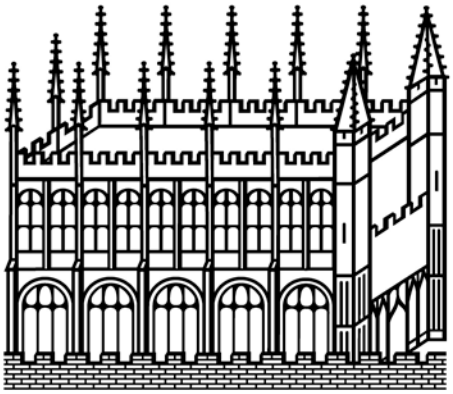

PREFACE.

THE publication of these Memoirs has been occasioned solely by the diversity of opinion which has prevailed respecting the author of the Letters of JUNIUS, and from the failure of all who have laid claim to that distinction.

They are written by a celebrated character, and are only a part of a collection which is now in the possession of his immediate descendant. He was the intimate associate of Chatham and the Grenvilles; at once possessed of literary reputation and an ample fortune, a Member of Parliament, and alike acquainted with public measures and ministerial intrigue.

After the perusal of these pages the

reader will be surprised, that among the numerous persons to whom the Letters of Junius have been attributed, the author of these Memoirs was never named: and it is remarkable that he should have been overlooked, while the perspicacity of Horne Tooke and Wilkes, and the phalanx of politicians of his time, was exhausted in unavailing conjectures.

I will not pledge myself that he was Junius, but this I can safely say, that no one yet named, supported by facts, has any claim to stand in competition with him. These Memoirs sufficiently mark his political relations; and numerous documents, long since before the public, might be adduced to strengthen and confirm them. One circumstance however I am authorized to mention, which will serve to shew in what estimation his political sagacity was held in his retirement in the decline of life. During the Shelburne and Port-

land administrations in 1783, he was frequently visited privately by the late Marquis of Buckingham, then Lord Temple, and closeted with him alone; his visits were always in the evening, and such was the privacy of these meetings that his name was not announced, and no servant was permitted to open the door when he left the house.

At some future time I hope to give a sketch of his character. At present I submit these pages to the public; valuable, at least, for the information they contain, if not as authority to establish a conjecture on a subject of peculiar literary interest.

MEMOIRS,

&c.

DON CARLOS told me, that it cost him twelve thousand pounds in corruption, particularly among the Tories, to carry the Westminster and Chippenham elections, and other points, which compelled Lord Orford, at that time Sir Robert Walpole, to quit the House of Commons. The application of the merchants, which was then depending at the bar of that House, contributed greatly to his removal; their weight and interest being so considerable, that the House postponed the supplies to dispatch their cause, by which means things were brought to such a crisis, that the Court was entirely at the mercy of the House, both for want of money and of the standing army, which could subsist no longer than Lady-day, and by this time they were advanced considerably into February. When I say, the Court was at the mercy of the House, I may add, that it was at

Prince of Wales.

In the Spring of 1741.

Sir Robert Walpole resigned Feb. 3, 1742, and created Earl of Orford.

1742. Pulteney. that juncture in the power of our great leader, Mr. Pulteney, to save this nation, by procuring frequent and independent parliaments, by bringing Lord Orford to justice, and by other points tending to diminish and restrain the encroachments of the Crown, and to throw a larger share of power into the hands of the people. But how unequal this gentleman proved to so great a task, the following relation will evince. The Court being driven to such extremities, partly by the shameful secret methods abovementioned, as I learnt from Don Carlos, but chiefly, I hope and really believe, by the general resentment of these kingdoms against Lord Orford, without which resentment and spirit without doors, it could never have been in the power of our infamous leaders to gain their point, by turning him out and supplying his room themselves. The Court, under these difficulties, a few days before the adjournment, desired a conference with Lord Carteret and Mr. Pulteney, who understanding that it was intended Lord Orford should be present, absolutely rejected the offer. This was soon made easy to them, and a conference was held at Mr. Pulteney's house, where himself, Carteret, the Lord Chancellor, Newcastle, and Henry Pelham were present. The courtiers proposed, in the King's name, to make Lord Carteret Se-

cretary of State, which he refused, saying, that if he came into the administration, he would be possessed of the *vis potentiæ*, the management of the money, and therefore insisted on being First Lord of the Treasury; but they replied, that the King designed that office for Mr. Pulteney, upon which Lord Carteret consented to take the place of Secretary: but Mr. Pulteney refusing to come into place at all, Lord Carteret then returned to his former resolution of being First Commissioner of the Treasury himself, and added, that he insisted the rest of the commission should be of his own friends, from which he would not recede unless Mr. Pulteney took it himself, in which case he would content himself with being Secretary. Here ended the first conference, which, though inconclusive, was of this advantageous consequence to the courtiers, that they had brought Carteret and Pulteney to act in a most unwarrantable manner, by presuming to treat without the privity, much less the approbation, of their party.* 1742.

