A few years sufficed to change the whole aspect of affairs. A nation convulsed by faction, a throne assailed by the fiercest invective, a House of Commons hated and despised by the nation, England set against Scotland, Britain set against America, a rival legislature sitting beyond the Atlantic, English blood shed by English bayonets, our armies capitulating, our conquests wrested from us, our enemies hastening to take vengeance for past humiliation, our flag scarcely able to maintain itself in our own seas, such was the spectacle which Pitt lived to see. But the history of this great revolution requires far more space than we can at present bestow. We leave the Great Commoner in the zenith of his glory. It is not impossible that we may take some other opportunity of tracing his life to its melancholy, yet not inglorious close.

## SUMMARY OF PITT'S CAREER

WILLIAM PITT was born in 1708, educated at Eton and Oxford, and on leaving the latter became a cornet in the Royal Horse Guards or "Blues." In 1735 he entered Parliament for Old Sarum, a borough which belonged to his family. He joined the Whigs in opposition to Sir R. Walpole, or "Patriots," as they were called, under the leadership of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and in consequence was deprived of his commission. In 1746 he obtained a minor seat in the government, in the Broad-bottomed Administration, later becoming Paymaster-General. He was a favourite with the Duchess of Marlborough, who left him a legacy of £10,000, and with Sir William Pynsent, who left him £3000 a year, and a property in Somerset which became the family seat of the Pitts. In 1755 he resigned office when Henry Fox became Secretary of State, but in 1756 he was asked to form a government, became Secretary of State, and practically Premier. He carried out a successful foreign policy, raised the militia, and strengthened the power of the navy. His policy was disliked by the king, and in 1757 Pitt resigned, but was recalled in June of the same year by popular demand. His war policy was vigorous and successful, but in 1761 he was obliged to resign owing to a disagreement with Lord Bute and George III. and because the majority of the Cabinet refused to declare war with Spain, a course of action which Pitt foresaw would be inevitable. He was granted a pension of £3000, but in 1766 was again asked to form a government. The nation was disappointed because he chose for himself the office of Lord Privy Seal, almost a sinecure, and became Earl of Chatham with a seat in the House of Lords. Owing to ill-health he resigned in 1768, and took afterwards little part in politics, dying in 1778.





## NOTES

**Acbar (1542-1605)** : Jelal-ed-din-Mohammed, Mogul Emperor of India and the greatest Asiatic monarch of modern times (p. 45).

**Act of Settlement (1701)** : by which the succession was settled after Anne's death on Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her descendants, and the powers of the Crown were much restricted (p. 19).

**Aix-la-Chapelle, Peace of (1748)** : ended the war respecting the succession of Maria Theresa to the throne of Austria. By the terms of this peace every power restored its conquests except Frederick who kept Silesia for Prussia (p. 33).

**Annual Register** : first appeared in 1759, originated by Burke and the bookseller Robert Dodsley. It is a yearly record of public events, and has been continued to the present time (p. 9).

**Apophthegm** : a short, pithy saying conveying some important truth (p. 23).

**Arabian Nights' Entertainments** : a famous Arabian book, probably originally translated from Persian into Arabic. Many stories, however, have been added to it, and it is undoubtedly very different from the form in which it was made for Princess Homai. The most scholarly translation in English is that of E. W. Lane in 1840. The story of Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp is perhaps the best known of the collection (p. 39).

**Aurangzebe (1618-1707)** : the last powerful monarch of the Mogul Emperors of India (p. 45).

**Belisarius** : a great soldier who lived in the reign of the Emperor Justinian, and was born about 505 A.D. He took part in the war against the Vandals in Africa and the war against the Goths in Italy. There is a tradition that Belisarius was deprived of sight and reduced to begging, and the painter Gérard seized upon this subject for a picture, but there is no proof of the story (p. 11).

**Blues** : the name popularly given to the Royal Horse Guards or Oxford *Blues*, raised in 1661, and so called from their blue uniforms (p. 13).

**Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, Viscount (1678-1751)** : from 1704-8 Secretary for War in the Godolphin ministry; 1710 Foreign Secretary and joint leader of the Tory party with Harley; in 1713 he negotiated the Peace of Utrecht. He was a failure as a party leader, but an admirable speaker and writer, a friend of

Pope and Swift, and author of *Letters on the Study of History*, *Idea of a Patriot King*, and other works (p. 19).

