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LORD BROUGHAM'S  
CHARACTER OF MR. PITT.

BY  
JOHN SIBBALD EDISON,  
OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE,  
BARRISTER AT LAW.



— ποτέ τοι τρίς τόσσα παρέσσεται ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,  
"Υβριος ἕνεκα τῆσδε. (ΙΛ. Α.)

LONDON:  
T. CADELL, STRAND;  
W. BLACKWOOD AND SONS, EDINBURGH.

—  
M.DCCC.XLII.

930.



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GOUGH SQUARE.

## PREFACE.

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THE Author coincides in opinion with an eminent writer of the present day,\* who has said, in the Preface to one of his publications,† “No credit, I am aware, is given to an author’s own disclaimer of personal motives, and profession of exclusive regard for public utility.” He proposes, therefore, to confine that apologetic declaration, which a sense of propriety dictates as obligatory, in a case like the present, in which an individual, wholly undistinguished, has ventured to enter into controversy with one of high celebrity, to a statement, the truth of which is manifest : viz.

That no right-minded person could form the judgment, at which it is evident that the

\* Archbishop Whately.

† The Elements of Logic.

Author has arrived, with respect to Lord Brougham's delineation of the character of Mr. Pitt, without being earnestly solicitous that Mr. Pitt's memory should be relieved, as completely and as speedily as might be, from that incalculable weight of infamy which has been accumulated upon it, by the averment and assumed establishment of those awfully-criminative charges, which his Lordship has had the hardihood to prefer: and that it is impossible that any person could be earnestly solicitous that Mr. Pitt's memory should be relieved, as completely and as speedily as might be, from the incalculable weight of infamy alluded to, without making an attempt (supposing that time were accorded for, and circumstances permitted of, the enterprise) like that which the Author has made in the present Publication.

It is not, however, to an exclusive, and as it were, forensic defence of Mr. Pitt's memory, that the Author has consecrated (so to speak) the time and attention which these pages

have engaged: the establishment of the truth constituted his paramount object; and it is in the strictest subordination to that paramount object, that he has conducted his defence of Mr. Pitt. The truth of this remark will be evident upon a perusal of the volume.

With respect to the course which it will be perceived that the Author has adopted, in entering upon the discussion of certain points in a Supplemental Appendix, it may be advisable, he conceives, to intimate that the points adverted to are such as were unessential to the general import of the respective passages of the context to which they have relation; yet such, withal, as could not have been permitted to remain uncommented upon, without injustice to Mr. Pitt, and a culpable indifference to the establishment of truth.

For example: Lord Brougham, upon one occasion, expressly asserts that Mr. Pitt should not be judged harshly, and virtually admits that he cannot be blamed, on account of "the entire change of his opinions upon the

great question of Reform." Now, since his Lordship has expressly asserted that the entire change of Mr. Pitt's opinions, upon the great question of Reform, should not be visited harshly, and virtually admitted that it cannot be found fault with, any argument adduced in the context, with a view of proving that Mr. Pitt's opinions upon the question of Reform did not undergo an entire change, would manifestly have been superfluous, and might, by disarranging the order, have debilitated the force, of the general argument. But it being necessary, both in justice to Mr. Pitt, and for the establishment of the truth, to ascertain whether any entire change did or did not take place in Mr. Pitt's opinions upon the question of Reform, we have investigated that point at a length which could not have been judiciously resorted to (under any circumstances) in the context, in a Supplemental Appendix.

One practical inference deducible from the statement made in the two preceding obser-

vations—it is so obvious that it was perhaps scarcely necessary to have adverted to it—is this :—That that part of the present publication, which is comprised in the Supplemental Appendix, must not be regarded (as Appendices usually are) as containing matter of but secondary importance and a mere subsidiary character.

In concluding these brief prefatory remarks, the Author ventures to express a hope, that in case his Publication should chance to give rise to any “discussion through the Press,” that discussion may be conducted (as he has little doubt but that it will) in a manner which “betrays no heat or impatience of temper—no anxiety to take an unfair advantage—no wish to catch at trifling omissions or slips—nothing of heat or animosity whatever.”\*

\* Vide Historical Sketches, Second Series, p. 187.





## CHAPTER I.

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LORD BROUGHAM'S introduction to his Lordship's "Historical Sketches of the Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III." commences with a statement of the following positions.

"The affairs of men, the interests and the history of nations, the relative value of institutions as discovered by their actual working, the merits of different systems of policy as tried by their effects, are all very imperfectly examined, without a thorough knowledge of the individuals who administered the systems, and presided over the management of the public concerns. The history of empires is, indeed, the history of men, not only of the nominal rulers of the people, but of all the leading persons who exerted a sensible influence over the destinies of their fellow-creatures, whether the traces of that influence survived themselves, or, as in the case of lesser minds, their power was confined to their own times."

"But, in another view, this kind of inquiry, this species of record, is even more important. Not only the world at large is thus instructed, but the character of statesmen and rulers is improved.

Examples are held up of the faults which they are to avoid, and of the virtues which they are to cultivate. Nor can history ever be the school of potentates, whether on or near the throne, unless the character and conduct of their predecessors be thoroughly scrutinized.”

Now, it is evident from the first of these two passages, that a “thorough knowledge” of the individuals whose characters are portrayed in Lord Brougham’s *Historical Sketches of the Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III.*, is what his Lordship proposes to communicate to his reader: whilst by the tenour of the second, we are clearly given to understand, that it is by means of a ‘thorough scrutiny’ into their several characters and respective conduct, that Lord Brougham has attempted to attain to, and purposes to impart, such “thorough knowledge.”

It follows, therefore, that we are entitled to expect, nay, authorized to conclude, that the delineation of the character of Mr. Pitt which we find contained in Lord Brougham’s *Historical Sketches of the Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III.*, will be such an one as was intended to impart, and is calculated to communicate, a “thorough knowledge” founded upon a ‘thorough scrutiny’ of his character and conduct.

Having premised this single remark (which we beg the reader to bear in mind), we proceed at once to refer to p. 193 of the First Series of Lord Brough-

am's Historical Sketches of the Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III.—the section of his Lordship's publication, at which the delineation of Mr. Pitt's character commences.

Upon doing so ; we find that after a few unimportant introductory observations, Lord Brougham expresses himself as follows :

“ At an age when others are but entering upon the study of State affairs and the practice of debating, he (Mr. Pitt) came forth a mature politician, a finished orator,—even, as if by inspiration, an accomplished debater. His knowledge, too, was not confined to the study of the Classics, though with these he was familiarly conversant ; the more severe pursuits of Cambridge had imparted to him some acquaintance with the stricter sciences which have had their home upon the banks of the Granta since Newton made them his abode ; and with political philosophy he was more familiar than most Englishmen of his own age. Having prepared himself, too, for being called to the bar, and both attended on Courts of Justice and frequented the Western Circuit, he had more knowledge and habits of business than can fall to the lot of our young patricians ;—the material out of which British Statesmen are for the most part fashioned, by an attendance upon debates in parliament, and a study of the newspapers in the clubs.”

The above passage does justice to Mr. Pitt's extraordinary natural endowments, and very justly

estimates the advantages he derived from a due prosecution of the course of education prescribed by the University of Cambridge. It also unequivocally concedes to Mr. Pitt that station of intellectual pre-eminence to which his admirers prefer a claim on his behalf, which is called in question, and often pertinaciously opposed, by those of his detractors whose prejudices are fortified by ignorance.

But the passage under consideration, we may observe, cannot be looked upon (as an incautious reader will, probably, be apt to regard it) as constituting an instance of that "praise bestowed upon known political adversaries" which Lord Brougham adverts to as affording "some evidence of general impartiality."\* For if, upon the 'thorough scrutiny' about to be instituted by Lord Brougham, it appear that Mr. Pitt's character and conduct were discreditable; instead of being invested with a laudatory bearing, the highly panegyric but just and unexaggerated representation of his abilities and acquirements, given in the passage under review, will but have the effect of heaping additional obloquy upon his memory, when it testifies (as it does most forcibly) that he was so super-eminently well qualified, by nature and education, to

\* "But he (the author) thinks the praise bestowed upon known political adversaries, and the disapproval, admitted to be just, of conduct frequently held by the party for whose services to the cause of freedom he is most grateful, will be taken as some evidence of general impartiality:" Lord Brougham observes in the concluding passage of his Lordship's Introduction.

have acted a great and glorious part in the drama of life.

“Happy,” Lord Brougham proceeds, “had he not too soon removed into office from the prosecution of studies which his rapid success broke off never to be resumed! For the leading defect of his life, which is seen through all his measures, and which not even his great capacity and intense industry could supply, was an ignorance of the principles upon which large measures are to be framed, and nations to be at once guided and improved. As soon as he entered upon official duties, his time was at the mercy of every one who had a claim to prefer, a grievance to complain of, or a nostrum to propound; nor could the hours of which the day consists suffice at once to give all these their audience; to transact the routine of business of his station; to direct or counteract the intrigues of party; and, at the same time, to learn all that his sudden transplanting from the study to the cabinet, and from the bar to the senate, had of necessity left unlearnt.”

“From hence,” continues his Lordship, in the succeeding paragraph, “and from the temptation always afforded in times of difficulty to avoid as much as possible all unnecessary embarrassments, and all risks not forced upon him, arose the peculiarity which marks his story,—and marks it in a way not less hurtful to his own renown through after ages, than unfortunate for his country.”

In commenting upon the above passage, we would



remark, in the first place, that by the phrase “the principles upon which large measures are to be framed,” Lord Brougham, as we imagine, must have intended to signify ‘the principles upon which those just and comprehensive views of state-policy are founded, in accordance with which all wise and beneficial political measures, whether “large” (that is, extensively-operative we presume) or otherwise, must of necessity ‘be framed;’ or, in other words, ‘the principles of political science.’

If Lord Brougham did not intend to intimate an opinion tantamount to that expressed in the above paraphrase of his Lordship’s language, we are utterly at a loss to conjecture what he could have meant by “the principles upon which large measures are to be framed!” But to proceed.

The assertion, then, made by Lord Brougham in the passage under consideration, that “an ignorance of the principles upon which large measures are to framed,” or, in other words, an ignorance of the principles of political science, “was the leading defect of the life” of one who was “a mature politician” (as his Lordship has distinctly affirmed in the sentence immediately preceding) “at an age when others are but entering upon the study of state affairs,” involves a direct and palpable contradiction, —a contradiction in terms.

But for the sake of argument, we are willing to dismiss this from our consideration, and to take it for granted that it was by an unwary slip of the pen

that Lord Brougham described Mr. Pitt as “a mature politician at an age when others are but entering upon the study of state affairs.”

Having waived the objection which we might successfully have urged against the passage under consideration, had we thought proper to insist that it involves a contradiction in terms ; we may proceed to observe that all that is predicated in the former of the two paragraphs of which it consists (as a re-perusal of the passage will immediately convince the reader,) is simply that “the leading defect of his (Mr. Pitt’s) life was an ignorance of the principles upon which large measures are to be framed, and nations to be at once guided and improved :” whilst what the latter of the two paragraphs affirms (under the elliptical form of expression which Lord Brougham has thought fit to employ) is that from that ignorance, and from the temptation adverted to, “arose” *those errors or that misconduct which constitute* “the peculiarity which marks his (Mr. Pitt’s) story in a way not less hurtful to his own renown, through after ages, than unfortunate for his country.”

It is evident, therefore, that the passage under review virtually contains the statement of a position to the following effect : viz.,

‘ That Mr. Pitt was ignorant of “the principles upon which large measures are to be framed :” or, in other words, of the principles of political science ; and from that ignorance, and in consequence of his having yielded to a temptation to avoid all unneces-

sary embarrassments, he misconducted himself in his public life, in a way not less hurtful to his own renown, through after ages, than unfortunate for his country.'

In thus commencing his disquisition upon the character and conduct of Mr. Pitt, by stating the position virtually laid down by his Lordship in the passage under consideration, as a result (it may be presumed) of the thorough scrutiny proposed to be resorted to, Lord Brougham has but followed the course which many reasoners are accustomed to adopt in conducting their argumentation ; viz., that of commencing with a statement of the conclusion which it is their object to establish, and then proceeding to advance the arguments and adduce the evidence by which they have arrived at, and would constrain their reader or audience to adopt, that conclusion.

What those arguments are and that evidence is, we propose to inquire in a separate chapter, as we conceive that such an arrangement is calculated to give additional perspicuity to our disquisition.



## CHAPTER II.

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‘THAT Mr. Pitt was ignorant of the principles of political science ; and that from that ignorance, and in consequence of his having yielded to a temptation to avoid all unnecessary embarrassments, he misconducted himself in his political life, in a way not less hurtful to his own renown through after ages, than unfortunate for his country ;’—is (as we have seen) a position or conclusion virtually laid down by Lord Brougham as a result (it may be presumed) of a thorough scrutiny into Mr. Pitt’s character and conduct.

Upon resuming our perusal of the Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III., with a view, more particularly, of ascertaining what are the arguments and what is the evidence adduced by Lord Brougham in support of the above position ; we read (in the passage which immediately succeeds that last cited) as follows :

“ With more power than any minister ever possessed—with an opposition which rather was a help than an hindrance to him during the greater part of his rule—with a friendly court, an obsequious parliament, a confiding people—he held the supreme place

in the public councils for twenty years ; and, excepting the union with Ireland, which was forced upon him by a rebellion, and which was both corruptly and imperfectly carried, so as to produce the smallest possible benefit to either country, he has not left a single measure behind him for which the community, whose destinies he so long swayed, has any reason to respect his memory ; while, by want of firmness, he was the cause of an impolicy and extravagance, the effects of which are yet felt, and will oppress us beyond the life of the youngest now alive.”

Now the import of the above cited passage (as the intelligent reader will immediately perceive) is this : it simply predicates ‘ that, with one partial exception, (with the exception of the union with Ireland) he (Mr. Pitt) has not left a single measure behind him for which the community, whose destinies he so long swayed, has any reason to respect his memory :’ and ‘ that by want of firmness, he was the cause of an impolicy and extravagance, the effects of which are yet felt, and will oppress us beyond the life of the youngest now alive.’

By the singular and somewhat inaccurate form of expression, “ has not left a single measure behind him,” we presume, nay, may decisively pronounce, (for the context of his Lordship’s observations will bear us out in doing so) that Lord Brougham must be understood to mean ‘ did not effect any measure,’ or, to state the fullest meaning of which his Lordship’s phraseology, as explained by the context, is susceptible, ‘ did not adopt any line of policy.’

The passage under consideration, then, has the effect—and has but the effect—of laying down two additional positions or conclusions adduced by Lord Brougham as further results (it may be presumed) of his Lordship's thorough scrutiny into the character and conduct of Mr. Pitt.

The two positions or conclusions which Lord Brougham has virtually laid down in the passage under consideration, and proceeds (we are bound to believe and entitled to expect) to support, in the sequel, by argument and proof, may be definitively stated thus :

‘ That (with the exception of the union with Ireland) Mr. Pitt did not effect any measure, or adopt any line of policy, for which the community, whose destinies he so long swayed, has any reason to respect his memory :’ and,

‘ That by want of firmness, Mr. Pitt was the cause of an impolicy and extravagance, the effects of which are yet felt, and will oppress us beyond the life of the youngest now alive.’

But, be it observed, the passage of which the import and effect are obviously and solely such as we have stated them to be, contains a parenthesis—an irrelevant parenthesis, inasmuch as what the passage in which it is inserted predicates, viz., ‘ that, excepting the union with Ireland, Mr. Pitt has not left any measure behind him for which the community has any reason to respect his memory,’ would have had precisely the same significancy, extent, and effect, if the parenthesis had been altogether omitted—which

has the effect of preferring a charge of very considerable magnitude against Mr. Pitt. It is necessary, therefore, for us to interrupt the course of our observations, in order to investigate and (as we trust) disprove that charge.

That the union with Ireland “was forced upon him (Mr. Pitt) by a rebellion,” the parenthesis states, “and was both corruptly and imperfectly carried, so as to produce the smallest possible benefit to either country.”

The above statement, it is evident, prefers a charge against Mr. Pitt touching his conduct with respect to the union with Ireland, which consists of or comprises the three following distinct averments.

‘That the union with Ireland was forced upon Mr. Pitt by a rebellion;’

‘That the union with Ireland was corruptly carried;’

‘That the union with Ireland was imperfectly carried, so as to produce the smallest possible benefit to either country.’

These three averments we propose to consider separately, in the order in which they stand.

With respect to the first averment :

‘That the union with Ireland was forced upon Mr. Pitt by a rebellion.’

Upon the termination of the session of Parliament, during which he was appointed Prime Minister—that session through which he had “to struggle,” as Lord Brougham informs us, “against a phalanx of such men as Burke, Windham, Sheridan, North,

Erskine, Lee, Barrè (and Mr. Fox,) backed by a majority of the Commons," and cannot therefore be supposed to have had much leisure at his command—Mr. Pitt directed his attention to the affairs of Ireland, with that determination and intensity which their complicated character and critical position so manifestly called for ; and early in the following year (in February 1785) when addressing the House of Commons with reference to certain measures which his attention to Irish affairs had led him to determine upon, he distinctly affirmed ; that "There were but two possible systems for countries situate in relation to one another, like Britain and Ireland. The one was, that of having the smaller completely subservient and subordinate to the greater—to make the smaller, as it were, an instrument of advantage to the greater, and to cause all her efforts to operate and conduce solely to that purpose. The other was a participation and community of benefits, upon a principle of equality and fairness, which, without tending to aggrandise the one or depress the other, should seek the aggregate interests of the empire." "And it was this situation," Mr. Pitt added, "in which he was anxious to place Great Britain and Ireland."\*

Now that the latter of the two principles adverted to by Mr. Pitt in the words which we have cited, is identical with that upon which the union with Ireland is based, is undeniable. But to proceed.

\* Vide Tomline's Life of Pitt, Vol. II. p. 74.



The measures based upon the latter of the two principles adverted to, which Mr. Pitt had determined upon and successfully introduced into the British House of Commons, were defeated by the factious opposition which they met with in Ireland.\*

“The failure of this plan,” we are informed upon the best authority,† “was a severe mortification to Mr. Pitt. He had laboured unremittingly for nearly twelve months, to make it as perfect and unexceptionable as its extensive and complicated nature would allow; and he was satisfied that it would have proved highly conducive to the most important interests of Ireland, as well as to the general welfare of the empire. He thought it, however, wise in the Irish Government to yield to the present clamour, and wait for a change of sentiment (in the Irish) to which he looked forward with the utmost confidence.”

Now when the above undeniable historical facts are taken into consideration, which appears the more probable, the commonly-received opinion ‘that Mr. Pitt took advantage of the favourable juncture afforded by that utter discomfiture of the disaffected Irish, consequent upon the suppression of the rebel-

\* The motion for leave to bring in a bill similar to that which Mr. Pitt had introduced into the British House of Commons, for effectuating the measures adverted to, was carried by so small a majority in the Irish House of Commons—only 128 to 107—that the Irish Government deemed it advisable to abandon all intention of carrying them for the present.

† Vide Tomline’s *Life of Pitt*, Vol. II., p. 92.

lion, to secure the adoption of a measure, the same in principle as that “which he was satisfied would have proved highly conducive to the most important interests of Ireland as well as to the general welfare of the empire,” but had been thwarted in his purpose of introducing, by the factious opposition of those same disaffected Irish ;’ or Lord Brougham’s hypothesis ‘that the union with Ireland was forced upon Mr. Pitt by the Irish rebellion’ ?

Now Lord Brougham’s hypothesis having been shewn to be unreasonable—not to say impossible—the averment founded upon it ; the averment ‘that the union with Ireland was forced upon Mr. Pitt by a rebellion,’ is effectually rebutted, and must be pronounced to be incapable of sustaining, or in any degree contributing to support, the charge preferred by the statement contained in the parenthesis under review.

We may commence our reply to the second of the three averments, viz. :

‘That the union with Ireland was corruptly carried ;’

With a statement of two important facts which fortunately happen to be admitted, and indeed, affirmed in the very language in which we state them, by Lord Brougham himself : viz.

1st. That the union with Ireland was “a measure as necessary for the well-being of Ireland, as for the security of the empire at large ;”\* and,

\* Vide Historical Sketches. First Series, p. 263.

2ndly. That the Irish Parliament was notoriously corrupt,—“a bad and corrupt assembly.”\*

“If we consider,” says Mr. Justice Blackstone, “how the crown is impoverished and stripped of all its ancient revenues, so that it must greatly rely on the liberality of Parliament for its necessary support and maintenance, we may perhaps be led to think, that the balance is inclined pretty strongly to the popular scale, and that the executive magistrate has neither independence nor power enough left, to form that check upon the Lords and Commons, which the founders of our Constitution intended.”†

“But on the other hand, it is to be considered,” Blackstone continues, ‘that various circumstances (which he enumerates, but which it is unnecessary to recount) have conferred upon the crown’ “an influence most amazingly extensive,” and given to the executive power “so persuasive an energy as will amply make amends for the loss of external prerogative.”

“Much is given up:” he proceeds to observe, “but much is also acquired. The stern commands of prerogative have yielded to the milder voice of influence.”

Now when Mr. Pitt brought forward this measure for a union with Ireland, which was (as Lord Brougham admits) “as necessary for the well-being

\* Vide Historical Sketches. Second Series, p. 147.

† Vide Blackstone’s Commentaries on the Laws of England, vol. i. p. 336.



of Ireland as for the security of the empire at large," and had to carry it through the Irish Parliament, "a bad and corrupt assembly" (as his Lordship asserts), was he called upon to forego all exertion of that "milder voice of influence," without the exercise of which it would have been impossible (humanly speaking) to have carried that "necessary measure" through a "corrupt assembly." Nay, would he have been justified in refusing to exert the influence of the Crown, under the circumstances adverted to, and saying to himself, ' Since I cannot hope to carry this measure through "a bad and corrupt assembly," without availing myself of government influence, I must of necessity abandon it, although I know it to be a measure "as necessary for the well-being of Ireland as for the security of the empire at large?" '

Now these questions having been answered (as they must be) in the negative, it follows, it must be granted, that the influence of the Crown might have been (in a certain manner and to a certain degree) legitimately exerted with a view of carrying the measure for a union with Ireland through the Irish Parliament.

' How far the influence of the Crown might have been *legitimately* exerted for the purpose of carrying the measure for a union with Ireland through the Irish Parliament ; and what manner or degree of the exertion of Government influence would constitute such exertion *corrupt* : ' is a question that pre-

sents a Gordian knot, which the sciolist in Ethics might endlessly labour to untie, but which that best of casuists, an honest heart, would dissever in an instant.

It may be predicated, therefore, that supposing the Government influence to have been exerted for the purpose of carrying the measure for a union with Ireland through the Irish Parliament, within the limit which an honest heart would instinctively and determinately set, that influence would have been only legitimately exercised ; and the measure in favour of which it had been, it may be most energetically and persuasively, exerted, cannot be said to have been “carried corruptly :” whereas, supposing the Government influence to have been exerted for the purpose of carrying the measure for a union with Ireland through the Irish Parliament, beyond the limit which an honest heart would instinctively and determinately set, that influence would have been corruptly exercised, and the measure in favour of which it had been so exercised, may be said to have been “corruptly carried.”

The point, then, which we have to ascertain, in order to determine whether the averment, ‘that the union with Ireland was corruptly carried,’ can or cannot be supported, is simply this :

‘Was that Government influence which he might legitimately have exerted, and was indeed bound to exert, in a certain manner and to a certain degree, for the purpose of carrying the measure for a union

with Ireland through the Irish Parliament, exerted by Mr. Pitt within, or beyond, that limit which an honest heart would instinctively and determinately set?’

Now if it can be shewn that Mr. Pitt had an honest heart, or was, in other words, a man of integrity, we may fairly infer, in the absence of all proof to the contrary—and there is, be it observed! a total absence of all proof to the contrary—that he would not, and did not, exert the Government influence for the purpose of carrying the measure for a union with Ireland through the Irish Parliament, beyond that limit which an honest heart would instinctively and determinately set.

‘That Mr. Pitt was a man of integrity, and must therefore have had an honest heart,’ Lord Brougham unequivocally admits. “His (Mr. Pitt’s) integrity,” his Lordship says upon one occasion, “was wholly without a stain.”\*

It being granted, then, that Mr. Pitt had an honest heart, we infer that he would not, and did not, exert the Government influence for the purpose of carrying the measure for a union with Ireland, beyond that limit which an honest heart would instinctively and determinately set: and since Mr. Pitt did not exert the Government influence for the purpose of carrying the measure for a union with Ireland, beyond the limit which an honest heart

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 208.

would instinctively and determinately set, he did but exert that influence — we are entitled to conclude—legitimately. It follows, therefore, that the “union with Ireland” cannot be said to have been “carried corruptly” by Mr. Pitt. Consequently, we may pronounce that Lord Brougham’s second averment—the averment ‘That the union with Ireland was corruptly carried,’ is (like the first) incapable of sustaining, or in any degree contributing to support, the charge preferred against Mr. Pitt, by the statement contained in the parenthesis under review.

‘That the union with Ireland was imperfectly carried, so as to produce the smallest possible benefit to either country ;’

The third averment alleges.

In commencing our reply to it, we would, in the first place, submit, that Mr. Pitt was not an absolute potentate, who had but to devise a measure for effecting a union with Ireland, in the retirement of his closet, and establish that measure in the plenitude of that perfection with which he had been enabled to invest it, by his simple fiat; but a minister of state, who was under the necessity of submitting the measure which he had devised for effecting a union with Ireland, to the consideration and revision of four separate deliberative assemblies; in one of which it was certain to encounter a factious opposition; whilst in two of the others, it would have to struggle against the most violent national preju-

dices. And consequently Mr. Pitt might reasonably have congratulated himself, and may be said to have been highly successful in the conduct of his measure, supposing that it passed through the ordeal to which he was under the necessity of consigning it, without undergoing any essential modification of its principle, and only sustained a loss in efficiency and abatement of perfection.

Having premised the above remark, with a view of pointing out how unreasonable it would be to expect that the measure for effectuating a union with Ireland carried by Mr. Pitt, should be found to possess that full efficiency and completeness with which it might doubtless have been invested, if Mr. Pitt or any other able and conscientious statesman had exercised an unrestricted authority in framing its provisions, and had had the uncontrolled arrangement of its details: we may proceed to observe, that the principle upon which the measure for effectuating a union with Ireland carried by Mr. Pitt was based, was the same with that which constituted the basis of the measures which he contemplated with respect to Ireland, and had fruitlessly attempted to carry into effect, in 1785: viz.

‘ That of a participation and community of benefits, upon a principle of equality, which, without tending to aggrandize the one or depress the other, should seek the aggregate interests of the empire.’

Now ‘ that a measure of union, based upon the



above principle, is calculated to produce as great benefit to two countries situate as Great Britain and Ireland were, as any measure of union to which it is possible to resort, could do,' may be predicated as a self-evident proposition.

Upon referring to the Act of Union (39 and 40 Geo. III. c. 67.) we find it stated in the preamble,—and “the preamble,” according to Lord Coke, is a good mean for finding the meaning of a statute—that “the two Houses of the Parliament of Great Britain, and the two Houses of the Parliament of Ireland, have severally agreed and resolved, that in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British Empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom.” And by the Articles agreed upon “for effectuating and establishing the said purposes,” we find it specified (amongst other stipulations) that “the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall be united into one kingdom;” “That the said United Kingdom shall be represented by one and the same Parliament;” “That the representation of Great Britain and Ireland in that Parliament should be constituted upon a principle of equality and fairness”—such is the substance of Article the fourth; “That his Majesty’s subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall be entitled to the same

privileges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation, in all parts and places in the United Kingdom and its dependencies"—‘shall enjoy,’ in other words, ‘the most complete participation and community of benefits.’

Now, from its preamble—a mean for finding the meaning of the statute, or, in other words, an intimation of the intention of its framers, pursuant to which the language of any disputable provision ought to be interpreted—and from the specimen we have given of the stipulations it contains, it is manifest that the Act of Union is calculated to give effect—abundant and substantial effect—to a measure of union based upon the principle of a ‘participation and community of benefits, upon a principle of equality, which, without tending to aggrandize the one or depress the other, should seek the aggregate interests of the empire;’ and complete effect (granting for the sake of argument that the provisions of the Act of Union do not give complete effect to the measure of union devised by Mr. Pitt) it would be unreasonable (as we have seen) to require or expect in the case of a measure which its originator was under the necessity of submitting to the revision of four deliberative assemblies constituted as the British and Irish Houses of Parliament were at the time of the accomplishment of the union.

Since the principle, then, of the measure of union devised by Mr. Pitt, is one of such a character, that

it is self-evident (as we have seen) ‘ that a union based upon it would be calculated to produce as great benefit to two countries situate as Great Britain and Ireland were, as any measure of union to which it was possible to resort could do ;’ and since the Act of Parliament by which that measure of union was effectuated and established, was calculated to give abundant and substantial effect to that measure, it follows, it must be granted, that the measure for effectuating a union between Great Britain and Ireland carried by Mr. Pitt, was such a one as was calculated to produce *as great benefit to both countries* as any measure of union to which it is possible to resort could do ; and consequently it is wholly impossible that the union with Ireland could have been carried ‘ so as to produce the *smallest possible benefit to either country.*’ We may therefore pronounce that Lord Brougham’s third averment—the averment ‘ That the union with Ireland was carried imperfectly, so as to produce the smallest possible benefit to either country,’ is incapable of sustaining, or in any degree contributing, to support the charge preferred against Mr. Pitt in the parenthesis under review.

Now, we have proved, be it observed, that the three averments of which it consists, are, each of them, incapable of sustaining, or in any degree contributing to support, the charge preferred against Mr. Pitt, touching his conduct with respect to the



union with Ireland, in the parenthesis under review ; and by proving this, we incontestably establish that that charge is an unfounded one.

Upon returning from this so very lengthened a digression—the blame of which (supposing any to be awarded by the reader) must be borne, we humbly submit, by my Lord Brougham ; inasmuch as if it was in consequence of his Lordship's allegation of a charge of very considerable magnitude in an irrelevant parenthesis, that we were under the necessity of digressing at so inordinate a length—upon returning from the above digression, it may be advisable to remark, that the state of our investigation into Lord Brougham's delineation of Mr. Pitt's character and conduct, at the time that we entered upon the consideration of the parenthesis, in commenting upon which we have been led to digress, was this :

We had ascertained that, in certain passages cited and commented upon, Lord Brougham has virtually laid down three positions or conclusions, which are intended, we presume, to be maintained by argument and proof—which must be supported by argument and proof—in the sequel of his Lordship's delineation of Mr. Pitt's character and conduct, if we are to regard them as any thing more than simple intimations of Lord Brougham's individual opinion, or, at most, as unsupported hypotheses.

The three positions or conclusions adverted to, are these :

‘That Mr. Pitt was ignorant of the principles of political science ; and that from that ignorance, and in consequence of his having yielded to a temptation to avoid all unnecessary embarrassments, he misconducted himself in his political life, in a way not less hurtful to his own renown, through after ages, than unfortunate for his country.’

‘That, with one partial exception, Mr. Pitt did not effect any measure, or adopt any line of policy, during his administration, for which the community, whose destinies he so long swayed, has reason to respect his memory:’ and,

‘That by want of firmness, Mr. Pitt was the cause of an impolicy and extravagance, the effects of which are yet felt, and will oppress us beyond the life of the youngest now alive.’

‘These three positions, “or some or one of them” (as we say in legal phraseology,) Lord Brougham proceeds to support, in manner following :

\*“ It is assuredly not to Mr. Pitt’s sinking-fund that we allude, as shewing his defective political resources ; that scheme, now exploded, after being gradually given up by all adepts in the science of finance, was for many years their favourite ; nor can he in this particular be so justly charged, as he well may in all the rest of his measures, with never having gone before his age, and not always being upon a level with the wisdom of his own times.

\* This passage immediately succeeds that last cited.

Yet may it be confessed that, his financial administration being the main feature of his official history, all his other plans are allowed to have been failures at the time ; and this, the only exception, began to be questioned before his decease, and has long been abandoned.”

In commenting upon the above passage, we may observe, in the first place, that the unequivocal admission made at the commencement of the former of the two sentences which it contains, viz., that “it is assuredly not to Mr. Pitt’s sinking-fund that we allude, as shewing his defective political resources,” exempts us from all necessity of directing our attention to the opinion (it amounts to no more) intimated in the course of it, ‘that “that scheme” (Mr. Pitt’s establishment of a sinking-fund) was an unwise one :’ and we may, therefore, dismiss the sentence in question from our consideration without further remark.

Before we can pretend to determine what degree (if any) of support, the contents of the latter of the two sentences contained in the passage under review, is capable of affording to any of the three positions virtually laid down by Lord Brougham, we must contrive to obtain a clearer insight into its meaning, than that which a plain understanding can attain to, on a first perusal.

Upon a re-perusal of the passage adverted to—the passage “Yet may it be confessed that his (Mr. Pitt’s) financial administration being the main

feature in his official history, all his other plans are allowed to have been failures at the time ; and this, the only exception, began to be questioned before his decease, and has long been abandoned,"—with a view of obtaining a clearer insight into its meaning ; the following question naturally suggests itself, and will probably have occurred to the intelligent reader, viz., 'Can Lord Brougham mean to express by the language "that his (Mr. Pitt's) financial administration being the main feature of his official history, all his other plans are allowed to have been failures at the time," what, if understood literally, it must be taken to import ? does his Lordship intend to signify that Mr. Pitt's financial administration being" or 'because Mr. Pitt's financial administration was' (the forms of expression are convertible) "the main feature in his official history, all his other plans are"—or (to supply the ellipsis) '*it follows that therefore* all his other plans are'—"allowed to have been failures at the time?" An affirmative answer to this question would involve the conclusion that Lord Brougham had intentionally written nonsense ; a conclusion which candour and courtesy forbid us to adopt. We may, therefore, unhesitatingly pronounce that Lord Brougham did not mean to express what his Lordship's language, if understood literally, must be taken to import.

The most probable and reasonable interpretation which it is possible to put upon the latter of the two sentences contained in the passage under review, we

conceive to be this : viz., That what Lord Brougham intended to express, when his Lordship writes “that his (Mr. Pitt’s) financial administration being the main feature of his official history, all his other plans are allowed to have been failures at the time,” was simply ‘that Mr. Pitt’s financial administration is the main feature of his official history, and that all his other plans *must be allowed to have been, or, in other words, were* failures at the time.’

When amended by the alterations we have suggested, the passage under consideration is intelligible : but the two assertions which it would (in that case) express with sufficient distinctness, are by no means self-evident propositions. They are positions which we deny.

For, first : Mr. Pitt’s financial administration is not the main feature of his official history. The main feature, or, at any rate, one of the principal features of Mr. Pitt’s official history—a *feature* as plain as the nose in a man’s face—we trust that the homeliness of this illustration will be pardoned in consideration of its appositeness, or, at least, that the temptation cast in our way by Lord Brougham’s employment of the extraordinary term his Lordship has selected, may allowably be pleaded in extenuation of our offence—one of the principal, we repeat, most discernible, and most imposing features of Mr. Pitt’s official history, is the preservation of Great Britain (under Divine Providence) by means of the sagacious, timely, and energetic measures which he



devised, and resorted to at the sacrifice of popularity and in despite of obloquy, from that calamitous disruption of civil society which desolated France, and threatened to desolate the world, at the close of the last century.

And secondly : certain of Mr. Pitt's other plans—certain plans of Mr. Pitt which did not relate to matters of finance—were not only not failures at the time, but not failures at all. This was the case—to give two illustrious instances out of the many which will immediately present themselves to every one who is conversant with the history of the period—with the plan which Mr. Pitt formed for restraining “the thoughtless violence,” as my Lord Brougham has somewhat softly termed it, “of the extreme democratic party in this country ;”<sup>\*</sup> also, with that which he resorted to for the protection of Great Britain at a time when her liberties, nay, her very existence as an independent state, were placed in the most imminent peril, by the threatened aggression of that “consummate warrior” and “man of a mighty genius”—we use Lord Brougham's own language—“who, by wielding the destinies of France, had made himself master of half the world.”

The passage which immediately succeeds that commented upon above, is the following :

“Neither should we visit harshly the entire change of his opinions on the great question of

Reform ; albeit the question with which his claims to public favour commenced, and on his support of which his early popularity and power were almost wholly grounded. But the force, it must be admitted, of the defence urged for his conversion, that the alarms raised in the most reflecting minds by the French Revolution, and its cognate excitement among ourselves, justified a reconsideration of the opinions originally entertained upon our parliamentary system, and might induce an honest alteration of them. That any such considerations could never justify him in lending himself to the persecution of his former associates in that cause, may be peremptorily denied ; and in aid of this denial it may be asked, what would have been said of Mr. Wilberforce and the other abolitionists, had they, on account of some dreadful desolation of our colonies by negro insurrection, suddenly joined in proscribing and persecuting all who, after they themselves had left the cause, should continue to devote their efforts to its promotion ? ”

Before we enter upon the consideration of the lastly-cited passage, it may be advisable to observe, that it is not adduced in support of, nor has it the slightest reference to, any of the three positions or conclusions virtually laid down by Lord Brougham, and stated above ; but constitutes the statement (so to speak) of an independent and isolated result of his Lordship’s scrutiny into the character and conduct of Mr. Pitt.



In applying ourselves to the investigation of the passage under consideration, we find that it is necessary to paraphrase, and, indeed, most materially to modify, the language it contains, in order to render it indicative of any definite meaning.—For what are we to understand by ‘the force of the defence urged for Mr. Pitt’s conversion, inducing an honest alteration of his opinions’?

The following free but (as we trust) fair and legitimate paraphrase, will put us in possession of what we conceive to be the only intelligible meaning, of which the passage lastly-cited is susceptible.

‘We cannot find fault with Mr. Pitt for his change of opinion upon the great question of a reform in our parliamentary system, because it must be admitted that the well-founded alarms—“alarms raised in the most reflecting minds”—occasioned by the French revolution, and its cognate excitement among ourselves, was sufficient to justify any such change of opinion.’

To the passage so understood—to the passage when thus invested with its only intelligible meaning, we have, of course, nothing to object.\*

After having thus unequivocally admitted (as Lord Brougham would have done had he clearly expressed himself) that Mr. Pitt’s change of opinion—the change which his Lordship assumes that Mr. Pitt’s opinions underwent—upon the great question

\* Vide Supplemental Appendix to Chapter II.

of a reform in our parliamentary system, was perfectly justifiable, his Lordship proceeds to observe, "That any such considerations could never justify him (Mr. Pitt) in lending himself to the persecution of his former associates in that cause, may be peremptorily denied ;" thereby (no doubt) intending to have predicated '*That any assertion which might be made* "that any such considerations"—any consideration, that is, of the alarming character of the French revolution, and of that cognate excitement it produced among ourselves—'could justify Mr. Pitt "in lending himself to the persecution of his former associates in the cause of reform," may be peremptorily denied.'

Now as to this, also, we are perfectly of accord with Lord Brougham. Any such assertion as that to which his Lordship intended to advert, might not only be "peremptorily denied," as we conceive, but denounced as palpably absurd. And we should have contented ourselves with observing that we are not aware that any such assertion has ever been advanced ; and have concluded our remarks upon the passage under consideration, with an expression of our wonder 'as to what could have induced Lord Brougham to give insertion to the sentence in which it was intended to be made ;' had we not collected, upon a reference to certain other passages of his Lordship's publication, that the passage under review was designed to subserve the purpose of preferring a charge of the

gravest possible description, a charge of attempting to perpetrate the crime of murder—of murder of the most execrable and diabolical character—against Mr. Pitt.

The reader may well stand amazed at the conclusion of our last sentence!

We have written it advisedly; and are, moreover, prepared to establish what it predicates.

After speaking, in a subsequent page,\* of Mr. Pitt's ambition and thirst of power, (which, by-the-by, his Lordship states to have been the very reverse of "an exalted kind"); "Nor can any thirst for power," Lord Brougham proceeds, "any ambition, be it of the most exalted kind, ever justify the measures which he contrived for putting to death those former coadjutors of his own, whose leading object was reform."

Now the individuals spoken of in the above passage as "those former coadjutors of his (Mr. Pitt's) own, whose leading object was reform,"—and that they were Hardy, Thelwall, and the other notorious demagogues who were arraigned for high-treason in 1794, it is impossible to doubt— are evidently the same persons as those described in the passage under review, as "his (Mr. Pitt's) former associates in that cause," the cause of Reform. Consequently, although the passage under review, when considered by itself,

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First, Series, p. 207.

does but convey an obscure intimation of Lord Brougham's opinion 'that Mr. Pitt's conduct to his former associates in the cause of Reform was very discreditable to him;' yet, when it comes to be viewed in connexion with the passage "nor can any thirst for power, any ambition, be it of the most exalted kind, ever justify the measures which he (Mr. Pitt) contrived for putting to death those former coadjutors of his own whose leading object was Reform," a degree of light is thrown upon that obscure intimation of Lord Brougham's opinion, which has the effect of leading us to conclude, which is sufficient to authorise us to pronounce, that by the expression "lending himself to the persecution of his former associates in that cause," his Lordship intended to allude to the same charge which he afterwards more distinctly adduces when he speaks of Mr. Pitt's contriving "measures for putting to death those former coadjutors of his own whose leading object was Reform."

Now, to contrive measures for putting men to death by means of a perversion of the administration of justice; as Lord Brougham distinctly and directly charges Mr. Pitt with having done, when his Lordship asserts that he "contrived measures for putting to death those former coadjutors of his own, whose leading object was reform," meaning that 'he contrived measures for putting Hardy, Thelwall, and the other individuals who were arraigned of

high-treason in 1794, to death ;' must beyond all possibility of doubt be holden to amount to the crime of attempting to commit murder—murder of the most execrable and diabolical character.

Ill should we deserve of Mr. Pitt and of that country which sooner or later will estimate his character and venerate his memory as it ought, if, in the exercise of an inconsiderate zeal, we condescended to exculpate him from this—we will not say abominable (for we believe Lord Brougham to be honest) but—astonishing accusation !