* In June 1747, when Don Carlos was complaining to me of the ill treatment he had received from Mr. Lyttelton, Pitt, the Grenvilles, and others, he added, that to his certain knowledge, Mr. Lyttelton had sent a letter to Sir Robert Walpole by the hands of Col. Selwyn's son, offering terms; among other particulars, taking upon himself to answer for Don Carlos; that this letter was sent previous to any accommodation between

1742. Soon after, on the — day of February, 1741-2, the Parliament was adjourned; the Thursday following a second conference was held between the same persons as before, at Lord Carteret's house. The courtiers then offered from the King, that since Mr. Pulteney declined being First Commissioner of the Treasury, he was determined to put Lord Wilmington into that office, and to give the post of Secretary to Carteret, who persisted to refuse it, saying, he would give up the Treasury to nobody but Pulteney; but this latter then used his utmost endeavours, and at length with difficulty prevailed upon him to accept the king's offer, and the result of this second conference was, to promote Wilmington to the head of the Treasury, with

Walpole and Pulteney, but was received with the utmost contempt by Walpole: and it is certain, if Pulteney deserves any share of credit, that he has constantly accused that part of the opposition, under which Lyttelton was inlisted, of making the first overtures to the minister, and consequently compelling him, by their treachery, to precipitate the treaty mentioned at large in the following pages.

Dr. Ascough told me that he and Col. Lyttelton were present at the meeting of Mr. Lyttelton and young Mr. Selwyn; that Mr. Lyttelton opened with offering a secure retreat to Sir Robert Walpole, upon which Dr. Ascough went out of the room taking the Colonel with him, and left the other two by themselves. The Colonel (afterwards Sir Richard Lyttelton) confirmed this account of Ascough to me more than once.

Sandys, Gybbon, Rushout, and Waller joint commissioners; and I believe at the same time it was resolved to put Winchelsea, Granard, Chetwynd, and possibly others, which I do not exactly remember, into the Admiralty. This transaction was still without the privity or consent of the party, and being known the next day, gave great uneasiness among them, and indeed destroyed all confidence for the future. 1742.

A meeting was held at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand, when the whole party assembled, and several who had not been consulted, the Duke of Argyle in particular, fell most severely upon Sandys and the rest who accepted these employments, but which, to their immortal honour, had been refused by Waller, Granard, and Chetwynd. The names of those who went in, in this secret manner, are Carteret, Sandys, Rushout, Gybbon, and Compton, who supplied Waller's place. The Admiralty was not filled up till some time after. The Duke of Argyle, after this speech at the Fountain Tavern, went home, and, I have reason to think, heartily repented; for the next night, being Saturday, he, the Duke of Bedford, the Lords Carlisle, Chesterfield, Cobham, Gower, and Bathurst, had a meeting, when it was agreed, that Argyle, Bedford, and Carlisle, three the most considerable persons in the nation, should wait on Pulteney Feb. 12.

1742. to treat. They went accordingly the Monday following, and were sent back with this cold answer: "He could do nothing." This was transacted without the knowledge of Don Carlos, who, when they informed him of it, told them, they had been guilty of a *lacheté*, in applying to Pulteney, who must have come to them, had they had patience to wait a few days. However, another conference was held on the Tuesday following, where Mr. Pulteney met these seven Lords; and it being proposed by him (I presume) that Don Carlos and all of them should go to Court, the Duke of Argyle said, he had no business to go unless he was called to Court, and that sure he had as good pretensions, and was as worthy of notice as Sir J. Rushout; upon which Pulteney replied, I can understand this speech in no other sense, but that your Grace wants a place. In fine, the result of this meeting was, that they would be satisfied (for the present must be understood) if the Duke of Argyle was taken in. After this, the leaders of all parties determined to attend the Duke to Court. They went; the Duke was restored to his regiment and command of the ordnance; every thing which followed was nonsense, folly, knavery, &c.; every man shifted for himself, and the session concluded with screening Lord Orford from justice, deluding

the people with the farce of a secret committee and a ridiculous place-bill, with the further promotion of Lord Cobham, Bathurst, Gower, Limerick, Furnese, Harry Vane, and the creating Mr. Pulteney Earl of Bath. 1742.

Hamilton, Ld Limerick.

The succeeding winter, 1742 and 3, the opposition was renewed with more real vigour, and on clearer principles than ever. Waller was properly the head, who had refused to be Commissioner of the Treasury with great spirit and disinterestedness, though Mr. Pitt, being the most distinguished among the younger sort, and by his pompous and sarcastical oratory, universally reputed an excellent speaker, took the lead in the House of Commons. But Lord Cobham, with whom I spent great part of my time that winter in the most intimate manner, seemed to be as much the secret life and spirit of the party as any one whatever, notwithstanding he continued in place, and in my opinion saw though the absurdity and madness of Carteret's foreign conduct with admirable discernment. Lord Chesterfield, undoubtedly a man of more wit and of more shewy parts than Lord Cobham, did not penetrate so far into the cloud then gathering on the continent; and Dodington, who made strong attempts, and not without success, to become a leader, was, to my certain knowledge, obliged

1743. Oct. 29,

Pitt; born Nov. 15, 1708, first came into Parliament, Feb. 1735.

Ld Chesterfield.

Doding. ton.

1743. to Lord Cobham for all the lights he could boast of in the transactions of that sessions.*

Lord Cobham. Waller and Cobham were one, though there was a distinctness of conception, at least a happiness of explaining his thoughts, far superior in Lord Cobham to Mr. Waller. I took the liberty of differing from them all with respect to the power of France, and the impossibility of the Queen of Hungary's maintaining her ground, when they gave her up as irresistibly undone. The event at least justified my opinion.