**Boscawen, Edward** (1711-1761): a famous English admiral who distinguished himself at Porto Bello and Carthage in 1741. He commanded the East Indian Expedition in the retreat from Pondicherry in 1748. In 1758 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the successful expedition against Cape Breton. In 1759 he gained a great victory over the French Toulon Fleet in the Bay of Lagos. He was known amongst the sailors as "Old Dreadnought" (p. 44).

**Brougham, Henry, Lord** (1778-1868): entered Parliament in 1810, took a strong stand against the slave trade. In 1830 became a peer and Lord Chancellor, and was associated with the passing of the Reform Bill. He was a man of uncertain temper, but a fine orator. The poet Samuel Rogers once sarcastically said of him: "There goes Solon, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Archimedes, Sir Isaac Newton, Lord Chesterfield, and a great many more in one post chaise." Macaulay was one of his colleagues, but found him at times quite insupportable (p. 20).

**Brown's "Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times"**: the author was a clergyman, Dr. John Brown (1715-1766), the *Estimate* was written in 1757 to expose the selfish effeminacy of the higher ranks. Cowper in *Table Talk* says of it:

"The inestimable estimate of Brown  
Rose like a paper kite, and charm'd the town,  
But measures, plann'd and executed well,  
Shifted the wind that raised it, and it fell." (p. 36.)

**Buccaners**: pirates and sea robbers; the name is more especially applied to the English and French pirates who combined to make raids on the Spaniards in America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (p. 24).

**Burke, Edmund** (1729-1797): an orator and politician, a member of the Literary Club at the same time as Johnson and Goldsmith. In Parliament his eloquence gained him great influence in the Whig party. He had vast knowledge and passionate sympathy, but his awkward delivery spoilt his speeches. His best-known pamphlets are *On the Causes of the Present Discontents*, *American Taxation*, and *Reflections on the French Revolution*. *The Letters on a Regicide Peace* contain denunciations of the French policy, and are marred by the passion with which he begs the government to fight the Revolution and to suppress free opinions in England (p. 36).

**Bute, John Stuart, Earl of** (1713-1792): groom of the stole to George III. Prime Minister, 1762-3. His government was most unpopular because its chief principle was the supremacy of the royal prerogative (p. 11).

**Byng, John** (1704-1757): a British admiral, in 1756 appointed admiral of the Blue and sent with a poorly-equipped squadron of ten ships to relieve Minorca which was blockaded by the

French fleet. The van under Read-admiral West bore down on the French ships, but the rear under Byng got into disorder and hardly came under fire. The van suffered great loss, but Byng felt that he could not renew the fight, and sailed away to Gibraltar. He was arrested and tried by court-martial, and was shot on board the *Monarque* at Portsmouth (p. 36).

**Cabal**: an intrigue, and so applied to a party of people who are secretly planning to promote their views. The word *junto* has a similar meaning. The name of *The Cabal* was given to a ministry of Charles II., consisting of Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, whose initials happened to compose the word (p. 38).

**Cæsar**: *i.e.* George I., the most illiterate sovereign who has sat upon the English throne (p. 12).

**Carteret, John, Earl Granville** (1690-1763): a famous statesman and diplomatist, leader of the Whig party in the House of Lords, 1730-1742, opposed to Sir Robert Walpole. Walpole was driven from power and Carteret became head of the administration, but was himself displaced by the Pelhams in 1744. In 1751 he became Lord President of the Council under Henry Pelham. He was a great admirer of Pitt and was instrumental in bringing him into office (p. 15).

**Chesterfield, Earl of** (1694-1773): a Whig and for a time supporter of Walpole, but later his opponent. He is chiefly remembered as a friend of Swift, Bolingbroke, and Pope, and by the *Letters to his Son*. Macaulay in a letter to his sister says of him: "Chesterfield was a great political leader, and at the same time the acknowledged chief of the fashionable world; at the head of the House of Lords, and at the head of *ton*" (p. 16).