It is not, then, with a view of defending Mr. Pitt from the charge of attempting to murder men, by hiring a court of justice as his bravo, and employing it to strike the blow which he had not the courage to inflict with his own hand ; nor for the purpose of clearing the character of the judicial administration of our country from that foul aspersion which Lord Brougham's public averment of the charge upon which we are animadverting, has the effect of casting upon it : no ; but simply in order to exhibit a specimen of Lord Brougham's method of conducting his case—to use a professional phrase of which the meaning is sufficiently intelligible—that we proceed to consider the passage, which has given occasion to the preceding remarks, somewhat more particularly.

After expressly stating, then, that Mr. Pitt “should not be judged harshly,” and virtually



asserting 'that he cannot be blamed,' for the change which his opinions are said to have undergone upon the great question of a reform in our parliamentary system, because the alarms raised by the French revolution, and its cognate excitement among ourselves, were sufficient to justify any such change; Lord Brougham proceeds as follows:

"That any such considerations could never justify him (Mr. Pitt) in lending himself to the persecution of his former associates in that cause, may be peremptorily denied; and in aid of this denial, it may be asked, what would have been said of Mr. Wilberforce and the other abolitionists, had they, on account of some dreadful desolation of our colonies by negro insurrection, suddenly joined in proscribing and persecuting all who, after they themselves had left the cause, should continue to devote their efforts to its promotion?"

Now it appears to us to be manifest that his Lordship employed the sentence recapitulated above, as the representative (if we may so speak) of an argument to the following effect.

'Mr. Pitt was a Reformer.'

'Certain other individuals, Hardy, Spence, and Thelwall, were Reformers, and as such, associates and coadjutors of Mr. Pitt.'

'Mr. Pitt deserted the cause of Reform, whilst the other individuals adverted to continued to uphold it.'

'Whereupon Mr. Pitt persecuted those other

individuals (his former associates and coadjutors) and contrived measures for putting them to death.'

The conclusion is evident, and irresistible (supposing the premises to be undeniable), viz. :

'That Mr. Pitt's conduct was that of a diabolical villain who heaped additional ignominy on the atrocious wickedness of which he was guilty—this fact, be it observed, is taken for granted, in the argument—in contriving measures for putting men to death by means of a perversion of the administration of justice, by the flagrant breach of the social charities of life that he committed, in directing his murderous contrivances against those who had formerly been associates and coadjutors of his own.'

We feel satisfied, that Lord Brougham cannot, and as an honest man, will not, deny that it was his Lordship's intent to impress his reader with a conviction to the effect of the conclusion stated above!

The fallacy of his Lordship's represented argument, lies here :

Mr. Pitt was not a Reformer in the same sense of the word in which the other individuals alluded to, Hardy, Spence, and Thelwall, were Reformers ; and consequently he was not, and cannot allowably be designated as, "their associate and coadjutor in the cause of Reform."

Mr. Pitt was a Reformer only in so far as he projected, and attempted to effect, a constitutional reform—a reform, that is, which did not violate the principles of the subsisting constitution—in our



parliamentary system ;\* and consequently he would not have been a coadjutor of, nor can be legitimately designated as an associate in the cause of Reform with, Earl Grey, Lord John Russell, and Lord Brougham, who devised, and unhappily prosperously effected, an unconstitutional reform — a reform, or alteration rather, which violated the principles of the subsisting constitution† — in our parliamentary system.

Now Lord John Russell, Lord Brougham, and (as we imagine) Earl Grey, would not, it is probable, very willingly be taken for, and cannot (we admit) be legitimately designated as, “coadjutors and associates in the cause of Reform” with the infamous and now universally denounced and execrated Jacobins ; and cannot therefore be designated as “coadjutors and associates in the cause of Reform” with Hardy, Spence, and Thelwall, who were members of a Jacobinical Society and Jacobins, not in name only, but in spirit and purpose.

And if Lord John Russell, Lord Brougham, and Earl Grey, who effected an unconstitutional alteration in our parliamentary system, cannot legitimately be termed “coadjutors and associates in the cause of Reform” with Hardy, Spence, and Thelwall, much

\* That the reform in our parliamentary system projected by Mr. Pitt was a strictly constitutional one, is evident from the outline of it which we have given in the Supplemental Appendix referred to in p. 32.

† Vide Supplemental Appendix to Chapter II. No. 2.

less can Mr. Pitt, who did but attempt to effect a constitutional reform in our parliamentary system, be so designated.

And this being the case, Lord Brougham's represented argument falls to the ground. For since Hardy, Spence, and Thelwall were not "coadjutors and associates in the cause of Reform" with Mr. Pitt; when he contrived measures for putting them to death by means of a perversion of the administration of justice—as it is assumed, in the argument, that he did,—in doing so, he did not commit any such breach of the social charities of life, as will have the effect of heaping additional ignominy upon the diabolical wickedness which it assumed that he was guilty of.

And now that the argument represented by the sentence recapitulated above has been so satisfactorily refuted, its representative may, of course, be unceremoniously dismissed.

We may conclude our observations upon the passage under review with the following remark: viz., That, the case being such as we have exhibited it to be, it becomes obvious, that Lord Brougham should have modified the question asked "in aid of the denial" which his Lordship makes, in the passage under review; and instead of demanding "what would have been said of Mr. Wilberforce and the other abolitionists, had they, on account of some dreadful desolation of our colonies by negro insurrection, suddenly joined in proscribing and persecut-

ing all who, after they themselves had left the cause, should continue to devote their efforts to its promotion?"—simply have asked, 'What would have been said of Mr. Wilberforce and the other abolitionists, had they, whilst they strenuously contended for the abolition of Negro-slavery, joined in prosecuting those who were endeavouring to emancipate themselves and their neighbours from a subjection to social order?'

As the passage which immediately succeeds that upon which we have commented above, has reference to a totally distinct subject of discussion, and is, moreover, one which has given occasion to a very lengthened though not (as we trust) needlessly prolix investigation, we have deemed it advisable to refer the consideration of it to a separate chapter, notwithstanding the two passages are contained in one and the same paragraph of Lord Brougham's publication.

### CHAPTER III.

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“BUT the main charge against Mr. Pitt,” Lord Brougham states in continuation of the paragraph commented upon in our last Chapter, “is his having suffered himself to be led away by the alarms of the Court, and the zeal of his new allies, the Burke and Windham party, from the ardent love of peace which he professed and undoubtedly felt, to the eager support of the war against France, which might well have been avoided, had he but stood firm.” “The deplorable consequences,” his Lordship adds, “of this change in his conduct are too well known : they are still too sensibly felt.”

The above passage, as the intelligent reader will immediately perceive, contains an averment adduced in support of the third of the three positions virtually laid down by Lord Brougham as the result (it may be presumed) of his Lordship’s scrutiny into the character and conduct of Mr. Pitt ; viz., ‘That by want of firmness, he (Mr. Pitt) was the cause of an impolicy and extravagance, the effects of which are yet felt, and will oppress us beyond the life of the youngest now alive.’

As "the charge" (as his Lordship himself designates it) preferred by Lord Brougham against Mr. Pitt, touching his conduct with respect to the commencement of the war with France, is stated more fully, and at the same time more clearly, as well as (we are sorry to perceive) in a far more inimical and bitter spirit, in a passage contained in his Lordship's delineation of the character of Lord North, we are under the necessity of subjoining an extract which comprises that statement of the charge.\*

"Mr. Pitt joining the war party in 1793, the most striking and the most fatal instance of this offence"—"the very worst offence of which a minister can be guilty, the abandonment of his own principles for place, and counselling his sovereign and his country, not according to his conscience, but according to what, being most palatable to them, is most beneficial to himself"—"is the one which at once presents itself."†

"No one," Lord Brougham proceeds, "no one more clearly than Mr. Pitt saw the ruinous consequences of the contest into which his new associates,

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 61.

† In the part of his Lordship's delineation of the character of Lord North preceding that from which the above extract is taken, Lord Brougham had been animadverting upon Lord North's conduct in continuing the American war in subserviency to the king's caprice, whilst he disapproved of it in his conscience: and proposed to "be just to the conductor of the American war, by calling to mind the similar delinquency of some who have succeeded to his power."

the deserters from the Whig standard, were drawing, or were driving him ; none so clearly perceived or so highly valued the blessings of peace, as the finance minister, who had but the year before accompanied his reduction of the whole national establishment with a picture of our future prosperity almost too glowing even for his great eloquence to attempt. Accordingly it is well known, nor is it ever contradicted by his few surviving friends, that his thoughts were all turned to peace. But the voice of the court was for war ; the aristocracy was for war ; the country was not disinclined towards war, being just in that state of excitable (though as yet not excited) feeling which it depended upon the Government, that is, upon Mr. Pitt, either to calm down into a sufferance of peace, or rouse into a vehement desire of hostilities. In these circumstances, the able tactician whose genius was confined to parliamentary operations,"—notwithstanding, be it observed ! " he came forth a mature politician, a finished orator, and even, as if by inspiration, an accomplished debater, of an age when others are but entering upon the study of state affairs"—at once perceived that a war must place him at the head of all the power in the state, and, by uniting with him the more aristocratic portion of the Whigs, cripple his adversaries irreparably ; and he preferred flinging his country into a contest which he and his great antagonist by uniting their forces must have prevented ; but then he must also have shared with



Mr. Fox the power which he was determined to enjoy alone and supreme.”

“The youngest man living will not survive the fatal effects of this flagrant political crime,” his Lordship subjoins by way of comment.

In charity, we forbear to characterize the above passage, or remark upon its spirit and tone, as we felt tempted to do, on first perusing it!

As the intelligent reader will, doubtless, have perceived, the charge preferred against Mr. Pitt, touching his conduct with respect to the commencement of the war with France, in the passage cited from Lord Brougham's delineation of Mr. Pitt's own character, does but impugn that conduct in such a manner as to support the position ‘that through want of firmness he (Mr. Pitt) suffered himself to be led into a war with France which might well have been avoided had he but stood firm:’ whereas the charge, as stated in the passage extracted from Lord Brougham's delineation of the character of Lord North, directly and distinctly avers ‘That in order to enjoy power alone and supreme, Mr. Pitt, whilst fully sensible of and duly valuing the blessings of peace, intentionally flung his country into a war with France.’ That the charge, as preferred in the latter of the two separate forms of averment in which it is adduced, is totally different in its spirit and effect, and incalculably more serious and deeply-criminating in its character, is evident.



Before we proceed to investigate the above charge, we would most seriously represent to my Lord Brougham, the extreme unfairness, the crying injustice, of the practice which his Lordship has (unintentionally, we doubt not) resorted to in this and various other instances; viz., that of incidentally and (so far as respects their effect) insidiously preferring charges of the gravest possible description against Mr. Pitt, by giving insertion to them in portions of his Lordship's publication which ostensibly contain a delineation of the character of other individuals, instead of in the pages which his Lordship has expressly devoted to a scrutiny of Mr. Pitt's own character.

The following obvious and most seriously-injurious ill effect, is one amongst the many practical evils that are likely to result from a resort to this objectionable practice.

It cannot be maintained that every one who should chance to read Lord Brougham's delineation of the character of Mr. Pitt, must of necessity peruse the whole of his Lordship's publication. Now supposing that one who chanced to read Lord Brougham's character of Mr. Pitt without perusing the whole of his Lordship's publication, was so wrought upon by what he regarded as the injurious misrepresentations which it contained, as to be led to attempt a defence of Mr. Pitt's character and conduct. And supposing, for the sake of argument, that in this attempt he perfectly succeeded, yet in

the case supposed, any such defence, however complete and satisfactory in itself, might be rendered wholly unavailing, by means of a resort to the practice upon which we are animadverting. For the other, and it may be more deeply criminative charges, adduced upon a resort to the practice adverted to, remaining unanswered (as they might do, perhaps, only because they had escaped the defender's notice,) the reader who perused the whole of Lord Brougham's publication might retain a conviction of Mr. Pitt's criminality, notwithstanding the defence which had been successfully made on his behalf, and which might have been easily extended (it may be) so as to have included the charges with respect to which that conviction of criminality was retained, had those charges been adduced in the delineation of Mr. Pitt's own character. But to return from this digression.

This startling—this most awfully-criminative charge ;

‘ That in order to enjoy power alone and supreme, Mr. Pitt, whilst fully sensible of and duly valuing the blessings of peace, intentionally flung his country into a war with France.’—It suggests itself to us, that it is not unlikely that the reader may entertain a doubt whether *it be possible* that the above statement of it can contain the true import of the charge made against Mr. Pitt in the extract which has been given from the character of Lord North.

Should this prove to be the case, let the reader

re-peruse that extract, and observe, that the former part of the passage, viz., “No one more clearly than Mr. Pitt saw the ruinous consequences of the contest into which his new associates, the deserters from the Whig standard, were drawing, or were driving him; none so clearly perceived or so highly valued the blessings of peace, as the finance minister, who had but the year before accompanied his reduction of the whole national establishment with a picture of our future prosperity almost too glowing even for his great eloquence to attempt,” does but express at length, what we have stated concisely, when we speak of Mr. Pitt as “fully sensible of and duly valuing the blessings of peace:” whilst the latter part, viz., “In these circumstances (the voice of the court and of the aristocracy being for war, and the country not being disinclined towards it) the able tactician whose genius was confined to parliamentary operations, at once perceived that a war must place him at the head of all the power in the state, and cripple his adversaries irreparably; and he preferred flinging his country into a contest which he and his great antagonist, by uniting their forces, must have prevented; but then he must also have shared with Mr. Fox the power which he was determined to enjoy alone and supreme,” is tantamount to—is legitimately and most exactly paraphrased by—our statement that “in order to enjoy that power alone and supreme, Mr. Pitt intentionally flung his country into a war with France.”

The awfully-criminative charge, which it is indisputable that the passage more immediately under review adduces—the charge,

‘ That in order to enjoy power alone and supreme, Mr. Pitt, whilst fully sensible of and duly valuing the blessings of peace, intentionally flung his country into a war with France ;’—

is disproved by the simple fact that the French declared war against Great Britain.

“ \* Le 1<sup>er</sup>. février,” (writes M. Thiers, in his authentic and singularly eloquent and interesting history of the French Revolution,) “après avoir entendu Brissot, qui pour un moment réunit les applaudissemens des deux partis, elle (the National Convention) déclara solennellement la guerre à la Hollande et à l’Angleterre.”†

But it may, possibly, be urged ‘that Mr. Pitt intentionally and unjustifiably provoked the declaration of war made against England by the National Convention, and thus virtually flung his country into a war with France.’

“La mort de l’infortuné Louis XVI.,” says M. Thiers, at the opening of his fourth volume, “avait causé en France une terreur profonde, et en Europe un mélange d’étonnement et d’indignation. Comme l’avaient prévu les révolutionnaires les plus clairvoyans, la lutte était engagée sans retour, et toute retraite était irrevocablement fermée. Dès

\* Vide Histoire de la Révolution Française. Tom. iv. 17.

† Vide General Appendix.

cet instant," he adds a few lines afterwards, "les questions de guerre et de finances furent constamment à l'ordre du jour."

In page 5, M. Thiers remarks, "Cependant, soit l'accablement d'une longue lutte," between the two principal parties into which the National Convention was divided, that of *des Girondins* and *la Montagne*, "soit l'unanimité des avis sur les questions de guerre, tout le monde étant d'accord pour se défendre, et même *pour provoquer l'ennemi*, un peu de calme succéda aux terribles agitations produites par le procès de Louis XVI., et on applaudit encore Brissot (who was one of the leaders of the Girondins, and, as such, most unpopular with the opposite party) dans ses rapports diplomatiques contre les puissances."

Again: "Au moment du jugement définitif de Louis XVI.," says M. Thiers, p. 10, "il (le cabinet de Madrid) avait offert la reconnaissance politique de la république, et sa médiation auprès de toutes les puissances, si on laissait au Monarque détrôné la vie sauve. Pour toute réponse Danton avait proposé la guerre, et l'assemblée avait adopté l'ordre du jour." "Depuis ce temps, la direction à la guerre n'avait plus été douteuse:" is M. Thiers' comment upon the incident he records.

"Depuis le 10 août," (this remark is contained in page 13,) "il (le gouvernement Français) n'avait cessé de demander à être reconnu, mais il avait gardé encore quelque mesure à l'égard de l'Angleterre,



dont la neutralité était précieuse à cause des ennemis qu'on avait déjà à combattre. Mais après le 21 janvier, il avait mis toutes considérations de côté, et il était décidé à une guerre universelle."

"La tribune de la Société Mere" (of the Jacobins), says M. Desodoards,\* a cotemporary French historian, "retentissait† des assurances mille fois données, que les Français étaient en état de faire avec succès la guerre à tout l'Europe. Cette idée, follement gigantesque à force d'être répétée par les adeptes des deux factions jacobines dans les clubs et dans les sections de Paris, avait acquis un tel degré de faveur que celui qui l'aurait combattue non-seulement n'eut trouvé personne pour l'écouter, mais s'exposait à passer pour un mauvais citoyen, et aux suites funestes de cette opinion."

We find the following narrative of circumstances connected with the commencement of the war, in M. Thiers' history.‡

"Cependant Pitt feignit de demander" — in expressing himself thus, M. Thiers (as very rarely happens) writes under the influence of a bias inimical to historical candour; it is absolutely impossible that he could have known that Mr. Pitt was insincere, and he does not adduce any proof

\* Vide Histoire Philosophique de la Révolution de France. Par Antoine-Fautin Desodoards, Citoyen Français. Tom. ii. p. 170.

† The period adverted to is towards the close of the year 1792.

‡ Vide Histoire de la Révolution Française. Tom. iv. p. 14.

which furnishes a reasonable ground for presuming that such was the case—‘Pitt requested’ (we are therefore at liberty to translate the phrase “Pitt feignit de demander”) “un envoyé secret pour expliquer ses griefs contre le gouvernement Français. On envoya le citoyen Maret, qui eut avec Pitt un entretien particulier. Après de mutuelles protestations pour déclarer que l’entrevu n’avait rien d’official, qu’elle était tout amicale, et qu’elle n’avait d’autre motif que le désir bienveillant de contribuer à éclairer les deux nations sur leurs griefs réciproques, Pitt se plaignit de ce que le France menaçait les alliés de l’Angleterre, attaquait même leurs intérêts ; et en preuve il cita la Hollande, Le grief principalement allégué fut l’ouverture de l’Escaut, mesure peut-être imprudente mais généreuse, que les Français avaient prise en entrant dans les Pays-Bas. L’Autriche n’avait pas osé secouer cette servitude, mais Dumouriez le fit par ordre de son gouvernement. La réponse était noble et facile ; car la France, en respectant les droits des voisins neutres, n’avait pas promis de consacrer des iniquités politiques, parceque des neutres y seraient intéressés. D’ailleurs le gouvernement Hollandais s’était montré assez mal veillant pour qu’on ne lui dût pas de si grands ménagemens.”

Now, no reader of common intelligence can peruse the extracts we have given above, without perceiving that they incontestably establish these two facts :



First: That at the period referred to in them, viz., the close of the year 1792 and commencement of 1793, the French were possessed by an infatuated and ungovernable impatience for war: and,

Secondly: That the conduct of Mr. Pitt, with regard to the transaction of which a narrative is given in the last of them, was exactly in accordance with that which an earnest desire of peace—that solicitude for peace so well described by Lord Brougham in the expression, “his thoughts were all turned to peace,”—would naturally have prompted, and was calculated to induce.

These two facts are manifestly sufficient to overthrow the hypothesis, ‘That Mr. Pitt intentionally and unjustifiably provoked the declaration of war made against England by the National Convention.’

And inasmuch as the French declared war against Great Britain, and since the hypothesis ‘That Mr. Pitt intentionally and unjustifiably provoked that declaration of war,’ cannot be supported; it follows that the awfully-criminative charge, ‘That in order to enjoy power alone and supreme, Mr. Pitt, whilst fully sensible of and duly valuing the blessings of peace, intentionally flung his country into a war with France,’ must be pronounced to be false—is without the slightest colour or possibility of foundation.

Having disposed of the startling and most awfully-criminative charge preferred against Mr. Pitt, touching his conduct with respect to the war with

France, in the extract which has been given from the character of Lord North ; we may recur to, and proceed to investigate, the charge adduced in the passage cited from Lord Brougham's delineation of Mr. Pitt's own character.

That charge (as we before intimated) may be definitively stated thus :

‘ That through want of firmness Mr. Pitt suffered himself to be led into a war with France, which might well have been avoided had he but stood firm.’

How prodigious !— we cannot forbear pausing for a moment to reflect—how incalculable ! is the difference in character, depth, and extent of criminality which obtains betwixt the charge already investigated and that stated above.

For supposing Mr. Pitt to be found guilty upon the latter of the two charges, neither his character as an honest man, nor his reputation as a well-intentioned politician, will be in any degree compromised ; whereas if the former had been brought home to him, he might righteously have been denounced as one of the most abominable monsters of iniquity that ever trod the earth. But to proceed.

It will, no doubt, be evident to the intelligent reader, that the two facts, by a statement of which we have succeeded in disproving the awfully-criminal charge preferred against Mr. Pitt, in the extract which has been given from the character of Lord North, might, with equal effect, have been

adduced in confutation of that which we are about to investigate.

But supposing that we had contented ourselves with meeting the charge, 'That through want of firmness, Mr. Pitt suffered himself to be led into a war with France, which might well have been avoided had he but stood firm,' by simply stating the two indisputable facts, 'that the French declared war against Great Britain,' and 'that Mr. Pitt did not unjustifiably provoke that declaration of war;' our defence of Mr. Pitt's conduct with respect to the commencement of the war, (although abundantly satisfactory) would want something of that completeness which it will possess, if, waiving all advantage derivable from a statement of the facts adverted to, we proceed to investigate the charge adduced in the passage cited from Lord Brougham's delineation of Mr. Pitt's own character, irrespectively of any reference to them.

For supposing we had thought fit to disprove the charge which we are about to investigate, by a statement of the indisputable facts adverted to; Mr. Pitt's adversaries would, in that case, have been at liberty to contend 'that his conduct, with respect to the commencement of the war with France, was highly censurable, inasmuch as he did not employ due precautions to prevent the French from forming, or make the necessary exertion to prevail upon them to relinquish, the purpose of declaring war against Great Britain.'

We propose, therefore, to investigate the charge, ‘That through want of firmness Mr. Pitt suffered himself to be led into a war with France, which might well have been avoided, had he but stood firm;’ irrespectively of any reference to the fact that the French declared war against Great Britain.

In proceeding to do so, we would observe, in the first place, that by the form of expression “might well have been avoided,” Lord Brougham must be understood to mean—the context indisputably indicates that his Lordship must have meant—‘might have been avoided without compromising the safety, honour, or welfare of Great Britain.’ By ‘honour,’ be it observed, we do not mean that illusive national honour analogous to a certain undefined and indefinable principle of action (unhappily but too influential with the individual) which is manifestly as little indicative of true courage, as it is agreeable to reason, and consistent with the spirit of Christianity; but that substantial, that veritable national honour, which is analogous to common honesty in the individual.

Having premised this; we may proceed at once to grapple with the charge ‘that through want of firmness, Mr. Pitt suffered himself to be led into a war with France, which might have been well avoided, had he but stood firm’; by affirming—as we distinctly do—‘that the war with France could not have been avoided, without compromising that

national honour of Great Britain, which is analogous to common-honesty in the individual.'

In proceeding to establish the position which we have affirmed above ; viz.,

'That the war with France could not have been avoided, without compromising that national honour of Great Britain, which is analogous to common-honesty in the individual ;'

We will commence by citing the following passage from Grotius, whose authority upon a question such as that under discussion, will not, we presume, be called in question, and cannot be reasonably disregarded (it may be as well to observe) supposing that it were :

"Subditis proximi, imo pares sunt in hoc, ut defendi debeant socii, in quorum fœdere comprehensum, id est, sive in tutelam sese et fidem aliorum dederunt, sive mutua auxilia pacti sunt. *Qui non repellit injuriam à socio si potest, tam est in vitio quam ille qui facit,* ait Ambrosius."\*

That by virtue of a treaty concluded in 1788, Great Britain was in close alliance with Holland, we may state in the second place.

In proceeding with our argument, we would, then, recall the reader's attention to a statement contained in one of the passages which we had occasion to cite from M. Thiers' history.

† "Le grief principalement allégué — (by the go-

\* Vide De Jure Belli ac Pacis. Lib. ii. c. xxv.

† Vide Histoire de la Révolution Française. Tom. iv. p. 15 ; and ante p. 52.



vernment of Great Britain against that of France)— fut l'ouverture de l'Escaut, mesure peut-être imprudente, mais genereuse, que les Français avaient prise en entrant dans les Pays-Bas. L'Autriche n'avait pas osé sécouer cette servitude, mais Dumouriez le fit par ordre de son gouvernement.” “ La réponse,” continues M. Thiers, “ était noble et facile, car la France, en respectant les droits des voisins neutres, n'avait pas promis de consacrer des iniquités politiques, parceque des neutres y seroient intéressés.”

“ On prêta l'oreille,” says M. Desodoards\*—the period referred to is the close of the year 1792, when the French had overrun and were in possession of Belgium—“ aux insinuations de quelques réfugiés bataves. Ils assuraient que leur parti aussi nombreux dans les provinces bataves que celui du Stadhouder, n'attendait que l'approche d'une armée française pour opérer en Hollande, une révolution dont la France retirerait les plus précieux avantages. Ces étrangers rebutés d'abord par le ministre Lebrun, qui négociait avec le Cabinet de Saint-James, s'étaient adressés aux Jacobins. Ils embrassèrent leur défense avec l'enthousiasm qui caractérisait cette Société.

“ Il fut décidé,” continues M. Desodoards, “ que les réfugiés hollandais se transporteraient à Anvers avec un comité révolutionnaire formé par eux.”

\* Vide Histoire Philosophique de la Révolution de France. Tom. ii. p. 171.

“ Bientôt une légion de dix mille hommes que ces Hollandais avaient levée sous le nom de Legion Batave, eut ordre de se porter sur la même ville pour faire l'avant-garde de l'armée, en cas qu'on se décidât à pénétrer en Hollande. Un agent du gouvernement fut placé auprès de ce comité révolutionnaire, pour rendre compte au ministre Lebrun chargé des relations étrangères, des mesures qu'on y prenait.”

Now in the passage cited from M. Thiers' history we are distinctly informed, ‘that an injury most prejudicial to the interests of Holland, had been committed by the French General Dumouriez “ par ordre de son gouvernement ;” ’ and ‘ that in lieu of all redress, an answer had been made to the just representations of Great Britain, which (however “ facile,” supposing France to have been fully bent upon a war,) did not pretend to a colour of justification, or offer the slightest accord of satisfaction :’ whilst from M. Desodoard's history we learn ‘ that a hostile force which menaced Holland, had been assembled with the open countenance of the French government.’

These two injuries to her ally, for which no redress could be obtained from the French government, Great Britain (according to Grotius) was under the necessity of repelling by war, if she would not be, with respect to them, “ tam in vitio quàm ille qui fecit.”



Consequently, it is evident that (according to the view of the case given by the French historians themselves) it was impossible for Great Britain to have avoided a war with France without compromising that national honour which is analogous to common-honesty in the individual.

By establishing the position, 'that in consequence of the injurious conduct of the French to her ally, a war with France could not have been avoided by Great Britain, without compromising that national honour which is analogous to common honesty in the individual,' we not only effectually disprove the charge, 'that through want of firmness Mr. Pitt suffered himself to be led into a war with France, which might well have been avoided, had he but stood firm;' but also, (as was before intimated,) at the same time, complete and render incontestable that defence of Mr. Pitt's conduct with respect to the commencement of the war, which was before abundantly satisfactory.

We have shewn, it may be briefly observed in conclusion ;

'That the French declared war against Great Britain ;'

'That the hypothesis, that Mr. Pitt unjustifiably provoked that declaration of war, cannot be supported ;' and lastly,

'That in consequence of the injurious conduct of the French to her ally, it was impossible for Great

Britain to have avoided a war with France, without compromising that national honour which is analogous to common-honesty in the individual.'

The conclusion, 'that Mr. Pitt was forced into a war with France by the infatuation of the French,' is evident and undeniable.

## CHAPTER IV.

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THE circumstance that we have devoted several Chapters (the present is the third) to a review of the contents of a single paragraph of Lord Brougham's publication, may possibly excite surprise. But is it at all more surprising that this should be the case, than it is that a wound inflicted by a single thrust should require many remedies and a tedious process for its cure ; or that a house, set-fire-to in a moment of carelessness, should take a costly expenditure of time and labour to rebuild ?

It may be as well to observe, that by the latter of the two illustrations that it occurred to us to employ, we would not be understood to intimate an opinion that Lord Brougham's publication has had the effect of reducing Mr. Pitt's character to a state of degradation analogous to that condition of utter devastation which befalls a house when burned to the ground : nor would we have the reader infer that it has cost us any vast expenditure of time and labour to repair the damage occasioned by his Lordship, in the manner we have done, in these our lucubrations.—We must beg the reader (it becomes

us to remark) not to imagine, from the intimation that has just escaped us, that we take credit to ourselves for the possession of extraordinary capacity ; we do no such thing ; but ascribe the facility which has in truth attended the execution of our task, as well as the completeness (as we flatter ourselves) of the success with which it has been accomplished, wholly and solely to the ready and powerful assistance rendered to us, throughout our undertaking, by the force of truth.

Trusting that we may be permitted to indulge for a few moments more in the unwonted strain of expression into which we have digressed ; we proceed to modify the latter of our two illustrations, or, rather, to employ another illustration (the creature of an after-thought suggestive of the inaptitude of the one before made use of), by remarking, that a firebrand violently cast against a massive edifice of stone, though it did not, and could not, cause combustion, might notwithstanding blacken and deface its surface, and so do damage that required an expenditure of time and labour to repair, which, however inconsiderable in itself, might be immeasurably greater than that instant and the momentary effort which had been expended in the perpetration of the mischief.

But we admit that we are begging the question, when, in this early stage of our investigation, we compare the publication of Lord Brougham's charac-

ter of Mr. Pitt, to the casting of a fire-brand against a massive edifice of stone: and the consideration of how material a part of our task is as yet unaccomplished, warns us of the expediency of bringing this digression to a close.

‘That Mr. Pitt’s conduct, with respect to the commencement of the war with France, is not censurable in any manner or degree;’ we indisputably established, when we proved, in our last Chapter, ‘that Great Britain was forced into a war by the infatuation of the French.’

But it is, notwithstanding, manifestly possible, that Mr. Pitt may have been greatly to blame in his manner of conducting that war with France into which he was forced by the infatuation of the French—a war, be it observed, which, commencing in 1793, was carried on (with the intermission of a brief interval of hollow peace) until and after 1806.

That such was the case, Lord Brougham affirms in the following passage of his Lordship’s publication.

\* “His (Mr. Pitt’s) conduct of the war betrayed no extent of views, no commanding notions of policy. Any thing more common-place can hardly be imagined. To form one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidise them with millions of free gift, or aid with profuse loans, until all the powers in our pay were defeated in succession, and

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 199.

most of them either destroyed or converted into allies of the enemy—such were all the resources of his diplomatic policy. To shun any effectual” — ‘ \*decisive’ no doubt his Lordship means — “ conflict with the enemy, while he wasted our military force in petty expeditions ; to occupy forts, and capture colonies, which, if France prevailed in Europe, were useless acquisitions, only increasing the amount of the Slave Trade, and carrying abroad our own capital ; and which, if France were beaten in Europe, would all of themselves fall into our hands—such was the whole scheme of his warlike policy.”

The import of the above passage is manifestly this :—

It describes Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France as consisting in and confined to the ‘ forming of one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding with profuse loans’ and ‘ shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in petty expeditions, in occupying forts and capturing colonies ;’ and predicates of that conduct, ‘ that it betrayed no extent of views, and was very commonplace.’

The above passage, therefore, has the effect of

\* Any conflict, that is, that had for its object a decision of the contest : or which was calculated (more accurately speaking) to decide the contest in which the belligerent parties were involved.



preferring a charge against Mr. Pitt which may be stated thus :

‘That Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France was reprehensible ; inasmuch as, consisting of, and being confined to, the “forming one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding by profuse loans,” and “shunning any effectual or decisive conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in petty expeditions, in occupying forts and capturing colonies ;” it betrayed no extent of views, and was very common-place.’

The above charge, which is (comparatively speaking) but of an unimportant and slightly-criminative character, is the only one which we find preferred in that part of Lord Brougham’s delineation of Mr. Pitt’s character which has express reference to his conduct of the war. But a charge of a far more aggravated description is indirectly and (in one sense) insidiously adduced in various other parts of his Lordship’s publication.

‘That Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France was the cause of, or (more accurately speaking) involved, an impolicy and extravagance which were productive of fatal effects ;’\*—or, as it is elsewhere more concisely expressed, ‘that Mr. Pitt’s eager support of the war against France was attended

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, pp. 197, 63.



with deplorable consequences,\* is the charge adverted to.

It is evident, then, that the charge preferred by Lord Brougham against Mr. Pitt, touching his conduct of the war with France, by the passage under review, and incidentally in other parts of his Lordship's publication, may be definitively stated as follows : viz.,

'That consisting in and being confined to the 'forming of one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding by profuse loans,' and 'shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in petty expeditions, in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war with France—

1st, Betrayed no extent of views, and was very common-place; and

2ndly, Involved an impolicy and extravagance which were productive of fatal effects.'

In conducting our attempt to justify Mr. Pitt from the above charge, we propose to proceed thus :

We admit, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war with France is correctly described 'as consisting in and being confined to the forming of one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 198.

gift, or aiding with profuse loans,' and 'shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies;' but deny 'that that conduct betrayed no extent of views, and was very common-place,' or 'involved an impolicy and extravagance which were productive of fatal effects.'

Now, upon referring to Lord Brougham's publication, with a view of ascertaining what are the arguments and proof resorted to for the purpose of establishing the two positions, affirmed by his Lordship and denied by us, which contain, or constitute rather, the substance of the charge preferred against Mr. Pitt with respect to his conduct of the war; we find that his Lordship has not brought forward a single argument, or adduced the slightest proof in support of either of them.

And because "*ei incumbit probatio qui dicit, non qui negat; cum per rerum naturam factum-negantis probatio nulla sit;*" (which is a rule of our law\* as well as of the civil, and a dictate also of natural equity), it follows that in the absence of all argument and proof in support of the two positions, affirmed by Lord Brougham and denied by us, which constitute the substance of the charge preferred by his Lordship against Mr. Pitt, touching his conduct of the

\* Vide Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, vol. iii. p. 365.

war with France ; that charge—the charge that consisting in and being confined to the ‘forming of one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding with profuse loans,’ and ‘shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in petty expeditions, in occupying forts and capturing colonies,’ Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France ‘betrayed no extent of views, and was very common-place, and ‘involved an impolicy and extravagance which were productive of fatal effects’—may be pronounced to be unfounded.

But it will possibly be contended,

‘That the true interpretation of the passage under review is not that which we have put upon it, but this :’

‘ It predicates that Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war betrayed no extent of views, and was very common-place, (and should undoubtedly have stated, that it was the cause of, or involved, an impolicy and extravagance which were productive of fatal effects) ; and then proceeds to adduce, in proof of that which it had predicated, and ought to have expressed, ‘ that that conduct consisted in and was confined to the forming one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding by profuse loans, and shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military forces in occupying forts, and capturing colonies.’

It will at once be evident to the intelligent reader, that unless it be a self-evident truth, 'that to form one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidise them with millions of free gift, or aid with profuse loans,' and 'to shun any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force, in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' constitutes a method of conducting the war which 'betrays no extent of views, was very common-place,' and which 'involved an impolicy and extravagance which were productive of fatal effects;' the allegation which we have supposed to be adduced cannot possibly be of any avail.

Now, it is not a self-evident truth, 'that to form one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidise them with millions of free gift, or aid with profuse loans,' and 'to shun any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' constitutes a method of conducting the war 'which betrayed' no extent of views, was very common-place, and involved an impolicy and extravagance which were productive of fatal effects.' For we hold, and are prepared to maintain, that the 'forming one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding by profuse loans,' and 'shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' constitutes a method of

conducting the war which will appear to a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind to have been, and may therefore justly be accounted as, at once judicious and politic in the extreme, and signally and most momentarily successful.\*

In proceeding to maintain the position which we have laid down above, we will commence by stating it distinctly.

Our position, then, is this:—

‘ That Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France, which, commencing in 1793, was carried on (with the intermission of a brief interval of hollow peace) until 1806, as it has been described and is admitted to consist in ‘ forming one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding with profuse loans,’ and ‘ shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,’ was such as will appear to every rightly-constituted and reflecting mind to have been, and may therefore justly be accounted as, at once eminently politic and judicious, and signally and most momentarily successful.’

In proceeding to support the above position, we may observe, in the first place, that a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would be aware that it could not expect to comprehend fully and aright, or

\* Vide Supplemental Appendix to Chapter IV.



be in a condition to pronounce an intelligent judgment upon Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war with France, until it had acquired accurate information with respect to certain preliminary subjects of consideration which were calculated to affect, or capable of influencing, its progress to a sound decision; and consequently, when intent upon forming an intelligent and correct judgment of Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war with France, a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would direct its attention to these preliminary subjects of consideration in the first instance.

The first subject of consideration, to which a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would direct its attention, when intent upon forming a right judgment of Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war with France, would undoubtedly be that of 'the state and prospects of Great Britain at the time of its commencement.'

Upon that full and impartial investigation to which a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would instinctively resort in such a case, it would manifestly appear:—

That in the year 1782 — at the close of that disastrous war, which terminated in a dismemberment of the British empire ruinous to thousands of individuals, and (as was supposed) irretrievably fatal to the exaltation of Great Britain as a nation, and left the exhausted resources of our country oppressed by a debt to the astounding amount of

239 millions ; national bankruptcy appeared to be imminent, and “the empire,” as Lord Brougham has very justly observed, “nearly destroyed :”\*

That by the year 1793,\* through the Divine blessing upon the wise, able, and energetic administration of an individual who (according to Lord Brougham) “did not leave any measure behind him,” or, in other words, ‘did not adopt any line of policy’ “for which the community whose destinies he so long swayed, has any reason to respect his memory,” Great Britain had been elevated from the condition of national degradation, commercial depression, and financial disorganization, into which she had been plunged at the close of the American war, and re-instated in her former exalted position amongst the European communities, as well as restored to a state of commercial activity and financial prosperity :

That Great Britain—it could not but occur to a reflective mind—when thus re-instated in her position amongst the European communities, and restored to financial and commercial prosperity, from a condition of deep national degradation and most alarming financial and commercial disorganization, was in a state precisely analogous to that of a convalescent individual—of one, that is, who,

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 190.

† Mr. Pitt was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer in December 1783.



although restored to present health after a severe and debilitating fit of illness, is not as yet free from a certain constitutional susceptibility communicated by his disorder, which has the effect of rendering exertion or exposure, which might at any other time have been ventured upon with impunity, in the highest degree dangerous and inexpedient.

The state, then, of Great Britain at the period of the commencement of the war with France (Feb. 1793) was, and would appear to a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind to have been, this. She was in a state of financial and commercial prosperity, which, although in no degree illusory, or of a merely temporary character in itself, was very precarious, and liable to be most prejudicially affected by any extraordinary demands upon her resources, which might possibly have been answered without inconvenience at any other time than one in which her recovery from the commercial depression and financial embarrassment into which she had been plunged at the close of the American war, was as yet incomplete.

With respect to the prospects of Great Britain, at the time of the commencement of the war with France, they were bright in the extreme, and would manifestly appear to be so to a reflecting mind, in the event of her remaining at peace. "That picture,"\* we may observe, "of our future prosperity, almost

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 62, et ante, p. 50.

too glowing even for his (Mr. Pitt's) great eloquence to attempt," which, in the passage cited from his Lordship's character of Lord North, Lord Brougham represents Mr. Pitt as drawing "but the year before" (in 1792), was so drawn by Mr. Pitt, we may observe, upon an expressed supposition 'that the peace which Great Britain then enjoyed should continue fifteen years.'

But in the event of her becoming involved in a war, the prospects of Great Britain must of necessity have been gloomy and unpromising in the extreme; when (as we have seen) she was in a state in which any extraordinary demand upon her resources was calculated to involve her in the most imminent peril.

The state and prospects of France, at the time of the commencement of the war, would, in all probability, be the second preliminary subject of consideration to which a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would direct its attention.

Upon directing its attention to the state and prospects of France at the time of the commencement of the war, a reflecting mind would presently ascertain :

That at the close of the year 1792, and the commencement of 1793, the supreme power of the state in France was vested in a republican form of government, of which the action (so to speak) was constantly liable to be controlled by certain erratic impulses, which from time to time acted upon the populace, and were communicated through their

organ, the Society of the Jacobins : and that France, therefore, at the period adverted to, was in a state nearly analogous to that of an individual whose conduct was liable to be controlled by certain erratic impulses, occasioned by fits of mental aberration.

That (just as is the case with a lunatic when exerting himself in a paroxysm of his disorder) France, when excited to a concentrated exertion of her strength by some violent impulse which acted upon the populace, and was communicated through the Jacobins, was capable of acting (as she had recently shewn) with a terrific energy and power ; although her general condition was one of comparative debility, and her financial and commercial affairs were in that state of disorder and embarrassment, which her political situation, when presided over by a government which would not duly exert the little wisdom and power which it possessed, because of its liability to be acted upon by the erratic impulses adverted to, was calculated to superinduce.

With respect to the prospects of France, at the time of the commencement of the war, it is evident that they must have presented and been confined to the same deplorable alternative as that which would attach to those of an individual who was permitted to retain the management of his own affairs when subject to fits of mental aberration ; viz. ruin or close constraint.

The next preliminary subject of consideration, to which a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would

direct its attention, when intent upon forming a sound judgment with respect to Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war with France, would most probably be this: viz.

‘ The relative strength, position, and resources of the belligerent powers.’

Now, upon taking a just and comprehensive view of the relative strength, position, and resources of the belligerent powers, a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would clearly discern :

That the resources of Great Britain in men are greatly less than those of France and other continental powers :

That such resources of men as Great Britain can command are of necessity very largely drawn upon for the manning of the potent navy, which as an insular power it is especially incumbent upon her to maintain ; whilst a necessity, superinduced by their geographical positions, obliges the continental empires to employ their more abundant resources of men principally in the constitution of a military force : and

That this being the case, the British army, however gallant and effective in itself, must of necessity be regarded as impotent (comparatively speaking) when opposed to the far more powerful armaments which France and other continental empires are enabled to keep on foot ; and Great Britain be admitted to be materially inferior to France and the other continental empires whose resources of men are more abundant than her own, in military force.