I never thought France so exorbitantly powerful, nor the Queen of Hungary so deficient in strength, as all my friends did. The

Duke of Argyle. Duke of Argyle was a man of considerable parts and wit, though by no means so great as appeared from an happy and most imposing manner of speaking in public, where a certain dignity and vivacity, joined to a most captivating air of openness and sincerity, generally

* It was some time at the beginning of this year, or latter end of the preceding, that the Lords Cobham and Gower and Mr. Henry Furnese threw up the employments which had been given them upon the change of the ministry. Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl of Granville, upon the death of his mother, was then in power, supported by Lord Bath, Sandys, Bathurst, Limeric, Winchelsea, and a few commoners; it was against Lord Carteret's measures that the new opposition was formed.

gave his arguments a weight, which in themselves they frequently wanted; and many would go away charmed with his speeches, and yet be extremely at a loss afterwards to discover that strength of reasoning which they imagined at the hearing to have influenced them so highly in his favour. To style him inconsistent, is by much too gentle an appellation; for, though from the time he first had a regiment, being under twenty years of age, through the whole course of his great employments, he was never known to sell a place, or even to make those advantages which were universally esteemed allowable and blameless; yet he was in his own person a most shameless prostitute to power, and extremely avaricious: he indeed would sell nothing but himself, which he continually did with every circumstance of levity, weakness, and even treachery; the last instance of which centered within my own knowledge, and is as follows. 1743.

I was intrusted with the application to both Houses of Parliament against the Walpolian commissioners of the Admiralty. This attempt was crowned with such success in the House of Commons, that the merchants, not without the advice of their friends in both houses, thought it expedient to stop there, and give the Lords no trouble. I was to communicate this

1743. design to the Duke of Bedford, and to Lord Carteret. This was just after the Earl of Bath and Carteret had acted a part no ways agreeable to the opposition, though the measure of their iniquity was not complete at that time.

The Duke of Argyle, who was just restored to the Ordnance, hearing I had been to Carteret, was excessively piqued, and treated me with an unusual degree of coldness; upon which I wrote to him such a letter as gained me admission to his Grace the next morning early. My crime, it seems was, having had the least commerce with Carteret on the merchants affair, who, he said, would immediately represent to the King, that the merchants had been with him, had consulted him as their friend before any other, and by this means mislead the King into an opinion that Carteret was very popular in London, whom the Duke treated with many terms of abhorrence, styling him his enemy, and adding, how indifferently and disrespectfully he himself had been used for the few days he had been at Court. I alleged, that the merchants detested Carteret as much as his Grace, but that the common forms of the House of Lords required that they should wait upon the Duke of Bedford and Lord Carteret, on the putting off the affair, because they were the lords that had brought it into the House.

I remember the Duke very little regarded all I urged, but walked up and down exclaiming against Carteret; but dismissed me very kindly and civilly. Soon after his Grace, taking offence at the usage from the King and the ministry, threw up all his employments. He was blamed by some for too much precipitation, among which number I was one. What he alleged for his justification was this: That he went in, as a pledge on the broad bottom plan, which was, to destroy the distinction of Whig and Tory, by the indiscriminate admission of both parties into place, and he, not finding that any such thing was intended, which was the condition of his going in, thought it in honour incumbent on him to quit. The true reason (in my judgment) was the treatment he received at Court not answering his ambitious views, and perhaps not agreeable to his rank and dignity: his views were to have the sole command of the army, which reminds me of one of Lord Orford's bold and unguarded expressions, that there were two men who wanted the sole management of the army, the King and Argyle, but by God neither of them should have it. 1743.

The Duke of Argyle, not long after he resigned, waited on Lord Chesterfield, before his Grace went to Hudbrook, when he declared, that he was quite happy in himself, perfectly

1743. satisfied with his own conduct, and concluded his conversation with an history of his brother Isla, which painted him out in the most infamous and diabolical colours, and then said, can your lordship blame me for not seeing such a brother as this? He went down to Hudbrook, and in about a month sent for this brother, by whose intervention all matters were adjusted between Argyle and the late detested Lord Carteret, who had *certainly* deluded him with the expectation of putting the army into his hands, which was his favourite passion; and though his old friends in the opposition continued the ensuing sessions to stand up against the Court, he was determined to have come up to Parliament, and supported Carteret in all his measures, even in the infamous job of the Hanover forces, he, in whom but the year before the whole body of Tories reposed an implicit confidence; he, who had harangued so pathetically at the Fountain Tavern against Sandys and the rest, who had taken places a few days before; this very man would have acted the part I have been now relating, had not Lord Chesterfield, from whom I received this account, waited on him in the country, and finding him extremely indisposed, had the good fortune to dissuade the Duke from his purpose, and in some measure saved his reputation. The Duke died about six or seven months after.