**Cicero, Marcus Tullius** (160-43 B.C.): one of the foremost orators of ancient Rome, a brilliant statesman, and man of letters. Macaulay's favourite author in Latin prose (p. 20).

**Clive, Robert** (1725-1774): the creator of the Indian Empire; famous as the avenger of the "Black Hole of Calcutta," the victor of Chandernagore, 1756, of Plassey, 1757. Pitt called him "a heaven-born general." Macaulay's *Essay on Clive* (p. 45).

**Cocytus**: the river of wailing, a tributary of the Acheron, and supposed to be connected with the lower world (p. 12).

**Coote, Sir Eyre** (1726-1783): induced Clive to risk the battle of Plassey; gained a victory at Wandiwash, 1759; captured Pondicherry, 1761, thus completing the downfall of the French in India; in 1781 routed Hyder Ali at Porto Novo (p. 45).

**Cortes, Hernando** (1485-1547): the famous conqueror of Mexico, a courageous soldier and great statesman (p. 45).

**Crevelt**: in West Prussia near Cleves; *Minden*, in Westphalia (p. 46).

**Cutler, Sir John (1608-1693)**: a wealthy London merchant noted for his avarice. These lines are from the third of Pope's *Moral Essays* (p. 31).

**Demosthenes (383-322 B.C.)**: the greatest orator of Athens. The *Olynthiacs* and *Philippics* are his greatest speeches. Macaulay describes a statue of him in the Vatican: "The face is lean, wrinkled, and haggard; the expression singularly stern and intense. You see that he was no trifler, no jester, no voluptuary; but a man whose soul was devoured by ambition, and constantly on the stretch" (p. 20).

**Dodington, George Bubb (1691-1762)**: sat in Parliament for Bridgwater, but was always changing his place, from Walpole's service to the Prince of Wales's, from the latter's to Argyle's, and so on. He is remembered chiefly by his diary published after his death in 1784 (p. 11).

**East India Company**: in England this company was incorporated in 1600 when Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to "The governor and company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." About 1624 the Dutch compelled the English to withdraw nearly all their factories from the East Indies, so they began to form settlements on the mainland of India, in 1639 Madras, 1668 Bombay, 1689 Calcutta. In 1689 the company passed a resolution to acquire territorial sway, to "make us a nation in India." The struggles for power between the French and English East India Companies led to constant warfare in the eighteenth century. In 1833 all trading privileges were taken away from the company and after that date the wars in India were waged by Britain as a nation. After the Indian Mutiny the company was compelled to cede its powers to the crown (p. 45).

**Excise Bill**: a Bill introduced by Walpole in 1733 proposing new duties on tobacco; the Bill was rejected (p. 16).

**Fox, Charles James (1749-1806)**: a clever statesman and great orator. During the American War he was a powerful supporter of the claims of the colonists. When the younger Pitt came into power Fox was the Leader of the Opposition. He took part in the trial of Warren Hastings, and was a strenuous opponent of war with France, using all his talents to modify and sometimes counteract the policy of Pitt. Mackintosh calls him "the most Demosthenian speaker since Demosthenes" (p. 22).

**Fox, Henry F.**: later Lord Holland, father of Charles James Fox (p. 17).

**freedom of the city**: magistrates have the power to admit burgesses by election to the Burgess Roll, and it is the custom in the most important towns to admit persons of distinction as honorary burgesses—this is popularly known as "presenting the freedom of the city" (p. 40).

**frigid conceit**: an extravagant, often insipid, or far-fetched description, intended to be striking and poetical, e.g. in *Mid-*

*summer Night's Dream* Helena's hand is described as "a princess of pure white" (p. 23).

**Garrick, David (1717-1779)** : a famous actor. He was one of the three pupils who attended Dr. Johnson's school at Edial, and he accompanied Johnson to London where he gained fame more quickly than his learned friend. He adapted several of Shakespeare's plays to his own ideas, and wrote one or two original plays of not much merit (p. 22).

**Godolphin, Earl of (1645-1712)** : was a commissioner of the Treasury in four reigns, and under Anne Lord High Treasurer. So successfully did he support Marlborough in the war with his management of finances that the general was able to carry out one brilliant campaign after another (p. 15).