Now, having attained to an accurate knowledge of the state and prospects of Great Britain and of those of France, at the time of the commencement of the war, and taken a just and comprehensive view of the respective strength, position, and resources of the belligerent powers, a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would deem itself in a condition to investigate the matter in question submitted to its judgment more nearly. That matter in question, it will be remembered, is this :—

‘ Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France, which, commencing in 1793, was carried on (with the intermission of a brief interval of hollow peace) until 1806, as it is described and admitted to consist in ‘forming one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift or aiding with profuse loans,’ and ‘shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy while he employed our military force in petty expeditions, in occupying forts and capturing colonies.’

Upon directing its attention to the immediate consideration of the above matter in question, a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind could not fail to remark—it is marvellous how this obvious fact could have escaped Lord Brougham’s observation, as it evidently has done—the essential diversity of character observable in the war with France, which, commencing in 1793, was carried on (with the intermission of a brief interval of hollow peace) until 1806, as waged (as it was during the first six



years\* of its continuance) against France under a feeble republican government; and as waged (as it was during the last six years of its continuance) against Buonaparte.

Now, having remarked this essential diversity of character observable in the war with France, as waged (during the first six years of its continuance) against France under a republican government, and as waged (during the last six years of its continuance) against Buonaparte; a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind, if conversant (as it undoubtedly would be before it ventured to pass judgment upon the matter in question) with the history of the period, could not but perceive that the latter of the two particulars comprised in Lord Brougham's description of Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war, viz., that of his 'shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, whilst he employed our military force in petty expeditions, in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' has especial reference—relates principally, if not entirely and exclusively—to Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war, as waged, during the first six years of its

\* We state six years to be the time during which the war was waged against France under a Republican Government, and also that during which it was waged (in Mr. Pitt's life-time) against Buonaparte; because although the former was ostensibly rather more than six years and three quarters, and the latter not quite five years and a quarter, yet inasmuch as Buonaparte's authority was virtually paramount in France for some time before he formally usurped the supreme power in Nov. 1799, the war may be considered as actually waged against him rather than against France under a Republican Government, from the commencement of 1799, and, indeed, earlier.



continuance, against France under a republican government ; whilst the latter of the two particulars comprised in Lord Brougham's description of Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war, viz. that of his 'forming one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding by profuse loans ' mainly, and indeed (as to its principal averment) entirely and exclusively, refers to his conduct of the war, as waged, during the last six years of its continuance, against Buonaparte.

When aware of the essential diversity of character adverted to, and satisfied that that description of Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war which represents him as 'shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' referred principally to Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war as waged (during the first six years of its continuance) against France under a republican government ; whilst that description of Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war, which represents him as 'forming one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding with profuse loans,' relates mainly and (as to its principal averment) entirely and exclusively to the war as waged (during the last six years of its continuance) against Buonaparte ; a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would at once perceive that the matter in question submitted to its judgment revolved itself into the two following points of discussion : viz.,

1st, ' Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war with France,

when, as it was waged (during the first six years of its continuance) against the republican government, he shunned any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts, and capturing colonies :’

2dly, ‘ Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France, when, as it was waged (during the last six years of its continuance) against Buonaparte, he formed coalition after coalition in Germany, and subsidised them with millions of free gift, or aided with profuse loans.’

Upon applying itself to the consideration of the former of the two proposed points of discussion, a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would immediately perceive, that when he ‘ shunned any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy,’ Mr. Pitt adopted a method of conducting the war which :

1st, Had the effect of obviating a necessity for, and was the means of avoiding, that extraordinary demand upon the resources of the country which the vast expenditure incurred in the amassment and organization of a military force, sufficiently powerful to have ventured upon an effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy—a conflict which had for its object a decision of the contest—must inevitably have occasioned : which,

2ndly, Was calculated to avert the excitement of any of those violent impulses which were capable of impelling France to a concentrated effort of her strength, and causing her to act with a terrific

energy and power, notwithstanding her state of general debility : and which,

3rdly, Was strictly in accordance with the system of warfare which sound policy prescribes to a belligerent power that has chanced to involve itself in a contest with an enemy materially superior to it in military force.

Again : When he ‘employed our military force in capturing the enemy’s colonies,’ Mr. Pitt—as a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind could not fail to perceive—adopted a method of conducting the war which, whilst it provided an indemnification for its expenses, and thus obviated the necessity for a demand upon the resources of the country, to the discharge of which its commerce must have largely contributed, opened, also, a channel of commercial enterprize for Great Britain, which became a means of promoting that healthful and regular commercial action which warfare has ever a tendency to paralyze, and, at the same time, inflicted a blow upon the already crippled and depressed commerce of France, which was felt throughout the breadth and length of the land, and was therefore eminently well calculated to disabuse the French of their infatuated predilection for war, and likely, in consequence, to superinduce a speedy termination of hostilities.

‘ That Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France, when, as it was waged (during the first six years of its continuance) against the republican government, he ‘shunned any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the

enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies, was eminently politic and judicious ;’

Must, therefore, be self-evident to a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind, which had ascertained, by a due attention to the preliminary subjects of consideration to which its inquiries had been previously directed ;

‘ That at the time of the commencement of the war, Great Britain was in a precarious state of commercial and financial prosperity, in which she was likely to be most prejudicially affected by any extraordinary demand upon her resources ;’

‘ That notwithstanding her state of general debility, France was in a condition in which she was capable of exerting herself with a terrific energy and power when acted upon, and excited to a concentrated effort of her strength, by any violent impulse ;’ and

‘ That Great Britain was materially inferior to France in military force.’

When it took into consideration that Great Britain was forced into a war, (defensive, in one sense, on her part) by the infatuation of the French ; and that, at a time when the state of commercial and financial prosperity to which she had been restored was very precarious, and likely to be most prejudicially affected by any extraordinary demand upon her resources ; a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind could not but perceive that any result

of the war which left that precarious state of commercial and financial prosperity in which Great Britain was at its commencement, unimpaired, might justly be accounted a successful one.

\* “ When war arose between Great Britain and the revolutionary rulers of France,” says an historian of repute, “our imports bordered on 20,000,000, and our exports, including foreign merchandise re-exported, approached the value of 25,000,000 ; and, in the course of the war, they so far rose as to amount, in 1800, to 30,500,000 and 43,000,000.”

“ The trading-vessels belonging to the different ports of the British dominions, in 1793, exceeded the number of 16,070, the tons being 1,540,145. In 1800, the ships were 17,885, and the burthen was estimated at 1,855,879 tons.”

‘ That the result, then, of Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France, when, as it was waged (during the first six years of its continuance) against the republican government, he shunned any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force, in occupying forts and conquering colonies, was a successful one;’ a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would unhesitatingly conclude, upon the authority of the statement contained in the extracts exhibited above.

But it may possibly be urged, ‘ that granting that

\* Vide Russell’s *Modern Europe*, Vol. VI. pp. 566, 567.



the result adverted to may be said to constitute Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war with France, when, as it was waged (during the first six years of its continuance) against the republican government, he shunned any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts and conquering colonies, successful to a certain degree ; yet it by no means establishes that that conduct of the war was 'signally and most momentously successful :' as we have distinctly affirmed it to have been.'

'That the result adverted to was such as constitutes Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war with France, when, as it was waged (during the first six years of its continuance) against the republican government, he shunned any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies, signally and most momentously successful :' we hope to establish, in the course of our remarks upon the second of the two points proposed for discussion.

Having formed an intelligent and correct judgment with respect to the former of the two points proposed for discussion, and ascertained that that conduct of the war with France to which it refers, was eminently politic and judicious, and attended with a result which constituted it to a certain degree successful ;' a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would proceed, in the next place, to direct its atten-



tion to the latter of the two points proposed for discussion, viz.

‘ Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France, when, as it was waged (during the last six years of its continuance) against Buonaparte, he formed one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidised them with millions of free gift, or aided with profuse loans.’

Upon applying itself to the consideration of the above point of discussion, a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would, in the first place, take notice of the indisputable fact that Buonaparte “was one of the greatest masters in the art of war.”\* Nor would it for a moment hesitate to assent to what Lord Brougham has predicated of Buonaparte’s character, when his Lordship says, “It is quite certain that the mighty genius of Napoleon was of the highest order; he is to be ranked among the generals of the highest class, if indeed there be any but Hannibal who can be placed on a level with him. To all the qualities, both in the council and in the field, which combine to form an accomplished commander, he added, what but few indeed have ever shewn, an original genius.”†

Now, (as a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind would be aware,) at the period to which its attention

\* Vide Historical Sketches, Second Series, p. 323.

† Ibid. p. 321.

was directed when considering the latter of the two proposed points of discussion, viz. the last six years of the duration of the war [in which Great Britain was involved with France during the lifetime of Mr. Pitt; Buonaparte, this “great master in the art of war,” and “man of a mighty and original genius,” had successfully usurped the sovereign power in France, and become so absolute a master of all her resources—her potent resources of men among the rest—as well as of those of many rich and populous subjugated and dependent territories,\* that he was capable of wielding them as a man does “a lifeless instrument in his hand.”†

“The destruction of her liberties,” (of the liberties of France,) we are informed by Lord Brougham, “had not relaxed the martial propensities of her

\* “With the territories that had been governed by Louis the Sixteenth, the Netherlands and a flourishing portion of Germany were incorporated, as well as Geneva, the duchy of Savoy, and the Principality of Piedmont. The Dutch bowed their necks to Gallic tyranny. The Swiss, enslaved by the Directory, had not been able to recover their independence. Spain, forgetful of her ancient dignity, was a subservient and degraded ally. The Cis-Alpine state was completely under the yoke of the first Consul. It not only comprehended the Milanese, but included a considerable part of the Venetian territories, the duchies of Mantua, Modena, and Parma, besides some of the provinces which had belonged to the See of Rome. Tuscany, governed by a vassal king, was in effect a province of France; and the Ligurian Republic did not presume to dispute the will of”—was, in effect, a mere creature of, and entirely dependent upon—“the predominant nation.”—*Russell's Modern Europe*. Vol. VI. p. 539.

† Vide Historical Sketches, Second Series, p. 320.

people, nor thinned the multitudes that poured out their blood under his (Buonaparte's) banners. The fervour of the revolutionary zeal had cooled, but the discipline which a vigorous despotism secures had succeeded, and the conscription worked as great miracles as the Republic. The countless hosts which France thus poured forth, were led by this consummate warrior over all Italy, Spain, and Germany; half the ancient thrones of Europe were subverted, the capitals of half her powers occupied in succession; and a monarchy established which the existence of England and Russia alone prevented from being universal."\* But to proceed.

At the period adverted to, having repeatedly vanquished, and dictated a humiliating peace to Austria, and having enforced an unqualified submission from his other continental opponents;—having acquired an ascendancy in the councils of Russia which enabled him to seduce her into the adoption of a measure (the league for what was termed an armed neutrality) of a character manifestly hostile to Great Britain;—being absolute master of France, and capable of wielding her abundant resources as readily as a man does a lifeless instrument in his hand;—exercising an unresisted domination over the vast extent of territory which has been described as subject to his sway;—with “countless hosts” of veteran soldiers headed by generals the

\* Vide Historical Sketches, Second Series, p. 321.

bravest and most able—recognised as the bravest and most able\*—of their time, under his command ; and with fleets at his disposal which (including those of Spain) gave him a formidable maritime superiority ; this “great master of the art of war,” and “man of a mighty and original genius,” instigated by that rancorous animosity against her by which he is known to have been possessed, prepared to make a concentrated effort against Great Britain, and threatened her shores with an invasion.

Now, when Buonaparte, under the circumstances and with the overpowering advantages adverted to, prepared to make a concentrated effort against Great Britain, and threatened her shores with an invasion, the liberties of Great Britain (it would be evident to a reflecting mind, and, indeed, obvious to any man in his senses) nay, her very existence as an independent state, were placed in the most imminent peril.

And equally evident would it be to a reflecting mind, and obvious to any man in his senses, that when her liberties, nay her very existence as an independent state, were placed in the most imminent peril, it must of necessity have been incumbent upon Great Britain to strain every nerve—to employ, in other words, without stint and to the

\* They were all, or nearly all, it is scarcely necessary to remark, subsequently vanquished by an illustrious commander of our own.

uttermost every available resource that she possessed—for her protection and defence.

Now, Great Britain's pecuniary resources would constitute (it will be equally evident and obvious) one of those means of protection and defence which it was incumbent upon her to employ without stint and to the uttermost, when her liberties and existence as an independent state, were placed in the most imminent peril. Indeed, because of her great and manifest inferiority to France with her subjugated and dependant territories, in military force, Great Britain's pecuniary resources must of necessity have constituted her principal, if not her only available, means of protection and defence when Buonaparte made a concentrated effort against her under the circumstances and with the overpowering advantages adverted to.

It is at this point in our present subject of discussion that we may take the opportunity of remarking, that since Great Britain's pecuniary resources constituted her principal, if not her only available, means of protection and defence, when Buonaparte made a concentrated effort against her under the circumstances and with the overpowering advantages adverted to, her possession, at that juncture, of unexhausted pecuniary resources, must have been a circumstance of the utmost possible importance. And if the possession of unexhausted pecuniary resources, at the time that Buonaparte made



a concentrated effort against her, was a circumstance of the utmost possible importance to Great Britain, it follows that that result of Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war, 'when, as it was waged (during the first six years of its continuance) against the republican government he shunned any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' which consisted in maintaining the flourishing but precarious state of financial and commercial prosperity, in which Great Britain was at its commencement, unimpaired, must be allowed to have constituted a signally and most momentously successful one.

When, in his conduct of the war as it was waged (during the last six years of its continuance) against Buonaparte, Mr. Pitt 'formed coalition after coalition in Germany, and subsidised them with millions of free gift or aided with profuse loans,' he did but avail himself of those pecuniary resources which, at the juncture and under the circumstances adverted to, it was incumbent upon Great Britain to employ without stint and to the uttermost in her protection and defence, with a decision and energy called for by the magnitude of the danger, and therefore in a manner (as must be obvious to every man in his senses) which was eminently politic and judicious.

So indispensable is a "thorough knowledge" of Mr. Pitt's conduct with respect to the system of policy which constitutes the subject of our present discussion, to the formation of a due estimate of his



character, that we deem ourselves called upon to descant upon it at greater length than was necessary for the purposes of our argument.

For the sake of confining our remarks within a reasonable limit, we will waive all claim to approbation on Mr. Pitt's behalf, on account of the conception of the system of policy adverted to : and commence by simply stating that (as any other sagacious statesman might have done) Mr. Pitt conceived the plan of employing those pecuniary resources which it had become necessary to make use of without stint and to the uttermost, in forming a coalition in Germany, which, by causing a powerful diversion, might break the concentration of Buonaparte's efforts against Great Britain, and so operate to effect her protection.\*

Now when this plan had been conceived, it could not but occur to Mr. Pitt, or any other British statesman, when deliberating with himself as to the advisability of its adoption :

‘That in the existing posture of affairs—when the resources of the principal German states had been exhausted by unsuccessful wars ;—when their forces had been vanquished so often and so signally by the arms of France—when Buonaparte stood

\* It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the protection of Great Britain must have been an object of far greater importance even than her defence ; inasmuch as the evils of invasion (supposing that invasion to prove unsuccessful in consequence of the able measures of defence which had been taken) are in themselves incalculably heavy.

the triumphant and unresisted master of France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Savoy, and many of the richest and most populous provinces and states of Italy, Germany, and Spain; and awed not Germany only, but the world, more by "the terror of his name" and the redoubtable energy of his character than by the success of his arms (marvellous as that had been) and the formidable array of his "countless hosts;" it must of necessity require a most tempting offer of pecuniary aid, the proffer of millions of free gift, in order to induce the vanquished and not causelessly intimidated German principalities to enter into the contemplated coalition :'

'That for the disbursement of the millions of free gift with which it was necessary to subsidise the vanquished powers of Germany, in order to form the contemplated coalition, he (Mr. Pitt, or any other British statesman) would be accountable not to a single individual of an acute and philosophic mind, who would see the necessity for, and could appreciate the causes of, so prodigious an expenditure, but to a popular assembly of a commercial and (so to speak) money-weighing, money-valuing country ;'

'That the conduct of the war upon the plan under consideration would inevitably appear most common-place to common-place minds, as well as to inconsiderate ones of a higher order (as we find to have been the case\*); and that inasmuch as the

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 139.

great majority of all human communities consists of persons of common-place minds or of inconsiderate ones of a higher order, that plan could not be adopted but at the expence of the certain renunciation of present reputation, and a probable sacrifice of posthumous fame.'

Now the adoption of the plan of breaking the concentration of Buonaparte's efforts against Great Britain, by means of the formation of a coalition in Germany, could not, it is evident, have been determined upon by any British statesman, in despite of the above influential considerations, but by the exercise of no little force of character, and under the actuation of a stedfast integrity of purpose.

And if the adoption of the plan adverted to by any British statesman, in despite of the above influential considerations, must have required the exercise of no little force of character, and would afford proof of a stedfast integrity of purpose; its adoption by Mr. Pitt, a "finance minister," (as he is pointedly designated by Lord Brougham) who had ever made the well-ordering of the finances and the economical regulation of the income of the country the favourite object of his public life, and (according to his Lordship) "the main feature of his official history," must, of necessity, have demanded a far more energetical force of character, and would manifest, it is evident, a firmer and more influential integrity of purpose.

But when the plan of breaking the concentration

of Buonaparte's efforts against Great Britain, by means of the formation of a coalition in Germany, had been conceived and determined upon, its execution would remain to be achieved.

When it is taken into consideration how depressed (as we have seen) and dis-spiriting were the position and circumstances of the vanquished principalities of Germany, and how formidable was the posture, how predominant the power, how redoubtable the character, and how marvellous the success of Buonaparte ;—when it is borne in mind that Buonaparte's "genius," as we are correctly informed by Lord Brougham, "was not confined to war," but that "he possessed a large capacity also for civil affairs," and "saw as clearly, and as quickly determined on his course, in government as in the field ;"\* and recollected that he was surrounded by advisers as able in the cabinet—Talleyrand, for instance, and the Duke of Otranto—as the best of his generals were upon the field ; it will become evident that the formation of a coalition with the vanquished principalities of Germany, in the unfavourable posture of affairs which we have described, and notwithstanding the efforts which in the exercise of his own large capacity for civil affairs, and by the advice of his astute councillors, Buonaparte would no doubt have exerted to prevent it, must have required, and

\* Vide Historical Sketches, Second Series, p. 326.

may be predicated to exhibit proof of, the most consummate diplomatic ability.

And if the formation of a coalition—of one coalition—in Germany, in despite of the influential considerations adverted to, and notwithstanding the unfavourable posture of affairs described, and the potent efforts likely to have been exerted to prevent it, must have required a most energetical force of character and stedfast integrity of purpose, and may be predicated to exhibit proof of the most consummate diplomatic ability; what must be the power of that force of character, and the strength of that integrity of purpose, and what the extent of that diplomatic ability, which must have been required for, and would be manifested by, the formation of one coalition after another in Germany, notwithstanding “the powers in our pay were defeated in succession, and most of them either destroyed or converted into allies of the enemy,”\* until at length and towards the close of the period to which our attention has been called, that great and master coalition was accomplished, by means of which an army was assembled on the plains of Austerlitz, in every respect competent to contend with Buonaparte for the liberties of Europe? But to return from this digression.

Having shewn that Mr. Pitt’s employment of those pecuniary resources which it had become neces-

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 199.



sary for Great Britain to make use of without stint and to the uttermost, in her protection and defence, in forming coalitions in Germany, was eminently politic and judicious; or, in other words, having proved 'that Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war, when, as it was waged (during the last six years of its continuance) against Buonaparte, he formed coalition after coalition in Germany, and subsidised them with millions of free gift, or aided by profuse loans, was eminently politic and judicious;' we may proceed to support that part of our position which predicates that that conduct of the war was also signally and most momentously successful.

In proceeding to shew 'that Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war, when, as it was waged (during the last six years of its continuance) against Buonaparte, he formed coalition after coalition in Germany, and subsidised them with millions of free gift, or aided with profuse loans, was signally and most momentously successful;' we will content ourselves with observing, that that conduct had the effect of breaking the concentration of Buonaparte's efforts against Great Britain; and their concentration being effectually broken from time to time, those efforts were never exerted (as, in all human probability, they would otherwise have been) in an invasion of her shores.

This effect was, no doubt, equally efficaciously produced, though not perhaps so ostensibly made



manifest, by the previous coalitions, as it was by the last and master coalition formed by Mr. Pitt : but, for the sake of brevity, we propose to confine our historical reference to a statement of the process (if we may so speak) in which it was brought about by the latter.

In the summer of 1805, (as every one who has the slightest knowledge of the history of the period will be aware), being at peace with every power but Great Britain, and having the prodigious resources before adverted to at his absolute control, and the fleets of Spain and Holland, in addition to that of France, increased to a most formidable efficiency,\* at his disposal, Buonaparte (whose character as a “ consummate warrior,” and “ a man of a mighty and original genius,” must not be lost sight of) once more concentrated his efforts, with a more deadly animosity than ever, against Great Britain ; and assembled his “ countless hosts” of veteran soldiers at various points in the extended line of country comprehended between the Elbe and the extremity of the west of France, with a view of making a descent upon her coasts.

\* The following statement will convey some idea of the energy with which Buonaparte had exerted himself, in promoting the efficiency of the French marine :

“ Ce vaste port de construction (Antwerp) comptait à peine une année d'établissement ; cependant trois vaisseaux de ligne et une frégate allaient sortir de ses chantiers. Le 16 Août vit lancer deux corvettes.”—*De Norvius Histoire de Napoléon*. Tom.ii. 322.

A French author gives the following account of his preparations :\*

“ Les ports de la Manche sont en même temps les chantiers et les arsenaux de l'expédition qui doit rappeler, par l'immensité des troupes et des transports, celle de Xerxès contre la Grèce. Les camps établis sur les côtes ont pour chefs nos premiers généraux. Le Maréchal Davoust commande les camps de Dunkerque et d'Ostende ; le Maréchal Ney, ceux de Calais et Montreuil ; le Maréchal Soult, celui de Boulogne ; le général Junot, celui de Saint-Omer ; le général Marmont commande l'aile droite en Hollande ; il a sous ses ordres la marine de ce pays pour l'embarquement de ses troupes. Le port de Boulogne contenait déjà neuf cents bâtimens : ceux d'Étaples, de Vimereux, de Calais, de Dunkerque en étaient remplis. Le port d'Ambleteuse également recreusé et reconstruit, attendait les cinq cents voiles de la flotille batave, sous la conduite de l'amiral Verhuell : elle formait l'aile droite, et devait porter les troupes du Maréchal Davoust.”

That the formidable preparations described in the above authentic statement, when made by a “consummate warrior,” and “man of a mighty genius,” were calculated to inspire what M. Norvins aptly expresses by “le sentiment profond du danger que lui (Great Britain) faisait courir l'imminence

\* Vide Histoire de Napoléon, par M. de Norvius. Tom. ii. pp. 317, 318.

de la descente des Français," is incontestably certain.

When at the camp of Boulogne, in the beginning of September 1805, Buonaparte heard that the Austrians had commenced military operations ;—military operations, be it observed, entered upon in consequence of the formation of the last and master coalition effected by Mr. Pitt.

"Sans hésiter," says M. Norvius\* (and it must be admitted that his recital presents us with a most striking instance of the power of Buonaparte's mighty genius), "sans s'arrêter, il dicta en entier le plan de la campagne d'Austerlitz, le départ de tous les corps d'armée, depuis le Hanovre et la Hollande jusqu'aux confins de l'ouest et du sud de la France : l'ordre des marches, leur durée, les lieux de convergence et de réunion des colonnes, les surprises et les attaques de vive force, les mouvemens divers de l'ennemi, tout fut prévu, la victoire assurée dans toutes les hypothèses.

"Dans le même moment où il allait mettre ses troupes en mouvement, sous le nom de *Grande Armée*, substitué à celui d'*Armée d'Angleterre*, Napoléon chargeait son Maréchal du palais, le général Duroc, de se rendre à Berlin pour s'assurer de la neutralité de la Prusse."

The above extracts indisputably establish the fact, that the last and master coalition formed by Mr. Pitt, had the effect of breaking the concen-

\* Vide Histoire de Napoléon. Tom. ii. p. 359.

tration of Buonaparte's efforts against Great Britain so successfully, as to occasion the withdrawal, from its threatening position opposite her coasts, of that army of Austerlitz, which is universally accounted to have been one of the most efficient and redoubtable of any that ever took the field; and thereby became a means of delivering Great Britain from "l'imminence de la descente des Français," and accomplishing her protection from invasion.

That the above result of the last and master coalition formed by Mr. Pitt, was a signally and most momentously successful one, must be self-evident to a rightly-constituted and reflecting mind, and obvious, indeed, to every man in his senses. Consequently, it may be safely predicated, 'that Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war, when, as it was waged (during the last six years of its continuance) against Buonaparte, he 'formed coalition after coalition in Germany, and subsidised them with millions of free gift, or aided with profuse loans,' was signally and most momentously successful.'

Now, we have before proved that Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war with France, when, as it was waged (during the first six years of its continuance) against the French Republic, he 'shunned any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, and employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' was eminently politic and judicious; and consequently we have satisfactorily established our position,—

‘ That Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France, which, commencing in 1793, was carried on (with the intermission of a brief interval of hollow peace) until 1806, as it has been described and is admitted to consist in ‘ forming one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding by profuse loans,’ and ‘ shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,’ was such as will appear to every rightly-constituted and reflecting mind to have been, and may therefore justly be accounted as, at once eminently politic and judicious, and signally and most momentously successful.’\*

But, granting, for the sake of argument, that we have not altogether succeeded in establishing the above position—yet, in that case, it must be conceded, that in our attempt to establish it, we have adduced what is amply sufficient to authorize us to pronounce that the proposition—

‘ That ‘ to form one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidise them with millions of free gift, or aid by profuse loans,’ and ‘ to shun any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,’ constitutes a method of conducting the war with France which betrays no extent of views, and is very common-

\* Vide Supplemental Appendix to Chapter IV.



place, and which involved an impolicy and extravagance which were productive of fatal effects ;' does not contain a self-evident truth.

And it being granted (as it must be) that the proposition 'That ' to form one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidise them with millions of free gift, or aid with profuse loans,' and 'to shun any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' constitutes a method of conducting the war with France which betrayed no extent of views, and was very common-place, and which involved an impolicy and extravagance which were productive of fatal effects,' does not contain a self-evident truth ; it follows that the allegation which we have supposed to have been adduced, with a view of obviating that refutation of the charge preferred against Mr. Pitt, touching his conduct of the war, which Lord Brougham's failure to adduce any argument or proof in support of the two positions which constitute its substance, necessarily involves—the allegation 'that Lord Brougham's statement of the charge preferred in the passage under review, did not consist, as we have asserted it to have done, in a description of Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war as consisting in and being confined to 'the forming of one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding with profuse loans,' and 'shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while



he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' and the affirmation of the two denied positions, in support of which his Lordship has failed to adduce any argument or proof; but in an affirmation of the two positions denied, and the allegation that Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war consisted in and was confined to 'the forming of one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding with profuse loans', and 'shunning any effectual conflict with the enemy, while he wasted our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' in support of that affirmation—must be holden to be nugatory. And that allegation being admitted to be nugatory, it is evident, that under the form of averment in which it is adduced, according to the interpretation of the passage under review resorted to in such allegation, the charge preferred against Mr. Pitt, touching his conduct of the war, must be pronounced to be unfounded.

We have established, then, (we may observe in conclusion) that the charge preferred against Mr. Pitt, touching his conduct of the war with France, in the passage under review and the statements contained in other parts of Lord Brougham's publication to which a reference has been made, may be pronounced to be unfounded; whether the passage under review and the statements adverted to, be considered according to either of the two methods of interpretation of which they are susceptible.

And by establishing this, we have succeeded in disproving "the main charge against Mr. Pitt," as Lord Brougham (it will be remembered) has expressly denominated that preferred in the passage under review.

## CHAPTER V.

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THE paragraph of Lord Brougham's publication, upon which we have been under the necessity of commenting at so great a length, concludes with the following passage :

“ When, after a most culpable refusal to treat with Napoleon in 1800, grounded on the puerile hope of the newly-gotten consular power being soon overthrown, he found it impossible any longer to continue the ruinous expenditure of the war, he retired, placing in his office his puppet, with whom he quarrelled for refusing to retire when he was bidden. But the ostensible ground of his resignation was the King's bigoted refusal to emancipate the Irish Catholics. Nothing could have more redounded to his glory than this. But he resumed office in 1804, refused to make any stipulation for those same Catholics, and always opposed those who urged their claims on the utterly unconstitutional ground of the King's personal prejudices ; a ground quite as solid for yielding to that Monarch in 1801, as for not urging him in 1804. It was quite as discreditable to him that, on the same occasion, after

pressing Mr. Fox upon George III. as an accession of strength, necessary for well carrying on the war, he agreed to take office, without any such accession, rather than thwart the personal antipathy, the capricious, the despicable antipathy of that narrow-minded and vindictive prince against the most illustrious of his subjects.”

The intelligent reader will no doubt have remarked, that the parenthesis contained in the former part of the above-cited passage, adduces a charge against Mr. Pitt to the following effect, viz.,

‘That Mr. Pitt’s conduct, in refusing to treat with Buonaparte in 1800, was most culpable.’

And inasmuch as this charge is entirely distinct from that preferred by the sentence in which the parenthesis adducing it chances to be inserted; and is connected, moreover, with the subjects discussed in our two preceding Chapters, whilst it has no sort of relation to the contents of the remainder of the passage cited, we have judged it advisable to consider it apart, and, for the sake of greater distinctness, in a separate Chapter.

In his history of the French Revolution, M. Thiers gives the following graphic description of that “révolution du 18 brumaire,”\* as it is termed, by means of which Buonaparte possessed himself of the supreme power in France.

“Les moyens oratoires de ramener l’assemblée

\* 10th of December, 1799.

étant devenus impossibles, il ne restait que la force ; il fallait hasarder un de ces actes audacieux, devant lesquels hésitent toujours les usurpateurs. César hésita en passant le Rubicon, Cromwell en fermant le parlement. Bonaparte se décide à faire marcher les grenadiers sur l'assemblée. Il monte à cheval, et parcourt le front des troupes. Lucien (Bonaparte) les harangue. Le Conseil des Cinq-Cents est dissous, leur dit-il ; c'est moi qui vous le déclare. Des assassins ont envahi la salle des séances, et ont fait violence à la majorité ; je vous somme de marcher pour la délivrer.—Lucien jure ensuite que lui et son frère seront les défenseurs fidèles de la liberté. Murat et Leclerc ébranlent alors un bataillon de grenadiers, et le conduisent à la porte des Cinq-Cents. Ils s'avancent jusqu'à l'entrée de la salle. A la vue des baïonnettes les députés poussent des cris affreux, comme ils avaient fait à la vue de Bonaparte. Mais un roulement de tambours couvre leurs cris.—*Grenadiers, en avant !* s'écrient les officiers. Les grenadiers entrent dans la salle, et dispersent les députés, qui s'enfuient les uns par les couloirs, les autres par les fenêtres. En un instant la salle est évacuée, et Bonaparte reste maître de ce déplorable champ de bataille.

“ La nouvelle est portée aux anciens, qui en sont remplis d'inquiétude et de regrets. Lucien se présente à leur barre, et vient justifier sa conduite à l'égard des Cinq-Cents. On se content de ses raisons, car que faire dans une pareille situation ? ...

...Il fallait en finir et remplir l'objet qu' on s'était proposé. Le conseil des anciens ne pouvait pas décréter à lui seul l'ajournement du Corps-Legislatif, et l'institution du consulat. Le conseil des Cinq-Cents était dissous ; mais il restait une cinquantaine de députés, partisans du coup d'état. On les réunit, et on leur fait décréter le décret, objet de la révolution qu' on venait de faire. Le décret est ensuite rapporté aux anciens, qui l'adoptent vers le milieu de la nuit. Bonaparte, Roger-Ducos, Siéyes sont nommés Consuls provisoires ; et revêtu de toute la puissance exécutive."\*

Shortly after his accession to the supreme power in France, by means of the lawless "coup d'état" narrated by M. Thiers, Buonaparte intimated a desire for that peace which so obviously was necessary to enable him to consolidate his newly-gotten power, —not, as is usual in such cases, through a communication from one of the French ministers of State to the British Secretary for Foreign affairs, but in a letter from himself to the King of England.

Now, nothing, it is evident, but a most unaccountable forgetfulness of the fact, that Buonaparte's title to the supreme power in France, and consequent authority to treat for peace with Great Britain, was accredited only by the bayonets of his grenadiers, could have betrayed Lord Brougham into so manifest an error as that which his Lordship has committed, when he denounces Mr.

\* Vide Histoire de la Révolution Française. Tom. x. p. 524.



Pitt's conduct in refusing to treat with Buonaparte in 1800, as most culpable.

In our two last-preceding Chapters, and in the present Chapter, we have been engaged in investigating certain charges preferred by Lord Brougham against Mr. Pitt, with respect to the commencement, conduct, and continuation (the charge of a culpable refusal to treat for peace is, obviously, tantamount to one of a reprehensible continuation of hostilities) of the war with France, which together constitute a line of argument adduced in support of the third of the positions virtually laid down by Lord Brougham, as the result of his Lordship's scrutiny into the character and conduct of Mr. Pitt; viz. 'That by want of firmness he (Mr. Pitt) was the cause of an impolicy and extravagance, the effects of which are yet felt, and will oppress us beyond the life of the youngest now alive.'

Now, since we disproved (in the first of the two last-preceding Chapters) the various charges preferred against Mr. Pitt, with respect to the commencement of the war, and (in the second) established that the charge adduced touching his conduct of the war was unfounded, whilst (in the present Chapter) we have made it manifest, that nothing but an accountable ignorance of a most notable historical fact could have betrayed Lord Brougham into the error which led his Lordship to prefer a charge against Mr. Pitt with respect to his

continuation of the war ; we have refuted, it is evident, that line of argument adduced in support of his Lordship's third position, and may safely predicate that the position 'That by want of firmness Mr. Pitt was the cause of an impolicy and extravagance, the effects of which are yet felt, and will oppress us beyond the life of the youngest now alive,' is, as yet, unsupported by any argument or proof.

## CHAPTER VI.

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THE passage, in which the parenthesis commented upon in our last Chapter is contained, prefers no less than five distinct charges against Mr. Pitt.

That passage—for it may be advisable to recapitulate it—states as follows :

“ When he (Mr. Pitt) found it impossible any longer to continue the ruinous expenditure of the war, he retired, placing in his office his puppet, with whom he quarrelled for refusing to retire when he was bidden. But the ostensible ground of his resignation was the king’s bigoted refusal to emancipate the Irish Catholics. Nothing could have more redounded to his glory than this. But he resumed office in 1804, refused to make any stipulation for these same Catholics, and always opposed those who urged their claims, on the utterly unconstitutional ground of the king’s personal prejudices ; a ground quite as solid for yielding to that monarch in 1801, as for not urging him in 1804. It was quite as discreditable to him that, on the same occasion, after pressing Mr. Fox upon George III., as an accession of strength

necessary for well carrying on the war, he agreed to take office without any such accession, rather than thwart the personal antipathy, the capricious, the despicable antipathy of that narrow-minded and vindictive prince against the most illustrious of his subjects.”

‘ That when he found it impossible to continue the ruinous expenditure of the war, Mr. Pitt retired, placing a puppet in his office, and falsely alleging the king’s refusal to emancipate (as Lord Brougham is pleased to term it) the Irish Roman Catholics as the ground of his resignation : ’ and

‘ That Mr. Pitt quarrelled with his puppet (in a fit of childish petulance, we may very reasonably infer) for refusing to retire when he was bidden : ’—

Are the two first and principal charges preferred by the passage under review.

In answer to the above charges, we need only observe, that that part of the passage under review in which they are adduced does but contain an intimation of Lord Brougham’s notion of a transaction, of which the following remarks present a correct statement.

With a view of reconciling the Irish Roman-catholics to the projected union between Great Britain and Ireland, Mr. Pitt was, unhappily, induced to hold out hopes of their obtaining certain concessions—and (amongst them) that of admissibility into the Legislature of the United Kingdom, in the event of a union taking place.

After the union between Great Britain and Ireland

had been effected, Mr. Pitt proposed the adoption of certain measures, which had for their object the realization of the hopes which he had holden out to the Irish Roman-catholics. But the king, justly conceiving that he could not become a party to the proposed measures, without making light of the obligation of his coronation oath, conscientiously refused to consent to their adoption : and upon his Majesty's refusal to sanction the measure he had proposed, Mr. Pitt conceived that it became him to tender his resignation.

He was succeeded by Mr. Addington.

Being destitute of that consummate diplomatic ability, and deficient in that energetical force of character, which alone could have enabled them to appreciate and persist in the line of conduct which had been adopted by their more gifted predecessor, the feeble but well-meaning Addington administration opened a negotiation with Buonaparte, which terminated in the peace of Amiens.

Upon the restoration of peace, whilst the government of Great Britain were employed 'in composing the internal dissensions of the country,' (as we are told by Lord Brougham,\*) and 'restoring that free constitution which (according to his Lordship) had been subverted by the arbitrary administration of Mr. Pitt ;' or, in other words, in prematurely abrogating the unpopular but vigorous and most salutary

\* Vide Historical Sketches, Second Series, p. 156.

parliamentary and constitutional restrictions on the abuse of individual liberty, to which Mr. Pitt had been constrained to have recourse by the perilous exigencies of the times ; Buonaparte, with his accustomed energy and promptitude, availed himself of the opportunity which it afforded for establishing his usurped supremacy in France, and consolidating the power of the vast Empire, which the treaty of Amiens had most preposterously left subject to his sway.\*

Amongst the measures which Buonaparte adopted, for regulating the affairs of the Empire left subject to his sway, was that of quelling an insurrection of Swiss patriots under Aloys Reding ; and this he executed by means and under circumstances which excited general indignation in Great Britain : and the enmity and distrust thus excited against Buonaparte, in Great Britain, was aggravated by the aggression which he shortly afterwards committed, in seizing upon the Duchies of Parma and Placencia, and other territories in the North of Italy, upon a pretence that they had been ceded to France in a treaty with the court of Madrid.

When, after having established his usurped authority, and consolidated the power of his Empire, Buonaparte commences military preparations on a

\* The Empire left subject to Buonaparte's sway by the treaty of Amiens, consisted (with a few immaterial exceptions) of the vast extent of territory described in the extract cited in page 88, from Russell's *Modern Europe*.



far more extended scale than that which the alleged object of them (the more vigorous prosecution of the war in St. Domingo) would have justified, and when, in consequence, and from the causes specified above, a clamour for war, and persuasion of its necessity, had become generally prevalent in Great Britain, the Addington administration found itself under the necessity of resorting to hostilities, and recommenced the war.

Up to this period, and for some time after the recommencement of the war, Mr. Pitt steadily supported the Addington administration, for the most part; and that, notwithstanding it had given him most reasonable cause of offence; nor did he in any case publicly oppose it.

The Addington administration was characterized (according to Lord Brougham) “by the moderation of both its talents and its principles.”\* “It presented to the confidence of the country,” says his Lordship, “only second-rate genius in every department save two (the law and the navy);—a genius diluted and lowered to the moderate standard which suits the public taste;” but which, be it observed! was most deplorably unsuitable to the exigencies of the times and the critical posture of affairs.

In a state of “internal dissension,” according to Lord Brougham himself,—with sedition most alarmingly prevalent amongst the discontented population

\* Vide Historical Sketches. Second Series, p. 156.

of Ireland, and disaffection rife amongst the republican zealots of Great Britain—with hereditary prejudices unsubdued (amongst the higher classes of the community), political animosities unsoftened, party spirit unsobered, by the imminence of the danger, Great Britain (at the recommencement of the war) stood opposed, singly and without ally, to that “consummate warrior” and “man of a mighty genius for civil affairs,” whose will was law throughout France and the vast extent of her subjugated and dependent territories, and whose “countless hosts” of veteran soldiers swarmed around our shores.

The “diluted and lowered genius” of the Addington administration, proved wholly unequal to the task of government at a juncture so critical and replete with peril. And their manifestly inefficient direction of affairs, at a time when a necessity for the exertion of the utmost possible activity and vigour was universally apparent, excited general dissatisfaction.

And then it was, that, after having written to the King to state that he deemed it his duty to take an active part against his Majesty’s government, Mr. Pitt became a decided, though not a systematic, opponent of the Addington administration.

That the above historical sketch contains a statement of the transaction referred to in the passage under review, which cannot be impeached in any material particular, the reader will be cognizant,

or may ascertain, by a reference to any authentic annals of the period.

It is evident, therefore, that the notion of that transaction to which Lord Brougham has given expression in the passage under review, is most egregiously erroneous. And that false notion it is, which constitutes the sole foundation for the two charges to which our attention is directed.

“ I do not wonder if it be misunderstood ;” says Mr. Wilberforce, speaking of that conduct of Mr. Pitt, which is detailed in our historical sketch, and referred to by Lord Brougham in the passage under review.\* And he proceeds to state his reasons for coming to this, so prophetic, a conclusion. They are sufficiently sound and pregnant, but such withal as courtesy induces us to suppress.

“ Nothing could have more redounded to his (Mr. Pitt’s) glory than this.” We read, upon resuming our perusal of the passage under review.

‘ Nothing could have more redounded to Mr. Pitt’s glory than his retirement from office would have done, supposing that that retirement had been caused by the king’s refusal to sanction his proposed measures of concession to the Irish Roman-catholics,’ is, beyond all question, what Lord Brougham intended to assert in the above brief sentence.

And since (as we have seen) Mr. Pitt’s retirement from office was caused by the king’s refusal to

\* Vide Life of William Wilberforce, vol. iii. p. 20.

sanction his proposed measures of concession to the Irish Roman-catholics, it necessarily follows that the eulogium, conditionally pronounced by Lord Brougham in the brief sentence under review, must be absolutely understood.