From May to the middle of November in this year 1743, I passed great part of my time near Temple Mills. This situation gave me frequent opportunities of conversing with Mr. Waller during the summer. He and I agreed entirely on the plan of opposition the ensuing sessions. I must confess, though we always drew the same conclusions upon the subject of public affairs, we did by no means agree in many of the principles from which those conclusions were drawn. I always found an obscurity in him, which I could not but attribute to some degree of indistinctness in his conceptions; nor was I singular in that opinion; but, hitherto, no man can say but that he had continued in opposition to all the enemies of his country with perseverance and zeal. When I came to London, I received a letter from Lord Chesterfield, desiring me to meet some friends at his house, particularly Pitt and Lyttelton, with whom I have been for many years upon a footing of the most intimate friendship, to consult about the public affairs. The Sunday after, I dined with Lyttleton, who communicated to me the substance of their resolutions at that meeting; where, let me observe, that neither Lord Cobham nor Waller were present. I entirely disapproved of their plan, and the next day wrote to Lord Chesterfield a letter something to the following effect.

1743. Waller.

1743. Monday morning

MY LORD,

Letter to Ld Chesterfield.

HAD my good fortune brought me to London time enough last week to have had the honour of accepting your lordship's invitation on Tuesday, I should have saved you the trouble of this letter. Though I am to see you so soon as next Saturday, I cannot rest without offering some crude reflections to your lordship's consideration. I understood yesterday by Mr. Lyttleton, that the plan of this sessions, now under deliberation with some of the opposition, consists principally in "replacing the Hanoverians with other hired forces, keeping an army in readiness on the continent, and treating with France in that posture, but under this restriction, that no step whatever should be taken but in concert with the Dutch." When I am asked, how such a measure will be relished without doors, I freely own, that it will by no means be unpopular, unless its consequences prove, as my own apprehensions suggest. Let me ask, "After granting immense supplies and a large army, are you sure the Dutch will take any part with you, and what? Suppose they join you with thirty thousand men instead of ten, are you sure the French will be so far intimidated as to give up immediately all the Emperor's pretensions, except the single

restitution of his hereditary dominions?" The conduct which France has to observe, is to me extremely obvious. Not to treat, not to give up any one point, to fill up her barrier towns with strong garrisons, lie behind them with a great army, which her ordinary revenue will enable her to do, and wait till the English and Dutch will make an attack upon her dominions. Let me ask again, will they attack her? the consequence of which is a general war, which she knows you are averse to, and the Dutch still more? If we do not attack her, will she not compel us to spin out a whole campaign like the end of the last—at an immense expence, which will necessarily occasion greater clamours in England than ever, and strengthen the pacific party in Holland. And all this time you are wasting away in so fruitless a manner, France runs no risk, is at no other expence than granting subsistence to the Emperor, and consequently will be more stiff in her demands the subsequent year, when she will have saved as many lives, and as much money, as you have been throwing away; then, what step must England take next, in a condition so much weaker and more exhausted than before? then, my Lord, consider at whose door will the unpopularity of this measure fall?" 1743.

This was the substance of the letter, though

1743. I cannot call this an exact copy. I waited on Lord Chesterfield at dinner on the day appointed, when I met Pitt, Lyttelton, and George Grenville, who I believe will make the most useful and able parliament man of the three, though not of equal eloquence with Pitt. They informed me, that the opposition was now agreed, that it would go on much upon the same footing as last year, &c. Upon the whole I found the plan I writ against in my letter, which Lord Chesterfield made me many compliments upon, was entirely thrown aside. I further observed, that Waller was acknowledged among them for their head and leader. I likewise learned something about Dodington, which confirmed me in my suspicions of his being but a rotten member of the opposition. The Sunday se'nnight after, I dined with Waller; we agreed in all our conclusions as usual, and I thought he came more into my principles and premises than he used to do. He seemed uneasy at the difference they had had among themselves upon their measures this sessions, and seemed a little dubious, even after I assured him that all was agreed and settled upon his plan, which he was pleased to term, his and mine, concluded in the preceding summer. I own the state of public affairs, independent of all party considerations, appeared so plain to me, that I am at a loss to

find any good motive which could have influenced my friends in differing so much with Mr. Waller upon their measures this sessions. Whether young men, elated with a brilliant character, might not take upon them too early to be the contrivers, as well as the orators, in behalf of the party, I cannot say. Whether there were any worse motives than mere vanity and self-sufficiency for this conduct, I will not say. Neither, perhaps, am I too severe in my judgment of men; but I must declare, that from this accident I conceive less hopes of our present opposition than I did. When I use the word hope, I would not be understood to mean that I expect any great benefit to my country from this or any opposition; but I had a better opinion of some people than I have just now; and they are so nearly connected with me by a long friendship and esteem, that I most heartily wish that my fears may be misplaced, and prove in the end abortive. 1743.

The apprehensions expressed in the foregoing paragraph were but too justly founded, as appears by the following narrative, collected from my own observation, and the intelligence I received from Lord Cobham and Mr. Waller. During the whole summer I had observed a disposition in Lords Chesterfield, Gower, Marchmont, Pitt, and Lyttelton, to treat with Mr. 1743-4. Jan. 11.