**gold boxes** : the boxes in which numerous corporations sent the freedom of their cities or boroughs to Pitt (p. 40).

**Goree** : near Cape Verde, west coast of Africa. *Guadaloupe* in the West Indies; *Ticonderoga* and *Niagara*, frontier forts in Canada (p. 44).

**Grand Alliance** : between England, Austria, and the Dutch Republic, signed by William III. in 1701. Its objects were to restore to the Dutch the control of the barrier fortresses, to secure to Leopold the Italian possessions of Spain, and to provide that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united (p. 44).

**Great Seal** : a seal used for the United Kingdom in sealing the writs to summon Parliament, treaties with foreign states, and other important papers. The office of the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper is created by the delivery of the Great Seal into his custody. The Seal is *put into commission* when a change of ministers is taking place, this means that certain persons are appointed to exercise jointly the functions of the office (p. 37).

**Hamilton, William Gerard (1729-1796)** : M.P. for Petersfield in Hampshire, for 20 years Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer. His nickname was "Single-speech Hamilton" (p. 35).

**Hampden, John (1594-1643)** : a sincere Puritan, a member of both the Short and the Long Parliaments. He took part in the transactions which brought about the death of Strafford. At the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, Hampden took a colonel's commission, fought under Essex, and was killed at the battle of Chalgrove Field in 1643. He was a man of most upright character, moderate, resolute, and sincere. Macaulay declares that had he lived he would have been the Washington of England (p. 10).

**Hanoverian Connection, The** : was established when George I. ascended the English throne in 1714, by right of descent from Elizabeth, daughter of James I. While the Hanoverians reigned in England, the revenues of Hanover were spared at the expense of those of England, subsidies for the help and protection of the Electorate were demanded of the English kings, often demurred to by their ministers, but generally granted in the end. During

the thirty years of peace at the beginning of George III.'s reign Hanover prospered and profited by trade with England and America (p. 10 and p. 39).

**Harley, Robert, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1661-1724)**: in 1710, on the dismissal of Godolphin, Harley became Chancellor of the Exchequer and head of the government. In 1711 he was made Lord High Treasurer, being the last to bear that office, which was known afterwards as that of Prime Minister. The Treaty of Utrecht was signed under his administration. He lived in retirement from 1717 to his death, the friend of men of letters and the founder of the Harleian Collection of MSS. in the British Museum (p. 15).

**Hawke, Sir Edward, Lord Hawke of Towton (1705-1781)**: an English admiral who defeated the French off Cape Finisterre, 1747, and in 1759 defeated the Brest Fleet under Admiral de Conflans at the battle of Quiberon Bay, fought in a gale of wind near the terrible rocks of the Brittany coast (p. 44).

**Henry IV.**: King of France (1589-1610) (p. 20).

"He still retained, 'Mid such abasement," etc.: quoted from Wordsworth's *Excursion*, Bk. II., "The Solitary." Macaulay has slightly misquoted these lines which stand in the original thus—

"Still he retained  
'Mid much abasement," etc. (p. 11.)

**Hume, David (1711-1776)**: philosopher and historian. His chief works are *Essays Moral and Philosophical*, *Enquiry into the Principles of Morals*, *History of England* (p. 17).

**Hunt, Leigh (1784-1859)**: a poet and essayist. Editor of the *Examiner*, *Indicator*, and *Companion*, three short-lived newspapers. His best-known prose works are *Imagination and Fancy*, *Wit and Humour*, and his Autobiography. Byron, Moore, and Lamb were amongst his distinguished friends, and Macaulay was on several occasions very kind to him (p. 20).

**impeachment**: a charge of maladministration against a minister of state. In England impeachments are made by the House of Commons and tried by the House of Lords (p. 40).

**in esse**: in reality; *in posse*, in possibility. According to Francis Thackeray, Pitt was a great poet, and might have been a great general had he chosen to continue his military career (p. 10).

**inquisition**: a judicial inquiry. *Bounties for perjury*, rewards for making false oaths (p. 10).

**international law**: the law of nations, or the principles which govern the conduct of large states towards each other (p. 24).