Now, inasmuch as we are not writing a panegyric of Mr. Pitt, but a disquisition upon Lord Brougham's delineation of his character, it is, of course, equally incumbent upon us to refute assertions which bestow unmerited commendation, as it is to animadvert upon those which are replete with unjust censure. We would observe, therefore, with reference to the brief sentence under review, 'That Mr. Pitt's conduct in retiring from office, upon the king's refusal to sanction his proposed measures of concession to the Irish Roman-catholics, was not so signally meritorious that nothing could more redound to his glory (as is predicated by Lord Brougham); but was, on the contrary, highly reprehensible, and most fatally pernicious.'

The times were perilous, and the state of affairs was alarming in the extreme, in 1801—it was in 1801 and not in 1800 (as is stated in the passage under review) that Mr. Pitt resigned.

In those perilous times, and at that alarming posture of affairs, Mr. Pitt was at the head of a most able and efficient administration, which enjoyed the confidence both of the crown and country, and commanded the support of the great majority of the influential classes of society. And in his energy and

force of character, in his surprising abilities, in his strength of principle, and in his rectitude of purpose, Mr. Pitt possessed qualifications (of the possession of which he could not but be conscious) which especially and supereminently fitted him for the direction of affairs in the perilous era of his day and generation.

It may be predicated, therefore, that Mr. Pitt's continuance in office, in 1801, and the direction of affairs by the efficient and well-supported administration he had formed, were (humanly speaking) circumstances of the greatest possible importance to the well-being and safety of the country.

And Mr. Pitt's continuance in office in 1801, and the direction of affairs by the efficient and well-supported administration he had formed, being of the greatest possible importance to the well-being and safety of the country, it is evident that *necessity* would constitute the only admissible plea which can be urged in justification of his retirement.

Now, did the king's refusal to sanction Mr. Pitt's proposed measures of concession to the Roman-catholics, superinduce or involve any such necessity?

Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Pitt had been so ill-advised as to have made a promise to the Irish Roman-catholics, that in the event of a union taking place, admissibility into the Parliament of the United Kingdoms should be conceded to them : in that case, would the king's refusal



to sanction the measures which he had proposed, with a view of effectuating that promised concession, have rendered his retirement from office a matter of necessity.

Now it must be at once conceded that, in the case supposed, Mr. Pitt's retirement from office, upon the king's refusal to sanction his proposed measures of concession to the Roman-catholics, was not a matter of positive, or moral necessity; but it will possibly be contended, that such a step was in some sort necessary, because a sense of honour enjoined it as obligatory.—That it was a sense of honour which constrained Mr. Pitt to resign, there can be little doubt.

To this we answer, that a sense of honour, when separable from the spirit of a sound mind, is a most dangerous false principle.

The course, we may proceed to observe, to which the spirit of a sound mind would have prompted Mr. Pitt in the case supposed—when (at a time in which his continuance in office was of the greatest possible importance to the well-being and safety of the country) he had made a promise of the concession of admissibility into the legislature to the Roman-catholics, which the king's refusal to sanction any measure for effectuating such a concession, incapacitated him from performing—would, unquestionably, have been this :—

To have used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon the king to sanction the proposed measures



of concession ; and, upon the failure of his efforts, to have remained in office contentedly exposed to the many evil surmisings and injurious imputations which such a line of conduct must inevitably have provoked.

Now, the 'sense of honour' which enjoined Mr. Pitt's retirement as obligatory, and 'the spirit of a sound mind' which would have prompted to the line of conduct adverted to above, are clearly separable, are indeed manifestly and directly contrariant: consequently, the former must be regarded as a dangerous false principle, and the supposed necessity for retirement which it induced may be pronounced to be illusive.

Mr. Pitt's resignation, therefore, would not have been in any sense a matter of necessity in the case supposed—had he made a promise of the concession of admissibility into the legislature to the Irish Roman-catholics.

And if Mr. Pitt's retirement from office would not have been in any sense a matter of necessity in the case supposed ; it could not possibly have been in any sense a matter of necessity in the case which actually occurred ; viz. when Mr. Pitt had merely holden out hopes of the concession of admissibility into the legislature, to the Irish Roman-Catholics.

And since his retirement from office, upon the king's refusal to sanction his proposed measures of concession to the Roman-catholics, was not a

matter of necessity, Mr. Pitt's resignation, at a time when his continuance in office was of the utmost possible importance to her safety and well-being, involved a manifest dereliction of his duty to the country, and may therefore be characterized as reprehensible.

But we termed it 'highly reprehensible.'

The foregoing remarks have, as we trust, satisfactorily established that Mr. Pitt's conduct in retiring from office, upon the king's refusal to sanction his proposed measures of concession to the Roman-catholics, may justly be accounted reprehensible, even supposing, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Pitt was right in proposing, and the king wrong in refusing to sanction, those measures of concession.

But the truth is, that the king was right in refusing to sanction, and Mr. Pitt wrong in proposing, the concession of admissibility into the legislature to the Roman-catholics.

This point it is incumbent upon us to establish. In proceeding to do so, we will commence by observing :

That Mr. Pitt is known, and universally allowed, to have been a zealous and sincere advocate for the maintenance of our established constitution of Church and State in its integrity.

Had Mr. Pitt, then, been cognizant that the admission of persons into the legislature who believed—who really and practically believed—the

tenets of the Roman-catholic Church, or of those, in other words, who conscientiously professed the Roman-catholic religion, was incompatible with the maintenance of our established Constitution in Church and State in its integrity, he would, we may be certain, have most carefully abstained from proposing any measure which had the concession of their admissibility for its object.

Now, had he been fully and accurately acquainted with the tenets of the Roman-catholic Church, both in their letter and their spirit, Mr. Pitt must have been cognizant that the admission of persons who believed them, into the legislature, was utterly incompatible with the maintenance of our established Constitution of Church and State in its integrity.\*

It is evident, therefore, that it was to a want of that full and accurate acquaintance with the tenets of the Roman-catholic Church, which would have led him to abstain from proposing any measure which had for its object the concession of admissibility into the legislature to the Roman-catholics, that Mr. Pitt's proposal of the measures which the

\* It will be perceived that we have treated this as a self-evident proposition. That it is a self-evident proposition, will be acknowledged by every one who possesses a full and accurate acquaintance with the tenets of the Roman-catholic Church, in their letter and spirit, and has, at the same time, a definite and correct idea of our Established Constitution in Church and State.

king refused to sanction, may be regarded as in a great degree ascribable.

Now, although it be conceded—and we readily concede—that Mr. Pitt's immersion in a vortex of harassing and perplexing public business at the early age at which he was called to the direction of affairs, will very reasonably account for, and may, to a certain extent, be allowably pleaded in excuse of, his ignorance of polemical divinity; it must nevertheless be admitted that Mr. Pitt's want of that full and accurate acquaintance with the tenets of the Roman-catholic Church, which would have led him to abstain from proposing his contemplated measures of concession to the Roman-catholics, was, in his station, and under his circumstances, in a certain degree culpable. Consequently, it must be granted that Mr. Pitt's proposal of his contemplated measures of concession to the Roman-catholics, was wrong.

And Mr. Pitt having been wrong in proposing, and the king right in refusing to sanction, the concession of admissibility into the legislature to the Roman-catholics, Mr. Pitt's retirement from office, in consequence of the king's refusal, must unquestionably be characterized as 'highly reprehensible.'

We pronounced it to have been also 'fatally pernicious.'

Mr. Pitt's retirement from office, upon the king's refusal to sanction his proposed measures for con-

ceding admissibility into the legislature to the Roman-catholics, was 'fatally pernicious,' we conceive, because,

When it is considered that Mr. Pitt was known to be a most sincere and uncompromising friend to our established Constitution in Church and State, and was, on that account, and because of his pre-eminent abilities and unsullied integrity, looked up to—until very recently at least—as their great political exemplar, by all who were zealous for its maintenance in full efficiency and integrity,—has he not been canonized in the imaginations and affections of most lovers of order, as the civil Patron Saint, as a second St. George, of his country?—it will be evident that his example, in retiring from office upon the king's refusal to sanction the concession of admissibility into the legislature to the Roman-catholics, must have had an incalculably powerful and extensive influence in fashioning the opinions, and overruling the judgment, of the friends of order and the constitution, upon the momentous question of the Roman-catholic claims. And that this influence, so incalculably vast in its extent and power, had a manifest tendency to further the success, and was, in fact, most materially instrumental in promoting the introduction, of that measure for conceding admissibility into the legislature to the Roman-catholics, which was carried, in 1829, by statesmen who were regarded as inheritors of Mr. Pitt's principles, and disciple of his school,' it is



impossible to doubt, and would be fatuity to deny.

‘ That Mr. Pitt resumed office in 1804, without making the king’s sanction of his proposed measure of concession to the Roman Catholics a condition of his acceptance of it :’ and

‘ That Mr. Pitt always opposed those who urged the Roman Catholic claims, on the utterly unconstitutional ground of the king’s personal prejudices :’ constitute the second and third of the five distinct charges preferred in the passage under review.

When a conviction of the incapacity of the Ad-dington administration had become general, (we may observe, in continuation of our brief historical sketch, discontinued at p. 117) as was the case soon after the re-enkindlement of the war, the voice of the nation \* concurred with the mandate of the king in summoning Mr. Pitt to resume the direction of affairs. That summons, as became him, Mr. Pitt obeyed.

In our investigation of one of the former charges adduced by the passage under review, we incidentally had occasion to shew, that in resigning, because the king refused to sanction his proposed measures of concession to the Roman-catholics, at a time when his continuance in office was of the highest importance to the well-being and safety of the country, Mr. Pitt was guilty of a dereliction of duty. Now if,

\* “ It was the wish,” we are told by a contemporary, “ of every body in London, except the immediate connections of the ministry, that Mr. Pitt was in office.”—Vide *Life of William Wilberforce*, vol. iii. p. 155.



when summoned to resume office by the voice of the country and the mandate of the king, at a time when the re-enkindlement of the war, and its inefficient prosecution, had involved the country in newly-accumulated difficulties and perils, Mr. Pitt had declined to do so because the king remained unwilling to sanction his proposed measures of concession, he would have been guilty, it is evident, of a second and more culpable dereliction of duty. Whereas, by re-assuming office, when summoned to do so by the voice of the nation and the mandate of the king, notwithstanding the king remained unwilling to sanction the proposed measures of concession, Mr. Pitt made all the amends in his power for his former dereliction of duty, instead of committing a second and more culpable one.

What Lord Brougham says, 'that there was quite as solid a ground for Mr. Pitt's yielding to the king's determination not to sanction his proposed concessions in 1801 as in 1804,' is perfectly true. It is true—we are but expressing the substance of his Lordship's assertion in somewhat different phraseology—that the same false sense of honour which led Mr. Pitt to resign in 1801, must have been equally operative, and indeed greatly more potential, in disposing him not to resume office in 1804.

In the weakness of his humanity, Mr. Pitt yielded to this false sense of honour, in 1801; in 1804, he overcame it in the strength of his patriotism!\*

\* Vide Appendix to Chapter VI.

The fourth of the five charges preferred in the passage under review, bears the impress of a very serious one. For there can be no doubt, that for a minister of the Crown to allege "the king's personal prejudices" as the ground of his conduct as a public servant, would be "utterly unconstitutional," (as Lord Brougham has justly termed it), and in the highest degree censurable.

But having granted this, we may proceed to observe, that it is, in the nature of things, utterly and absolutely incredible that any man in his senses should stand up, as a minister of the Crown, and allege "the king's personal prejudices" as a ground of his conduct as a public servant.

It may therefore be undeniably assumed that Lord Brougham did not mean exactly what his Lordship has expressed in the language of the passage under review.

What does his Lordship mean, then, by the language in which he predicates that Mr. Pitt "opposed those who urged their (the Roman-catholic) claims, on the utterly unconstitutional ground of the king's personal prejudices?"

Beyond all question, Lord Brougham must have intended to intimate that Mr. Pitt opposed those who urged the Roman-catholic claims, on the ground of what he (Lord Brougham) conceives to have been "the king's personal prejudices."

What Lord Brougham conceives to have been "the king's personal prejudices," was, no doubt,

what Mr. Pitt considered, and, most probably, alleged to be, ‘the king’s conscientious scruples;’ and what was in reality (as we have already had occasion to demonstrate) the king’s firmness of principle.

Now, although, as we before observed, it would be utterly unconstitutional, and in the highest degree censurable, for a minister of the Crown to arise in his place in the House of Commons, and oppose a proposition, on the ground of “the king’s personal prejudices:” yet for a minister of the Crown to arise, in his place in the House of Commons, and oppose a proposition on the ground of ‘the king’s conscientious scruples,’ would be neither unconstitutional nor censurable; nay, might very possibly be exceedingly advisable and judicious.

For instance, in the very case under consideration: If Mr. Pitt had arisen in his place in the House of Commons, and opposed a proposition for the concession of admissibility into the legislature to the Roman-catholics, upon the ground that the proposal of such a measure would offend “the king’s personal prejudices,” his conduct, we allow, would have been in the highest degree unconstitutional and reprehensible: whereas had he urged ‘that the king’s conscientious scruples would restrain his majesty from ever consenting to sanction the concession of admissibility into the legislature to the Roman-catholics; and alleged, moreover, or left us to infer, that (such being the case) the dis-

cussion of the proposed measures of concession, at a period when the demands upon the time and attention of Parliament and the public servants were so many and so great as they were in the years 1804 and 1805, might be profitably dispensed with, Mr. Pitt's conduct would manifestly have been not only strictly constitutional, but also, at the same time, exceedingly advisable and judicious.

It is evident, we may observe, in concluding our remarks upon the fourth of the five charges preferred in the passage under review, that that charge, so serious in the aspect of its statement, has its origin in a misconception into which Lord Brougham has been beguiled by his Lordship's false impression of the character of King George the Third.

We once more resume our brief historical sketch.

Being aware (as he must of necessity have been) of the imminent peril in which the country was placed in 1804, and of the consequent necessity for a cordial co-operation of all the talent and energy which it was possible to command, in the administration of her affairs, Mr. Pitt, upon being summoned to resume office, proposed, and strenuously urged, Mr. Fox's admission into the cabinet; but to this arrangement the king refused to accede.

The above incident—so highly, so manifestly, honourable to Mr. Pitt, for it exhibits him as willing to renounce all political enmity for the good of his country!—has furnished Lord Brougham

with the last of the five distinct charges preferred in the passage under review.

“It was quite as discreditable (highly descreditable, that is) to him (Mr. Pitt),” the charge adverted to avers, “that after pressing Mr. Fox upon George the Third, in 1804, as an accession of strength necessary for well carrying on the war, he agreed to take office without any such accession, rather than thwart the personal antipathy, the capricious, the despicable antipathy of that narrow-minded and vindictive prince against the most illustrious of his subjects.”

We should not have deemed it necessary to have bestowed a remark upon the sentence which contains the above abortion of a charge, but for “the reckless profligacy of assertion”—we use the language of a well-known author of the last age—with which it concludes.

We forbear to animadvert upon that part of Lord Brougham’s assertion, which has reference to King George the Third, because we doubt not, that when his Lordship’s false impression of the character of that estimable and justly revered monarch has been corrected by a due appreciation of the proven statements, which we have had occasion to adduce elsewhere, his Lordship will eagerly take advantage of the first available opportunity of expugning the many injurious misconceptions of it to which he has given publicity. Lord Brougham’s designation of Mr. Fox as “the most illustrious subject of



King George the Third," is the part of his Lordship's assertion upon which we propose to offer a few remarks.

Far be it from us to expose unnecessarily the delinquencies, public or private, of one who has long since gone to his account, and who, whatever were his faults and errors, is universally allowed to have been singularly kind-hearted and amiable (in the restricted sense of the word) in private life ; and for whose deviations from the paths of rectitude, the force of circumstances, and the peculiar temptations incident to his position, afford a far more extenuative plea than that which similar transgressors can, in most cases, aver.

We abstain, therefore, from inserting any observations of our own upon Mr. Fox's character, and propose to content ourselves with referring to certain instances of delinquency adverted to by Lord Brougham himself.

With respect to his public character, Mr. Fox, according to Lord Brougham, was "widely different (upon his accession to office) from the leader of a hopeless but high-spirited opposition to the Court of George the Third :"\* or, in other words, 'when in office, he was unfaithful to the principles which he had professed whilst in opposition.' 'He was guilty of "a grave neglect," in consenting to take office without making any stipulation with the

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 193.



king on behalf of the Roman-catholics.' "He defended"—his Lordship might have said, 'proposed,'—"the unprincipled arrangement for making the Lord Chief Justice of England a politician, by placing him in the cabinet."\* 'That he led a life of faction,'† is the last testimonial to Mr. Fox's public character, given by Lord Brougham, to which we shall refer.

The few words in which Brougham informs us that he led "a life of gambling and intrigue,"‡ constitute the only extract from his Lordship's delineation of Mr. Fox's private character which we have occasion to transcribe.

Now this individual—we cannot, we are sure, express what we would intimate in our present animadversion more forcibly than by stating the fact with the greatest possible simplicity—this individual, whom Lord Brougham affirms to have been, in public life, 'unfaithful to his principles,' 'guilty of grave neglect,' 'the defender of an unprincipled arrangement,' and 'factious,' and to have led, in private, 'a life of gambling and intrigue,' is characterized by his Lordship as "*the most illustrious subject*" of a monarch who, not to mention Mr. Pitt and his more fortunate and popular but less truly great and noble progenitor, reigned over Burke, Wilberforce, and Percival.

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 193.

† Ibid. p. 189.

‡ Ibid.

## CHAPTER VII.

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It is with some surprise, and, under other circumstances, it might have been with no little consternation, that we find ourselves under the necessity of answering "by far the gravest charge to which Mr. Pitt's memory is exposed,"\* after having disproved, in a preceding chapter, one which Lord Brougham has specifically adduced as constituting "the main charge against Mr. Pitt."† But to proceed.

"These are heavy charges," his Lordship observes, at the commencement of the passage which immediately succeeds that upon which we have dilated at so inconvenient but necessary a length in our four last preceding chapters, "but we fear the worst remains to be urged against the conduct of this eminent person. No man felt more strongly on the subject of the African Slave Trade than he; and all who heard him are agreed that his speeches against it were the finest of his noble orations. Yet did he continue for eighteen years of his life, suffer-

\* Historical Sketches. First Series, p. 202.

† Ibid. p. 198.

ing every one of his colleagues, nay, of his mere underlings in office, to vote against the question of abolition, if they thought fit; men, the least inconsiderable of whom durst no more have thwarted him upon any of the more trifling measures of his government, than they durst have thrust their heads into the fire. Even the foreign Slave Trade, and the traffic which his war policy had trebled by the captured enemy's colonies, he suffered to grow and prosper under the fostering influence of British capital; and after letting years and years glide away, and hundreds of thousands be torn from their own country, and carried to perpetual misery in ours, while one stroke of his pen could, at any moment, have stopped it for ever, he only could be brought to issue, a few months before his death, the order in Council which at length destroyed the pestilence. This is by far the gravest charge to which Mr. Pitt's memory is exposed."

The charge preferred by Lord Brougham in the above passage—and it is indeed a grave one!—may be definitively stated thus :

'That in his conduct with respect to the abolition of the Slave Trade, Mr. Pitt was guilty of the basest treachery and most abominable hypocrisy; inasmuch, as whilst he professed himself one of its most strenuous advocates, he was so little a friend to it at heart as to refuse to make use of certain means for effectuating it, which it was in his power to employ.'

To satisfy the reader that we have not misstated or overstrained the meaning of the passage under review, when we assert that it adduces a charge to the above effect, we have only to observe, that when, as he is represented to have done, Mr. Pitt pronounced "speeches against the African Slave Trade, which were the first of his noble orations," he unequivocally "professed himself one of its most strenuous advocates:" and that when (supposing such a course to have been not only allowable but incumbent upon him, as is assumed to be the case) Mr. Pitt forbore to constrain his colleagues and underlings in office to vote upon the question of abolition in favour of his and against their own opinions and convictions, and declined to exert the executive authority in the manner adverted to, "he refused to make use of certain means for effectuating the abolition of the Slave Trade, which it was in his power to employ."

This deeply criminative charge, 'That in his conduct with respect to the abolition of the Slave Trade, Mr. Pitt was guilty of the basest treachery and most abominable hyprocisy,' is distinctly and most completely refuted by the admission made by Lord Brougham in another part of his Lordship's publication, 'that when he stood forward as a zealous advocate of the abolition of the Slave Trade, Mr. Pitt was *quite sincere*.'\* "His (Mr. Pitt's)

\* Vide Historical Sketches. First Series, p. 276.

majestic eloquence," his Lordship specifically affirms, "was exerted, (in the cause of abolition) with a zeal which set at defiance *all suspicions of his entire sincerity.*"\*

The charge thus effectually refuted by Lord Brougham's own admission, is the only one which we find preferred against Mr. Pitt, touching his conduct with respect to the abolition of the Slave Trade, in his Lordship's delineation of Mr. Pitt's own character. But, in accordance with the objectionable practice upon which we animadverted on a former occasion, Lord Brougham has incidentally adduced another very serious charge against Mr. Pitt, touching his conduct with respect to the abolition of the Slave Trade, in his Lordship's delineation of the character of Mr. Wilberforce. This charge we deem it incumbent upon us to investigate.

"How could he,"† Lord Brougham asks, speaking of Mr. Pitt, "who never suffered any of his coadjutors, much less his underlings in office, to thwart his will even in trivial matters—he who would have cleared any of the departments of half of their occupants, had they presumed to have an opinion of their own upon a single item of any budget, or an article in the year's estimates—how could he, after shaking the walls of the senate with the thunders of his majestic eloquence, exerted with

\* Vide Historical Sketches. First Series, p. 295.

† Ibid. p. 275.

a zeal which set at defiance all suspicions of his entire sincerity, quietly suffer, that the object, just before declared the dearest to his heart, should be ravished from him when within his sight, nay, within his reach, by the votes of the secretaries and under-secretaries, the puisne lords, and the other fry of mere placemen—the pawns of his boards? It is a question often anxiously put by the friends of the abolition, never satisfactorily answered by those of the minister; and if any additional comment were wanting on the darkest passage of his life, it is supplied by the ease with which he cut off the Slave traffic of the conquered colonies, an importation of thirty thousand yearly, which he had so long suffered to exist, though an order in Council could any day have extinguished it. Again, when the Whigs were in power, they found the total abolition of the traffic so easy, that the measure, in pursuing which Mr. Pitt had for so many long years allowed himself to be baffled, was carried by them with only sixteen dissentient voices, in a house of two hundred and fifty members. There can then, unhappily, be but one answer to the question regarding Mr. Pitt's conduct on this great measure. He was, no doubt, quite sincere, but he was not so zealous as to risk any thing, or even to give himself any extraordinary trouble, for the accomplishment of his purpose. The court was decidedly against abolition; George the Third always regarded the question with abhorrence, as savouring of innovation—and innovation



in a part of his empire connected with his earliest and most rooted prejudices—the colonies. The courtiers took, as is their wont, the colour of their sentiments from him. The Peers were of the same opinion. Mr. Pitt had not the enthusiasm for right and justice, to risk in their behalf losing the friendship of the mammon of unrighteousness, and he left to his rivals, when they became his successors, the glory of that triumph in the sacred cause of humanity, which should have illustrated his name, who, in its defence, had raised all the strains of his eloquence to the very highest pitch.”

In proceeding to investigate the charge adduced in the above passage—a charge of misconduct which Lord Brougham denounces as constituting the darkest passage in a life of flagrant crime,\* we will commence by answering the interrogations it contains, categorically.

“How,” Lord Brougham asks, “could he, who never suffered any of his coadjutors, much less his underlings in office, to thwart his will even in trivial matters—he who would have cleared any of the departments of half their occupants, had they presumed to have an opinion of their own upon a single item of any budget, how could he, after shak-

\* That Lord Brougham regarded Mr. Pitt’s life as one of ‘flagrant crime,’—we employ the very expression which his Lordship has made use of upon one occasion—is evident from the heinous character of the offences imputed to Mr. Pitt in the various charges which have been already investigated.

ing the walls of the senate with the thunders of his eloquence, exerted with a zeal which set at defiance all suspicions of his entire sincerity, quietly suffer that the object, just before declared to be dearest to his heart, should be ravished from him when within his sight, nay within his reach, by the votes of the secretaries and under-secretaries, the puisne lords, and other fry of placemen—the pawns of his board?” ‘Mr. Pitt,’ we answer, ‘did not deem it advisable to interpose on behalf of the abolition of the Slave Trade in his official capacity;’—or, to speak in the current phraseology of the day, ‘he did not think proper to make it a Cabinet measure.’

That Mr. Pitt’s refusal to constrain his coadjutors and underlings in office to vote upon the question of the abolition of the Slave Trade, contrary to their own opinions and convictions, or to exert the executive authority for its suppression, by an order in Council, was a necessary consequence of his determination not to interpose on behalf of Abolition in his official capacity, or (more accurately speaking) of his consistently acting upon such a determination, is self-evident.

The first and principal question, therefore, to which attention must be directed in our investigation of the charge preferred in the passage under review, is obviously this :

‘Was Mr. Pitt’s conduct in forming a determination not to interpose on behalf of the abolition of the Slave Trade, in his official capacity, right or wrong?’

‘ Whether that conduct was such as may be regarded as excusable or but slightly censurable, or must be denounced as constituting ‘ the darkest passage in a life of flagrant crime :’ is a supplemental inquiry to which it will become necessary to resort, in case it appear that Mr. Pitt’s conduct, in forming a determination not to interpose on behalf of Abolition in his official capacity, was wrong.

We will commence our discussion of the principal question adverted to above, with certain remarks to which the reader, we doubt not, will implicitly subscribe, either at once or after due consideration and the requisite inquiry : viz.—

That it was Mr. Pitt’s duty to make the safety and well-being of the empire, over whose counsels he had been called upon to preside, the paramount object of his official conduct ; and that, at the sacrifice, if need were, of objects “ the dearest to his heart ” as an individual.

That at the period of the first agitation of the question of abolition, and for many years afterwards, there existed a numerous and very influential party, who were opposed to it with the fiercest animosity.

That any interference with the question of Abolition in his official capacity, would infallibly have exposed Mr. Pitt’s government to the hostility of this formidable party.

That the hostility of the anti-abolition party, at a time when Mr. Pitt’s government had to struggle

against a factious and most able and active parliamentary opposition, (as was the case at the period alluded to), must have endangered its stability, and would, in all probability, have occasioned its overthrow.

That the overthrow of Mr. Pitt's government must inevitably have had the effect of investing his political opponents with the direction of affairs.

That the direction of affairs, by Mr. Pitt's political opponents, upon the principles they professed, at the critical period at which the question of abolition was first agitated, was likely (as Mr. Pitt would naturally, and might very rationally, have concluded,) to issue in the ruin and degradation of the empire; or must, at any rate, have tended to compromise its safety.

A due consideration of the above remarks is calculated to superinduce an impression, and may, very possibly, lead the reader to conclude, that Mr. Pitt's determination not to take cognizance of the question of Abolition in his official capacity, was a wise one. And no doubt Mr. Pitt's determination not to take cognizance of the question of abolition in his official capacity, was, in one sense, a wise one; for it was formed upon a just view of the things which he regarded in his consideration of the subject, and arrived at by a legitimate induction.

But Mr. Pitt's wisdom, in this instance, was foolishness; because, in his consideration of the

subject, he regarded only “the things which are seen.”

Had Mr. Pitt paid a duly influential regard to “the things which are not seen,” in his consideration of the subject of the abolition of the Slave Trade, he must immediately have perceived that the cause of abolition being so essentially that of justice and humanity, he might confidently expect, and was, indeed, bound implicitly to trust, that any faithful effort which he made in its behalf would be favourably regarded by the Most High. And, in the strength of this confidence, he would have looked to behold the mountain of anti-abolition opposition become a plain before him ; or concluded (in the event of the anti-abolition opposition being permitted to prevail) that that national degradation or calamity which appeared to be the inevitable consequence of an interference on behalf of abolition, in his official capacity, would be either averted or over-ruled for good by some inscrutable interposition of Divine Providence.

The foregoing observations attest that we admit that Mr. Pitt’s conduct, in forming a determination not to interpose on behalf of abolition in his official capacity, was wrong.

We must apply ourselves, therefore, to the discussion of the supplemental inquiry incident to that conclusion : viz.—

‘ Whether Mr. Pitt’s conduct in forming a deter-



mination not to interpose on behalf of the abolition of the slave trade, in his official capacity, was such as may be regarded as excusable or but slightly censurable, or must be denounced as constituting ‘the darkest passage in a life of flagrant crime?’

In proceeding to do so, we would observe, in the first place (that, as may be gathered from our preceding observations) it was Mr. Pitt’s want of a duly influential regard to “the things which are not seen” in his consideration of the subject of the abolition of the Slave Trade, which constituted his worldly-wise determination not to interpose on behalf of the Abolition in his official capacity, foolish, and his conduct in forming that determination, wrong: and,

2nd, That Mr. Pitt’s omission to pay a duly influential regard to “the things which are not seen,” in his consideration of the subject of the abolition of the Slave-trade, proceeded from a deficiency in Christian faith. This is incontestable.

The supplemental inquiry, then, to which our attention is directed, revolves itself into this simple question: ‘Was that deficiency in Christian faith,’—or, in other words, was a want of that exalted degree of Christian faith which would have led Mr. Pitt to pay a duly influential regard to “the things which are not seen” in his consideration of the subject of Abolition,—excusable or but slightly censurable, or criminal to a degree which would constitute the conduct that originated in it ‘the darkest passage in a life of flagrant crime?’



Every right-minded person—we may remark in proposing our solution of this question—every person who acknowledges the authority of the Holy Scriptures, cannot but allow that that exalted degree of Christian faith, which enables a man, and which alone can enable any man, to pay a duly influential regard to “the things which are not seen,” can be attained to, and maintained in exercise, only by means of earnest and habitual devotion and deep and honest self-communion.

At the early age of twenty-three—an age at which, whatever be the exalted capacities of the intellect, Christian character is usually, we believe we might say invariably, immature—Mr. Pitt was called to the government of our widely extended empire, and that, be it observed! “at a period,” to use Lord Brougham’s own language, “by far the most important in the history of the human race.”\*

As soon as Mr. Pitt became prime-minister, “his time,” as Lord Brougham has very justly observed, “was at the mercy of every one who had a claim to prefer, a grievance to complain of, or a nostrum to propound.” He had “at once (according to his Lordship) to give all these their audience, to transact the routine business of his station, to counteract the intrigues of party,”† (of a party of which Burke and Fox were the leaders, and the heir appa-

\* Vide Historical Sketches. First Series, p. 5.

† Ibid. p. 196.

rent an abettor), as well as to direct the counsels, superintend the affairs, watch over the interests, consult the welfare, regulate the expenditure, provide for the security—duties of a prime-minister, which Lord Brougham has somewhat unaccountably forgotten to enumerate—of a potent and widely-extended empire, at a period the most important and under circumstances the most critical.

Now can the reader—can Lord Brougham himself—could any man who has attained to the smallest degree of that most valuable of all knowledge, self-acquaintance—venture to assert that if he had been immersed in that vortex of perplexing and absorbing avocations, into which Lord Brougham's description (as corrected by our brief emendation) so truly represents Mr. Pitt to have been thrown, at an age when his Christian character was immature, he should have found time, or would have had the inclination, to devote himself, with adequate assiduity and steadfastness, to that earnest and habitual devotion and deep and honest self-communion, by means of which that exalted degree of Christian faith, which enables a man to pay a duly influential regard to “the things which are not seen,” can alone be attained to and preserved in exercise. And if neither the reader, Lord Brougham, nor any self-acquainted person can venture to assert, that had he been placed in Mr. Pitt's situation at a like immature period of his Christian life, he should have found time, or would have had the inclination,

to devote himself with adequate assiduity and steadfastness to that earnest and habitual devotion and deep and honest self-communion, by means of which that exalted degree of Christian faith, which enables a man to pay a duly influential regard to "the things which are not seen," can alone be attained to and preserved in exercise; it follows, that the infirmity of human nature may allowably be pleaded in extenuation of the culpability of Mr. Pitt's want of that exalted degree of Christian faith, which would have enabled him to pay a duly influential regard to "the things which are not seen," in his consideration of the subject of Abolition. And if the infirmity of human nature may allowably be pleaded in extenuation of the culpability of Mr. Pitt's want of that exalted degree of Christian faith which would have enabled him to pay a duly influential regard to "the things which are not seen," in his consideration of the subject of Abolition, it follows, that such want of that exalted degree of Christian faith may be regarded (by his erring fellow mortals) as excusable, or, at any rate, but slightly censurable.

And when the question into which it revolves itself is thus indubitably solved—since (in other words) it has been shewn that the infirmity of human nature may allowably be pleaded in extenuation of the culpability of that want of an exalted degree of Christian faith, to which Mr. Pitt's omission to pay a duly influential regard to "the things which are not seen," in his consideration of the subject of abolition, is ascribable—it follows, that an

unqualified recognition 'that Mr. Pitt's conduct, in forming a determination not to interpose on behalf of Abolition, in his official capacity, was such as may be regarded as excusable, or at any rate, but slightly censurable,' constitutes the only answer which can reasonably be given to the supplemental inquiry to which our attention is directed.

Now, having ascertained that Mr. Pitt's conduct in forming a determination not to interpose on behalf of Abolition in his official capacity, was wrong, but excusable, or at any rate but slightly censurable ; we will proceed to inquire :

' Whether Mr. Pitt's determination not to interpose on behalf of Abolition, in his official capacity, involved any necessity for his abstaining from taking part in the discussion of the question in his private capacity, if we may so speak, as a member of Parliament ? '

' That it did not,' is the only rational answer that can be given to the above question.

And since Mr. Pitt was perfectly at liberty to take any part he pleased in the discussion of the question of the abolition of the Slave Trade, in his private capacity as a member of Parliament, notwithstanding the determination he had formed not to interpose on behalf of Abolition, in his official capacity ; it becomes of importance for us to inquire, ' what was the conduct which Mr. Pitt adopted with respect to the question of the abolition of the Slave Trade, in his private capacity as a member of Parliament ? '

We learn from Lord Brougham, that in his private capacity as a member of Parliament, Mr. Pitt made "speeches against the African Slave Trade, which were the finest of his noble orations." And, "in defence (of its abolition)," his Lordship further informs us, he "raised all the strains of his eloquence to their very highest pitch;" he "shook the walls of the senate with the thunder of his majestic eloquence, exerted with a zeal which set at defiance all suspicions of his entire sincerity."

Now, before he could have pronounced the surpassingly eloquent speeches adverted to by Lord Brougham, in favour of the abolition of the Slave Trade, Mr. Pitt must have made himself master of the subject in all its widest ramifications and most minute details. This is evident, as well from the nature of things, or because (in other words) a full acquaintance with the subject is a necessary pre-requisite of effective eloquence, as from the imperfect records of those celebrated speeches which remain extant. But to proceed.

It may be predicated as indisputably certain that Mr. Pitt could not have made himself master of the subject of the abolition of the Slave Trade in all its widest ramifications and most minute details, but by the exertion of an indefatigable industry, and at the expense of a sacrifice, or rather of a consecration, of much time and attention.

Now, when it is taken into consideration that, at the time of the agitation of the question of Abolition,



Mr. Pitt was prime-minister of Great Britain, at a period by far the most important in the history of the human race, and, in consequence, immersed in that vortex of absorbing avocations into which Lord Brougham's description (as corrected by our brief emendation) so truly represents him to have been thrown; it must of necessity be conceded 'that Mr. Pitt's conduct with respect to the abolition of the Slave-trade, when, in his private capacity as a member of Parliament, he pronounced surpassingly eloquent speeches in its defence, which he could not possibly have made, had he not possessed that thorough acquaintance with the subject which he could not have obtained but by the exertion of an indefatigable industry and at the expence of a consecration of time and attention, as astonishing as they were meritorious, was in the highest degree praiseworthy.'

It may be as well to observe, before we proceed to sum up the purport of our remarks, that that "fear of losing the favour of the mammon of unrighteousness" by which Lord Brougham so gratuitously supposes Mr. Pitt to have been influenced, would, in the nature of things, have been equally efficacious in sapping the vigour of his industry, and repressing the fire of his eloquence, as a private member of Parliament, as it was in actuating his policy as a minister of the Crown.

In the course of the preceding observations we have shewn :



That Mr. Pitt's conduct, in determining not to interpose on behalf of the abolition of the Slave-trade in his official capacity, was wrong; but excusable, or, at any rate, but slightly censurable :

That Mr. Pitt's determination not to interpose on behalf of Abolition in his official capacity, did not involve any necessity for his abstaining from taking part in the discussion of the question, in his private capacity as a member of Parliament :

That the conduct adopted by Mr. Pitt, with respect to the abolition of the Slave Trade in his private capacity as a member of Parliament, was in the highest degree praiseworthy.

It is impossible, therefore,—manifestly and incontestably impossible—that a charge like that preferred in the passage under review—a charge which avers that Mr. Pitt's conduct, with respect to the abolition of the Slave Trade, was such as may be said to constitute 'the darkest passage in a life of flagrant crime'—can be well founded.

As a just estimate of Mr. Pitt's conduct with respect to "the great question of Abolition," as Lord Brougham has very justly denominated it, is necessary to the award of a fair adjudication upon his character, it may be advisable to offer a few concluding remarks, with reference to that statement of it which we have had occasion to present.

We conceive, then, that Mr. Pitt's conduct in coming to and acting upon a determination not to interpose on behalf of the abolition of the Slave-

Trade in his official capacity, being (though wrong) excusable, or, at any rate, but slightly censurable, because the infirmity of human nature may allowably be pleaded in extenuation of his culpability; that conduct cannot detract, in any material degree, from the high, bright, (though as yet but partially resplendent) and sterling fame which Mr. Pitt has earned. And to that high, bright, and sterling fame, the praiseworthy conduct which Mr. Pitt adopted with respect to the abolition of the Slave Trade, in his private capacity as a member of Parliament, must ever powerfully conduce.

But high and sterling as the fame earned by Mr. Pitt is, and bright as it will one day become, that fame would have been infinitely higher in degree, and of an incalculably more exalted character, than it is, or ever legitimately can be, had he paid a duly influential regard to "the things which are not seen," in his consideration of the subject of the abolition of the Slave Trade, and introduced (as in that case he would unhesitatingly have done) some resolute measure for effectuating it, in his official capacity.

## CHAPTER VIII.

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It will no doubt have been remarked, that we omitted to take notice of one of the statements contained in the passage cited in our last chapter, from Lord Brougham's character of Mr. Wilberforce, viz. that in which his Lordship predicates that, "when the Whigs were in power, they found the total abolition of the traffic (the Slave Trade) so easy, that the measure, in pursuing which Mr. Pitt had so many long years allowed himself to be baffled, was carried by them with only sixteen dissentient voices in a house of two hundred and fifty members:" and "the glory" (as his Lordship asserts in the conclusion of the paragraph) "of that triumph in the sacred cause of humanity, which should have illustrated his (Mr. Pitt's) name, left to his rivals."

Now the above statement appears to us to militate so injuriously against truth and justice, that, having had occasion to adduce it when citing the passage in which it is contained, we deem it incumbent upon us to point out its fallacy, at the expence of what we know to be a digression which, by inter-

rupting the continuity, must debilitate the force of our remarks.

Whatever may have been the meaning which Lord Brougham intended to convey by it, the language in which the statement adverted to is made, unequivocally purports, that the Whigs, when in power, did that, with respect to the abolition of the Slave Trade, which Mr. Pitt neglected to attempt: viz., interposed on behalf of Abolition, in their official capacity.

The question, then, to which the statement adverted to gives rise, is this:—‘ Did the Whigs, or did they not, interpose on behalf of the abolition of the Slave Trade, in their official capacity?’

It is a simple question of fact.

With a view to the solution of this simple question of fact, we propose to submit to the reader the following brief, and (as we trust) indefeasible epitome of the history of the “great question of Abolition.”

The great parliamentary question relative to the abolition of the Slave Trade, had its origin in a motion made in the House of Commons on the 9th of May, 1788, by Mr. Pitt in his private capacity as a member of Parliament: “That this House will, early in the next session of Parliament, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the Slave Trade, and what may be fit to be done thereupon.”\*

This motion, contrary to its proposer’s intention,

\* Vide Journals of the House of Commons, vol. xliii. p. 466.

occasioned a lengthened and somewhat acrimonious debate ; but was ultimately agreed to without a division.

With respect to the motion adverted to, it is of importance to observe, that it was made by Mr. Pitt under the following circumstances: Mr. Wilberforce, who is known to have been deeply revolted by the abominations of the Slave Trade, in his boyhood, and who (to say the least) was one of the very first who practically directed his attention to its abolition, had engaged, in 1787, to bring the subject of the Slave Trade before Parliament, with a view to its suppression. Early in the session of 1787—1788, Mr. Wilberforce was incapacitated from attending to his public duties by a dangerous illness ; and before he quitted London (as directed to do by his physicians) in a state in which recovery seemed little probable, he sent for Mr. Pitt, his intimate and early friend, and obtained a promise from him ‘ that he would charge himself with the Abolition cause.’\*

No one, we feel confident, will venture to blame us for inserting :—“ As to the Slave question,” said Mr. Wilberforce to one of his correspondents, with reference to the incident adverted to, “ to you in strict confidence I will intrust, that Pitt, with a warmth of principle and friendship that have made me love him better than I ever did before, has taken upon himself the management of the business.”

The friends of Abolition very wisely hesitated to

\* Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. i. p. 169.

employ any other member of Parliament as the advocate of their cause, whilst there appeared to be any probability that Mr. Wilberforce would be able to fulfil his engagement; but as the session drew to a close, judging that it was of supreme importance to introduce the subject in some shape or other before Parliament in the then present favourable disposition of the public mind, they applied to Mr. Wilberforce to appoint some one to supply his place. And it was in consequence of that application, that the motion adverted to was made by Mr. Pitt.

Having been restored (contrary to all expectation) to a competent state of health, Mr. Wilberforce arose in his place in the House of Commons on the 19th of March, 1789, and moved that on the 23rd of April, the House should resolve itself into a committee for the purpose of taking the Slave Trade into consideration, pursuant to the resolution of the preceding session.\* This motion was agreed to: but the discussion of the question was subsequently postponed until the 12th of May.