1743-4. Henry Pelham; their view was, to raise him above Carteret; and then, it was pretended, there might be hopes of obtaining some good laws, and possibly of separating the electorate of Hanover from the crown of Great Britain. Mr. Waller was ever averse to this negotiation, having no confidence in Pelham, despising his narrow understanding and abject spirit, and detesting his mean, equivocating temper. This treaty, however, was certainly attempted by the others, and was the parent of that plan which was communicated to me by Lyttleton, and was adopted by Lord Chesterfield from Pitt. To this latter I can trace it: whether any other suggested it first to him, I am not certain; but I have some suspicion that Bolingbroke had his share in this measure, if he were not the first mover; and thus much I know as a fact, that a connection was constantly kept up with him by them all. Mr. Pitt and the rest were naturally led into this measure, supposing it not their own, for this plain reason: As they were continually in expectation of coming into place through Harry Pelham, and at the same time were weak enough to hope that means might be contrived to preserve their characters, this plan, whether of their own or Bolingbroke's, or any others, is not material, was considered to be the proper means; because, having once agreed

to support the king in his warlike measures, by giving all the English troops, the money demanded for the current service, and replacing the Hanoverians with other mercenaries, during the time they were part of the opposition, they could pursue the same steps after they were taken into place, and say, that their conduct was the same as ever, and entirely consistent with itself. Upon the whole, the bare opposition to the Hanoverians was to be the scape-goat for so great a folly, to give it no severer an appellation. Mr. Waller, and indeed the whole minority besides, except Dodington, (as in its place shall be explained,) were always for attacking the whole measure of the minister, and treated the affair of the Hanoverian forces as a very inconsiderable part of that whole, and of little further service than exasperating the people without doors. Mr. Pitt and his few friends had publicly declared their opinion in behalf of the English army in Flanders, having entirely changed their sentiments since my interview with them at Lord Chesterfield's early in December, and when pressed by their friend, I may say patron, Lord Cobham, to retract and agree with Waller not to listen to his persuasions but on the following proposition—that a motion should be made in the House of Commons for an address to the King not to proceed 1743-4.

1743-4. any further in the war without some express stipulation with the States General for their full concurrence and support; and if the Court rejects this motion, says Pitt, I will then join with the rest, and oppose the English forces as well as the Hanoverians. This was the sole occasion of that motion, which would not else have been thought of, much less proposed. Mr. Waller accordingly drew up one, which was disapproved of, and another prepared by Lord Chesterfield, which was done at Lord Cobham's house, and was the very exploded motion that appears in the votes: it was thrown out by a great majority; and Mr. Pitt being called upon to concur with Waller in opposing the English, the terms upon which the latter had agreed to the motion at all, declared that the merits of it having been no ways the subject of the debate in the House, but merely the grammar and wording of it, he was left at liberty to follow his own opinion with respect to the English forces as at first; and accordingly, with Lyttelton and Mr. Chetwynd, made public interest with the members of the opposition to vote with the court upon the subject of the English in Flanders, and to confine their opposition to the Hanoverians only. They even went so far, and Chesterfield was weak enough to assist, as to declare that the above-mentioned

ill-judged, ill-expressed motion was Waller's, though he at that time was in possession of it under his own hand: and in the midst of the flame and confusion this conduct occasioned, Mr. Dodington steps in to act his part. Mr. Dodington, who never was, nor will be, averse to treat with Mr. Pelham, or any one besides, for a place, was actually of the same opinion as Mr. Pitt with relation to the English forces before the opening of the sessions. Afterwards, finding that Pelham was mean enough to range himself a subaltern under Carteret, whom, with the assistance then offered by the opposition, he might have easily supplanted; finding too that Pitt still continued tenacious of his first opinion, of whom Dodington was ever extremely jealous, and whose character he envied, immediately took advantage of the other's obstinacy, changed his sentiments, came over to Waller, and at last, in the midst of the animosities and divisions just mentioned, procured a general meeting of the minority members at the Fountain Tavern just before the 11th of January, the day appointed for the English forces in the House. 1743-4.

Pitt, whom pride and resentment on the ill success of his plan would not suffer to retract, had acted more prudently by staying away from this meeting, than by coming, as he did, and

1743-4. endeavouring to persuade the company to vote for the English forces. His reasons were, that the nation being involved in a war, the ministry ought not to be disarmed. The whole meeting were of a different opinion, and Mr. Velters Cornwal having made a speech which obliquely reflected on Pitt and Lyttelton, they immediately retired with Chetwynd to one side of the room, and after some conference by themselves rejoined the company; when Mr. Pitt addressed them to this effect: "That since he found the meeting so unanimously of opinion to oppose the English forces the next day, he should pay that regard to the sentiments of his friends as to vote with them, though contrary to his own, but that he hoped they would be contented with his vote, and not expect he should speak." The next day being the 11th of January, the court carried their question, and Pitt and Lyttelton, as they had declared, voted with their friends, but did not speak in the debate—a behaviour equally ridiculous and absurd, and of ten times more service to the court and disadvantage to the opposition, than if both had accepted employments and publicly joined with the administration. At the same time Pitt had lost all the confidence of his friends, and entirely eased Dodington of his envy and jealousy, which were, indisputably, all his motives of acting thoughout this unhappy affair.