**Jacobite rebellion**: in 1715 the Earl of Mar, chief supporter of the Old Pretender in Scotland, rose against the Government. His army was defeated by the Duke of Argyle at Sheriffmuir. The Pretender landed at Peterhead in 1716, but fled to France

when he heard that the Government were sending strong forces to Scotland (p. 16).

**Jacobites**: the adherents of James II., after his abdication, and of his descendants (p. 19).

**jobbing department**: *i.e.* the business of hiring members of Parliament with the secret-service money to support the wishes of their leader. Pitt despised this "drudgery of corruption," Newcastle practised it largely, and Henry Fox was not averse to it (p. 42).

**Junto**: see note on *Cabal* (p. 31).

**Lear**: an ancient king of Britain whose story Shakespeare has made famous in his play of *King Lear*. Lear, deprived of kingdom and comfort by his wicked daughters, becomes mad, and wanders about with only a staff and the faithful Fool for support, until he finds his daughter Cordelia, only to see her die and to lose life himself. This story is almost entirely traditional (p. 11).

**Legge**: son of the Earl of Dartmouth (1708-1764), in 1754 Chancellor of the Exchequer (p. 34).

**Lues Boswelliana**: *Luis*, a poison or disease, *i.e.* the Boswellian disease. Boswell, the biographer of Samuel Johnson, spent his time walking at the heels and admiring the cleverness of his famous friend. Thus the phrase has come to mean a mania of admiration (p. 9).

**Lyttelton, George**: First Lord Lyttelton (1709-1773), a poet and patron of literary men. His most popular work was *Dialogues of the Dead* (1760). He was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1756 (p. 18).

**Marie Louise**: of Austria, daughter of Francis I. and second wife of Napoleon Buonaparte (p. 39).

**Mars**: God of War (p. 12).

**Murray**: afterwards Earl of Mansfield (1705-1793): an orator and judge. Lord Chief Justice in 1756 (p. 29).

**Neptune**: God of the Sea, usually represented as armed with a trident, his symbols being the horse and the dolphin (p. 12).

**Newcastle, Duke of** (Thomas Pelham Holles, 1693-1768): head of the Pelham family, an ignorant, incompetent, and fussy statesman. He "lost half an hour in the morning and spent the rest of the day running after it." Held the office of Secretary of State, 1724-1754, when he succeeded his brother, Henry Pelham, as Premier. In 1756 he retired, but in 1757 was again Premier in a Coalition Government with Pitt as Secretary of State. Resigned in 1762 (p. 10).

**Nollekens, Joseph** (1737-1823): an English sculptor to whom we owe busts of many of the famous men of the eighteenth century, amongst others, Fox, Pitt, and Johnson (p. 30).



**Orleans, Philip, Duke of :** was Regent in France in the minority of Louis XV. (1715). He promised his support to the Hanoverian succession in England (p. 20).

**Oudenarde :** in 1708 the Duke of Marlborough defeated the French General Vendôme at Oudenarde and retook Ghent and Bruges (p. 39).

**Parliamentary History of England** from 1066 to 1800, by Cobbett, continued from 1806 by the successors of Luke Hansard, since when the name of Hansard has been given to the printed reports of the debates in Parliament (p. 9).

**Patriots :** the name assumed by a body of discontented Whigs whom Walpole refused to admit to power. Pulteney and Bolingbroke were their leaders, and the sympathy of Prince Frederick was on their side (p. 17).

**Pelham, Henry (1696-1754) :** a supporter of Walpole ; Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1743, Premier in 1744 in the Broad-bottomed Administration. Brother of the Duke of Newcastle (p. 11).

**Penny-wise and pound-foolish :** niggardly with small sums, but extravagant with large ; see Stevenson's essay on this subject. Bacon says, " Be not penny-wise ; riches have wings and fly away of themselves " (p. 31).

**Pepys, Samuel (1633-1703) :** author of the famous *Diary*, in which the manners of Society are faithfully described, and which sets forth the foibles and character of the author with the most humorous frankness and naïveté (p. 24).

**Pizarro, Francisco (1470?-1541) :** conqueror of Peru, a brave and determined man, but stained by the execution of the Inca Atahualpa (p. 45).

**Placeman :** one who holds an office under the government, particularly an official appointed by a minister to a certain office so that from self-interest he is bound to support the minister. Macaulay had a great scorn for placemen and could never be induced to accept such an office himself (p. 25).