On the 12th of May, 1789, Mr. Wilberforce opened the discussion "in one of the ablest and most eloquent speeches that was ever heard in that (the House of Commons) or any other place,"† which he concluded by stating, and laying upon the table of the House, twelve propositions condemnatory of the Slave Trade.

\* Vide Journal of the House of Commons, vol. xliv.

† Letter of Bishop Porteus in Life of W. Wilberforce, Vol. i. p. 210,



“ He was supported in the noblest manner by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Fox, who all agreed in declaring that the Slave Trade was the disgrace and opprobrium of the country, and that nothing but entire Abolition could cure so monstrous an evil.”\*

The result of the day's debate, was a resolution to enter upon the consideration of the propositions stated by Mr. Wilberforce, on the 21st of May.

Upon the 21st of May, after an unusually stormy debate, in which both Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox took a prominent part, the parties interested in the maintenance of the Trade, succeeded in establishing a claim to tender evidence, and be heard by counsel, at the bar.

The examination of witnesses was entered upon forthwith ; but as it was found impossible to adduce all the evidence which the parties interested were prepared to tender, before the prorogation of Parliament, a motion ‘for deferring the consideration of the subject to the next session,’ was made and agreed to.

The state in which the question of Abolition stood at the conclusion of the Session of 1789, was manifestly this :—

The full discussion which had taken place, and the disclosures incident to it, had produced a most powerful impression in its favour, both within and without the House of Commons.

\* Vide Life of W. Wilberforce, Vol. i. p. 220.

Within ; it secured the suffrages of several independent and conscientious members who had previously entertained doubts as to the course which, as representatives entrusted with the guardianship of the commercial interests of the country, it was their duty to adopt.

Without ; it gave birth to an interest in behalf of the oppressed slaves, and a favour for the cause of Abolition, in the benevolent of all ranks and conditions, from the humblest artizan and peasant to the monarch on the throne.—“How go on your black clients, Mr. Wilberforce?” King George the Third, we are told, inquired at a levee :\* and, simple as it is, a knowledge of this fact will render it obligatory upon Lord Brougham to expugn the passage in which his Lordship has affirmed, that “George III. always regarded the question (of Abolition) with abhorrence, as savouring of innovation,—and innovation in a part of his empire connected with his earliest and most rooted prejudices, the Colonies.”†

But, favourable as was the state of the question of Abolition in the above respects, and from the circumstance of the concentration of the force of the eloquence of three of the very first orators of modern times in its support ; yet the success of the anti-abolition party, in enforcing a claim to tender evidence and be heard by counsel, was, obviously,

\* Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. I. p. 344.

† Vide Historical Sketches. First Series, p. 276.

well calculated to promote their object, by affording a means of postponing the decision of the question, for a time sufficiently protracted to admit of a decline, in the natural course of things, of that powerful impression which had been made by the discussion, and its startling disclosures of atrocity. But to proceed.

The examination of witnesses lasted from the Session of 1788 until that of 1791.

In 1791, "our opponents," says Mr. Clarkson, "had taken advantage of the long delay which the examination of witnesses had occasioned, to prejudice the minds of many of the members of the House of Commons against us." And "the current," he adds, "was turned still more powerfully against us by the circumstances of the times."\*

It is scarcely necessary to intimate that the French Revolution, and certain insurrectionary disturbances which had taken place in the West Indies, were two of the "circumstances of the times" alluded to.

It is no wonder, therefore, that when Mr. Wilberforce made a motion, with a view to the abolition of the Slave Trade, upon the 18th of April 1791, it was negatived, although earnestly supported by both Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, by a majority of 163 against a minority of 88.

The manner in which Mr. Pitt expressed him-

\* Vide Clarkson, History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Vol. II. p. 208.

self upon this occasion, when proposing the adjournment of the debate, is sufficiently memorable to justify a particular allusion to it.

“Under the imputations,” he said, “with which the Trade was loaded, gentlemen should remember they could not do justice to their own characters, unless they stood up and gave their reasons for opposing the abolition of it. It was unusual also to force any question of such importance to so hasty a decision. For his own part, it was his duty, from the situation in which he stood, to state fully his own sentiments on the question ; and, however exhausted both He and the House might be, he was resolved it should not pass without discussion, as long as he had strength to utter a word upon it. Every principle that could bind a man of honour and conscience, would impel him to give the most powerful support he could to the motion for the abolition.”\*

Upon the 2nd of April, 1792, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion for the immediate abolition of the Slave Trade ; when it was rejected in favour of an amendment suggesting a gradual abolition.

It was upon this occasion that Mr. Pitt pronounced the most celebrated of those “ finest of his noble orations ” spoken of by Lord Brougham.

\* Vide Clarkson’s History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Vol. II., p. 271.

“Windham,” writes Mr. Wilberforce, in allusion to it, “who has no love for Pitt, tells me that Fox and Grey, with whom he walked home after the debate, agree with him in thinking Pitt’s speech one of the most extraordinary displays of eloquence they had ever heard.”\*

A resolution proposed pursuant to the amendment adverted to, and fixing the 1st of January, 1796, as the time of Abolition, was adopted by the House of Commons, upon the 1st of May, 1793.

When the above-mentioned resolution of the House of Commons was taken into consideration by the House of Lords, the Anti-abolition party renewed their claim to tender evidence, and be heard by counsel, which was acceded to; and the remainder of the Session was, in consequence, occupied by the examination of witnesses.

The examination of witnesses was resumed by the House of Lords in the Session of 1793; and again in 1794, when it was dropped, and all further attention to the resolution of the House of Commons discontinued.

In 1794, Mr. Wilberforce, supported as usual by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, introduced, and carried through the House of Commons, a Bill for the suppression of the foreign Slave Trade; but it was rejected by the House of Lords.

In 1795, he renewed his motion for the general

\* Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. I. p. 345.



abolition of the Slave Trade, and was defeated by an increased majority.

At the period of its history at which we have arrived, the cause of Abolition appeared hopeless. "The enthusiastic march," we are told, "of its ordinary supporters, grew slow and heavy; the interest of the country manifestly flagged; the excitement of the revolutionary war distracted the attention of the volatile; the progress of French principles terrified the timid; the seed which had been so freely scattered by the revolutionary politics of some leading abolitionists had sprung up into a plentiful harvest of suspicion. People connect democratical principles with the Slave Trade, and will not hear it mentioned."\*

Yet, with an impregnable perseverance, which nothing but the strength of religious principle could have supplied, did Mr. Wilberforce, year after year, through evil-report and in despite of obloquy and odium, under the pressure of a multitude of indispensable engagements, in defiance of constitutional debility, and at the cost of an unsparing consecration of time, industry, energy, and thought, persist in the unsuccessful renewal of his motion for immediate Abolition, in the Sessions of 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, and 1799.

"Mr. Wilberforce," says Mr. Clarkson, speaking with reference to the agitation of the question of

\* Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. II. p. 18.



Abolition during the years enumerated above, “upon whom too much praise cannot be bestowed for his perseverance, year after year, amidst the disheartening circumstances which attended his efforts, brought every new argument to bear, which either the discovery of new light or the events of the times produced. I may observe also, in justice to the memory of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, that there was no debate within this period, in which they did not take a part, and in which they did not irradiate others from the profusion of their own light: and thirdly, that in consequence of the efforts of the three, conjoined with those of others, the great cause of the Abolition was secretly gaining ground.”\*

In 1800, Mr. Wilberforce’s annual motion was deferred, in expectation of a convention of the European Powers, at which it was proposed to introduce the subject of the Slave Trade, with a view to a general abolition: and in 1802, it was unavoidably dispensed with, in consequence of a sudden dissolution of Parliament.

In 1803, the state of public affairs consequent upon a renewal of the war, and the expectation of an invasion, constrained Mr. Wilberforce to postpone his motion.

Upon the 30th of March, 1804, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion for leave to bring in a Bill for the abolition of the Slave Trade. A

\* Vide Clarkson’s History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Vol. II. p. 484.

debate ensued, in which Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and others, spoke in favour of the motion,\* which was eventually agreed to.

On the 12th of May, Mr. Wilberforce moved the first reading of the Bill, introduced pursuant to his motion. He was again supported by both Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, and again successful.†

Upon its second reading, on the 7th of June, the Bill was again supported by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, and carried.‡

And on the 27th of June, it was opposed in its last stage by Sir William Young and others, and supported by Mr. Pitt and others;§ and passed.

When the Bill for the abolition of the Slave Trade, thus triumphantly carried in the House of Commons, was introduced into the House of Lords, the consideration of it was postponed until the next Session of Parliament.

The following observations contain a just estimate of the state of the question of Abolition at the termination of the Session of 1804 :—

“ Le delai du Bil, (its postponement in the House of Lords) a été causé par quelques formalités qui sont nécessaires dans la Chambre Haute, quand il est question d’une loi qui touche directement aux inté-

\* Vide Clarkson’s History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Vol.II. p. 491.

† Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. III. p. 168.

‡ Vide Clarkson’s History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Vol. II. p. 491.

§ Ibid. p. 494.

rêts des particuliers. On a passé le Bil dans la Chambre Basse par des pluralités des voix tout à fait inouïes, quelquefois même en raison de *neuf à une*. Les avocats de la traité ont avoué hautement que c'en est fait de la question : et les negociants de Londres, de Liverpool, et de Bristol, ont pris toutes leurs démarches depuis la decision de la Chambre sur le pied d'une abolition subite et certaine."

When the reader learns—as he will no doubt very greatly to his surprise—that the above observations are those of my Lord Brougham himself,\* he will at once perceive that we might very safely decide the simple question of fact which now engages our attention, upon their authority; and pronounce, that since the question of Abolition was virtually disposed of, (as the above observations unequivocally assert), before the Whigs came into power, it necessarily follows that it is impossible that, by their conduct with respect to it when in power, the Whigs could be entitled to “the glory of that triumph in the sacred cause of humanity,” achieved by the abolition of the Slave Trade.

As we are so near, however, to the conclusion of our epitome of the history of Abolition, it may be as well to proceed with it, before we offer the few concluding remarks which we propose to make.

\* They form part of a communication made by Mr. Brougham to the Dutch authorities in the autumn of 1804. Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. III. p. 196.

In 1805, a Bill introduced by Mr. Wilberforce for the abolition of the Slave Trade, similar to that passed in the preceding year, was lost in the House of Commons by a majority of seven.

There can be no doubt that it was to the impression adverted to by Lord Brougham, that ‘the question of abolition was disposed of,’—‘done with,’ were the more literal translation of his Lordship’s phrase, “c’en est fait,”—that this unexpected defeat is to be ascribed: for it appears that no fewer than nine members who had been present at every division upon the question, during sixteen years, were absent upon that occasion.\*

In 1806, Mr. Wilberforce proposed to move as usual for leave to bring in a Bill for immediate Abolition, but “after meeting Fox at Lord Grenville’s, and holding some anxious conversations with them, and also with his own friends, about the expediency of proposing the general question this year, when it was almost decided to try; he most reluctantly gave up the idea on Lord Grenville’s sure opinion, that [there was] no chance this year in the House of Lords.†”

But upon the 10th of June 1806, by what will appear to be a somewhat singular coincidence, when it is borne in mind that the question of Abolition originated in a Resolution of a similar character

\* Vide Clarkson’s History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Vol. II. p. 499.

† Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. III. p. 261.

proposed by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, in his private capacity as a member of Parliament, moved the following Resolution in the House of Commons: viz. “That this House, conceiving the African Slave Trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and policy, will, with all practicable expedition, take effectual measures for the abolition of the said Trade, in such a manner and at such a period as may be deemed advisable.” This Resolution was adopted by a majority of 114 against a minority of only 15.

In the year 1807, Lord Grenville,—a coadjutor, be it observed! of Mr. Pitt’s during nine-tenths of his career—introduced a Bill for the immediate abolition of the Slave Trade, into the House of Lords. Although opposed, in all its stages, by two of the cabinet ministers \* of the day, Lord Grenville’s Bill was carried, upon the 4th of February, by a majority of 100 against a minority of 34.†

The honour of introducing that Bill for the abolition of the Slave Trade, which he had so often proposed in the hour of its discredit, upon the occasion of its certain and triumphant reception by the House of Commons, was ceded by Mr. Wilberforce, infinitely to the credit of his Christian principle, to Lord Howick, the former Mr. and present Earl Grey; who, in his private capacity as a member of

\* Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. III. p. 261.

† Ibid. p. 291.



Parliament, proposed the adoption of Lord Grenville's Bill in the House of Commons, upon the 10th of February. On the 23rd of February, it was carried (as Lord Brougham says) "with only sixteen dissentient voices," in a House of upwards of 300 members.

The above epitome of the history of the abolition of the Slave Trade decides the question of fact with a view to the solution of which it was adduced—the question, 'Did the Whigs, or did they not, interpose on behalf of Abolition, in their official capacity?'—with so self-evident and irresistible a distinctness, that it is wholly needless to point out any of the inferences deducible from the statements of facts contained in it, which only relate to such decision.

There are two other inferences, however, plainly deducible from the statement of facts contained in our epitome of the history of Abolition, which it would be unpardonable to overlook: viz.

1st, That the second place of honour in the illustrious company of the advocates of the abolition of the Slave Trade, is assignable to Mr. Pitt:\* and,

2ndly, That Mr. Wilberforce's conduct, with respect to the abolition of the Slave Trade, has endued him with a fame of the most exalted and

\* Vide Supplemental Appendix to Chapter VIII.



imperishable order, — with a fame of a hallowed sublimity of character, from which it is treason to human nature to detract (as Lord Brougham has unintentionally done, when his Lordship assigns “the glory of that triumph in the sacred cause of humanity” to others); and which, if the constitution of their being admitted of desire, angelic intelligences might covet.

## CHAPTER IX.

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“IF from the statesman we turn to the orator,” says Lord Brougham, in the passage which immediately succeeds that cited in our Seventh Chapter, “the contrast is indeed marvellous. He (Mr. Pitt) is to be placed, without any doubt, in the highest class.”

His Lordship then proceeds to describe the character and effect of Mr. Pitt’s eloquence with considerable vividness and truth, and in a manner sufficiently eulogistic to justify the high opinion of it intimated in the above assertion; but concludes his description, withal, with the following remark :

“While thrilled with the glow which his burning words diffused, or transfixed with wonder at so marvellous a display of skill, we (Mr. Pitt’s auditory) yet felt that it was admiration of a consummate artist which filled us, and that after all we were present at an exhibition; gazing upon a wonderful performer indeed, but still a performer.”\*

Now betwixt Lord Brougham’s opening and con-

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 204.

cluding remarks upon Mr. Pitt's character as an orator, there is a manifest and irreconcilable inconsistency.

For if those present, when Mr. Pitt exerted the powers of his eloquence—he must necessarily have done so when ‘his burning words diffused a thrilling glow’—“felt that it was admiration of a consummate artist which filled them, and that after all they were present at an exhibition, and did but gaze upon a wonderful performer;” it is self-evidently certain that he cannot be “placed in the highest class” of orators, or even be accounted as in any degree a master of true eloquence.

One or other, therefore, of Lord Brougham's above-cited remarks must be erroneous.

We propose to shew that it is the concluding remark which is the false one.

“Oh, he was as different as possible from Pitt, and old Fox too, though he (Fox) was so rough,” says Mr. Wilberforce, speaking of Mr. Canning, (whom he nevertheless eulogizes as a public speaker); “he (Mr. Canning) had not that art ‘*celare artem.*’ If effect is the criterion of good speaking, Canning was nothing to them, for he never drew you to him in spite of yourself. You never lost sight of Canning.”\*

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the tes-

\* Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. V. p. 340; also Appendix to Chapter ix.

timony given by Mr. Wilberforce, in the observation we have adduced, is in substance this :—

‘That Pitt and Fox were orators who had the art ‘*celare artem* ;’ ‘that the effect of their oratory was that of drawing the auditor to them in spite of himself ;’ and ‘that those present, when they exerted the power of their eloquence, lost sight of Pitt and Fox,’ or ‘lost the artist in his work,’ to borrow an expression made use of by Lord Brougham.

Now, when it is borne in mind that Mr. Wilberforce, himself an orator of no mean class, was a Member of the House of Commons during the whole of Mr. Pitt’s parliamentary career, and one unusually constant in his attendance in Parliament, and must, therefore, have been as well qualified to form a judgment upon the subject to which his testimony relates, as it is possible for any man to have been ; and considered that all possibility of his having been biassed in forming the judgment which that testimony records, by the influence of his friendship for Mr. Pitt, is obviated by the fact that the eulogium it pronounces is common to Mr. Pitt and his great political antagonist ; it must of necessity be granted that Mr. Wilberforce’s testimony is sufficient to disprove that assertion which it so directly contradicts, ‘that those present, when Mr. Pitt exerted the power of his eloquence, felt that it was admiration of a consummate artist that filled them, and that they were present at an exhibition, and did but gaze upon a wonderful performer.’

Lord Brougham's concluding remark may therefore be pronounced to be the false one.

And Lord Brougham's concluding remark having been proved to be erroneous, his Lordship's opening remark and succeeding eulogistic description may be regarded as uncontrolled by the neutralizing exception which it adduces.

The exception, however, to Lord Brougham's opening remark and succeeding eulogistic description of Mr. Pitt's character as an orator, which, as expressed in the language of his Lordship's concluding remark, is manifestly inconsistent with, and has the effect of neutralizing them, is adduced, in another passage, under a modified form. And inasmuch as the exception adduced under the modified form referred to, is not discredited, or in any way affected, by that conclusive testimony to which we have had occasion to refer; it is of course incumbent upon us to direct our attention to it.

“Yet,” Lord Brougham affirms in the passage adverted to,\* “with—or ‘notwithstanding’ (as the contest plainly indicates)—all this excellence,”—all the excellence, that is, ascribed to Mr. Pitt as an orator, in Lord Brougham's opening remark and succeeding eulogistic description—“the last effect of the highest eloquence was for the most part wanting (in Mr. Pitt's oratory); we seldom forgot the speaker, or lost the artist in the work.”

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 204.

Now we admit the fact stated in the exception as adduced by the above passage—we admit that that “last effect,” or ‘principal characteristic’ rather, of the highest eloquence, which causes the auditor to forget the speaker and lose the artist in his work, was for the most part wanting (in Mr. Pitt’s oratory); but contend, that instead of constituting an exception to Lord Brougham’s opening remark and succeeding eulogistic description, or having the effect of depreciating Mr. Pitt’s character as an orator, the fact so alleged and admitted affords proof of its completeness.

In proceeding to support the position laid down in the preceding sentence—our position, ‘that the fact that that last effect of the highest eloquence, which causes the auditor to forget the speaker and lose the artist in his work, was for the most part wanting in Mr. Pitt’s oratory, affords proof of the completeness of his character as an orator;’—we may observe, in the first place, that there is a certain main feature (to employ a figurative expression made use of by Lord Brougham), or characteristic property (more accurately speaking), which has precisely the same relation to completeness of character in an orator, as healthfulness has to perfection of beauty in the human form.

The feature or property alluded to, consists in an adaptedness in the substance, tone (we use the word in its more extended sense), and manner of a discourse to the subject treated of.



Where this adaptedness, we may observe, is wanting, the most forcible or pathetic language, nay, the most striking and original conceptions, will no more constitute eloquence, than regularity of feature and clearness of complexion will constitute beauty in the victim of disease. Indeed, as, when the progress of disease, or absence of healthfulness (in other words), is great, the most regular features and the clearest complexion will become frightful in their emaciation and sallowness: so, when a deficiency of that adaptedness of which we speak is great, oratory, the most brilliant in language and ingenious in thought, will but provoke ridicule, or excite disgust.

But where this feature or property of adaptedness of which we speak, is possessed in any good degree, it gives to the oratory of its possessor, be it of what quality it may—of “the highest” or of a lower order of eloquence—a completeness of character analogous (as we said) to that perfection which healthfulness communicates to beauty.

“*Is est eloquens,*” says Cicero (“*in summo oratore fingendo,*” and with an obvious reference to the feature or property of adaptedness of which we speak), *qui et humilia subtiliter, et magna graviter, et mediocria temperatè, potest dicere.*”\*

And that adaptedness adverted to, we may add, (we trust without subjecting ourselves to just cri-

\* Vide Orator, No. 100.

tical censure) not only gives to oratory, and confers upon the character of an orator, a completeness analogous to the perfection which healthfulness communicates to beauty; but also conduces to the practical efficiency of eloquence as materially as health contributes to bodily vigour and activity.

Now, except for a very short period quite at the commencement of his parliamentary career, and a brief interval towards its close, Mr. Pitt's public life was passed in office. And whilst in office, Mr. Pitt was placed in a position in which his oratory was necessarily for the most part employed in treating of matters of business and dry questions of detail, or exerted in that defensive logomachy (if we may so speak) which is ever most efficaciously waged in a strain of temperate reply. Consequently, subjects of discourse in which that vehemence and ardour, fervour and pathos, by which 'that last effect of the highest eloquence which causes the auditor to forget the speaker' is alone producible, could have been resorted to consistently with a due adaptedness of the substance, tone, and manner of a discourse to the subject treated of, must of necessity have been infrequent in Mr. Pitt's oratory.

And this being the case, the alleged and admitted fact, that 'that last effect of the highest eloquence which causes the auditor to forget the speaker and lose the artist in his work, was for the most part wanting in Mr. Pitt's oratory,' may be adduced as affording proof that Mr. Pitt's oratory possessed that feature

or property of adaptedness of the substance, tone, and manner of a discourse to the subject treated of, which gives that completeness to the character of an orator which is analogous to the perfection which healthfulness communicates to beauty.

We may observe, in conclusion, that Lord Brougham commences his delineation of Mr. Pitt's character as an orator, by affirming that "he is to be placed, without any doubt, in the highest class;" and then proceeds to describe the character and effects of Mr. Pitt's eloquence in a strain of eulogy well calculated to substantiate the opinion intimated in his Lordship's opening remark.

But Lord Brougham's opening remark, and succeeding eulogistic description, are afterwards, first, qualified, by an exception founded upon the statement of a specific fact; and then, neutralized by another exception adduced in his Lordship's concluding remark.

In the course of the preceding observations we have established:—

First: That the latter of the two exceptions adverted to is wholly nugatory, because the concluding remark in which it is adduced is an erroneous one: and,

Secondly: That the statement of the specific fact upon which the former is founded, instead of constituting an exception to Lord Brougham's opening remark and succeeding eulogistic description of Mr. Pitt's character as an orator (as it was manifestly intended to do), has the effect of establishing

that Mr. Pitt's oratory possessed that feature or property of adaptedness of the substance, tone, and manner of a discourse to the subject treated of, which gives that completeness to the character of an orator which is analogous to the perfection which healthfulness communicates to beauty.

And when Lord Brougham's assertion, that Mr. Pitt "is to be placed in the highest class" of orators, and subsequent eulogistic description affirmative of it, are extended and corroborated by that proof of the completeness of his character as an orator, which the fact that 'that last effect of the highest eloquence which causes the auditor to forget the speaker and lose the artist in his work, was for the most part wanting in Mr. Pitt's oratory,' has the effect of affording, instead of being restricted and nullified by the exceptions which his Lordship has adduced; they are capable, we conceive, of imparting a very just idea of Mr. Pitt's character as an orator.

## CHAPTER X.

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LORD Brougham's disquisition upon Mr. Pitt's character as an orator, is immediately succeeded, in his Lordship's publication, by the following paragraphs, which relate to, and are intended to delineate, his private character.

“ Nothing that we have yet said of this extraordinary person has touched upon his private character, unless so far as the graver faults of the politician must ever border upon the vices or the frailties of the man. But it must be admitted, what even his enemies were willing to confess, that in his failings, or in his delinquencies, there was nothing mean, paltry, or low. His failings were ascribed to love of power and of glory ; and pride was the harshest feature that disfigured him to the public eye. We doubt if this can all be said with perfect justice ; still more that if it could, any satisfactory defence would thus be made. The ambition cannot be pronounced very lofty which shewed that place, mere high station, was so dear to it as to be sought without regard to its just concomitant, power, and clung by after being stript of this, the only attribute which can

recommend it to noble minds. Yet he well describes his office, as "the pride of his heart and the pleasure of his life," when boasting that he had sacrificed it to his engagements with Ireland at the Union; and then, within a very short period, he proved that the pleasure and the pride were far too dearly loved to let him think of that tie when he again grasped them, wholly crippled, and deprived of all power to carry a single measure of importance. Nor can any thirst for power itself, any ambition, be it of the most exalted kind, ever justify the measures which he contrived for putting to death those former coadjutors of his own whose leading object was reform; even if they had overstepped the bounds of law, in the pursuit of their common purpose. His conduct on the Slave Trade falls within the same view; and leaves a dark shade resting upon his reputation as a man—a shade which, God be praised, few would take to be the first of orators and greatest of ministers."

"In private life he was singularly amiable; his spirits were naturally buoyant and even playful; his affections warm; his veracity scrupulously exact; his integrity wholly without a stain; and, although he was, from his situation, cut off from most of the relations of domestic life, as a son and a brother he was perfect, and no man was more fondly beloved, or more sincerely mourned by his friends."\*

The introductory sentence with which the former

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series. pp. 207.



of the above paragraphs commences, viz. “Nothing that we have yet said of this extraordinary person has touched upon his private character, unless so far as the graver faults of the politician must ever border upon the vices or the frailties of the man,” requires distinct consideration.

By “the graver faults of the politician,” Lord Brougham evidently means “the flagrant political crimes” imputed to Mr. Pitt in the preceding pages of his Lordship’s publication—that, for instance, of his flinging his country into a war with France in order that he might enjoy power alone and supreme—that of his attempting to murder certain former associates of his own by means of a perversion of the administration of justice—that which has given occasion to “by far the gravest charge to which Mr. Pitt’s memory is exposed :”—and ‘that these “border upon the vices or the frailties of the man,” and by their contiguity affect his private character in a certain manner and degree,’—‘accidentally’ (to speak in logical phraseology) is what the sentence under review may be interpreted, nay, must of necessity be understood, to predicate.

Now, the doctrine ‘that political criminality does but border upon the vices and frailties of the man, and affect his character accidentally,’ is, we conceive, as erroneous as it is pernicious.

It has been well observed,\* “that analogy is that telescope of the mind by which it is marvellously

\* By the author of Lacon.

assisted in the discovery both of physical and moral truth.”

We propose to inspect the doctrine ‘that political criminality does but border upon the vices or the frailties of the man, and affect his character accidentally,’ through this telescope.

Just, then, as the sea borders upon the land, and by its contiguity sheds an aridness upon the face of its vegetation, or otherwise accidentally affects it, but does not impregnate or in any manner act upon the substratum of the soil—the land itself: so, (according to the doctrine we are looking at), the graver faults or crimes of the politician border upon the vices and frailties of the man, and accidentally affect his private character,—affect it, that is, in such a manner as does not in any degree diversify its substance, or have relation to its conformation.

But, just as the waters of the ocean, from whatever source supplied, are thoroughly intermingled in its depths: so (according to truth) the graver faults or crimes of the politician, and the vices and frailties of the man, are intimately blended in those recesses of the heart from which they flow in common, under a somewhat diversified appearance, and, it may be, in channels widely separate, at a distance from their rise.

By the aid of the properly-constructed telescope of the mind with which we have presented him, we have enabled the reader (as we trust) to perceive

the error of the pernicious doctrine at which we directed him to look, and to discover, or rather to discern clearly, an important moral truth.

That truth we must beg the reader to bear in mind, as we shall have occasion to recur to it in the sequel.

“But it must be admitted,” Lord Brougham states in the second sentence of the former of the two paragraphs above cited, “what even his (Mr. Pitt’s) enemies were willing to confess, that in his failings, or in his delinquencies, there was nothing mean, paltry, or low. His failings were ascribed to love of power and of glory; and pride was the harshest feature that disfigured him to the public eye.”

There is an ambiguity in the second of the above sentences, which is easily cleared up, however, by a reference to the first.

Instead of writing “His (Mr. Pitt’s) failings were ascribed” (without mentioning by whom) “to love of power and glory,” Lord Brougham should have written—as the context of the first sentence indisputably shews—‘his failings were ascribable (as is admitted and willingly confessed even by his enemies) to a love of power and glory:’ and ‘pride, as is admitted, (his Lordship should have said) and willingly confessed by Mr. Pitt’s enemies, was the harshest feature that disfigured him to the public eye.’

“We,” the next sentence of the paragraph asserts, —“*we*,” (Lord Brougham, who in the preceding

sentence had distinctly admitted it) “doubt if this can all be said with perfect justice.”

Waiving the advantage to which Lord Brougham’s admission would have entitled us, we will proceed to comment upon the above sentence and the passages connected with it, exactly as we should have deemed it necessary to do, if that admission had not been made.

‘Certain persons,’—the passage under review would undoubtedly have stated, had the admission adverted to been omitted—‘and amongst others, Mr. Pitt’s enemies, consider that in his failings, or in his delinquencies, there was nothing mean, paltry, or low ; and hold that they (Mr. Pitt’s failings) are ascribable to love of power and glory, and that pride was the harshest feature that disfigured him to the public eye : but we (Lord Brougham) doubt whether this can all be said with perfect justice.’

“The ambition,”—Lord Brougham affirms in support of the position that it cannot be said with perfect justice, ‘that in Mr. Pitt’s failings or delinquencies there was nothing mean, paltry, or low : that they were ascribable to love of power and glory, and that pride was the harshest feature that disfigured him to the public eye,’—“cannot be pronounced very lofty which shewed that place, mere high station, was so dear to it as to be sought without regard to its just concomitant, power, and clung by, after being stript of this, the only attribute which can recommend it to noble minds. Yet

he well described his office as the “the pride of heart and the pleasure of his life,” when boasting that he had sacrificed it to his engagements with Ireland at the Union ; and then, within a very short period, he proved that the pleasure and the pride were too dearly loved to let him think of that tie when he again grasped them, wholly crippled, and deprived of all power to carry a single measure of importance. Nor can any thirst for power itself, any ambition, be it of the most exalted kind, ever justify the measures which he contrived for putting to death those former coadjutors of his own whose leading object was reform ; even if they had overstepped the bounds of law, in the pursuit of their common purpose. His (Mr. Pitt’s) conduct on the Slave-trade falls within the same view ; and leaves a shade resting upon his reputation as a man which few would take to be the first of orators and greatest of ministers.”

The argument *involved* (we may truly say) in the above passage, is in substance this :—

‘ That Mr. Pitt’s conduct, in resuming office in 1804, proved that place, mere high station, was so dear to him as to be sought without regard to its just concomitant, power, and clung by, after being stripped of this (of power) the only attribute which can recommend it to noble minds ; and that since mere high station was so dear to him as to be sought without regard to its just concomitant power, and clung by, after being stripped of the only attri-



bute which can recommend it to noble minds, it is evident that Mr. Pitt's ambition cannot be pronounced very lofty, or 'was (as we must of necessity interpret this ironical expression) degraded in the extreme ;' and that, this being the case, it follows that it is impossible that it can be said with perfect justice, that in Mr. Pitt's failings or in his delinquencies, there was nothing mean, paltry, or low, or that his failings were ascribable to love of power and glory.'

'That it cannot be said with perfect justice, 'that pride was the harshest feature that disfigured Mr. Pitt to the public eye,' when he is chargeable with the enormous wickedness of contriving measures for putting to death certain former coadjutors of his own, and whilst his conduct on the Slave Trade leaves a shade resting upon his reputation, as a man, which few would take to be the first of orators and the greatest of ministers.'

Now, from the historical statement which we have given of the transaction,\* or upon that reference to the annals of the period to which our statement may have led, it will be evident that Mr. Pitt's re-accession to office in 1804 does not prove that mere high station was so dear to him as to be sought without regard to its just concomitant power, and clung by, after being stripped of the only attribute which can recommend it to noble minds: whilst, 'that Mr. Pitt is not chargeable with the enormous

\* Vide ante, p. 127.



wickedness of contriving measures for putting certain former coadjutors of his own to death,' and 'that Mr. Pitt's conduct on the Slave Trade does not leave a shade resting upon his reputation, as a man, which few would take to be the first of orators and the greatest of ministers,' has been established (as we trust) indisputably, in the course of our preceding observations.\* Consequently, it is evident that (so far as respects anything alleged to the contrary by Lord Brougham) it may be said with perfect justice 'that in Mr. Pitt's failings or delinquencies, there was nothing mean, paltry, or low; that those failings were ascribable to love of power and of glory; and that pride was the harshest feature which disfigured Mr. Pitt to the public eye.'

"Still more," Lord Brougham continues—the following sentence is inserted before the argument we have just considered, and immediately succeeds the remark, "we doubt if all this can be said with perfect justice,"—'we (Lord Brougham) still more doubt,' that is, "that" ('whether') "if it could" ('if it could be said with perfect justice, that in Mr. Pitt's failings, or in his delinquencies, there was nothing mean, paltry, or low, but that they were ascribable to love of power and glory, and that pride was the harshest feature that disfigured him to the public eye') "any satisfactory defence would thus be made."

Now this sentence, so obscure in the form of its statement as to require the copious additions we have

\* Vide ante, Chapter II. and Chapter VII.

supplied to render it intelligible, is, at the same time, so ambiguous in its purport, as to be capable of being made use of to establish two opposite conclusions, according as one or other of two equally probable conjectures as to his Lordship's meaning, may chance to be adopted.

If we understand Lord Brougham to speak generally, and to mean by "satisfactory defence," simply 'satisfactory defence of character,' then the conclusion "that a satisfactory defence might thus be made,"—might be made, that is, by means of the admitted fact, 'that it may be said with perfect justice, and was confessed by Mr. Pitt's enemies, that in his failings or in his delinquencies there was nothing mean, paltry, or low, that they were ascribable to love of power and of glory, and that pride was the harshest feature that disfigured him to the public eye,'—might be indisputably established thus:—

In the state of imperfection in which human nature subsists, all men are beset by failings and guilty of delinquencies of one description or another. This is an undisputed fact. And 'that a man's enemies are exceedingly quick-sighted in discovering, and lamentably prone to exaggerate and make the most of, his failings and delinquencies,' may be assumed without fear of contradiction.

When, therefore, it can be said with perfect justice of any man, and when his enemies are constrained to confess, that in his failings and delinquencies there was nothing mean, paltry, or low, but that they were ascribable to love of power and glory,

and that pride was the harshest feature that disfigured him to the public eye,—and ‘pride,’ we may observe, an appearance of pride, might ‘disfigure a man to the public eye’ who was not really proud—that man’s share of the failings and delinquencies incident to human nature in its present state of imperfection, must be admitted to be small—to be greatly less considerable than that of the majority of his fellow mortals; and such an admission would evidently constitute a satisfactory general defence of character—a satisfactory defence, that is, of any man’s character against general imputations and unproven aspersions.

But if, on the other hand, we understand Lord Brougham to speak with reference to a “satisfactory defence” of Mr. Pitt’s character from the specific charges which his Lordship has brought against him:—in that case, the conclusion ‘that “a satisfactory defence” cannot thus be made,’—cannot be made by means of the admitted fact “that it may be said with perfect justice, and was confessed by Mr. Pitt’s enemies, that in his failings or in his delinquencies there was nothing mean, paltry, or low, that they were ascribable to love of power and of glory, and that (so successful was Mr. Pitt’s hypocrisy)—this must of course be understood—that (notwithstanding the enormity of his wickedness) pride was the harshest feature that disfigured him to the public eye,’—may be undeniably established by the single averment, that although “there was nothing mean, paltry, or low,” in the delinquencies with which Mr. Pitt stood

charged, there was something in them enormously and diabolically wicked.

The conclusions, 'that a satisfactory defence might thus be made,' and 'that a satisfactory defence cannot thus be made,' are two opposite conclusions. And consequently, our assertion that the sentence under review is so ambiguous in its purport as to be capable of being made use of to establish two opposite conclusions, according as one or other of the two equally probable conjectures as to his Lordship's meaning may chance to be adopted, has been competently made good.

But although (so far as respects anything alleged to the contrary by Lord Brougham) it may be said with perfect justice, 'that in Mr. Pitt's failings or in his delinquencies there was nothing mean, paltry, or low; that they were ascribable to love of power and of glory; and that pride was the harshest feature that disfigured him to the public eye;' yet before we allow that that part of the above assertion which predicates that "pride was the harshest feature which disfigured Mr. Pitt to the public eye" can be made with perfect justice, or with any justice at all, it is necessary to determine the precise meaning which it was intended to convey.

If the phrase "pride was the harshest feature which disfigured him (Mr. Pitt) to the public eye," be intended to be understood according to its literal signification, the assertion which it would in that case advance, may be made, we conceive, consistently with truth.

Mr. Pitt, as is well known, was constitutionally reserved. He was subject also to a habit of abstraction, which that deep and concentrated thoughtfulness, demanded by the multiplicity of his important avocations, had very naturally generated. He was gifted, moreover, to a surpassingly pre-eminent degree, with that decision of character which “involves,” as an able writer has very justly observed, “much practical assertion of superiority over other human beings,” and to which (he says with truth) “a conciliatory mildness is not the manner which will be most natural.”\*

Now, any one of the peculiarities adverted to would probably have been sufficient, and a concatenation of the three must most undoubtedly have served, to communicate an appearance of pride to Mr. Pitt’s demeanour, or cause pride (in other words) to be a “feature which disfigured him to the public eye.” And that they had this effect, we are willing to allow.

But if by the phrase, “pride was the harshest feature that disfigured him to the public eye,” Lord Brougham intended to intimate that Mr. Pitt was proud—that Mr. Pitt’s moral character was vitiated by pride, (as we suspect, and indeed, from the letter and spirit of the context, confidently conjecture that his Lordship did,) the heavy charge which it would in that case adduce, may be pronounced, and can easily be proved to be, unfounded.

\* Vide Forster’s *Essays*, p. 138.



“ Last week I made a morning visit to Mr. Pitt,” says Dr. Beattie, in a letter written in June 1791. “ He gave me a very frank, and indeed affectionate, reception ; and was so cheerful, and in his conversation so easy, that I almost thought myself in the company, rather of an old acquaintance, than of a great statesman. And when I told him I knew not what apology to make for intruding upon him, he said that no apology was necessary, for that he was very glad to see me.”\*

“ This day, the 5th of September, (1799),” writes Dr. Burney,† “ I went to Walmer Castle with Mrs. and Miss Crewe ; and Mr. Pitt dined at home. Mr. Dundas, Mr. Ryder, (and others) and Canning, were of the party. I liked this cabinet dinner prodigiously. Mr. Pitt was all politeness and pleasantry. I not only played this hymn of Haydn’s setting (the hymn ‘ Long live the Emperor Francis ’) but Suwarrow’s March, to the great Minister ; and though Mr. Pitt neither knows nor cares one farthing for flutes or fiddles, he was very attentive ; and before, and at dinner, his civility to me was as obliging as if I had half a dozen boroughs at my devotion ; offering to me, though a great way off him, of every dish and wine ; and entering heartily into Canning’s merry stories of my having been lost ; and Mrs. Crewe’s relation of my dolorous three sea

\* Vide Sir William Forbes’s Life of Dr. Beattie, Vol. II., p. 268.

† Vide Memoirs of Dr. Burney, by his Daughter, Madame D’Arblay, Vol. III., p. 274.



voyages instead of one, when I came back from Germany; all with very civil pleasantry.”

“ Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Sinclair felt the loss (the loss of his wife) so severely,” says his biographer, “ that he proposed retiring altogether from public life, and addressed a letter upon the subject to the Premier, to which Mr. Pitt returned the following considerate and amiable reply.

“ ‘ I feel very sensibly the kind proof of your zeal and friendship at such a moment, and truly lament the unfortunate cause which deprives us at present of your assistance. As far as numbers are in question, a single vote, though always of some consequence, is, I trust, not now so material as once seemed possible. I am not, however, the less thankful to you for the accommodation you propose, though very glad to think it unnecessary.’ ”

“ In the month of October (the narrative proceeds) my father went down to Brighton, where Mr. Pitt happened at that time to be residing, and was received by the minister with great sympathy and kindness.”\*

Sir John Sinclair afterwards became, and continued for many years, an active, and, no doubt, very incommodious opponent of Mr. Pitt’s administration.

During the period adverted to, Sir John Sinclair,

\* Vide *Memoirs of the Life and Works of the late Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*, by His Son, the Rev. John Sinclair, M.A. Vol. I. p. 125.

highly to his honour, or, to speak more accurately, greatly to the credit of his honesty and patriotism, suggested to the government a financial measure which was adopted,\* and proved efficacious in restoring commercial confidence at a time of great emergency.

Upon this occasion, Mr. Pitt “sent for the Baronet to Downing Street, and expressed, in emphatic terms, his sense of obligation.”†

“Those sentiments of esteem and friendship,” we learn from Mr. Sinclair, “which had united them (Mr. Pitt and Sir John Sinclair) in early life, now (in 1805) revived.”

“In August, (1805,) he (Mr. Pitt) sent him, (Sir John Sinclair),” Mr. Sinclair continues,‡ “a very cordial message, expressing readiness to bestow upon him a remuneration for his laborious and expensive services for the public. And on the 21st of November, he (Mr. Pitt) made a second communication to the same effect, expressed in still more friendly terms.”

“Called on Pitt,” writes Mr. Wilberforce, (in February, 1805), “and walked with him round the Park. Pleased with his statements of disposition not

\* “It is to the honour of Mr. Pitt,” Mr. Sinclair justly observes, “that he was willing to adopt the suggestions of a former friend, from whom he had been recently estranged.” Vide *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 231.

† Vide *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 252.

‡ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 171.

to quarrel with Addington. 'I am sure,' he said, 'you are glad to hear that Addington and I are at one again.' And then he added, with a sweetness of manner which I shall never forget, 'I think they are a little hard upon us in finding fault with our making it up again, when we have been friends from our childhood, and our fathers were so before us.'\*\*

The concurrent testimony, we may briefly observe, of the above recorded instances of a conduct manifestive of the absence of pride—how satisfactory is that of the last, though least direct, perhaps, of them, we need scarcely suggest to the intelligent reader—is, obviously, amply sufficient to outweigh conflicting evidence (had any such been tendered) of a far more conclusive and unexceptionable character than that afforded by Lord Brougham's indirect and unsupported intimation that Mr. Pitt was proud.