During the course of this year, 1744, the leaders of the opposition, who had differed among themselves so widely the year before, were now once more re-united upon one principle, which was, to get into place; in consequence of this agreement a junto was formed of nine, who were, the Duke of Bedford, Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Gower, Mr. Pitt, Lyttelton, Lord Cobham, Mr. Waller, Dodington, and Sir John Hynde Cotton: however, this justice is due to the four last, that in all their conferences with the other five they strenuously insisted on making some terms with Mr. Pelham for the public before they went into employment. Mr. Dodington informed me, that one of these conditions was, that the inferior officers of the excise and customs, with some others of the like dependence on the crown, should be deprived of their votes in all elections for members of parliament; and I was told in express terms by Mr. Waller, that Pelham himself offered to concur with them in procuring a more effectual place-bill, particularly to exclude all officers of the army under the rank of colonels, and possibly of the navy under the degree of admirals; but whether this last article was only desired by Mr. Waller and Cobham, Dodington and Cotton, or actually promised by Pelham, I cannot determine; but thus much is certain,

1744. Jan. 18

1744. that Waller told me a place-bill was offered by Pelham during their treaty with him, and I understood it to have been intended very nearly in the shape I have mentioned. Waller at the same time ascribed this condescension in the minister to very notorious and obvious reasons, i. e. his incapacity and pusillanimity, which led him to make these concessions; not that his mean heart entertained the least spark of compunction for the public, but merely that he might sit easy in power, and shelter his inabi-
Pelham. lity against the weight of Waller's talents and experience, the virulent eloquence of Pitt, the party strength of Gower and Cotton among the tories, the keen and lively parts of Cobham, and the industry and social arts of Dodington; all which, united upon honest and disinterested views for their country, must have speedily rendered the opposition not only formidable, but dangerous to Pelham: such, however, was the prostitution of Bedford, Chesterfield,* Gower,

* I must here observe, that if any one of these five may be distinguished from the rest as the most prostitute and eager to get into power and employment, it was the Earl of Chesterfield. He and Lord Cobham were deputed by the junto to treat, in their names, with the Pelhams; and in all their private interviews this forwardness of Chesterfield could neither be restrained by Cobham, nor did he himself endeavour to conceal it; on the contrary, he affected to act without the other's concurrence or

Pitt, and Lyttelton, a party founded on the base desire of pecuniary emoluments, partly on the more extensive views of procuring the whole ministerial power to themselves, that they peremptorily insisted on coming into employment without any stipulations whatever. 1744.

Lord Cobham was at one time so provoked at this infamous conduct, that he had thoughts of withdrawing himself from their councils, and to Sir Francis Dashwood, from whom I had my information, made up of the following expressions: "Damn these fellows! they mean nothing but themselves! Will they stand by us? By God we will have no further concern with them." But his resolution did not hold: the truth is, that Lord Cobham, Dodington, and Cotton, had too much sense not to see the weakness of Pelham, of which they were sincerely desirous to make an advantage, so far as might serve to bring them into power with some degree of character; and this they very well knew could never be accomplished without obtaining some terms for the people; but at the same time it was always evident to me, who

participation, by private conferences and whisperings, even in the same room before Cobham's face; a procedure so gross, that the latter, as he has often told me in confidence, was frequently provoked to reproach him, and insist on his speaking out.

1744. knew them during the whole course of their opposition, long before they accepted of employments, and their subsequent conduct has rendered it notorious to all mankind, that their first regard was to profit and power, that their second was to character, and much fainter than the first; and that their care for the public extended no further than to preserve some part of their former popularity for a varnish to their avarice and ambition. Mr. Waller went much further; he really meant to serve the public effectually, if he could, as well as himself; but absolute despair of the former made him stoop at last from his reputation and integrity, and embrace his own private advantage. The truth of these observations shall now be evinced by a fragrant and incontestable fact.

These nine chiefs not being able to agree unanimously among themselves, it was at length proposed, that the question in dispute, whether they should accept of employments with, or without any previous stipulations for the public, should be put to the vote, and that the whole junto should be determined by the sense of the majority. This act of presumption, for nine men, by a single vote among themselves, to determine for their whole party without its privity and approbation, to say nothing of the public, was a step which, I should have expected,

would have forced Mr. Waller with indignation from their company and councils: but he acquiesced with the rest, and it was carried, to go into place without the least stipulation whatever, by the voices of the Duke of Bedford, the lords Chesterfield and Gower, of Mr. Pitt and Lyttelton, against Lord Cobham, Waller, Dodington and Sir J. Hynde Cotton: in consequence of this resolution, the office of privy-seal was restored to Lord Gower, a regiment of dragoons given to Lord Cobham, Waller made cofferer, Lyttelton commissioner of the treasury, the Duke of Bedford first commissioner of the admiralty, Dodington treasurer of the navy, and Cotton treasurer of the chambers; Chesterfield and Pitt did not come into place immediately, but the first was designed for the lieutenancy of Ireland, and the last to be paymaster of the army. It was not till the year 1745 that Lord Chesterfield went to Ireland; but the manner in which Pitt was brought in at last, requires a detail not unworthy of notice. 1744.

Mr. William Pitt, during the course of his opposition, had signalized himself by no part of his conduct so much as by the bitterest and most violent invectives against the king's German dominions, which drew upon him his Majesty's indignation and hatred, and was for many months an insurmountable obstacle to his Mr. Pitt.