**Pope, Alexander (1688-1744) :** the most popular poet of the classical school in the eighteenth century. A keen and sometimes savage satirist, in the *Dunciad* he unmercifully ridicules minor wits and poets, " dunces." Other well-known works are the didactic poems *Essay on Criticism* and *Essay on Man*, the famous mock-heroic, *The Rape of the Lock*, and a translation of the *Iliad* of Homer (p. 31).

**Pretender, the Young, Charles Edward :** grandson of James II. ; landed in Scotland in 1745, defeated Cope at Preston Pans, and marched to Derby, but returned to Scotland, was defeated at Culloden in 1746, and was helped by Flora Macdonald to escape to the continent, where he died in 1788 (p. 27).

**Prorogation :** the interruption of a session, and the continu-



ance of Parliament to another session. Parliament is prorogued (or adjourned to an indefinite period) by the sovereign's authority, either by the Lord Chancellor in the King's presence, by commission, or by proclamation (p. 35).

**Pulteney, William, Earl of Bath (1684-1764)** : at first a friend of Walpole, but left him in 1728, and put himself at the head of the " Patriots " or Whig malcontents (p. 14).

**Reform Bill** : a Bill which passed the legislature in 1832, by which a great change was made in the Parliamentary representation of the people. Macaulay was at this time taking a very prominent part in politics (p. 38).

**Rembrandt-like effect (1607-1669)** : Rembrandt was a great portrait-painter. He was born at Leyden, studied in Italy, and set up a studio in Amsterdam. His earliest works were etchings. He obtained very striking effects in his portraits by his disposition of light and shade (p. 11).

**Reynolds, Sir Joshua (1723-1792)** : painter and writer, a friend of Johnson, Burke, and Goldsmith. He studied art in Italy and became a great portrait-painter. He was the first President of the Royal Academy (p. 30).

**Right of Search** : by the Assiento Treaty in 1713 England had the sole right of importing negro slaves into the Spanish colonies in America, and also by the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, of sending yearly to Panama a ship of 600 tons laden with goods for the Spanish colonists. Merchants evaded restrictions, and much smuggling took place in Panama and on the coast of Spanish America. In return the Spaniards claimed to have the right of searching English vessels on the high seas (p. 10).

**Rotten borough** : a name given, previous to the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, to certain boroughs in England which had fallen into decay and had a mere handful of voters, but which still had the privilege of sending members to Parliament. One of these was Old Sarum which returned two members though without a single inhabitant, the proprietors nominating whom they pleased (p. 12).

**Russell, Lord William (1639-1683)** : has been called the Hampden of the Restoration period. He tried to bring about the exclusion of James II. from the Crown of England, and was accused of a share in the Rye House Plot, and executed, though quite unjustly (p. 18).

**Sackville, Lord George** : the general commanding the British cavalry at Minden. He had refused, in spite of orders, to charge at a critical moment, thus rendering the defeat which Prince Ferdinand inflicted on the French in 1759 less decisive than it might have been. As a punishment he was court-martialled and degraded (p. 47).

**Saint Simon (1675-1755)**, a great French writer of *Mémoires* (p. 12).

**Sandys, Samuel** : became Chancellor of the Exchequer on the retirement of Sir Robert Walpole, and was afterwards made a peer (p. 11).

**Somers, John, Lord** (1652-1716) : a member of the "Country Party"; Lord Chancellor in 1697, and a trusted minister of William III. A broad-minded lawyer and clever statesman (p. 10).

**South-Sea Act** : the South-Sea Company, a gigantic speculation, was formed by Harley in 1711 to carry on trade with Spanish America. Those to whom the nation owed money were advised to take shares in the South-Sea Company in place of their claim upon the nation; at one period shares only worth £100 were sold for £1000. The company failed and thousands were reduced to beggary. The bitter indignation was felt against the ministers. Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1721, was sent to the Tower, Griggs, Secretary of State, escaped that fate by dying of small-pox; his father, the Postmaster-General, took poison. Sunderland was acquitted of having acted dishonourably, but he had speculated and so he resigned his post. Stanhope, who was falsely accused, died during the trial (p. 13).