Consequently, if the phrase "pride was the harshest feature that disfigured him to the public eye," be interpreted to mean 'that Mr. Pitt was proud,' the assertion of which it will in that case be made the medium, may be pronounced to be most palpably erroneous.

"In private life, he (Mr. Pitt) was singularly amiable; his spirits were naturally buoyant and even playful; his affections warm;" Lord Brougham states in the latter of the two paragraphs we have cited.

\* Vide *Life of William Wilberforce*, Vol. III., p. 211.

Now, it is manifestly impossible for amiability of disposition and kindly affections to subsist in a state of healthful vitality, or exert their action with that power and regularity which is necessary to produce a steady influence upon the conduct, when the individual is under the domination of that selfishness, and those evil passions, which are their antagonist principles,

And it is perfectly self-evident, that before Mr. Pitt could have contrived measures for putting to death certain former associates of his own by means of a perversion of the administration of justice ; flung his country into a destructive war, in order that he might enjoy power alone and supreme ; and committed a crime which (according to Lord Brougham) exposes his memory to a charge far graver than those which the above enormities involve ; he must needs have been completely under the domination of that selfishness, and those evil passions, which are antagonist principles of amiability of disposition and kindly affections.

Consequently, when Lord Brougham had once satisfied himself that amiability of disposition and kindly affections (or warmth of affection) exerted a steady, and not only a steady, but a very potent, influence upon Mr. Pitt's conduct, as must have been the case, since (according to his Lordship) "he was *singularly* amiable in private life"; his Lordship should not have relinquished, or for a moment intermitted, his 'thorough scrutiny' into the conduct

and character of Mr. Pitt, until he had discovered that justificatory evidence, or those explanatory circumstances, refutative of the astounding charges to which Mr. Pitt appeared to be amenable, which he might and should have known must of necessity subsist. Much less should his Lordship have ventured to adduce those charges in—we use a very measured form of expression, when we say,—so confident a tone and denunciatory a spirit.

“His (Mr. Pitt’s) veracity was scrupulously exact ; his integrity without a stain :” Lord Brougham proceeds.

By specifying, we may remark, that “his veracity was scrupulously exact,” as a ‘feature’ (to employ a figurative expression made use of by his Lordship) of Mr. Pitt’s private character, Lord Brougham has given countenance (it may be unintentionally) to a most exceptionable opinion, founded upon the doctrine ‘that the graver faults of the politician do but border upon the vices and frailties of the man,’ which has become, we fear, but too generally prevalent in the present day ; viz. that the politician may utter the most palpable falsehoods, without hastening disgrace, or bringing any ostensible discredit upon the man.

“As a son and a brother, he (Mr. Pitt) was perfect ;” is the only other statement of any importance contained in the paragraph under review.

A spring of fresh water might gurgle up from the unfathomable depths of the ocean, and flow a pure,



clear rill upon its surface, without any more marvellous infraction of the laws of nature, than that which would be compassed, when one guilty of flinging his country into a destructive war in order that he might enjoy power alone and supreme, of contriving measures for putting men to death by means of a perversion of the administration of justice, and of a crime which exposes his memory to a charge far heavier than those to which it was obnoxious on account of the perpetration of the enormities adverted to, was "perfect as a brother and a son"!

We have but one practical observation to make upon Lord Brougham's assertion that, "as a son and a brother, Mr. Pitt was perfect," viz. : that it must of necessity be understood in a qualified sense, and interpreted to mean that, in his conduct as a son and a brother, Mr. Pitt was faultless in the sight of man : for we need scarcely add, that there is but *ONE*, who as a son and a brother, or in any other relation or respect, can be absolutely said to have been "perfect." When qualified in the manner adverted to, the assertion that, "as a son and a brother, Mr. Pitt was perfect," is undoubtedly most true.

As we shall have occasion to recur to the contents of the two paragraphs under review, we will conclude our commentary upon them, for the present, with the following remarks : viz. That (as the tenour of our observations will have indicated) the favourable traits of character which they were designed to



depict are, obviously, incapable of relieving Mr. Pitt's memory from a single particle of that incalculable weight of infamy and odium to which it is exposed from Lord Brougham's averment and assumed establishment of the enormously criminative charges adduced in the course of the previous delineation of his conduct. But, inasmuch as it is evident that Lord Brougham has given insertion to them, under a false impression that they were calculated to afford a certain degree of such relief, it must be allowed that their introduction is creditable to his Lordship.

## CHAPTER XI.

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THE following passage immediately succeeds the latter of the two paragraphs cited in our last chapter.

“ It was a circumstance broadly distinguishing the parliamentary position of the two great leaders whom we have been surveying (Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox), that while the one had to fight the whole battle of his government for many years, the first and most arduous of his life, if not single handed, yet with but one coadjutor of any power, the other was surrounded by “troops of friends,” any one of whom might well have borne the foremost part. Against such men as Burke, Windham, Sheridan, North, Erskine, Lee, Barrè,—Mr. Pitt could only set Mr. Dundas; and it is certainly the most astonishing part of his history, that against such a phalanx, backed by the majority of the Commons, he could struggle all through the first session of his administration. Indeed, had it not been for the support which he received both from the Court and the Lords, and from the People, who were justly offended with the un-

natural coalition of his adversaries, this session would not only have been marvellous but impossible.”

The above isolated paragraph (which must have been accidentally omitted, we may reasonably conclude, where it might have been inserted in connexion with the subject under discussion) commences with a statement of certain facts; contains a commentary upon the facts stated; and concludes with an incidental remark.

‘That while Mr. Pitt had to fight the battles of his government for many years, the first and most arduous of his life, with but one coadjutor of any power, Mr. Fox was surrounded by “troops of friends,” any one of whom might well have borne the foremost part:’ and ‘That against such men as Burke, Windham, Sheridan, North, Erskine, Barrè, Mr. Pitt could only set Mr. Dundas:’ constitute the facts comprised in the statement adverted to. We admit that they are undeniable.

Lord Brougham’s comment upon them in the passage, “It is certainly the most astonishing part of his (Mr. Pitt’s) history, that against such a phalanx, backed by the majority of the Commons, he could struggle all through the first Session of his administration;” is unexceptionable, we conceive, so far as it extends, but faulty on account of its incompleteness: for his Lordship might, and should, have stated, that the facts adverted to afford incontestable proof of Mr. Pitt’s supereminent ability,

and surpassing force of character; and ought most assuredly to have specified, that it was 'triumphantly' that Mr. Pitt struggled through the first Session of his administration.

The remark contained in the concluding sentence of the paragraph, "Indeed, had it not been for the support which he received, both from the Court and the Lords, and from the people, who were justly offended with the unnatural coalition of his adversaries, this Session would not only have been marvellous but impossible," is an unmeaning one.

This will be evident, upon a recollection that the contest obviously referred to by Lord Brougham—unless the term, "this Session," be interpreted to mean 'the contest, or victory, of this Session,' the remark will be altogether senseless—the contest between Mr. Pitt and his sole coadjutor, and Mr. Fox and his troop of friends, was carried on within the walls of the then assembled House of Commons, and was one, therefore, in which neither the Court, the Lords, or the people could by any possibility interpose.

Great, no doubt, will be the reader's surprise, when he is told that the sentence which contains the above unmeaning remark, forms the conclusion of Lord Brougham's delineation of the character of Mr. Pitt.

But so it is. Unobservant of the precept of Quintilian, "Perorando, reficienda brevi repetitione

rerum memoria est ;”\* and inattentive to the judicious instructions which Cicero has given, when he prescribes “exordium, narratio, partitio, confirmatio, reprehensio, conclusio,”† as the six parts of a discourse, Lord Brougham has not only neglected to refresh the reader’s memory by any recapitulation of his statements, or summary of his arguments and proof; but omitted to make the faintest attempt at an orderly conclusion. And that, be it observed, in a case in which a perspicuous summary (that “enumeratio,” “per quam res dispersè et diffusè dictæ, unum in locum coguntur, et reminiscendi causa, unum sub aspectum subjiciuntur,” of which Cicero speaks, as constituting the first of the three parts into which he subdivides the *conclusio*,‡) was most peculiarly and imperatively necessary; because his Lordship’s disquisition consists, for the most part, in an amassment of unconnected statements, to which the description of “Res dispersè et diffusè dictæ,” is most specifically applicable. Indeed, so necessary do we deem a recapitulation of Lord Brougham’s statements, and summary of his Lordship’s arguments and proof, that we propose to supply their omission to the best of our ability. But before we proceed to do so, we must advert to, and offer a few cursory remarks upon, a note which we find contained in the last page of his Lordship’s disquisition.

\* Quintil. Inst. Lib. IV. † De Inventione, Lib. I. No. 19.

‡ De Inventione, Lib. I. No. 98.

The note adverted to, states as follows :—

“The story told of his refusing to marry Mademoiselle Necker (afterwards Madame de Staël) when the match was proposed by the father, rests upon a true foundation ; but the form of the answer, ‘ That he was already married to his country,’ has, unless it was a jest, which is very possible, no more foundation than the dramatic exit described by Mr. Rose in the House of Commons, when he stated, “ Oh my country,” to have been his last words — though it is certain that, for many hours, he only uttered incoherent sentences. Such things were too theatrical for so great a man, and of too vulgar a caste for so consummate a performer, had he stooped to play a part in such circumstances.”

There is not any passage, we feel called upon to remark, in the whole of Lord Brougham’s delineation of the character of Mr. Pitt, which is more open to serious animadversion than that contained in the note which we have transcribed above.

“ The story,” Lord Brougham commences by observing, “ told of his refusing to marry Mademoiselle Necker, rests upon a true foundation :” ‘ is founded on fact,’ had been the more usual, as well as a more accurate, form of expression. This we admit to have been the case.

“ But the form of the answer,” his Lordship proceeds, (meaning no doubt to include its subject matter also), “ ‘ That he was already married to his country,’ has, unless it was a jest, which is very pos-



sible, no more foundation than the dramatic exit described by Mr. Rose in the House of Commons, when he stated, "Oh my country," to have been his last words,"—"has no more foundation," that is, than a certain alleged fact which his Lordship pronounces to be unfounded, and maintains to be impossible. The sequel of the note—"though it is certain that, for many hours, he only uttered incoherent sentences," and "such things were too theatrical for so great a man, and of too vulgar a caste for so consummate a performer, had he stooped to play a part in such circumstances"—contains a statement of the grounds of Lord Brougham's conclusion that the alleged fact, 'that "Oh my country!" were Mr. Pitt's last words,' is unfounded and impossible.

The intelligent reader will no doubt have remarked, that by the parenthetical observation, "unless it was a jest, which is very possible," Lord Brougham admits that it is very possible that Mr. Pitt made that answer, 'That he was already married to his country,' which, (in the very same passage which contains that parenthetical observation,) his Lordship contends is not only without foundation, but beyond possibility of occurrence.

Had we thought proper to take advantage of the admission 'that it is very possible that Mr. Pitt made the answer, 'That he was already married to his country,' which is necessarily involved in the assertion, "that it is very possible that answer was

a jest," we might have limited our commentary upon the note under review, to that brief narrative of the incidents referred to in it, to which we have given insertion in a subsequent page. We are willing, however, to waive the advantage afforded us by Lord Brougham's incautious manner of expressing himself, (as we have so repeatedly done before); and will proceed to consider the statement to which our attention has been called, exactly as we should have deemed it necessary to do, if the admission of which we were entitled to avail ourselves, had been omitted.

The following brief exposition of the note under review may serve to facilitate our investigation of the statement it contains.

The note then virtually predicates—

'That a certain fact alleged to have taken place, viz., 'That when a union with Mademoiselle Necker was proposed to him, Mr. Pitt answered, 'That he was already married to his country,' has no more foundation than a certain other alleged fact : viz. 'That, " Oh, my country !" were Mr. Pitt's last words' : which other alleged fact is 'unfounded,' (the note maintains) because " it is certain that for many hours (before his decease) he (Mr Pitt) only uttered incoherent sentences;" and 'beyond the possibility of occurrence,' because " such things (things like the alleged facts adverted to,) were too theatrical for so great a man, (as Mr. Pitt), and of too vulgar a caste for so consummate

a performer, had he stooped to play a part in such circumstances.”’

The course which it will be advisable to adopt, in our attempt to refute the statement contained in the note under review, is plainly indicated by the structure of the argument it contains. It is that, of first applying ourselves to the consideration of the averment by which Lord Brougham maintains, expressly, in the one case, and by implication in the other, that it is impossible that the alleged facts, ‘that “Oh my country!” were Mr. Pitt’s last words,’ and ‘that Mr. Pitt answered that ‘he was already married to his country,’ when a union with Mademoiselle Necker was proposed to him,’ could have occurred: and secondly, (supposing that we succeed in establishing that it is possible that the facts adverted to may have occurred) to examine the grounds which his Lordship has for coming to the conclusion that they did not occur, or, in other words, that ‘they are without foundation.’

The averment by which Lord Brougham maintains that it is impossible that the alleged facts ‘that “Oh my country!” were Mr. Pitt’s last words,’ and ‘that Mr. Pitt answered, “that he was already married to his country,” when a union with Mademoiselle Necker was proposed to him,’ could have occurred, is, that “such things were too theatrical for so great a man, and of too vulgar a caste for so consummate a performer, had he stooped to play a part in such circumstances.”

We are unwilling to assume (as the language of the passage under review would most undoubtedly authorize us to do) that Lord Brougham goes the length of contending that it is impossible for a great man to conceive a just and natural thought ; but will, on the contrary, take the converse of this manifestly absurd position for granted : viz. ‘that it is possible for a great man to conceive a just and natural thought.’ And inasmuch as it is manifestly possible for any man in his senses to give expression to his thoughts, (be they of what quality or character they may,) naturally and in simplicity and sincerity, it must of necessity be granted that it is possible for a great man to give expression to a just and natural thought, which he may have conceived, naturally and in simplicity and sincerity.

Now, Mr. Pitt’s answer, ‘that he was already married to his country,’ when a union with Mademoiselle Necker was proposed to him, contains a just and natural thought, expressed naturally and in simplicity and sincerity.

In proceeding to establish this point, we may observe, in the first place, that Mr. Pitt was actuated by a most sincere and ardent spirit of patriotism, which was in incessant activity—that the love of his country was his ruling passion.

“I most solemnly assure you,” says Mr. Wilberforce to a correspondent in 1793, “that I am convinced, if the flame of pure, disinterested patriotism

burns in any human bosom, it does in his (Mr. Pitt's). I am convinced, and that on long experience and close observation, that in order to benefit his country he would give up not situation merely, and emolument, but what in his case is much more, personal credit and reputation, though he knew that no human being would ever become acquainted with the sacrifice he should have made."\*

"For personal purity," Mr. Wilberforce says to another correspondent, "disinterestedness, integrity, and love of his country, I have never known his (Mr. Pitt's) equal."†

"It is only due to him (Mr. Pitt) to declare," Mr. Wilberforce writes upon the occasion of Mr. Pitt's death in 1806, "that the love of his country burned in him with as ardent a flame as ever warmed the human bosom, and the accounts from the armies struck a death blow within."‡

"You know, in common with the world," said Mr. Wilberforce, in an address to the freeholders of Yorkshire, shortly after Mr. Pitt's decease, "the force of his talents, and the splendour of his eloquence; but they who were the companions of his private hours, can alone sufficiently testify the warmth and incessant activity of his patriotism, and how, negligent only of his own interest, he was unceas-

\* Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. II. p. 14.

† Ibid. Vol. III. p. 250.

‡ Ibid. p. 251.



ingly anxious for the safety and prosperity of his country." \*

" I am no worshipper of Mr. Pitt," Mr. Wilberforce declared in the House of Commons, (upon an occasion on which Sir Samuel Romilly misrepresented him, in later years), " I differed from him, with what pain none but myself can tell; but if I know any thing of that great man, I am sure of this, that every other consideration was absorbed in one grand ruling passion, the love of his country."†

Now, if Mr. Wilberforce is to be believed—and if he be not, what witness upon the face of the earth can be accounted credible?—the above testimony is irresistibly conclusive, as to the fact that Mr. Pitt was actuated by a most sincere and ardent love of his country, which was in incessant activity, and constituted his ruling passion.

Having ascertained, then, beyond all possibility of doubt, that Mr. Pitt was actuated by a spirit of patriotism as sincere and ardent as it is possible for any man to feel, which was in incessant activity, and constituted his ruling passion; we may proceed to observe, that in the year 1783, when he was about twenty-two years of age, and after he had occupied, with high and general approbation, a subordinate but important post in the administration of affairs under the Earl of Shelburne's short-lived government, Mr. Pitt visited Paris.

\* Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. III. p. 321.

† Ibid. p. 490.



It was during this visit to Paris, that the proposal of a union with Mademoiselle Necker was made to Mr. Pitt, and his answer, 'That he was already married to his country,' returned.

Now, when the proposal of a union with Mademoiselle Necker was made to Mr. Pitt, upon his visit to Paris in 1783, he was at an age at which that high tone of mind which the finished classical education he had received has a natural tendency to impart, must have retained much of its pristine elasticity and freshness; and at which that emulation which his father's character and renown,—which his father's "genius," (to borrow an expression of Lord Brougham's) "so proudly towering above all party views and personal ties," \* was so powerfully calculated to excite, must have rioted in its strength; and under circumstances (having commenced his career in the service of his country, amidst the loudest acclamations of national applause) in which the most sanguine hopes, lofty aspirations, and exalted purposes, would have been natural to a mind of a far less elevated character and ardent temperament than Mr. Pitt's.

When the reader gives a due degree of regard to the above considerations, and at the same time bears in mind that Mr. Pitt was actuated by a most sincere and ardent spirit of patriotism, which was in incessant activity and constituted his ruling passion, he will instinctively recognize, (we fain would hope) in Mr. Pitt's answer, 'That he was already married

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series. p. 195.

to his country,' a noble and elevated thought, expressed with a felicitous simplicity which becomes it; and he must of necessity allow that, when regarded as made by one at his time of life, under his circumstances, and actuated by his ruling passion, Mr. Pitt's answer, 'That he was already married to his country,' must be admitted to contain a just and natural thought naturally expressed.

With respect to the alleged fact, 'that "Oh my country!" were Mr. Pitt's last words,' we may observe, that when by the exertion, as we have seen,\* of a marvellous vigour and ability, and at an expenditure, no doubt, of care and thought, and the cost of a disquietude, most fearfully detrimental to his shattered constitution, Mr. Pitt had prosperously effected the great measure which he had devised, with a view of rescuing Great Britain from the imminent peril in which her liberties and very existence as an independent state were placed, in consequence of Buonaparte's overpowering aggrandizement; and was awaiting the momentous events consequent upon his hardly-earned success, with that baneful intensesness of anxiety which the momentous character of the crisis, and his passionate love for his country, was well calculated to excite; he received intelligence of Buonaparte's decisive victory at Austerlitz, and of the unexpected and scarcely less disastrous surrender of Ulm. This intelligence, as Mr. Wilberforce justly observes, in a passage which we have already had occasion to cite, "struck

\* Vide ante, Chap. IV.

a death blow within." That it hurried Mr. Pitt to his untimely death, is universally acknowledged.

Now it is self-evidently and incontestably certain, that it is perfectly natural that "Oh my country!" should be the last words of one who died from the effect of the shock communicated to his debilitated frame by the intelligence of events which (from an unhappy deficiency in that exalted degree of Christian faith, which would have enabled him to pay a duly influential regard to "the things which are not seen," in his contemplation of them) he accounted to be portentous of irremediable evil to that country which he loved "not wisely but too well."

We have shewn, be it observed, that Mr. Pitt's answer, 'That he was already married to his country,' when a union with Mademoiselle Necker was proposed to him, and his exclamation of "Oh my country!" in his last words, respectively contain a just and natural thought naturally expressed: That it is possible for a great man to conceive a just and natural thought: And possible for any man who has conceived a just and natural thought, to give expression to it naturally. It follows, therefore, that it cannot be maintained that 'things such as Mr. Pitt's answer, 'That he was already married to his country,' and exclamation, "Oh my country!" in his last words, must of necessity be theatrical, or feigned, (in other words), and affectedly or unnaturally expressed.

And since it cannot be maintained that things such as Mr. Pitt's answer, 'That he was already

married to his country,' and exclamation of "Oh my country!" in his last words,' must of necessity be theatrical; it follows that Lord Brougham's averment, that "such things"—things such as Mr. Pitt's answer 'that he was already married to his country,' and exclamation of "Oh my country!" in his last words,' "were too theatrical for so great a man (as Mr. Pitt), and of too vulgar a caste for so consummate a performer, had he stooped to play a part," is wholly incapable of sustaining the position, 'That the alleged facts, 'that Mr. Pitt answered, 'that he was already married to his country,' when a union with Mademoiselle Necker was proposed to him,' and 'that "Oh my country!" were his last words,' are beyond possibility of occurrence."

Before we proceed to enter upon the consideration of the second proposed point of discussion, it may be advisable to remark, that we have not only shewn, in the course of the foregoing observations, that the alleged facts 'that Mr. Pitt answered, 'that he was already married to his country,' when a union with Mademoiselle Necker was proposed to him,' and 'that "Oh my country!" were Mr. Pitt's last words,' are possible; but also incidentally established (as the intelligent reader will no doubt have perceived) that it is highly probable that they occurred.

'What are the grounds,' we proposed to inquire, in the second place, 'which Lord Brougham has for coming to the conclusion adopted by his Lordship, that the alleged facts 'that Mr. Pitt answered

‘that he was already married to his country,’ when a union with Mademoiselle Necker was proposed to him,’ and ‘that “Oh my country !” were Mr. Pitt’s last words,’ are without foundation?’

“It is certain that, for many hours (before his death) he (Mr. Pitt) only uttered incoherent sentences :” is all that Lord Brougham avers in support of his Lordship’s assertion, that the alleged fact ‘that “Oh my country !” were Mr. Pitt’s last words,’ is without foundation.

‘That Mr. Pitt was delirious, for many hours before his decease,’ is what Lord Brougham must necessarily be understood to predicate in the above averment. For it is manifest that the utterance of sentences, incoherent merely from excess of grief or agitation of mind, is perfectly consistent with the fact which his Lordship’s averment was intended to disprove.

Now, Lord Brougham has not thought fit to adduce any description of proof in support of the averment ‘that Mr. Pitt was delirious for many hours before his decease.’ The only case, therefore, in which that averment will be of any avail, will be that of its being an undisputed and indisputable historical fact, that Mr. Pitt was delirious for many hours before his decease.

But the truth is, that a fact the very converse of that affirmed in the averment we are now considering, viz., ‘That Mr. Pitt was sensible to the last,’ is an undisputed and indisputable historical fact.



It is one which has never before (so far as we are aware of) been advisedly called in question.

Consequently, it may be safely predicated, that Lord Brougham's averment that "it is certain that for many hours (before his decease) he (Mr. Pitt) only uttered incoherent sentences," is wholly incapable of supporting his Lordship's position that the alleged fact 'that "Oh my country!" were Mr. Pitt's last words,' is without foundation.

The averment, the only averment which Lord Brougham has adduced in support of his position, 'that the alleged fact that Mr. Pitt answered, 'that he was already married to his country,' when a union with Mademoiselle Necker was proposed to him, is without foundation,' is that it has no more foundation than the dramatic exit described by Mr. Rose in the House of Commons, when he stated, "Oh my country!" to have been his last words.

And inasmuch as his Lordship has wholly failed in his attempt to establish that the fact referred to, as "the dramatic exit described by Mr. Rose in the House of Commons, when he stated "Oh my country!" to have been his (Mr. Pitt's) last words," is without foundation; it is manifest that the above averment is altogether nugatory.

'That Lord Brougham has not the slightest grounds,' we may therefore pronounce, 'for coming to the conclusion adopted by his Lordship, that the alleged facts, 'That Mr. Pitt answered, 'That he was already married to his country,' when a union



with Mademoiselle Necker was proposed to him,' and 'that "Oh my country!" were Mr. Pitt's last words,' are without foundation.'

In concluding our comment upon the note under review, we propose to subjoin a brief authentic statement of the incidents referred to in it; and then to offer a few remarks with reference, first, to the incidents themselves, and, secondly, to Lord Brougham's allusion to them.

In the Life of Mr. Wilberforce, (who accompanied Mr. Pitt in his visit to the Continent in 1783), we are told that "at Paris, whither they removed upon the 9th of September, it was hinted to him, (Mr. Pitt), through the intervention of Horace Walpole, that he would be an acceptable suitor for the daughter of the celebrated Necker. Necker is said to have offered to endow her with a fortune of £14,000 per annum; but Mr. Pitt replied, "I am already married to my country."\*

In the course of a debate which took place in the House of Commons on Monday the 27th of January 1806, (Mr. Pitt died on Thursday the 23rd), Mr. Rose, having occasion to allude to and adduce proof of Mr. Pitt's patriotism, spoke as follows:—

"With respect to the illustrious character who was the object of the present motion, he (Mr. Rose) would only say of him, that he had exhausted life in

\* Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. I. p. 39.

the service of his country : for it was no exaggeration to say, that the gallant admiral, who had lately closed his brilliant career, did not more decidedly lose his life in serving his country than Mr. Pitt—his anxiety for his country destroyed him. It was well known to those who were in the room when that great man expired, that the last words he uttered, were ‘ Oh my country ! ’ ” \*

The above authentic statements afford as satisfactory a degree of proof as can rationally be demanded, that the alleged facts, ‘ That Mr. Pitt answered ‘ That he was already married to his country,’ when a union with Mademoiselle Necker was proposed to him,’ and ‘ that “ Oh my country ! ” were Mr. Pitt’s last words,’ (which we have already demonstrated to be not only possible, but highly probable,) actually occurred.

In commencing the remarks which we propose to offer upon the above incidents themselves, we may observe, in the first place, ‘ That Mr. Pitt’s answer, ‘ That he was already married to his country,’ contains a noble and exalted sentiment, most happily expressed,’ will (we fain would hope) be instinctively evident to the reader.

And when we contemplate that settled purpose to devote himself to the service of his country, with the self-denying entireness which involved a renun-

\* Vide Annual Register for the Year 1806, p, 20.

ciation of the nearest and most endearing “relations of domestic life,” (for the enjoyment of which he was gifted, according to Lord Brougham himself, with peculiarly exquisite susceptibilities,) which the brief expression, ‘That he was married to his country,’ so significantly intimates, as viewed in connexion with the subsequent tenor of Mr. Pitt’s life ; and find, (as we most assuredly shall do, and, indeed, may be said to have already done, from the statements respecting it with which these pages are replete,) that, ‘from that day forward’ he did “love” that country he had professed to wed— “honour her, comfort her, keep her in sickness”— and never was any nation more desperately sick than was Great Britain at various periods during that wedlock of which we speak— “and in health, and forsaking all other”— personal ease and comfort, domestic endearments, social enjoyments, intellectual gratifications, desire of aggrandizement, aspirations for renown, and love of reputation — “keep only unto her ;” we shall unhesitatingly allow, ‘that Mr. Pitt’s answer, ‘That he was already married to his country,’ is worthy of a place beside the most celebrated of those noble sentiments which flourish perpetuated in the recorded sayings of the sages and patriots of antiquity.

The closing scene of Mr. Pitt’s life (Lord Brougham, with a most unbecoming levity, has termed it “his dramatic exit,”) was of a

most impressive and indeed sublime character.\*

“The time and circumstances of his (Mr. Pitt’s) death were peculiarly affecting,”† Mr. Wilberforce justly observes. “He was in the station the highest in power and estimation in the whole kingdom—the favourite, I believe on the whole, both of king and people. Yes,” Mr. Wilberforce continues, “this man, who died of a broken heart, was first Lord of the Treasury ;” and not “like Otway, or Collins, or Chatterton, who had not so much as a needful complement of food to sustain their bodies, whilst the consciousness of unrewarded talents, of mortified pride, pressed on them within, and ate out their very souls ; or, even like Suwaroff, basely deserted and driven into exile by the sovereign he had so long served.”

And the portentous reverses of that country which he “loved not wisely, but too well,” believed (from a want of that exalted degree of Christian faith which would have enabled him to pay a duly influential regard to “the things which are not seen,” ) to be irretrievable, was the cause of the broken heart of which this man died.

We envy not the reader who does not feel how impressively in unison with the sublime scene, presented by the death of one securely seated upon the

\* Vide Supplemental Appendix to Chapter XI.

† Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. III. p. 251.

loftiest pinnacle of human greatness, (for in moral eminence, Mr. Pitt's position at the time he died, was far more exalted than that of any monarch upon earth) of a broken heart caused by the supposed irretrievable reverses of his country, is the fact 'that "Oh my country!" were his last words.'

We deem it incumbent upon us, or (more accurately speaking) due from us in courtesy, to offer some apology for the remarks which we are about to make, with reference to Lord Brougham's allusion to the incidents adverted to in the Note under review.

Lord Brougham's Historical Sketches, we would urge in our justification, are intended for "a contribution," as his Lordship expressly tells us,\* "to the fund of Useful Knowledge, as applied to the Education of those upon whose information or ignorance the fortunes of mankind in an especial manner depend." And in consequence of the high reputation of its author, this "contribution" will, doubtless, be perused with avidity, and deferred to with an implicit accord, by those influential members of the community for whose instruction it has been produced. The tenor of our observations will supply the rest. But to proceed.

There are thoughts, the offspring of a union of pure and natural feeling with the intellect; and

\* Vide Introduction, p. 2.



the expression of any such thought, is designated (by those who are in the habit of attaching a definite meaning to their words) by the distinctive and appropriate term of 'a sentiment.'

Noble sentiments are the high-born progeny of a union between exalted natural feeling and bright intellect. We are not laying down metaphysical definitions, be it observed, but making use of an analogy which will afford (as we trust) such a properly-constructed telescope of the mind, as will enable the reader to discern distinctly a somewhat remote and unobtrusive truth.

There are thoughts, also, the offspring of a connexion between the intellect and morbid and unnatural, or affected and unreal, feeling. These thoughts have received an appellative which characterizes them with sufficient distinctness, viz. that of 'sentimental.'

These sentimental thoughts, or sentimentalities (as we will term them for the sake of distinction) are sometimes the offspring of a common-place intellect and the coarsest unnatural feeling, and sometimes that of an intellect of a better order—of an intellect so flashy in appearance as to seem to the inexperienced as radiant as the brightest—and an affectation so specious as to be undistinguishable, by ordinary minds, from that genuine feeling to whose character it pretends.

Now, betwixt the sentimentalities of which we speak (whether the progeny of common-place



intellect and coarse unnatural feeling, or that of a flashy intellect and plausible affectation) and genuine sentiment, there is an essential and inextinguishable difference of character.

For reasons which will no doubt be obvious to the considerate reader, we forbear to pursue the above analogy into detail; but will content ourselves with observing, that sentimentalities of all kinds and descriptions, from the most trite and common-place, to the most showy and best-disguised, are beyond all doubt "such things" as a truly great man will instinctively eschew, and would not, we may safely affirm, resort to, except it were in jest: whereas this is not the case with any genuine sentiment—with any expression of a thought the offspring of a union of pure and natural feeling with the intellect, however unpretending.

Now this essential and inextinguishable difference of character which subsists between sentimentalities and genuine sentiments, Lord Brougham, it is evident, has wholly overlooked; and the consequence is, that when his Lordship asserts, in the Note under review, that "such things"—"things," such as Mr. Pitt's answer, 'That he was already married to his country,' and exclamation "Oh my country," in his last words,—"were too theatrical for so great a man," his Lordship by one of those "vague epithets,"\*—we borrow the language of an

\* Vide Foster's Essays, p. 168.

author to whom we have before referred—"which describe nothing, discriminate nothing, express no species, are as applicable to ten thousand things as to that one, and serve for a mode of collective execution, somewhat like the vessels which, in a season of outrage in a neighbouring country, received a promiscuous crowd of reputed criminals, of unexamined and dubious similarity, and were then sunk in the flood," has consigned that expression of thoughts, the offspring of a union of pure and natural feeling with the intellect, which constitutes genuine sentiment, to derision and contempt.

Now, if there be one thing more likely than another to prove ruinously detrimental to the *true education* of our youth—to that culture of the mind and heart which aids the germination and conduces to the development of a just habit of thought and healthful tone of feeling—it is, beyond all doubt, that of teaching them to despise and deride genuine sentiment, those "sentiments," (to use the language of a celebrated writer \*) "which ennoble our minds, and prevent their imbibing the spirit of those hard, interested, and self-seeking men with whom the world abounds;" — a 'spirit' which exercises (as is incontestably and undeniably notorious) a peculiarly<sup>y</sup> potent and extensive sway, and exerts its baneful influence with an unwonted

\* Dr. Blair.

energy and success, in the present generation ;— a spirit to which those to whose education Lord Brougham's publication was intended for a contribution, when once taught to despise and deride all genuine sentiment, will of necessity be constrained to yield an ignominious and debasing subjection, a subjection as pernicious to themselves as it is injurious to those "fortunes of mankind" which depend in an especial manner upon their "information or ignorance" (according to his Lordship) and (according to the truth) upon their force and dignity of mind and character.

## CHAPTER XII.

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IN proceeding, as we proposed to do, to supply the omitted conclusion to Lord Brougham's disquisition upon the character and conduct of Mr. Pitt, we will commence by resorting to that *enumeratio* of which we have already spoken as constituting (according to Cicero) the first of the three parts into which an orderly conclusion is divisible.

Lord Brougham commences his disquisition with a panegyric of Mr. Pitt's abilities and acquirements ;\* and then proceeds to state—virtually lays down—the following positions :

‘ That Mr. Pitt was ignorant of the principles of political science, and that from that ignorance, and in consequence of his having yielded to a temptation to avoid all unnecessary embarrassments, he misconducted himself in his public life, in a manner not less hurtful to his own renown through after ages, than unfortunate for his country :’

‘ That (with one partial exception) Mr. Pitt did not effect any measure, or adopt any line of policy, for which the community, whose destinies he so

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, pp. 195.

long swayed, has any reason to respect his memory :’  
and,

‘That by want of firmness, Mr. Pitt was the cause of an impolicy and extravagance, the effects of which are still felt, and will oppress us beyond the life of the youngest now alive.’ \*

Two assertions, purporting ‘that Mr. Pitt’s financial administration is the main feature of his official history ;’ and ‘that all his other plans must be allowed to have been failures at the time ;’ are advanced by Lord Brougham in support of the above positions.†

After preferring a charge (unconnected with either of the above positions) which imputes to Mr. Pitt the perpetration of a flagrant breach of the social charities of life, in contriving measures for putting to death certain former associates of his own, by means of a perversion of the administration of justice ; his Lordship makes an attempt to support the third position, by maintaining that Mr. Pitt wantonly involved his country in a war with France,‡ conducted that war most inefficiently and improperly,§ and continued it unjustifiably.||

Then, abandoning his purpose of supporting the three positions stated above, Lord Brougham collectively adduces several specific instances of what his Lordship regards as general misconduct on the part of Mr. Pitt : viz. his retirement from office, placing

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, pp. 196, 197.

† Ibid. p. 197.

‡ Ibid. p. 198.

§ Ibid. p. 199.

|| Ibid. p. 200.

(according to his Lordship) a puppet in his room, and falsely alleging the king's refusal to emancipate the Irish Roman-catholics as the ground of his resignation; his quarrel with his puppet for refusing to retire when he was bidden; his re-accession to office; his opposition to those who urged the Roman-catholic claims, on the ground of the king's personal prejudices; and the acceptance of office without the accession of Mr. Fox, after having pressed him upon King George the Third.\*

'Mr. Pitt's conduct with respect to the abolition of the Slave Trade,' his Lordship next alleges as giving occasion to "by far the gravest charge to which his memory is exposed," and constituting 'the darkest passage in a life of flagrant crime.†

A description of Mr. Pitt's character as an orator; some traits intended to be descriptive of his private character; the reprobation (in a note) of certain sentiments said to have been expressed by Mr. Pitt; and an unimportant, isolated passage, concludes his Lordship's disquisition.‡

Now, when, by the above enumeration, the things *dispersè et diffusè dictæ*, by Lord Brougham, *unum sub aspectum subjiciuntur*, the reader will immediately perceive that his Lordship's disquisition virtually consists of but one of the six prescribed parts of a discourse, viz. *reprehensio*. For that panegyric of Mr. Pitt's abilities and acquirements with which it commences, while it occupies the

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 200.

† Ibid. p. 201.

‡ Ibid. pp. 202—9.



place of an exordium, possesses the character, and does but subserve the purpose of reprehension ; it being evident that the possession of pre-eminent abilities and extraordinary acquirements, must of necessity have the effect of deepening the culpability of one whose conduct and character are reprehensible. We will not, however, enfeeble our reply by disjointed animadversions ; but, whilst the contents of Lord Brougham's disquisition remains *unum sub aspectum*, take the opportunity of refreshing the reader's memory, by a brief enumeration of what we have adduced in confutation of them, in the course of the preceding pages.

In the course of the preceding pages, we have shewn :

That the concluding passage of Lord Brougham's disquisition—we deem it advisable to adopt this introverted method of review—consists of a statement of certain admitted facts, and a commentary upon those facts unexceptionable so far as it extends, but faulty on account of its incompleteness.\*

That the sentiments said to have been expressed by Mr. Pitt, which Lord Brougham has consigned to derision and contempt, contain just and natural thoughts naturally expressed.†

That Lord Brougham's description of Mr. Pitt's character as an orator, when extended and corroborated by that proof of its completeness which we have supplied, instead of being qualified and neu-

\* Vide ante, p. 202.

† Ibid. p. 209—213.

tralized by certain exceptions which his Lordship has adduced, will become capable of imparting a very just idea of it.\*

That, instead of 'constituting the darkest passage in a life of flagrant crime,' Mr. Pitt's conduct with respect to the abolition of the Slave Trade, was in the highest degree praiseworthy.†

That of the five specific instances of Mr. Pitt's misconduct collectively adduced, viz. his retirement from office; quarrel with his puppet; re-accession to office; opposition to the Roman-catholic claims, on the ground of the king's personal prejudices; and acceptance of office without the accession of Mr. Fox; the first alone is censurable, and that upon grounds totally different from those upon which it is condemned as reprehensible by Lord Brougham; whilst the remaining four, either originate in obvious misstatements, as is the case with respect to the second and the fourth, or have reference to incidents which are highly and most manifestly creditable to Mr. Pitt, as is the case with respect to the third and the fifth.‡

That Mr. Pitt was forced into a war with France by the infatuation of the French :§ that his conduct of that war, as described by Lord Brougham to consist in, and be confined to, the 'forming one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding with profuse loans,' and 'shunning any decisive conflict with the enemy,

\* Vide ante, p. 177, 178.

† Ibid. p. 151.

‡ Ibid. pp. 113—131.

§ Ibid. pp. 49—61.

while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' was at once eminently politic and judicious, and signally and most momentarily successful :\* and that his continuance of the war (after an offer to treat made by Buonaparte in 1800) was a matter of necessity.†

That the persons whom Mr. Pitt is accused of contriving measures to put to death, were not associates of his own ; and that, therefore, in perpetrating the crime of which it is assumed that he was guilty, Mr. Pitt did not commit that flagrant breach of the social charities of life with which he has been charged.‡

That the two assertions 'That Mr. Pitt's financial administration is the main feature of his official history,' and 'That all his other plans must be allowed to have been failures at the time,' cannot be maintained, because the main, or certainly a principal, feature of Mr. Pitt's official history, is his preservation of Great Britain from a disruption of civil society, like that which desolated France ; and because certain of Mr. Pitt's plans which we particularized, were not failures either at the time, or at all.§

That the three positions virtually laid down by Lord Brougham, are not sustained by any description of effective argument or admissible proof,—by refuting (it is scarcely necessary to remark) the various statements adduced in their support, in the

\* Vide ante, pp 71—101.

‡ Ibid. p. 36—41.

† Ibid. p. 109.

§ Ibid. pp. 29, 30.

manner adverted to in the above enumeration, we establish this—and are, therefore, mere unsupported hypotheses.

Now, when we have reduced that disquisition, which we were taught to expect would impart “a thorough knowledge,” founded upon a ‘thorough scrutiny,’ of the character and conduct of Mr. Pitt,\* to its elementary state (as we have manifestly done by the process described in the above enumeration), we develop (as is obvious), that all which it substantially presents to us, is that intimation of Lord Brougham’s individual opinion which we find recorded in the three hypotheses :—

‘ That Mr. Pitt was ignorant of the principles of political science, and that from that ignorance, and in consequence of his having yielded to a temptation to avoid all unnecessary embarrassments, he misconducted himself in his public life, in a manner not less hurtful to his renown through after ages, than unfortunate for his country :’

‘ That (with one partial exception) Mr. Pitt did not effect any measure, or adopt any line of policy, for which the community, whose destinies he so long swayed, has any reason to respect his memory :’  
and,

‘ That by want of firmness, Mr. Pitt was the cause of an impolicy and extravagance, the effects of

\* Vide Introduction to Lord Brougham’s Historical Sketches, and ante, p. 2.

which are yet felt, and will oppress us beyond the life of the youngest now alive.'

And inasmuch as it may tend, and is, indeed, legitimately calculated, to influence the reader's judgment with respect to the degree of probability which he is called upon to attach to the three hypotheses to which we have reduced the substance of Lord Brougham's disquisition, we propose to subjoin a brief enumeration of certain traits of Mr. Pitt's character, and particulars of his conduct, of which we have had occasion to make mention in the course of our remarks.

But before we proceed to do so, it is (in justice to Mr. Pitt) incumbent upon us to premise, that the traits of character and particulars of conduct adverted to, are (in every instance) such as have incidentally presented themselves to our notice—are such (in other words) as we have been called upon to adduce, with a view of elucidating, or for the purpose of disproving, the various statements made by Lord Brougham; they must therefore, of necessity, be looked upon as comprehending only a fractional part of that claim upon the gratitude of his country, and the veneration of the world, to which Mr. Pitt's character and conduct entitle him by a right of which posterity will, assuredly, decree a just—the full and universal—recognition.