1744. preferment. The King complained to the Earl of Granville, who still retained the first place in his confidence and esteem, and even to the Earl of Bath, of this ungrateful attempt of the Pelhams to force into his service and councils a person whom he held in the utmost abhorrence. The Earl of Bath, who was now become the most insignificant and contemptible of men, from a degree of popularity and power which no subject before him was ever possessed of, began upon this occasion to entertain fresh hopes of regaining some part of his former weight and influence, and in this view cherished and cultivated the king's resentment. The Pelhams, alarmed at his majesty's continued obstinacy, and still apprehensive of being supplanted by Granville, as they well knew his superior abilities and peculiar arts in obtaining and preserving their master's favour, at length came to a resolution of attacking the king on his weakest side, his timidity, and to make his refusal of Mr. Pitt the pretence for executing a measure which should for ever fright him from the very thought of employing the Earl of Granville more. It was now the month of February, 1745-6, when a rebellion, which had sprung from a small beginning in the preceding month of July, continued to prevail, and filled the court and kingdom with a consternation which

no time can parallel, and no circumstance can justify. 1745.

Prince Charles.

It was on the 26th of July, 1745, that Charles Edward, son to the Pretender, landed with a few followers in the highlands of Scotland, and there erected his standard. The first intelligence of this design was treated by the administration with indifference and neglect. The rebels were upwards of 3000 in number, and were masters of the passes on a mountain called Corriarrick, which leads to Fort Augustus, when Sir John Cope, general of the troops in Scotland, and who had not left Stirling before the 20th of August, in his march to that fort, was obliged to desist from this undertaking and turn to the eastward, where reaching the town of Aberdeen, he embarked his forces for Dunbar, south of Edinburgh. On his retreat the rebels quitted those passes, and rushing from their mountains, without any obstacle, soon traversed the lowlands, and were admitted into Edinburgh; then marching out to meet Sir John Cope, who having landed his army at Dunbar, was advancing against them, gave him battle on the 21st of September, and totally routed the king's troops. Disgraceful was this behaviour, though not uncommon in regular forces when assailed by an enemy, whose arms and method of engaging are different from their

1745. own; but more disgraceful, and destined to eternal infamy, was the consternation which at once overspread this populous kingdom.

The rebels did not take all the advantage of a victory so easily obtained; they lost some time in a fruitless siege of Edinburgh Castle, instead of proceeding directly to Northumberland; General Wade got thither in time to oppose that attempt, which obliged them to enter England by Carlisle. Into the very heart of this kingdom did 6000 mountaineers, of whom not 3000 were properly combatants, penetrate unopposed and unassisted; till finding that the Duke of Cumberland was advancing with an army not inferior to their own, and discouraged at their cold reception from their reputed friends in England, they returned to Scotland without interruption, raised contributions on the city of Glasgow, invested Stirling Castle without success, surprised the king's troops under General Hawley at Falkirk, and gave them another defeat, more owing to his beastly ignorance and negligence, than to their valour and conduct.

This infamous and disheartening event necessitated the Duke of Cumberland to take the field a second time; and this rebellion, formidable only in the apprehensions of a pusillanimous and effeminate nation, was brought to a period in a few months by one battle with the

highlanders at Culloden, very little to the credit of their pretended Prince, and in its consequences not much to the honour of our Royal Commander, who stained his victory with the most unsparing cruelty. 1745.

The defeat at Falkirk furnished occasion to the Pelhams of demonstrating their ingratitude, as well as their factious power, to the king. This crisis they chose to insist on his creating Mr. Pitt paymaster of the army, an office which renders its possessor a privy councillor. The proposition was rejected; the Duke of Newcastle resigned; Granville was appointed secretary of state in his room: upon this Mr. Pelham and all the king's old servants resigned likewise. None could be found to accept the vacant offices. Granville, whose arbitrary spirit was not less undaunted than dangerous, boldly counselled the king to summon the Commons, and declare from the throne to them and the House of Lords, what usage he received from all his servants in the midst of a rebellion. Could the counsellor have conveyed with his advice some part of his manly and enterprising temper to the person advised, perhaps the project might have been put into execution; and considering the king's popularity at that juncture, and the odium he would have cast on the Pelhams; considering too their wavering and timid dis-

1745. position, it was a project which might have brought them to submission at least, if not overthrown the whole faction. On the con-

The king. trary, the king submitted to them, and was * seen to weep when Mr. Pitt appeared first in the drawing-room to kiss hands.

Disinterested motives, and an object of public advantage extorted from the Crown, would have rendered the measure illustrious to all posterity; but the motives were selfish, the object was power: this conduct therefore of the Pelhams was ungrateful towards a Prince ever profitable to them, and factious towards the State, which they never had served either ably or vigilantly, nor meant to serve in this instance: their single aim was to annihilate all rivalship, and establish an unbounded authority over a weak, narrow, sordid, and unfeeling master, who, seated by fortune on a throne, was calculated by nature for a pawnbroker's shop, and was easily reconciled to a set of men willing and able to gratify his low avarice, in his ideas a sufficient compensation for the sacrifice he made them of his resentments and his prerogative. Hating Mr. Pitt, he preferred him: the ministers, who had hurled back his favours

* Mrs. Waller told me, that she stood near the king on the occasion, and saw him shed tears.

in his face, he restored not only to employment, 1745.
but to his confidence, and the sole power of three kingdoms: among so great a number, Lord Harrington was the only one he did not forgive, and whom he was permitted to disgrace. Pitt co-operated with the Pelhams in every point, and brought himself to a level with the Earl of Bath in the public disesteem, not more by his votes, than by his hot and unguarded expressions in Parliament; the most indecent of which was, a needless encomium on the late Sir Robert Walpole, reproaching himself for his opposition to him, and professing a veneration for his ashes.