**Squire Western** : a character in Fielding's *Tom Jones*, published in 1749 (p. 17).

**Stanley, William** : Fourth Earl of Derby, has been styled the "Rupert of debate" (p. 22).

**Subsidies** : taxes formerly granted by Parliament to the Crown for urgent occasions, and levied on every subject of ability according to the value of his lands or goods. Under Newcastle's administration and during the war with the French, subsidies were given to various German states and to Russia to insure the safety of Hanover (p. 10).

**Sunderland, Earl of** : Secretary of State, 1706; leader of the Whig ministry, 1717 (p. 14).

**Tellership of the Exchequer** : a teller of the Exchequer was in ancient records called tallier (*i.e.* one who keeps a tally or a piece of wood on which notches are scored as the marks of number. An exchequer tally was an account of a sum of money lent to the government). The tellers were four in number, their duties were to receive money payable to the king, and to pay all money payable by the king. The office was abolished in 1834 and its duties are now performed by a comptroller-general (p. 37).

**Temple, Richard Grenville, Earl** (1711-1779) : Pitt's brother-in-law. For a time he held office under Pitt, but broke with him over the Stamp Act (1766) (p. 37).

**Tergiversation** : turning against a cause formerly advocated (p. 11).

**The best marksman, etc.** : this is a reference to William Tell

a native of Uri in Switzerland, who lived in the fourteenth century and was sentenced to death with his little son for refusing to uncover to the Ducal hat. He was promised pardon if he could shoot an apple placed on his child's head, a feat which he performed. The story forms the subject of Schiller's play *Wilhelm Tell* (p. 38).

**Themis** : one of the Titans, daughter of Uranus and Ge, the personification of order and justice ; represented in art with a cornucopia and pair of scales (p. 12).

**Tindal, Nicholas** (1687-1774) : a clergyman and author of miscellaneous works of little merit (p. 20).

"**To heirs unknown**," etc. : from Pope's Second Epistle, referring to the legacies of the Duchess of Marlborough (p. 27).

**Tory** : the word meant originally an Irish outlaw. It was first used in England as a political party name in 1679, and applied to those who were supposed to be authors of the Popish Plot, but became gradually much less restricted in meaning, and signified a member of the party which disapproved of change in the constitution, *i.e.* the modern Conservative (p. 14).

**Townshend, Charles, Viscount** (1674-1738) : a Whig and disciple of Somers. Secretary of State in 1714 with Walpole as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Dismissed by the king in 1717, but recalled in 1721 after the affair of the South-Sea Bubble ; in 1730 resigned and lived in private life, turning his attention to the improved cultivation of turnips in Norfolk (p. 15).

**Vattel, Eméric de** (1714-1767) : a writer on the law of nations. His *Droit des Gens* appeared in 1758 (p. 39).

**Versailles** : near Paris. The favourite resort of Louis XIV. The galleries of the palace contain many famous pictures and relics of the Kings of France (p. 47). Macaulay visited Versailles in 1839 and described the palace as " a huge heap of littleness."

**Waldegrave, Lord** : governor to George III. before his accession to the throne (p. 43).

**Walpole, Sir Robert** : Earl of Orford (1676-1745). He was connected with the impeachment of Sacheverel in 1710, was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1715, and First Lord of the Treasury again in 1721. Macaulay says of him : " Many of his contemporaries had a morality quite as lax as his ; but very few among them had his talents, and none had his hardihood and energy " (p. 10).

**Whig** : a word of Scottish origin, contracted from Whiggamores, people of South-west Scotland who drove their horses to Leith with corn. In 1648 the people of the West of Scotland rebelled and marched to Edinburgh headed by the Duke of Argyle. This was called the Whiggamores' broad, and after that all who opposed the Court were called Whiggs. The word

was brought to England and first assumed as a party name by the supporters of William III. The principles of the Whigs, or Liberals as they are now called, have generally tended to increase democratic influence (p. 13).

**Wolfe, James (1727-1759)**: a famous general who fought in the war with the French in America. He died in the hour of victory after storming the Heights of Abraham to capture Quebec. He is said to have remarked that he would rather have written Gray's *Elegy* than have gained all his victories (p. 44).



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