In the course, then, of the foregoing pages, we have had occasion to state, and have (with respect



to every disputable matter) established, as we trust, by adequate and irrefragable proof :—

That one of the first measures of Mr. Pitt's administration was the adoption of a plan for regulating the affairs of Ireland, upon a system which had for its object " a participation and community of benefits (between Great Britain and Ireland) upon a principle of equality and fairness, which, without tending to aggrandise the one or depress the other, should seek the aggregate interests of the empire."\*

That this project having been frustrated by a factious opposition, Mr. Pitt introduced a measure for effecting—and by the exercise of matchless prudence and ability, and the exertion of an indomitable energy, succeeded in accomplishing—a union between Great Britain and Ireland, based upon the same principle of " a participation and community of benefits, upon a principle of equality, which, without tending to aggrandise the one or depress the other, should seek the aggregate interests of the empire : " and which was, therefore, manifestly calculated to produce as great benefit to both countries as any measure of union to which it was possible to resort could do—as any measure (we may safely predicate) which it were possible to devise, with a view to the adjustment of that intimate relation which must, of necessity, subsist between two countries situate, with respect to each other, as Great Britain and Ireland.†

\* Vide Ante, p. 13.

† Ibid. pp. 21—24.



And this important and most beneficial measure was devised (it should be borne in mind) and carried by Mr. Pitt, not during a period of that profound peace in which a ruler's attention might be expected to be devoted to the accomplishment of extensive schemes of internal policy, but amidst the perturbation consequent upon as alarming and exciting a state of warfare as any in which Great Britain has ever been involved !

That, when national bankruptcy appeared imminent, and the empire was "nearly destroyed" (as was the case at the close of the American war), Mr. Pitt restored Great Britain to a state of commercial activity and financial prosperity, and re-instated her in her former exalted position amongst the European communities.\*

That (when in office) in 1785, Mr. Pitt introduced and made the most strenuous exertions, both in public and private, to secure the adoption of a safe and efficacious measure of Parliamentary Reform, which had for its object, and was eminently well calculated to effect, "a renovation of the constitution upon its own principles.†"

That by means of the timely, wise, and energetic measures which he devised, and resorted to, at an incalculable sacrifice of popularity, Mr. Pitt effectually preserved Great Britain from that calamitous disruption of society which desolated France, and

\* Vide ante, p. 73.

† Ibid. p. 38, and Supplement to Chapter II.

threatened to desolate the world, at the close of the last century.\*

That, when forced into a war with France, by the infatuation of the French, Mr. Pitt conducted that war in a manner which was at once eminently politic and judicious, in the highest degree disinterested and patriotic, and signally and most momentously successful;† and thereby became instrumental in preserving the liberties of Great Britain, and her existence as an independent state, when they were placed in the most imminent peril, in consequence of the hostility of Buonaparte, at the period of his overpowering aggrandisement; and in delivering Europe from that utter subjugation to which she must in all human probability have succumbed, had Buonaparte's aggrandisement remained unchecked.

That Mr. Pitt's conduct, with respect to the great question of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, was such as indisputably entitles him to the second place of honour amid the illustrious company of the advocates of Abolition.‡

That that true politeness, so well defined by his father, as constituting "benevolence in trifles," and consisting in a "preference of others to ourselves in little daily, hourly occurrences in the commerce of life," and "a perpetual attention to the little

\* Vide ante, p. 30.

† Ibid. pp. 71—101, and Supplement to Chapter IV.

‡ Ibid. pp. 150, 151.

wants of those we are with,"\* was possessed by Mr. Pitt to a degree, and habitually exercised to an extent, very unusual in themselves, and most astonishing in one placed in circumstances and subjected to influences peculiarly inimical to its existence.†—It is quite as accordant with the law of nature, and as consonant to probability—we venture to observe at the expense of a brief digression—that one, such as the above enumerated traits of character and particulars of conduct so strikingly portray Mr. Pitt, might have been “singularly amiable in private life,” “warm in his affections,” and “perfect (faultless in the sight of man) as a brother and son;” as it is that a spring of fresh water should gush from some orifice in a verdant mead, and flow over its herbage in a pure, clear rill.

In the foregoing pages we have also shewn—

That Mr. Pitt was actuated by a most sincere and ardent spirit of patriotism, which was in incessant activity, and so predominantly influential as to constitute the love of his country his ruling passion.‡

That prompted by that ardent spirit of patriotism which constituted his ruling passion, Mr. Pitt “married himself to his country” (to use his own most happy and significant figure of speech) at an early age; and in fulfilment of the duties of that self-imposed relation, devoted himself to the service

\* Vide Earl of Chatham's Correspondence, Vol. I., p. 80.

† Ibid. pp. 193—196.

‡ Ibid. pp. 209—211.

of his country with a self-denying entireness which involved the renunciation of those most intimate and endearing of domestic ties which constitute the source of the highest earthly happiness, and demanded an illimitable sacrifice of all the lesser amenities and gratifications of life.\*

That Mr. Pitt died a death as actually, as completely, and as meritoriously sustained in the service of his country, as was that by which Nelson was cut off, when he fell mortally wounded upon his quarter-deck.†

To conclude :—*Conquestio* and *Indignatio* are the two remaining parts into which Cicero subdivides an orderly conclusion. And, most assuredly, we might (had we been so disposed) have indulged in a peroration replete with an indignant expression of the one and a vehement denunciation of the other.

But we have no wish to say any thing unpleasant without cause. We content ourselves, therefore, with simply submitting, in conclusion, that since we have shewn that Lord Brougham's reprehension of the character and conduct of Mr. Pitt, is, in every instance, causeless ; and incidentally adduced various traits of character and particulars of conduct which manifest his transcendent superiority, and demonstrate his services to the country to have been of

\* Vide ante, p. 220, and the general reference there made.

† Ibid. p. 213.

unparalleled importance and efficiency; we deem ourselves at liberty to assume that this our publication, conjointly with Lord Brougham's Historical Sketch, will have the effect (the one by a more immediate instrumentality, and the other by a more remote) of supplying Mr. Pitt with thrice as many "golden opinions" as he is wont to receive from this self-seeking and expediency-idolizing generation.

We feel authorized, moreover, to indulge a hope, that many a one amongst those influential members of the community to whose education Lord Brougham's Historical Sketches are "a well-meant contribution," will, upon an attentive perusal of this volume, be so thoroughly undeceived, with respect to the injurious estimate which they have been taught to form of Mr. Pitt's character and conduct, and so powerfully wrought upon by the new and most imposing view of them which these our pages (by virtue of the truth which they contain) will have presented, as to determine (subject to a reservation as to the defaults originating in Mr. Pitt's immaturity of Christian character), and exclaim with purpose of heart:—

—————"Vestigia" ("non passibus æquis")  
 "Observata sequor."————

**SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX.**





## SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER II.

### No. 1.

IN the passage to which the following observations refer, Lord Brougham has stated as a fact, 'that an entire change took place in Mr. Pitt's opinions upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform : '—“ Neither should we visit harshly the entire change of his opinions upon the great question of Reform ”—a “ reform in our Parliamentary system ;” are his Lordship's words.\*

Now, although it was unnecessary to disprove the above assertion, in order to confute the general statement made in the passage in which it is contained, it is nevertheless incumbent upon us, as well in justice to Mr. Pitt as out of reverence for the truth, not to permit it to pass without a comment.

In proceeding to remark upon and (as we trust) disprove Lord Brougham's assertion, ' That an entire change took place in Mr. Pitt's opinions upon

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 198.

the subject of Parliamentary Reform; we may observe, in the first place, that the opinions originally entertained by Mr. Pitt upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform, and asserted by him in early life when out of office, are ascertainable with perfect distinctness, from an intimation of them which we find contained in the speech which he pronounced, when submitting a contemplated measure of reform to the House of Commons in 1783.

After cautioning the House, upon the occasion adverted to, "not to suppose that he meant, with the mad hand of modern visionaries and speculative reformers, rashly and sacrilegiously to attempt an innovation on what our ancestors had purchased at so large an expence of treasure and of blood, and which they had delivered to us as the most valuable of all trusts;" Mr. Pitt intimated that "his intention was far different," that "he wished only to restore the true spirit of the constitution; to renovate it upon its own principles; and to bring it back to that degree of vigour which the lapse of time, the alteration of circumstances, and a variety of events to which all human institutions are liable, had tended to weaken and diminish." And then, after reprobating the scheme of universal suffrage as "absurd, impracticable, and not known or attempted at any period of British history;" "his idea of representation," Mr. Pitt proceeded, "was this: that the members once chosen and returned to Parliament, were, in effect, the representatives

of the people at large, as well of those who did not vote at all, or who having voted gave their votes against them, as of those by whose suffrages they were actually seated in the House. There ought, however, to be a community of interests between the representatives and the represented, without which it would be vain to expect the House of Commons to be the guardian of the people's freedom, or to act as a check upon the executive power."\*

The measure introduced by Mr. Pitt, with a view of effecting such a reform as he proposed, (which consisted in an increase of the number of county members, and the disfranchisement of such boroughs as could be proved to be corrupt), was rejected by a majority of 293 against a minority of 149.

Having ascertained, with perfect distinctness, what were the opinions which Mr. Pitt entertained upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform, in early life when out of office, we may proceed to observe that, in April 1785, when he was Prime Minister, and in the plenitude of his popularity and power, Mr. Pitt moved, in the House of Commons, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the representation of the people of England in Parliament."†

In the course of the speech which he delivered upon this occasion, after again reprobating the "wild and impracticable notion of universal suffrage,"

\* Vide Tomline's *Life of Pitt*, Vol. I., pp. 165, 166.

† Vide *House of Commons Journals*, Vol. XL, p. 863.

and maintaining that the plan which he suggested was not an innovation, but conformable to the principles of the Constitution, and consistent with the practice of former times, Mr. Pitt introduced an observation, which we should do injustice to his memory if we withheld; viz., that “the excellence of the British Constitution was the fruit of gradual improvement; and had a resistance to all reform, from apprehension of the bad consequences which might possibly ensue, prevailed in former times, Englishmen would never have enjoyed their present boasted privileges and blessings;” and then proceeded to submit his contemplated measure of reform. It was identical with that which he had proposed two years before, and consisted in an increase of seventy-two in the number of county members, and the disfranchisement of thirty-six decayed boroughs.\*

Mr. Pitt’s motion was negatived by a majority of 248 against a minority of 174.

“This (his plan of Parliamentary reform) was a favourite object with him” (Mr. Pitt), we learn from Bishop Tomline, and one “to which he devoted much time and attention.”

“He thought it his duty,” the Bishop further informs us, (we feel assured that no right-mind-

\* Vide Tomline’s *Life of Pitt*, Vol. II. pp. 42—46. It may be advisable to state, that as boroughs were (as Mr. Pitt conceived) in many instances a species of valuable inheritance, and of private property, he proposed the establishment of a fund for the purpose of purchasing these franchises.

ed person will find fault with our allusion to the following incident), "to communicate his plan to the King, whose private sentiments he knew to be unfriendly to any change in the construction of the House of Commons; and he received the following answer from his Majesty, dated March the 20th."

" ' I have received Mr. Pitt's paper, containing the heads of his plan for a Parliamentary reform, which I look on as a mark of attention. I should have delayed acknowledging the receipt of it till I saw him on Monday, had not his letter expressed that there is but one issue of the business he could look upon as fatal, that is, the possibility of the measure being rejected by the weight of those who are supposed to be connected with government. Mr. Pitt must recollect, that though I have ever thought it unfortunate, that he had early engaged himself in this measure, yet that I have ever said, that as he was clear of the propriety of the measure, he ought to lay his thoughts before the House; that out of personal regard to him, I would avoid giving any opinion to any one, on the opening of the door to Parliamentary reform, except to him; therefore I am certain Mr. Pitt cannot suspect my having influenced any one on the occasion. If others choose, for base ends, to impute such a conduct to me, I must bear it as former false suggestions. Indeed, on a question of such magnitude, I should think very ill of any man, who took a part on either



side, without the maturest consideration, and who would suffer his civility to any one to make him vote contrary to his own opinion.”\* It is scarcely necessary to suggest, that the above letter effectually discredits, and will necessitate a thorough expurgation of, that deeply disparaging and injurious delineation of the character of King George the Third, which Lord Brougham has given in his Historical Sketches.

Having been defeated, upon the occasion last referred to, by so large a majority, Mr. Pitt very rationally deemed it inadvisable to renew his motion upon the subject of Parliamentary reform, in the then existent House of Commons. And before June 1790,—the period at which the House of Commons, by which the motion made by Mr. Pitt in 1785 had been rejected, was dissolved,—the French Revolution had disclosed its infuriated and destructive character, and that “cognate excitement among ourselves,” which it occasioned, had become prevalent; and was manifested in no respect more ostensibly than in that of the formation of seditious and revolutionary societies.

Upon a motion relative to Parliamentary reform, made by Mr. Grey in April 1792, in consequence of a resolution entered into at a meeting of one of the revolutionary associations, formed in emula-

\* Vide Tomline's *Life of Pitt*, Vol. II. p. 39.

tion of the French,\* Mr. Pitt expressed himself as follows :

“ I retain my opinion of the propriety of a reform in Parliament, if it could be obtained without mischief or danger, by a general concurrence pointing harmlessly at its object. But I confess I am afraid at this moment, that if agreed to by this House, the security of all the blessings we enjoy will be shaken to the foundation. I confess I am not sanguine enough to hope, that a reform at this time can be safely attempted.”

“ This ”—that the nation at large, and the representatives of the people, hold a general conformity of sentiment, and have an identity of interests—“ is the essence of a proper representative assembly : under this legitimate authority, a people may be said to be really free ; and this is a state in which the true spirit of proper democracy may be said to subsist. This is the only mode by which freedom and due order can be well united. If attempts be made to go beyond this, they will end in a wild state of nature, which mocks the name of liberty, and by which the human character is degraded, instead of being exalted.”

“ I do not mean to allude to the sentiments of any particular members of this House, for the pur-

\* This Association, which was denominated “ The Friends of the People,” comprised many of the most active members of the “ Revolution Society.”

pose of reflecting upon them with severity," Mr. Pitt observed in the sequel of his address ; " but when they come in the shape of advertisements in newspapers,\* inviting the public, as it were, to repair to their standard, and to join them, they should be reprobated, and the tendency of their meetings exposed to the people in its true colours. I am willing, as long as I can, to put the best construction upon the actions of gentlemen they will admit of, and to give them credit for their intentions ; but the advertisements I allude to in the newspapers, are sanctioned with the name of the honourable gentleman who has given this notice ; and therefore I will say, that there ought to be great activity on the part of the real friends of the Constitution, who should take pains properly to address the public mind, and keep it in a state which is necessary for the preservation of our present tranquillity. I have seen with concern that those gentlemen of whom I speak, members of this House, are associated with others, who not only profess reform, but unequivocally avow revolutionary principles, and applaud and circulate publications of the most pernicious tendency. This circumstance affords suspicion that the motion for reform is nothing more than the preliminary to

\* This allusion refers to an Address to the People of Great Britain, made by Mr. Grey as Chairman of the Society of " The Friends of the People ;" and a declaration of their opinions by the members of the Society, of whom twenty-eight were members of the House of Commons.

the overthrow of the whole system of our present government. If they succeed they will destroy the best Constitution that was ever formed upon the habitable globe. These considerations lead me to wish the House to take great care, that no encouragement be given to any step which may sap the very foundation of that Constitution. When I see opinions published, and know them to be connected with principles inconsistent with the form of our government—the hereditary succession to the throne—the hereditary titles of our men of rank—and leading to the total destruction of all subordination in the State, I confess I feel no inclination to promise my support to the proposed motion for Parliamentary reform. It would be to follow a madness which has been called liberty in another country—a condition at war with true freedom and good order—a state to which despotism itself is preferable—a state in which liberty cannot exist for a day: if it appear in the morning, it must perish before sunset.”\*

Now, the above extracts indisputably establish, that (retaining his opinion as to the propriety of a Parliamentary reform, of the character and description of that which he had originally proposed in 1783, and attempted to effect in 1785,) Mr. Pitt disapproved of and opposed the motion upon the

\* Vide Tomline's *Life of Pitt*, Vol. III. pp. 325—331.

subject made by Mr. Grey in 1792, upon the ground that the time and circumstances of its proposition were such as to warrant a conclusion, that the measures to which it formed a prelude would be such as “with the mad hand of modern visionaries and speculative reformers rashly and sacrilegiously attempted an innovation on what our ancestors had purchased at so vast an expense of treasure and of blood:”—such (in other words) as he had reprobated (in the very language we have cited) when introducing the constitutional plan of reform which he proposed in 1783.

We have shewn that Mr. Pitt’s opinions upon the subject of Parliamentary reform did not undergo the slightest modification either between the time when he proposed a plan of Parliamentary reform when out of office, and that at which he introduced one when Prime Minister; or between the time at which he proposed a safe and constitutional Parliamentary reform, and declared his disapproval of a rash and sacrilegious attempt at innovation (as he did in 1783); and the time at which he opposed what he conceived to be the prelude to a rash and sacrilegious attempt at innovation, and professed his approbation of a safe and constitutional Parliamentary reform (as he did in 1792.) And there is not the slightest proof extant, we unhesitatingly affirm, that any essential modification in those strongly stated and consistently maintained opinions

upon the subject of Parliamentary reform, which Mr. Pitt held (as we have seen) from his entrance into public life until 1792, took place at a subsequent period.\*

It is evident, therefore, that Lord Brougham's statement, 'that an *entire change* took place in Mr. Pitt's opinions upon the subject of Parliamentary reform,' is a palpably erroneous one.

\* We content ourselves with simply affirming this, because we feel assured (and the intelligent reader will, no doubt, concur with us in believing) that it is from Mr. Pitt's opposition to Lord Grey's scheme of Parliamentary reform, and other kindred ones, that Lord Brougham has been led to entertain the notion that an entire change took place in his opinions upon the subject.



## SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER II.

## No. 2.

IN proceeding (as it behoves us to do) to support our assertion that the reform, or alteration rather, in our Parliamentary system, effected by Earl Grey's administration, was an unconstitutional one, we will commence by laying down the self-evident position:—That every alteration in our Parliamentary system which goes beyond, or superinduces (in other words) any effect other than, a renovation of the constitution upon its own principles, is 'an unconstitutional reform,' or (more accurately speaking) 'an innovation.'

Now, it is a fundamental principle of the British constitution, that the system of representation which it authorises is of a general and political and not of a personal and individual character—is such as it is described by Mr. Pitt to be, when he propounded, in language which we already had occasion to cite, "that the members, once chosen and returned to Parliament, are, in effect, the representatives of the people at large, as well of those who did not vote

at all, or who, having voted, gave their votes against them, as of those by whose suffrages they were actually seated in the House.’

That the alteration effected by Earl Grey’s administration was inconsistent with, and indeed directly contrariant to, the above fundamental principle of the constitution, is evident from the following extract from the speech in which Lord John Russell proposed it to the House of Commons:—

“ According to our scheme, 180 members will be sent from the great cities and towns, not omitting Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield, as we find them omitted under the present system: but giving to the great manufacturing population, the population engaged in the woollen and cotton manufactures, and the population of the mining districts, their fair share in the representation. The absence from this House of any Representatives for those various districts in which such numbers of the people are congregated together, and their not having any member in this House directly to represent their views and interests, I consider a defect of no slight importance.’\* ”

And being directly contrariant to the above fundamental principle of the constitution, the alteration effected by Earl Grey’s administration goes beyond, or superinduces an effect other than, a renovation of

\* Vide Report of Lord John Russell’s Speech in the Morning Herald of June 25th, 1831.

the constitution upon its own principles ; and must, therefore, be accounted ‘ an unconstitutional reform.’

The subjoined argument upon the subject formed part of a pamphlet published by the author during the discussion of the Reform Bill in 1831.

His object was that of proving that the proposed plan of Parliamentary reform did not “ adhere to the acknowledged principles of the Constitution,” as it was said to do, in an extract from the speech from the Throne, read upon the occasion of its introduction.\*

“ In addition to that sacrifice of natural liberty, which every man is constrained to make on becoming a member of civil society, every British subject relinquishes several natural rights which, under some constitutions of civilised society, he would have been permitted to retain, as a consideration for the purchase of the inestimable blessings which he acquires under the British constitution. For instance, every British subject relinquishes his natural right of exercising the sovereign executive power of the realm ; and also his natural right of participating in the sovereign legislative authority of the state. And therefore, at this moment, no British subject has a natural right to ascend the throne which your Majesty is occupying ;† or to participate in the

\* Vide Report in the Morning Herald of June 25th.

† That part of the author’s publication, from which the above extract is taken, was in the form of an address to King William the Fourth.

legislature, either as a member of the Upper, or as a constituent of the Lower House of Parliament.

“ This, Sir, is not merely an ‘ acknowledged,’ but ‘ the fundamental ’ principle of the constitution.

“ On the foundation which this principle has laid, the constitution has been raised.

“ The superstructure erected upon this foundation has been changed by the mouldering touch of time ; nay, it has been levelled by the barbarian hand of violence ; but ever since the first stones of the building appeared above the level plain of antiquity, the foundation itself has remained unaltered and unchanged.

“ And now, Sir, having examined the foundation of the constitution, let us survey its superstructure.

“ The magnificent structure which is now standing upon the ancient foundation of the constitution was erected, or rather completed, by our ancestors in the memorable year 1688.

“ In the reign of George II. this structure underwent as great an alteration as one’s dwelling-house undergoes, when officious bill-stickers paste staring advertisements against its walls.\* At a more recent period some out-buildings were joined to the main structure of the edifice ; and lately some unskilful

\* This allusion has reference to certain alterations, said by the advocates of the Reform Bill to have been made in the Constitution in the Reign of George II., and stated to have been similar in principle to that proposed.

architects removed\* the massive columns which had been raised by the Inigo Joneses of a former age, and some careless servants burned down a part of the out-buildings. But since the propitious hour in which it was completed, this constitutional edifice has not been materially altered by its possessors, or essentially injured by time.

“ For the Constitution, as established by our ancestors in 1688, gave—and the constitution as at present subsisting gives—to the august descendants of one illustrious family, a constitutional right to the imperial crown of Great Britain, with all its royal prerogatives and powers: to the aristocracy of England, a constitutional right to the valuable privileges of the Peerage: to the freeholders of the County of York, and to the proprietors of the borough of Old Sarum, a constitutional right to send fit and proper members to Parliament: to other Commoners, a constitutional right to the unprized advantage of being politically represented by members chosen by those whose interests are closely identified with their own: and to every British subject a constitutional right to the uninterrupted enjoyment of every blessing which civil institutions can confer.

“ And now let us inquire, What is the system of national representation which the constitution authorises?

“ It is altogether political. For no British subject

\* By the passing of the Bill for conceding admissibility into the Legislature to the Roman Catholics.

who exercises the elective franchise is personally represented in Parliament.

“ This fundamental principle of the representative system is universally acknowledged, and at the same time totally disregarded.

“ The fact, that it is totally disregarded, will justify me in briefly arguing in support of an acknowledged principle. Therefore, for the sake of argument, let us suppose that every freeholder in a county anxiously wished the sitting members to support or oppose a particular measure—say, to oppose the repeal of the Corn Laws—and let us suppose that the members conscientiously believed that those laws were prejudicial to the interests of the community : would they be justified in acceding to the request of their constituents, and opposing the measure ?

“ Before we can answer this question, we must ascertain the duty of a Member of Parliament.

“ Sir, I apprehend that the duty of a Member of Parliament is twofold : to his country, and to his constituents. His duty to his country obliges him seriously to attend to, and impartially to weigh, the arguments which are advanced for or against any public measure, during the course of a debate ; and when he has carefully considered the measure in question, and formed a dispassionate opinion, then either consistently to support or resolutely to oppose it, according as he believes it to be beneficial or injurious to the interests of his country. His duty to his constituents requires him to serve them to the



best of his ability, by opposing or supporting any private bill which may affect their interests.

“ If this brief summary of the duties of a Member of Parliament be correct—and I defy any man to prove that it is not correct—it follows, that if a Member’s constituents were unanimous in wishing him to vote in favour of a measure which he considered prejudicial to the interests of the community, the Member would not do his duty to his country if he followed the directions of his constituents. And it follows, that, since he ought not to follow the directions of his constituents when he conscientiously differs from them, he cannot be said to represent them personally.

“ Although no British subject is personally, every British subject is politically, represented in Parliament.

“ For the sake of argument, you must permit me to range British subjects under six distinct classes ; and to submit, that the views and sentiments of the members of each distinct class are, to a certain extent, different.

“ In the First class I comprise the nobility.\*

“ In the Second, Commoners of independent fortune.

“ In the Third, the middle classes ; in which I rank persons of the three learned professions, merchants, bankers, gentlemen farmers, opulent tradesmen, and the superior public officers.

\* It is scarcely necessary to intimate that it is to those of the nobility who (in Law) are regarded as Commoners that reference is made.

“In the Fourth, tradesmen, shopkeepers, and other 10% householders, who do not belong to the middle classes.

“In the Fifth, mechanics, day-labourers, and others, who are under, or rather not comprised in, the class of 10% householders. And

“In the Sixth, the sans culottes, and homeless wanderers, who are sometimes uncourteously designated as ‘the dregs of the people.’

“Now, these distinct classes, and the peculiar views and sentiments of the individuals of whom they are respectively composed, are politically represented in Parliament by Members chosen by persons indiscriminately selected from the body of each class.

“For example: the first class is politically represented by the members who sit for the close and nomination boroughs which are in the possession, or under the control, of the nobility.

“The second class is politically represented by the members who sit for the close and nomination boroughs which are in the possession, or under the control, of commoners of independent fortune.

“The third class is politically represented by the members for the Universities, who are elected by persons of the middle classes; and by some of the members for what may be termed saleable boroughs.

“The fourth class is politically represented by the members elected for the cities and boroughs in various parts of England, in which small shop keepers,

and other persons of that class, form the constituency.

“The fifth class is politically represented by the Members elected for Preston in Lancashire, and other places in which individuals of that class are entitled to exercise the elective franchise.

“And the sixth class is politically represented by the Members who sit for places in which, however respectable the constituency may be, mob authority is so far predominant that no one could oppose ‘a man of the people’ without hazarding life and limb.

“The members chosen by the persons indiscriminately selected from the body of each class represent the views and sentiments of the persons by whom they are chosen, thus:—

“The electors naturally take care to elect or nominate members whose views and sentiments are in unison with their own. This they may very easily do: for there is nothing unconstitutional, nothing dishonourable, in an elector’s requiring, and a candidate’s making, a declaration of his views and sentiments.

“The member elected naturally views every question which is submitted to his consideration through the medium of his own peculiar views and sentiments; and consequently, at the same time that he sincerely endeavours to promote the interests of the community, and thereby conscientiously discharges his duty to his country, he is insensibly influenced by, and votes according to, his peculiar views and sentiments,

and thereby effectually represents the views and sentiments of the selected persons by whom he was chosen.

“For example: persons in trade generally consider credit invaluable, and lightly regard the fashionable notions of honour to which the higher classes attach the utmost importance. Now, supposing the persons constitutionally authorized to nominate members for the second and fourth classes elect persons whose views and sentiments are in unison with their own; and supposing a question of war or peace were agitated in the House of Commons, and that war would be in some degree detrimental to public credit, and peace in some degree disgraceful to national honour; the Member for the fourth class, looking at the question through the medium of his own peculiar views and sentiments, and considering that the preservation of public credit was of far greater importance than the satisfaction of national honour, would conscientiously vote for peace: whilst the member for the second class, looking at the question through the medium of his peculiar views and sentiments, and considering that national existence should be ‘set upon a throw,’ rather than national honour blemished by the remission of a venial affront, would as conscientiously vote for war: and thus each member would effectually represent the views and sentiments of the selected persons by whom he was chosen.

“If the member effectually represent the views and

sentiments of the selected persons by whom he is chosen, he must as effectually represent the views and sentiments of the class to which the selected persons belong. For, if a certain number of individuals be selected indiscriminately from a class of persons entertaining peculiar views and sentiments, the views and sentiments of the selected individuals will necessarily be the same as the views and sentiments of the remainder of the class.

“This position is as indubitable as the axiom, ‘Take equal from equal, and the remainder will be equal.’

“Therefore, the only question is, Are the electors of each class indiscriminately selected from the body of the class?

“Now, when the constitution, as it were, selects and authorizes the citizens of a city in Warwickshire, and the inhabitants of a town in Lancashire, to elect members for the fifth class; and the possessor of an old ruin in Dorsetshire, and the proprietor of four bare walls in Wiltshire, to elect, or, if you please, to nominate, members for the second class of British subjects; does she not make the selection quite as indifferently as she would do if she empowered five thousand of the tallest men in Great Britain to elect representatives for the fifth, and five hundred gentlemen of the most ancient families in England to nominate members for the second class.

“If then the views and sentiments of the whole class accord with the views and sentiments of the



selected individuals, and if the views and sentiments of the selected individuals are represented in Parliament, it follows that the views and sentiments of the whole class are represented in Parliament. And since every British subject is comprised in one or other of the six classes, and each of the six classes is politically represented, it follows that every British subject is politically represented in Parliament.

“ It must be granted, that the perfection of this political system of representation is not so apparent to superficial observers, and that its practical effects are not so sensibly felt, as they would have been if a certain Act of Parliament, which requires a qualification in the elected, had never been passed ; for then we might have chanced to see a drayman, a gentleman’s servant, or a journeyman shoemaker, sitting beside the noblemen and gentlemen who were elected to represent the three higher classes.

“ And now let us consider the principle and tendency of the ministerial measure.

“ The principle of the ministerial measure is that of ‘ natural right,’—a natural right ‘ to the power of returning to Parliament its legitimate representatives,’ which is supposed to be inherent in ‘ an enlightened people.’

“ That this is the principle of the measure, is self-evident.\*

\* It was so from the statements made by the proposers of the measure ; of which one example has been given in the extract which we have furnished from the speech of Lord John Russell.



“ And what is its tendency ; or, in other words, what will it effect if it pass into a law ?

“ First, it will impugn and totally disarrange the system of political representation which the subsisting constitution authorizes.

“ For, after a few years have elapsed, it will totally exclude the fifth class of British subjects from all share in the national representation ; and deprive the respectable servant, the industrious mechanic, and every member of that useful class, of the elective franchise, to which some, and of the unprized advantages to which all, now have a constitutional right. It will leave to the third class—a class which ought to be represented more efficaciously than any of the rest—the five University Members only. And it will give an unconstitutional influence, nay, an absolute control, over many of the County Members (who now fairly represent the six classes in common) to the first and second\* classes in peaceable times, and to the fifth and sixth when public excitement happens to prevail.

“ But these results, Sir, are but as dust in the balance ; for,

“ Secondly, it will level, and entirely demolish, the constitutional structure which was completed in 1688.

“ For it will arbitrarily deprive, let us say, one

\* By means of the increase of influence which the large landed proprietors would in many cases acquire, in consequence of the division of the counties.

single elector of one single borough of his constitutional right to exercise the elective franchise. And if it arbitrarily deprive one single elector of one single borough of his constitutional right to exercise the elective franchise, it at the same time deprives the freeholders of the County of York of their constitutional right to send Members to Parliament; it deprives the Peers of their constitutional right to the valuable privileges of the Peerage; and it deprives the illustrious descendants of the Princess Sophia of Hanover of their constitutional right to the imperial crown of Great Britain.

“ This bold assertion may startle you, Sir; but it is true.

“ If your Majesty’s Ministers procured an Act of Parliament to enable them to imprison certain unoffending British subjects arbitrarily, although those who had the good fortune to remain at large, might continue to enjoy their natural liberty, no British subject could be said to enjoy political freedom. So, when the ministerial measure has passed into a law, and under its provisions certain unoffending individuals are arbitrarily deprived of the boroughs, elective franchise, or unprized advantages, to which they now have a constitutional right; although the freeholder, the peer, and the prince may continue to enjoy their respective privileges a little longer by sufferance, would they, would any British subject, continue to enjoy a constitutional right ?

“ No, Sir.—The constitutional right, of which these unoffending individuals are deprived, is the life-blood in which the vital principle of the constitution is contained. That blood, Sir, flows, at one and the same moment, from her heart, to her head and to the extremities of her limbs ; and if the smallest of the arteries in which it is contained be punctured by the lancet of the Charlatan, her life-blood will ebb from every vein, not as freely, perhaps, but as fatally—and her dissolution will be, not as sudden, perhaps, but as inevitable—as if her head were severed from its quivering trunk by the axe of the executioner.

“ But there is this difference, Sir : we cannot fancy that the headless trunk still lives ; but we can fondly deceive ourselves, and dream that the pale victim, whose life-blood has ebbed through a pierced artery, is softly sleeping, after the crisis of her fate is past ;—nay, we may go further, and imagine that the fatal spots, the earliest harbingers of corruption, are but the salutary eruption of a slight disorder ;—but sooner or later we shall be awakened ; for sooner or later we shall behold the inanimate frame fade into deformity, and wither in hopeless dissolution.

“ And, Thirdly, Sir, it will undermine, and utterly destroy, the foundation on which our constitution has rested from time immemorial.

“ When you can fill a vacuum at one and the same time with water and with earth ; when you can erect a mansion partly on the solid basis of a rock,

and partly on the rolling waves of the ocean ; then you may hope to construct a political fabric, partly on the fundamental principle of the subsisting constitution, and partly on the fundamental principle of the ministerial measure.

“Now, Sir, how closely does the ministerial measure adhere to ‘the acknowledged principles of the constitution?’

“About as closely as the billows adhere to the rock by which they are withstood! about as closely as flames adhere to the fuel with which they are fed!”

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER IV.

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Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war with France, as described by Lord Brougham to consist in, and be confined to, the 'forming of one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift or aiding with profuse loans,' and 'shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in petty expeditions, in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' was not only eminently politic and judicious, and signally and most momentously successful (as the structure of our argument required us to establish); but also, in the highest degree disinterested and patriotic.

In proceeding to establish the above assertion, we will commence by laying down the following self-evident positions : viz.

'That a voluntary recourse to a line of conduct which could not be adopted except at the certain deterioration of present reputation, and a probable sacrifice of posthumous fame, may allowably be characterized as disinterested and patriotic :' and

‘ That a continuous and persevering resort to such a line of conduct, when the adoption of an opposite one would have afforded promise of a vast increase of present reputation, and was calculated to render posthumous fame a hundred-fold more glittering, may allowably be characterized as in the highest degree disinterested and patriotic.’

Now, we admit that (to a common-place mind, or to an inconsiderate one of a higher order) Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France, as described by Lord Brougham to consist in, and be confined to, ‘ the forming one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding with profuse loans,’ and ‘ shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,’ would naturally, and indeed necessarily, appear “to betray” (as his Lordship says) “no extent of views,” and be so superlatively common-place, that “anything more common-place can hardly be imagined.”

And, inasmuch as there are in every community very many persons of either common-place or inconsiderate mind,—this is an indisputable fact,—it follows that Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France, as described by Lord Brougham, must of necessity have appeared to a large proportion of the British community, “to betray no extent of views,” and ‘be as common-place as anything it is possible to imagine.’



And, since any conduct which must appear to a large proportion of the community “to betray no extent of views,” and ‘be as common-place as anything which it is possible to imagine,’ could not, (it is evident) be adopted, except at the certain deterioration of present reputation, and a probable sacrifice of posthumous fame, it follows that Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France, as described by Lord Brougham, could not have been adopted, except at the certain deterioration of present reputation, and a probable sacrifice of posthumous fame, and may therefore allowably be characterized as disinterested and patriotic.

But Mr. Pitt not only adopted, but continuously and perseveringly resorted to, that conduct of the war with France which must naturally have appeared to a large proportion of the community to “betray no extent of views,” and ‘be as common-place as any that it is possible to imagine ;’ and that, in preference to an opposite one,—that of seeking an effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy—which, by presenting occasion for some brilliant exploit, might have insured to the administration, under whose auspices it was achieved, a vast accession of present reputation, and a most glittering award of posthumous fame ; and may, therefore, allowably be characterized as in the highest degree disinterested and patriotic.

Consequently, our assertion, ‘That Mr. Pitt’s conduct of the war with France, as described by Lord Brougham to consist in, and be confined to,

the forming one coalition after another in Germany, and subsidising them with millions of free gift, or aiding with profuse loans,' and 'shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, while he employed our military force in occupying forts and capturing colonies,' was not only eminently politic and judicious, and signally and most momentously successful, but also in the highest degree disinterested and patriotic; has been satisfactorily established.

As the intelligent reader will, no doubt, perceive, the method to which we had recourse in our review of Lord Brougham's statement with respect to Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war, rendered it unnecessary for us to advert to the following passage in the context :

"The operations of our navy, which were undertaken as a matter of course, and would have been performed, and must have led to our brilliant maritime successes, whoever was the minister, nay, whether or not there was any minister at all, may be added to the account; but can have little or no influence upon the estimate to be formed of his belligerent administration."\*

In proceeding (as we deem ourselves called upon to do) to offer a few cursory remarks upon the above passage, we will commence by pointing out the fallacy—we cannot say, which lurks, for it absolutely stalks—in the assertion con-

\* Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 200.

tained in the former of the two branches of which it consists; viz. that “The operations of our navy (in the course of the war) would have been performed, and must have led to our brilliant maritime successes, whoever was the minister, nay, whether or not there was any minister at all.”

In order to do this most effectually and incontrovertibly, we have but to remark, that had any ordinary statesman been the minister,—and most certainly if Lord Brougham had been “the minister,” or if there had not been “any minister at all”—Great Britain, instead of shunning, would have sought, an effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy. And before Great Britain could have sought a decisive conflict with the potent armies of France with the slightest probability of success, she must have drained her resources of men to the uttermost, and have incurred a vast expenditure of treasure, in the amassment of a military force. And, having drained her resources of men, and incurred a vast expenditure of treasure, in the amassment of a military force competent to contend with the potent armies of France, Great Britain could not, it is evident, at the same time have maintained and manned an efficient navy; and much less could she have maintained and manned a fleet so powerful as to be capable, not merely of contending with, but of obtaining the most “brilliant maritime successes” over, the formidable navies of France and Spain combined. Whereas the opposite line of policy adopted by Mr.

Pitt in his conduct of the war—that of shunning any effectual (or decisive) conflict with the enemy, and applying (as the adoption of that policy left him at liberty to do) Great Britain's resources of men, and expenditure of treasure, principally in the construction and manning of a powerful navy, whilst he limited his military preparations to the maintenance of a small (comparatively speaking) but effective force, which, although unequal to engage in any conflict which had for its object a decision of the contest, was capable of acting a subsidiary part in the war, as occasion might require, with efficiency and success (as the British army did in the expedition to Egypt)—was, manifestly, most directly conducive to, and, indeed, indispensably necessary to the production of, those “operations of our navy which led to our brilliant maritime successes.”

With respect to the latter of the two branches of which the passage under review consists, viz., “but can have little or no influence upon the estimate to be formed of his (Mr. Pitt's) belligerent administration;” we may remark, that the statement it contains, although fallacious when employed, as the context establishes that it is, by Lord Brougham, is nevertheless partially true in itself.

The following paraphrase of the passage under review, will exhibit the meaning and connexion in which the context establishes that the statement which ostensibly constitutes its latter branch, was employed by Lord Brougham :

‘The operations of our navy, and the brilliant maritime successes to which they led, can have little or no influence upon the estimate to be formed of Mr. Pitt’s belligerent administration, because those operations were undertaken as a matter of course, and would have been performed, and must have led to the brilliant successes with which they were attended, whoever was the minister,—nay, whether or not there was any minister at all.’

It is scarcely necessary to suggest, that the remarks which we have made, in confutation of the assertion contained in the former branch of the passage under review, have established, that when employed, as the context indicates that it is, by Lord Brougham, the statement which ostensibly constitutes the latter branch of it, is manifestly fallacious.

But when the statement which ostensibly constitutes the latter branch of the passage under review, is read according to its literal meaning, and without regard to the context, it is, as we before intimated, partially true, and may very profitably (we conceive) be made the subject of a few remarks.

‘That the operations of our navy, and the brilliant successes to which they led, can have little or no influence—had it specified no influence whatsoever, it had been perfectly true—upon the estimate to be formed of Mr. Pitt’s belligerent administration,’ is what the statement predicates, when read according to its literal meaning.



In proceeding to offer our proposed remarks upon it, we may commence by observing, that, in order to form a just estimate of Mr. Pitt's belligerent administration, it is to the desert or demerits of that administration itself, exclusively, and independently of results—of all, that is, except necessary results, that we must look.

'Was Mr. Pitt's belligerent administration, or that part or particular, rather, of it to which our attention has been called, wisely planned or the reverse?' and 'granting that it was wisely planned, were the means which he employed to carry that plan into effect, right in themselves, and properly exerted?' are questions, upon a solution of which, the estimate to be formed of it will exclusively depend. The instant that a satisfactory solution of them is obtained, the account (to avail ourselves of a term made use of by Lord Brougham) must be closed, and our estimate made up.

To express our meaning more at large.—The plan of that part or particular of Mr. Pitt's belligerent administration to which our attention has been called, was that of applying Great Britain's resources of men and expenditure of treasure principally to the support of her maritime strength, whilst he limited his military preparation to the establishment of a force designed to act but a subordinate part in the war; and according as, and in the degree in which, we account that plan to have been wise or



the reverse, our estimate (as to the conception of the plan) will be favourable or adverse.

The means resorted to by Mr. Pitt, for carrying that plan into effect, were those of applying for adequate grants of the public money, and expending the sums obtained in the construction and maintenance of a strong and thoroughly efficient navy—of a powerful navy, that is, ably commanded, and subordinately to the establishment of a military force, capable of acting the secondary part assigned to it in the war, with due efficiency; and according as, and in the degree in which, we account those means to have been right and properly exerted, or the reverse, our estimate (as to the execution of the plan) will be favourable or adverse.

And it is upon a computation of, or, if need be, an adjudication between (such a process would be necessary in case we found the conception of the plan admirable, but its execution somewhat faulty, and in various other supposable contingencies) the two subordinate estimates at which we had arrived, that our final estimate of the desert or demerits of that part or particular of Mr. Pitt's belligerent administration to which our attention has been called, must be definitively formed.

The most direct and natural results—it will be evident, from the above remarks—cannot in any way affect, and ought not, of course, to have the slightest influence upon, the formation of that estimate. For example: had Mr. Pitt's plan failed because he was

unable to procure adequate grants of the public money, or because some prevalent mortality amongst the seafaring population precluded him from manning the vast armaments which he had succeeded in constructing; that result, though a most direct and natural one, would not in any degree derogate from the favourable estimate of Mr. Pitt's plan, which had been formed pursuant to a judgment founded upon a conviction, or opinion, that that plan was wisely conceived, and that the means resorted to for carrying it into effect, were right in themselves, and properly exerted. Neither, by a parity of reason, could the successful result which actually attended Mr. Pitt's plan—his construction, that is, and maintenance in efficiency, of a navy so powerful as to secure for Great Britain the command at sea, and be capable of contending, upon equal terms, with the formidable navies of France and Spain combined—in any degree ameliorate an unfavourable estimate of that part or particular of Mr. Pitt's belligerent administration to which our attention has been called, which had been formed pursuant to a judgment, founded upon a conviction that it was not wisely planned, or that the means employed to carry the plan into effect, were exceptionable in themselves, or improperly exerted. And since, as we have seen, results the most direct would not in any degree affect, and ought not therefore to have any influence whatsoever upon, the estimate to be formed of the part or particular of Mr. Pitt's belli-

gerent administration to which our attention has been called ; much less can “ the operations of our navy and the brilliant successes to which they led,” (which were only accidental results of that successful result of the part or particular of Mr. Pitt’s belligerent administration to which our attention has been called, which consisted in the construction, and maintenance in efficiency, of a navy so powerful as to secure to Great Britain the command at sea, and be capable of contending, upon equal terms, with the formidable navies of France and Spain combined,) in any degree affect, or have any influence whatsoever upon, that estimate.

The observations which we have made (at a length which would otherwise have been more than commensurate to their importance,) with a view of establishing that “ the operations of our navy, and the brilliant successes to which they led,” cannot in any degree affect, and ought not therefore to have any influence whatsoever upon, the formation of a just estimate of Mr. Pitt’s belligerent administration, will obviously apply with equal force ‘ to the operations of the armies brought into the field by means of Mr. Pitt’s coalitions in Germany, and the disastrous reverses to which they led.’

The two cases (as the intelligent reader will perceive) are exactly parallel.

For as, in the one case, Nelson’s signal victory off Cape Trafalgar, and the previous brilliant but less decisive successes of our navy, being but acci-

dental results of it—accidental results of its success—cannot in any degree affect the formation of a just estimate of the part or particular of Mr. Pitt's belligerent administration, which consisted in the conception and execution of the plan of applying Great Britain's resources of men, and expenditure of treasure, principally to the construction and maintenance in efficiency of a powerful navy, whilst he limited his military preparations to the establishment of an army designed to act but a subordinate part in the war: so, in the other case, the utter defeat of the Russian and Austrian armies at Austerlitz, and the previous disastrous but less decisive reverses sustained by the Powers with whom coalitions had been formed, being but accidental results of it—accidental results of its success—cannot in any degree affect the formation of a just estimate of the part or particular of Mr. Pitt's belligerent administration, which consisted in the conception and execution of the plan of breaking the concentration of Buonaparte's efforts against Great Britain, by forming coalitions in Germany, or (more accurately speaking) coalitions of the continental Powers, against him.

The success, we may observe, of Mr. Pitt's belligerent administration, in the two instances adverted to, was exactly parallel, and is invested (if we may so speak) with a most remarkable circumstantial identity. When a British fleet, capable of contending, upon equal terms, with the formidable

navies of France and Spain combined, rode in the Bay of Trafalgar, the success of the one was at once complete; and as signally made manifest as it was possible for it to be : and equally complete, and quite as signally made manifest, was the success of the other, when an army of Austrians and Russians, in every respect competent to contend with Buonaparte for the liberties of Europe, lay encamped upon the plains of Austerlitz.

Nelson's victory in the one case—it is scarcely necessary to intimate—and Buonaparte's in the other, were but diverse events, accidentally consequent upon the exactly parallel and circumstantially-identical results of the two parts or particulars of Mr. Pitt's belligerent administration, to which we have had occasion to advert.

We have but one more remark to make before we conclude our supplementary observations with reference to Mr. Pitt's conduct of the war. It is this :—

That the two parts or particulars of Mr. Pitt's belligerent administration, to which we have had occasion to allude more particularly—that which consisted in the conception and execution of the plan of applying Great Britain's resources of men, and expenditure of treasure, principally in the construction and maintenance in efficiency of a powerful navy, and subordinately to the establishment of an army designed to act but a secondary part in the war ; and that which consisted in the conception and execution



of the plan of breaking the concentration of Buonaparte's efforts against Great Britain, by the formation of coalitions of the continental Powers against him—necessarily involved a vast expenditure of treasure; but were each (as is manifest in the one case, and has been proved in the other,\*) directly instrumental in preserving Great Britain from invasion—from invasion which must, in all probability, have issued in subjugation. Consequently, supposing (as Lord Brougham has stated,† and as, for the sake of argument, we are willing to admit,) that the effects of the war with France are “still sensibly felt,” from the pressure (as, no doubt, his Lordship means,) of that taxation which the vast expenditure it involved necessitates; yet, when any right-minded Briton reflects upon the inestimable benefits conferred upon his country, and, indeed, upon Europe and the world, by the belligerent administration that involved that vast expenditure which has led (it is asserted, and, for the sake of argument, admitted,) to a sensibly-felt increase of taxation in the present day, he will, assuredly, regard the trifling inconvenience, nay (let us say) the serious deprivations, to which he is subjected by the imposts under which such additional taxation may be levied, much in the same light as a gallant soldier will regard the inconveniences and deprivations to which honourable wounds, received in fighting the battles of his country, compel him to submit.

\* Vide ante, pp. 99, 100.

† Vide Historical Sketches, First Series, p. 199.



SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER VI.

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THE assertion made in the passage to which these observations refer, as to "the strength of Mr. Pitt's patriotism," although not so material to our argument, as to call upon us to support it in the context ; is one, nevertheless, which we deemed it incumbent upon us to establish. We proposed, therefore, to substantiate the truth of the assertion adverted to (according to the practice which we have invariably adopted in such cases,) in a Supplemental Appendix ; but having subsequently had occasion to advance an assertion, the same in substance and effect as that adverted to, under circumstances in which its establishment was necessary to the validity of our argument, we have (according to our usual practice,) brought forward such proof as we deemed it necessary to adduce in support of it, in the context.\*

\* Vide chap. xi. pp. 209—211.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER VIII.

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THE author deems it incumbent upon him to call attention to a point, with respect to the inference to which the present Supplement refers, which, although sufficiently evident upon due consideration, is nevertheless not so obvious (he considers,) as to authorize him to dispense with the following observations.

It is, then, to the specific question, as to the abolition of the Slave-trade, which, originating in 1788, was virtually disposed of in 1804, that our epitome exclusively relates, and that the inferences, therefore, which we have stated as deducible from the statement of facts which it contains, solely apply.

If we take into consideration (as in justice we are bound to do,) the attention which was devoted to the subject, and the exertions which were made with reference to it, previously to the origination of the specific question of Abolition, as well as during its agitation, we shall be constrained to admit, that there are individuals whose conduct, with respect to slavery and the slave-trade, entitles them to a praise which transcends the commendation (high

as it is,) which we justly accord to Mr. Pitt, when we affirm that he is entitled to the second place of honour amid the illustrious company of the advocates of Abolition.

For example : “Excellent Granville Sharp,” (as we remember that Mr. Wilberforce has designated him,) devoted his attention to Slavery and the Slave-trade, and made the most active and strenuous exertions in his power, for their suppression, long before the origination of the specific question of Abolition.

So little known to the present generation, and so deserving of all possible celebrity, are the philanthropic and public-spirited exertions of the truly illustrious individual to whom allusion has been made, that we feel confident that we adopt a course as agreeable to the good feelings of the reader, as it is accordant to our own sense of what is right, when we proceed to give such additional publicity (be it more or less,) as its insertion in these pages may be a means of superinducing, to the following account of them.

‘ In the year 1765, one David Lisle brought over from Barbadoes, Jonathan Strong, an African slave ; and used him in so barbarous a manner, that he became useless, and was left by his master to go whither he pleased. Mr. Granville Sharpe met with Strong in the forlorn condition to which he was thus reduced, at his brother’s, Mr. William Sharpe’s, a

surgeon, who devoted a portion of his time to the poor, and procured him a situation in the family of a Mr. Brown, an apothecary.

When Strong had become healthy and robust, in his new situation, his master happened to see him; and, having formed the design of re-capturing him, he employed John Ross, keeper of the Poultry-compter, and William Miller, an officer under the Lord-mayor, to carry it into effect. By these men, Strong was seized, and conveyed, without any warrant, to the Poultry-compter, where he was sold by his master to John Kerr, for thirty pounds.

Strong sent for Mr. Granville Sharpe, who was refused access to<sup>m</sup> him. Mr. Sharpe immediately waited upon the Lord-mayor, and entreated him to send for Strong, and hear his case. A day was appointed for the purpose.

On the day appointed, Mr. Sharpe attended, and one David Laird, captain of the ship *Thames*, which was to have conveyed Strong to Jamaica, also attended on behalf of the purchaser Kerr. A long conversation ensued, in which the opinion of York and Talbot\* was quoted, with great apparent effect against Mr. Sharpe. The Lord-mayor, however, discharged Strong, as he had been taken into custody without a warrant.

As the parties were about to retire, Captain Laird

\* Two eminent lawyers, who, some years before, when Attorney-general and Solicitor-general, had given an opinion, "That a slave, by coming from the West Indies into Great Britain, either with or without his master, did not become free."

laid hold of Strong, and said aloud, "Then I now seize him as my slave." Upon this Mr. Sharp placed his hand upon Laird's shoulder, and pronounced these words: "I charge you, in the name of the king, with an assault upon the person of Jonathan Strong." Laird was greatly intimidated by this charge, made in the presence of the Lord-mayor, and let his prisoner go, leaving him to be conveyed away by Mr. Sharpe.

Mr. Sharpe having been greatly affected by this case, and foreseeing that he might be engaged in others of a similar nature, applied to Doctor, afterwards Judge, Blackstone, for an opinion upon the subject. He was not satisfied, however, with the opinion which he received from Blackstone; nor could he obtain any satisfactory answer from several other lawyers whom he afterwards consulted. The truth is, that the opinion of York and Talbot, which had been made public, and acted upon by the planters, merchants, and others, was considered of high authority.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Sharpe determined to give up two or three years to the study of the law. The result of his studies was the publication of a book, in 1769, entitled, "A Representation of the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating Slavery in England." In this work he refuted, in the clearest manner, the opinion of York and Talbot. He impugned Blackstone's opinion also, and exposed its error.

Whilst Mr. Sharpe was engaged in the work

alluded to, another case occurred in which he took a part. Hylas, an African slave, prosecuted a person of the name of Newton for having kidnapped his wife, and sent her to the West Indies. The result of the trial was, that damages to the amount of a shilling were given, and the defendant was ordered to bring back the woman.

In the year 1770, another case occurred. Robert Stapleton, in conjunction with John Malony and Edward Armstrong, two watermen, seized the person of Thomas Lewis, an African slave, on a dark night, and dragged him to a boat lying in the Thames, in which they conveyed him on board a ship, with the intent of selling him as a slave in Jamaica. The servants of Mrs. Bankes, the mother of the late Sir Joseph Bankes, near whose garden Lewis was seized, heard his screams, but were unable to assist him. Upon being informed of what had happened, Mrs. Bankes sent for Mr. Sharpe, (who was by this time generally recognized as the friend of the helpless Africans), and professed her willingness to incur the expence of bringing the delinquents to justice. Mr. Sharpe with some difficulty procured a habeas corpus, under the authority of which, Lewis was brought from Gravesend just as the vessel was on the point of sailing.

Several cases subsequently occurred, in which slaves were liberated from the holds of vessels, and other places of confinement, by the exertions of Mr. Sharpe. In one of these cases, the vessel on board



of which the unhappy victim of oppression was confined, had reached the Downs, and was actually under weigh for the West Indies, when the writ of habeas corpus was served. The officer who served it, saw him chained to the main mast, bathed in tears. The captain, on receiving the writ, became outrageous; but knowing the serious consequences of resisting the law of the land, he gave up his prisoner, whom the officer conveyed safe, now crying for joy, to the shore.

But although the injured Africans, whose cases had been judicially investigated, escaped slavery, and many others were delivered out of confinement, and rescued from transportation to the colonies, yet the great question, ‘whether a slave, by coming into England, became free?’ had hitherto been studiously avoided. Mr. Sharpe was anxious to procure a decision upon this point. He succeeded in doing so in 1772, when (in the great case of Somerset) it was solemnly determined, that, as soon as any slave set his foot upon English territory, he became free.

As soon as the decision establishing this important point was obtained, Mr. Sharpe wrote to Lord North, urging him, in the most earnest manner, to abolish both the Slave Trade and slavery in all the British dominions.\*

\* The above account consists of extracts from Clarkson’s History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, (vide vol. i. p. 67) somewhat abridged, and slightly altered in point of expression, upon that account, and for the purpose of rendering its diction more conformable to the style of the present day.

When, to the above detail of his services, before the origination of the specific question of Abolition, we add, that, during the agitation of that question, Mr. Granville Sharpe (as chairman of the committee of the Abolition Society) was one of its most able, zealous, and indefatigable supporters; it will be self-evident, that the fame which Mr. Granville Sharpe has earned by his exertions (from first to last) for the suppression of slavery and the Slave Trade, must necessarily be higher than that (deservedly transcendent as it is) which Mr. Pitt has earned by those exertions, made during the agitation of the specific question of Abolition, which entitle him to the second place amid the illustrious company of the advocates of Abolition; and far, very far higher—the renown which Granville Sharpe has *earned* by his philanthropic and public-spirited exertions (from first to last) for the suppression of slavery and the Slave Trade,—is far higher, very far higher (we have no hesitation in asserting)—than the scanty measure of public estimation, and limited apportionment of that scanty measure, which he has *obtained* from the present generation.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER IX.

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THE following remark was made by Mr. Wilberforce, in the course of the conversation in which the testimony referred to in the context was delivered, and is recorded in the same paragraph in which the passage adducing that testimony is contained.

The subject to which it relates is not touched upon by Lord Brougham ; but Mr. Pitt's conduct, with respect to the trial of Warren Hastings, is very generally reprobated by those who are unfriendly to his memory, and has been adduced as constituting a most serious charge against him, in a work to which we have had occasion to refer.\*

We have, therefore, been induced to give insertion to a remark, exculpatory of Mr. Pitt in a most important particular, which presented itself so very opportunely.

“Oh how little justice was done to Pitt on Warren Hastings' business ! People were asking what could make Pitt support him on this point or on that, as if he was acting from political motives ;

\* Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

whereas he was always weighing in every particular whether Hastings had exceeded the discretionary power lodged in him. I well remember—I could swear to it now—Pitt listening most attentively to some facts which were coming out, either in the first or second case. He beckoned me over, and went with me behind the chair, and said, ‘Does not this look very ill to you?’ ‘Very ill indeed!’ He then returned to his place, and made his speech, giving up Hastings’ case. He paid as much impartial attention to it, as if he were a juryman.”\*

\* Vide Life of William Wilberforce, Vol. v. p. 341.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XI.

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As we venture to indulge a hope that these pages may be read by some of those to whose education Lord Brougham's Historical sketches are intended for a contribution, viz. the youth of the higher classes of the community, we deem it incumbent upon us to obviate all possibility of an injurious misconstruction of our remark, 'that the closing scene of Mr. Pitt's life was one of a sublime character.'

The death of one so high as Mr. Pitt in individual superiority over his fellow men, and so pre-eminent in station, from a broken heart caused by the reverses of his country,—we proceed to observe, with a view of guarding our younger Readers from misconception—the closing scene of Mr. Pitt's life (in other words), presents (when duly contemplated) a scene of a sublime character—a scene which few, if any, of the incidents recorded in profane history, exceed in power and vividness of interest, or surpass in sublimity of character; but it is one, nevertheless, which cannot be regarded

with unqualified approbation, much less with extravagant admiration.

A broken heart has been truly described \* as “a mixture of pride and madness;”—“as an effect consequent upon the striving of the potsherds of the earth against their Maker.”

And the generic character of the disease (if so it may be termed) being such as is described above, it is evident that death of a broken heart cannot, in any conceivable instance, be rationally regarded with approbation, much less with admiration; but must, on the contrary, be unequivocally condemned. That condemnation, however, with which death of a broken heart must of necessity be visited, will differ in degree, nay, vary in its species (we may intelligibly say) from a vehement reprobation originating in instinctive emotion, to a reluctant disapprobation enforced by a sense of duty, according as the circumstantial and other influences which conduced to it, were of an exacerbative or mitigatory character.

Admitting, then, that Mr. Pitt's death of a broken heart caused by the reverses of his country, must be unequivocally condemned, let us proceed to inquire into the character of the circumstantial or other influences which conduced to it, with a view of ascertaining whether that condemnation with which it must be visited, consists in, or diverges towards, vehement reprobation or reluctant disapproval.

\* By the late Rev. John Newton.—We quote them from memory, but are confident that we state the substance of the observations correctly.



Now, one of the circumstances or influences, which most powerfully conduced to Mr. Pitt's death of a broken heart, caused by the reverses of his country, was his immaturity of Christian character. For had Mr. Pitt attained to a maturity of Christian character, and possessed (as he must in that case have done) that exalted degree of Christian faith which would have led him to pay a duly influential regard to the "things which are not seen," he would have "whistled down the wind" those reverses which, looking only at "the things which are seen," he very justly accounted as portentous of irremediable evil: or if the natural energy of his mind had been so far controlled by bodily debility as to render him incapable of the sustained exertion of so lofty an exercise of Christian magnanimity, that same exalted degree of Christian faith, acting upon a differently constituted physical economy, would have enabled him to manifest a tranquil acquiescence in the ostensibly portentous reverses of his country, as ordered by one "who doeth all things well;" and in neither case would Mr. Pitt have been in the slightest degree injuriously affected by the tidings of those reverses which, in the absence of that exalted degree of Christian faith which would have enabled him to pay a duly influential regard to "the things which are not seen," "struck a death-blow within."

We have seen,\* however, that from the force of

\* Vide ante, pp. 146—148.

circumstances, so very peculiar that it may safely be said to be morally impossible that they can occur to any of our readers in such a manner as to constitute their position in any degree parallel to Mr. Pitt's,—from his having been called, at the early age of twenty-three, to the government of our widely extended empire, at a period by far the most important in the history of the human race, and immersed, in consequence, in a vortex of perplexing and absorbing avocations at an age at which his Christian character was naturally immature—immature, that is, from causes irrespective of his own criminality or neglect—the infirmity of human nature may allowably be pleaded in extenuation of the culpability of Mr. Pitt's want of that exalted degree of Christian faith which would have enabled him to pay a duly influential regard to “the things which are not seen.” Consequently, since the infirmity of human nature may allowably be pleaded in extenuation of the culpability of Mr. Pitt's want of that exalted degree of Christian faith which would have enabled him to pay a duly influential regard to “the things which are not seen,” it may, of course, be pleaded in extenuation of the culpability of that death of a broken heart caused by the reverses of his country, to which the want of that exalted degree of Christian faith powerfully conduced. The circumstance, therefore, or influence to which our attention is directed, is evidently one of a most decidedly mitigative character.

Again: another circumstance or influence which was powerfully conducive to Mr. Pitt's death of a

broken heart caused by the reverses of his country, was his absorbing and inordinate love of his country.—And the two circumstances adverted to, we may observe, are of themselves fully sufficient to account for Mr. Pitt's death of a broken heart caused by the reverses of his country. But to proceed.

In loving his country with this absorbing and inordinate love, Mr. Pitt loved her “not wisely, but too well;” and his conduct in doing so, it is evident, was blameable. But although culpable with respect to its excess, that love of his country by which Mr. Pitt was actuated was in kind (if we may so speak) and by virtue of its antagonist character to that absorbing and inordinate self-love so prevalent in the world, highly and most manifestly praiseworthy. And that love of his country which conduced to Mr. Pitt's death of a broken heart, being highly praiseworthy in itself, and culpable only in respect of its excess, it constitutes, it is evident, another circumstance or influence of a most decidedly mitigative character.

Now we have seen that two of the circumstances or influences which most powerfully conduced to—two circumstances or influences which were of themselves sufficient to account for—Mr. Pitt's death of a broken heart caused by the reverses of his country, were each of them of a most decidedly mitigative character.

Consequently the condemnation pronounced upon Mr. Pitt's death of a broken heart caused by the reverses of his country, must of necessity be tempe-

rate and measured, and may unblameably be limited to a reluctant disapproval.

The judgment then which (operating in correction of their own impressions) the above suggestions will have led our younger Readers of ingenious temperament to form, will be such an one as will find (we doubt not) adequate expression in the sentence by which we predicate :

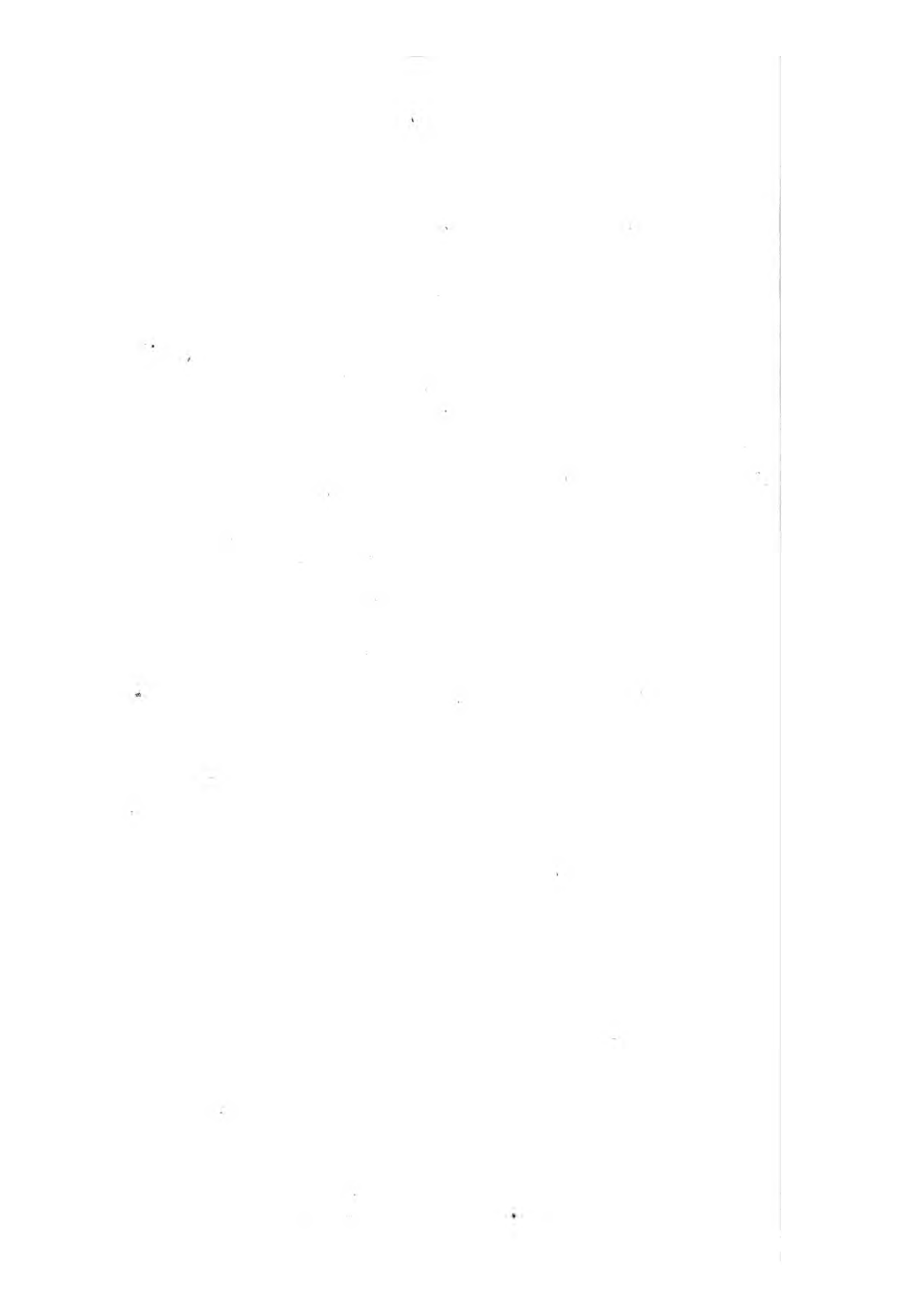
That at the same time that we condemn Mr. Pitt's death of a broken heart, caused by the reverses of his country, by a disapproval which is, unblameably, reluctant but (as a sense of duty will enforce) decided; a right-minded Briton will regard it with deep and lively interest, consecrated by a grateful recollection.

It is, we may observe in conclusion, with reference to its meriting (notwithstanding what may be designated as its private faultiness) a grateful recollection by his country, that we have, upon one occasion, spoken of Mr. Pitt's death—his death, that is, considered as remotely caused by that life of self-devotion to his country, which involved an incessant wear of mind, and prodigal exhaustion of physical energy, as well as more immediately superinduced by the portentous reverses which struck a death blow within—as meritoriously sustained.



GENERAL  
APPENDIX.





## GENERAL APPENDIX.

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### No. 1.

As the passages cited from the French Historians constitute material parts of our argument, we have deemed it expedient to subjoin a translation of them.

They are translated as literally as possible; and without the slightest sacrifice of identity of meaning to propriety of expression.

*Passage referred to p. 49, line 10.*

“The 1st of February, after having heard Brissot, who for a moment re-united the plaudits of the two parties, she (the National Convention) solemnly declared war against Holland and England.”

*Passage referred to p. 49, line 23.*

“The death of the unfortunate Louis XVI. caused in France a profound terror, and in Europe a commixture of astonishment and indignation. As the more clear-sighted Revolutionists had foreseen, the struggle was engaged in without possibility of return, and all retreat was

irrevocably precluded. From that instant the questions of war and finance were constantly the order of the day.”

*Passage referred to p. 50, line 4.*

“ However, either from the fatigue and annoyance\* of a long struggle, or from unanimity of opinion upon the question of war, all being of accord as to defending themselves and also as to provoking the enemy, a momentary calm succeeded the terrible agitations produced by the trial of Louis XVI.; and Brissot was still applauded in his diplomatic efforts against the Powers.”

*Passage referred to p. 50, line 17.*

“ At the moment of the definitive judgment of Louis XVI., the cabinet of Madrid had offered to recognize the Republic, and its mediation with the other Powers, provided the life of the dethroned monarch were spared. For all answers Danton had proposed war, and the Assembly had adopted the order of the day.

“ From that time the direction to war was no longer doubtful.”

*Passage referred to p. 50, line 27.*

“ Since the 10th of August the French government had

\* The word “ accablement,” which expresses, the author conceives, a state of fatigue and annoyance in combination, cannot be accurately expressed by any single English word.

not ceased to demand to be recognized, but it still kept some measure with respect to England, whose neutrality was precious, because of the enemies which France already had to combat. But after the 21st of January, it had put all considerations aside, and decided upon an universal war.”

*Passage referred to p. 51, line 5.*

“The rostrum of the Mother Society (of the Jacobins) resounded with assurances a thousand times given, that the French were in a condition to make war with success against all Europe. That idea, foolishly gigantic, by force of being repeated by the partizans of the two Jacobin factions in the clubs and in the sections of Paris, had acquired such a degree of favour, that he who would have combated it, would not only not have found any one to listen to him, but must have exposed himself to the danger of passing for a bad citizen, and to the fatal consequences of that opinion.”

*Passage referred to p. 51, line 20.*

“Nevertheless Pitt feigned to request a secret envoy (from France), to whom he might explain his causes of complaint against the French government. Citizen Maret was sent, who had a private conversation with Pitt. After mutual protestations that the interview had nothing of official about it, but was wholly amicable, and had no other motive but that of the benevolent desire of contributing to enlighten the two nations with respect to their reciprocal causes of complaint; Pitt complained that

France menaced the allies of England, even attacked their interests; and in proof he cited Holland. The grief principally alleged was the opening of the Schelde, a measure imprudent perhaps, but generous, which the French had taken upon entering the Low-countries. Austria had not dared to shake off that thralldom, but Dumouriez did so by order of his Government. The reply was noble and easy: for France, in respecting the rights of neutral neighbours, had not promised to consecrate (or maintain inviolable) political iniquities, because Neutral Powers were interested in them. Besides the Government of Holland had shewn itself so far ill-disposed, that no such very great consideration was due to it."

*Passage referred to p. 58, line 12, and p. 59, line 1.*

"They—that is the French people—lent an ear to the insinuations of some Batavian refugees. They (these Batavian refugees) professed that their party, as numerous in the Batavian provinces as that of the Stadtholder, only waited the approach of a French army, to effect a revolution in Holland, from which France would obtain the most precious advantages. These strangers, discouraged at first by the Minister Lebrun, who was engaged in negociation with the cabinet of St. James's, addressed themselves to the Jacobins. The Jacobins embraced their defence with the enthusiasm which characterized that Society.

"It was decided that the Dutch refugees should repair to Antwerp, with a Revolutionary Committee formed by them.

"Immediately a corps of ten thousand men, which these Hollanders had levied under the name of the Batavian

Legion, received orders to post itself at Antwerp as the advance-guard of the army, in case they (the French) should decide upon penetrating into Holland. An agent of the government was associated with \* the Revolutionary Committee, in order to render an account to Lebrun, the Minister for foreign affairs, of the measures which it adopted."

*Passage referred to p. 98 (in note.)*

"That vast dock-yard (Antwerp) had scarcely been established a year, yet three ships of the line and a frigate had been launched. The 16th of August two corvettes were launched."

*Passage referred to p. 99, line 3.*

"The ports of (the Department) De La Manche are at the same time the dock-yards and arsenals of the expedition, which was calculated to recal, by the vast multitude—*immensité* is the French word—of troops and of transports, that of Xerxes against Greece. The camps established upon the coast had for chiefs our first generals. Marshal Davoust commanded the camps of Dunkerque and Ostend; Marshal Ney, those of Calais and Montreuil; Marshal Soult, that of Boulogne; General Junot, that of St. Omer; General Marmont commanded the right wing in Holland, he having under his orders the Marine of that country for the embarcation of

\* The above is the most significant translation of which the idiomatic phrase "placé auprès de"—literally 'placed near to'—is susceptible.



his troops. The port of Boulogne already contained nine hundred vessels: those of Etaples, of Vimereux, of Calais, of Dunkerque, were full of them. The port of Ambleteuse, which had been both deepened and reconstructed, was assigned for the reception of the Dutch flotilla of five hundred sail, under the command of Admiral Verhuelle; it formed the right wing, and was to embark the troops of Marshal Davoust."

*Passage referred to p. 99, line 27.*

"The profound sentiment (or impression) of the danger which the imminence of the descent of the French made her (Great Britain) run."

*Passage referred to p. 100, line 9.*

"Without hesitating, without stopping, he (Buonaparte) dictated outright the plan of the campaign of Austerlitz, the departure of all the corps, from Hanover and Holland to the confines of the West and South of France. The order of the marches, their duration, the places of convergence and of reunion of the columns, the surprises and attacks of open force, the various movements of the enemy, all was foreseen, and victory assured under every hypothesis.

"In the same moment in which he put his troops in motion, under the name of the *Grand Army*, substituted for that of *Army of England*, Napoleon despatched his Marshal of the Palace, General Duroc, to Berlin, to make sure of the neutrality of Prussia."

*Passage referred to p. 107, line 27.*

“ Rhetorical means of prevailing with the Assembly having become impossible, there remained but force. It had become necessary to hazard one of those audacious acts, before which usurpers ever hesitate. Cæsar hesitated in passing the Rubicon, Cromwell in shutting the Parliament. Buonaparte decided upon marching his Grenadiers against the Assembly. He mounted on horseback, and passed and repassed in front of his troops. Lucien Buonaparte harangued them. ‘ The Council of Five Hundred is dissolved,’ he told them ; ‘ it is I who declare it to you. Assassins have invaded the hall of Session, and done violence to the majority. I summon you to march to deliver it.’— Lucien then swears that he and his brother will be the faithful defenders of Liberty. Murat and Leclerc put in motion a battalion of Grenadiers, and led them to the door of the Five Hundred. They advanced as far as the entrance of the hall. At the sight of the bayonets the Deputies uttered frightful cries, as they had done at the sight of Buonaparte ; but a roll of the drums drowned their cries. *Grenadiers, advance!* the officers cried out. The Grenadiers enter the hall, and disperse the Deputies, who fled, some by the stairs, and others by the windows. In an instant the hall is evacuated, and Buonaparte remains master of that deplorable field of battle.

“ The news is carried to the Ancients, who are overwhelmed by it with disquietude and regrets. Lucien presented himself at their bar, and proceeded to justify his conduct with respect to the Five Hundred. They content themselves with his reasons, for what was to be

done in such a situation? It was necessary to finish and fulfil the object proposed. The Council of Ancients could not by itself decree the adjournment of the Legislative body, and the Institution of the Consulate. The Council of Five Hundred was dissolved, but there were fifty Deputies, partisans of the coup-d'état (of Buonaparte's project, that is.) They assemble these, and made them pass the decree, the object of the revolution which they were about to effect. The decree is immediately carried to the Ancients, who adopt it about the middle of the night. Buonaparte, Roger Duclos, and Sieyes, are named Provisional Consuls, and invested with the executive power."

## GENERAL APPENDIX.

### No. 2.

FOR the satisfaction of such of our readers as may not have read, and cannot easily procure, Lord Brougham's Historical Sketches, we have inserted that part of his Lordship's delineation of the character of Mr. Pitt, which has not been cited in the preceding pages.

In order to preserve a due order and connexion, at the same time that we avoid a useless repetition, we have inserted a reference to the passages cited, at the place where they occur.

Upon opening the first series of Lord Brougham's Historical Sketches, at page 195, we read:—

#### “MR. PITT.”

“The circumstances of his—Mr. Fox's (whose character had been delineated in the pages immediately preceding)—celebrated antagonist's situation were as different from his own as could well be imagined. It was not merely disparity of years by which they were distinguished; all the hereditary prejudices under which the one appeared before the country were as unfavourable, as the prepossessions derived from his father's character and renown were auspicious to the entrance of the other upon the theatre of public affairs. The grief, indeed, was yet recent

which the people had felt for the loss of Lord Chatham's genius, so proudly towering above all party views and personal ties, so entirely devoted to the cause of his principles and his patriotism—when his son appeared to take his station, and contest the first rank in the popular affections with the son of him whose policy and parts had been sunk into obscurity by the superior lustre of his adversary's capacity and virtues.

“But the young statesman's own talents and conduct made good the claim which his birth announced. At an age [passage cited p. 3.] Happy had he not too soon removed [passage cited p. 5].”

“From hence [passage cited p. 5]. With more power [passage cited p. 9].”

“It is assuredly not to Mr. Pitt's sinking fund [passage cited p. 26]. Neither should we visit harshly [passage cited p. 30]. But the main charge against Mr. Pitt [passage cited p. 42]. But are the motives of it (of Mr. Pitt's having suffered himself to be led away from the ardent love of peace to the eager support of the war against France) wholly free from suspicion? *Cui bono?* was the question put by the Roman lawyer, when the person really guilty of any act was sought for. A similar question may often be put, without any want of charity, when we are in quest of the motives which prompted a doubtful or suspicious course of action, proved by experience to have been disastrous to the world. That, as the chief of a party, Mr. Pitt was incalculably a gainer by the event which, for a while, well-nigh annihilated the opposition to his ministry, and left that opposition crippled as long as the war lasted, no man can doubt. That, independent of its breaking up the Whig party, the war gave their antagonist a constant lever wherewithal to move at will both Parliament and people, as long as the sinews of war could be obtained

from the resources of the country, is at least as unquestionable a fact.\*

“ His conduct of the war [passage cited p. 64]. The operations of our navy [passage cited p. 273]. When after a most culpable refusal [passage cited p. 108.

“ These are heavy charges [passage cited p. 135].

“ If from the statesman we turn to the orator, the contrast is indeed marvellous. He is to be placed, without any doubt, in the highest class. With a sparing use of ornament, hardly indulging more in figures, or even in figurative expression, than the most severe examples of ancient chasteness allowed—with little variety of style, hardly any of the graces of manner—he no sooner rose than he carried away every hearer, and kept the attention fixed and unflagging till it pleased him to let it go ; and then

“ So charming left his voice, that we, awhile,  
Still thought him speaking, still stood fix'd to hear.”

This magical effect was produced by his unbroken flow, which never for a moment left the hearer in pain or doubt, and yet was not the mean fluency of mere relaxation, requiring no effort of the speaker, but imposing on the listener a heavy task ; by his lucid arrangement which made all parts of the most complicated subject quit their entanglement, and fall each into its place ; by the clearness of his statements, which presented at once a picture to the mind ; by the forcible appeals to strict reason and strong

\* We had originally commented upon the above passage at considerable length : but since the proven facts which we have stated, with respect to the commencement of the war with France, have utterly annihilated the import of it : and as our observations were unavoidably characterised by that tone of just severity which it is calculated to provoke, we judged it better to suppress what we had written, and cancelled it accordingly.



feeling, which formed the great staple of his discourse ; by the majesty of the diction ; by the depth and fulness of the most sonorous voice, and the unbending dignity of the manner, which ever reminded us that we were in the presence of more than an advocate or debater, that there stood before us a ruler of the people. Such were the effects invariably of this singular eloquence ; and they were as certainly produced on ordinary occasions, as in those grander displays, when he rose to the height of some great argument, or indulged in vehement invective against some individual, and variegated his speech with that sarcasm of which he was so great, and indeed so little sparing, a master ; although even here all was uniform and consistent ; nor did anything, in any mood of mind, ever drop from him that was unsuited to the majesty of the whole, or could disturb the serenity of the full and copious flood that rolled along.

“But if such was the unfailling impression at first produced, and which, for a season absorbing the faculties, precluded all criticism ; upon reflection, faults and imperfections certainly were disclosed. There prevailed a monotony in the matter, as well as in the manner ; and even the delightful voice, which, so long prevented this from being felt, was itself almost without any variety of tone. All things were said nearly in the same way ; as if, by some curious machine, periods were rounded and flung off ; as if, in like moulds, though of different sizes, ideas were shaped and brought out. His composition was correct enough, but not peculiarly felicitous ; his English was sufficiently pure without being at all racy, or various, or brilliant ; his style was, by Mr. Wyndham, called “a State paper style,” in allusion to its combined dignity and poverty ; and the same nice observer, referring to the eminently skilful way

in which he balanced his phrases, sailed near the wind, and seemed to disclose much whilst he kept the greater part of his meaning to himself, declared that he ‘verily believed Mr. Pitt could speak a king’s speech off hand.’ His declamation was admirable, mingling with, and clothing the argument, as to be good for any thing it always must; and no more separable from the reasoning than the heat is from the metal in a stream of lava. Yet with all this excellence [passage cited p. 174]. He was earnest enough; he seemed quite sincere; he was moved himself as he would move us; we even went along with him, and forgot *ourselves*, but we hardly forgot him; and while thrilled [passage cited p. 171].

“We have ventured to name the greatest displays of Mr. Fox’s oratory; and it is fit we should attempt as much by his illustrious rival’s. The speech on the war, in 1803, which, by an accident which befel the gallery, was never reported, is generally supposed to have excelled all his other performances in vehement and spirit-stirring declamation; and this may be the more easily believed, when we know that Mr. Fox, in his reply, said, ‘the orators of antiquity would have admired, probably would have envied it.’ The last half hour is described as having been one unbroken torrent of the most majestic declamation. Of those which are in any degree preserved (though it must be remarked, that the characteristics now given of his eloquence, show how much of it was sure to escape, even the fullest transcript that could be given of the words), the finest in all probability is that upon the Peace of 1783, and the Coalition, when he closed his magnificent peroration by that noble yet simple figure, ‘And if this inauspicious union be not already consummated, in the name of my country I forbid the banns.’ But all authorities agree in placing

his speech on the slave-trade, in 1791, before any other effort of his genius; because it combined, with the most impassioned declamation, the deepest pathos, the most lively imagination, and the closest reasoning. We have it from a friend of his own, who sat beside him on this memorable occasion, that its effects on Mr. Fox were manifest during the whole period of its delivery; while Mr. Sheridan expressed his feelings in the most hearty and even passionate terms; and we have it from Mr. Windham that he walked home lost in amazement at the compass, till then unknown to him, of human eloquence. It is from the former source of information that we derive the singular fact of the orator's health at the time being such, as to require his retirement immediately before he rose, in order to take a medicine required for allaying the violent irritation of his stomach.

“ Let it, however, be added, that he was from the first a finished debater, although certainly practice, and the habit of command, had given him more perfect quickness in perceiving an advantage and availing himself of an opening, as it were, in the adverse battle, with the skill and rapidity wherewith our Wellington, in an instant perceiving the columns of Marmont somewhat too widely separated, executed the movement that gave him the victory of Salamanca. So did Pitt overthrow his great antagonist, on the Regency, and in some other conflicts. It may be further observed, that never was any kind of eloquence, or any cast of talents, more perfectly suited to the position of leading the government forces, keeping up the spirit of his followers under disaster, encouraging them to stand a galling adverse fire, above all, presenting them and the friendly though neutral portion of the audience, with reasons or with plausible pretexts for giving the Government that support which the one desired to give and the other had

no disposition to withhold. The effects which his calm and dignified yet earnest manner produced on these classes, and the impression which it left on their minds, have been admirably portrayed by one of the most able among them; and with his well chosen words this imperfect sketch of so great a subject may be closed:—‘Every part of his speaking, in sentiment, in language, and in delivery, evidently bore the stamp of his character. All communicated a definite and varied apprehension of the qualities, strenuousness without bustle, unlaboured intrepidity, and severe greatness.’\*

“Nothing that we have yet said [passage cited p. 180.]

“In private life he was [passage cited p. 181.]

“It was a circumstance [concluding passage cited p. 201].”

\* “*Quarterly Review, August, 1810.*—Supposed to be by Mr. J. H. Frere, but avowedly by an intimate friend.”

FINIS.

By the same Author,  
AN ESSAY  
ON  
THE OXFORD TRACTS.  
(1839.)

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