I write as I think; I deliver facts as they fall under my own observation; my reflections are dispassionate, thus far at least, that I have conceived no prejudice against any person named in these Memorials, from any disobligation to myself: far otherwise; I had intimacies to a degree of friendship with most of them; but as those intimacies were contracted on the public account, when that cause was deserted by them, their society was abandoned by me. There was a time too, when I was forsaken by fortune; yet, in the day of distress, I returned not to those powerful friends, who were really willing and able to assist me: but I opened a new scene, repaired my losses, and maintained

1748. my independence; renewed and extended my acquaintance with the greatest, and by that situation obtained an insight into the springs of those actions and events which I now communicate to writing.

I leave to its own notoriety the war with Spain and France. It was concluded in May, 1748, by a general pacification at Aix la Chapelle. I shall only observe, that as our peculiar disappointments were owing to ourselves, wanting both Statesmen and Commanders, œconomy, discipline, and conduct; the calamities which involved the rest of Europe, may be justly and primarily imputed to the King of Prussia. On the death of the Emperor Joseph he set up an old and dormant claim to four duchies in Silesia, invades that province and Bohemia, while the French and Bavarians penetrate into Austria. The Queen of Hungary purchases a peace with the Prussians by a cession of more than he claimed in Silesia: this was ratified by the treaty of Breslaw. She then conquers Bavaria, whose prince had been newly * elected Emperor by the power of France

* It must not be forgot, that our king went to Hanover at the time a French army was advancing into Westphalia under Maillebois. I will not affirm that the Electoral vote was absolutely promised to the Duke of Lorrain, while he was in England; but I believe he, and every one besides, understood that

and Prussia, drives the French out of Germany with the loss of fourscore thousand men, the flower of their troops, and the next year carried terror and desolation into France itself, by sending her victorious army across the Rhine. 1748.

France in distress, bribes the King of Prussia, who, in defiance of the late treaty of Breslaw, invades the Austrian dominions a second time, commits the most inhuman acts of devastation, compels the Queen to recall her army for her own protection, and thus relieves, if not preserves, the inveterate foe of Europe. I judge not of princes by the rules of morality, before whose tribunal they would all be condemned in their turns, and undergo the severest punishment, if executioners were not wanting to the laws of nature and of justice, and the

the king intended to give him his vote. The French army consisted of thirty to thirty-five thousand men at most. We had at that time twelve thousand Hessians in our pay and at the king's command, which, added to the Electoral troops, might have encouraged a prince of the least magnanimity to have supported his dignity; but the fear of Maillebois, and the plain language of his bullying emissary Bussy, compelled the king to vote against the Duke of Lorraine, and in a manner inconsistent with our constitution, to send orders, unauthorised by any English secretary of state, to Admiral Haddock, then at Gibraltar with a powerful naval force, to suffer the Spanish squadron to enter the Mediterranean unmolested; which afterwards joined the Toulouse fleet, and gave battle to our's under Mathews and Lestock.

1748. folly and servility of mankind were not the safeguard of kings. I make this reflection, as I pass, merely for its truth. The indignation and hatred of the King and people of England, survived in abuse and execrations on the King of Prussia, till 1755; when, on a sudden, that fiend becomes the brightest of beings, and the admired Queen of Hungary detestable; yet the truth of my reflections remains, in this case, on as permanent foundations as before.

August, 1754, Mr. H. Pelham died.

In August, 1754, Mr. Henry Pelham died. He was originally an officer in the army, and a professed gamester; of a narrow mind, and low parts; of an affable dissimulation, and a plausible cunning; false to Sir Robert Walpole, who raised him, and ungrateful to the Earl of Bath, who protected him. By long experience and attendance, he became considerable as a Parliament-man; and, even when Minister, divided his time, to the last, between his office and the club of gamesters at White's. I will add a few particulars of my own knowledge; which, from their minuteness, could not have come under public observation, at least, not like many of the above notorious facts.

1754. Sampson Gideon. Sir John Barnard.

In the year 1746, Mr. Pelham had given to Sampson Gideon, and other low monied-men, the most abominable job for the loan of that year. Sir J. Barnard not only opposed it, but offered in Parliament, that if the money must

be raised by a job, he would undertake to furnish it half a million cheaper. His opposition met with no success; however, Mr. Pelham had the discretion to consult with Sir John Barnard on those matters ever after. 1754.

In 1738, Sir John undertook to borrow six millions three hundred thousand pounds, by giving to the lenders seven millions of Annuities at 4 per cent. The public subscribed as far as nine millions. When Pelham heard of this success, without the least communication with his friend and counsellor, who had pledged his reputation that no more than six millions three hundred thousand pounds should be borrowed, he resolved to take advantage of the people's forwardness, and increase the sum to seven millions. Sir John Barnard charged him with the design: he did not deny it; but on Sir John's expressing the utmost indignation at this imposition on himself and the public, threatening to make it known, and that he would release the vast number of his own subscribing friends from their engagements, Mr. Pelham yielded, and by his flattery and hypocrisy soon pacified Sir John, who not only forgave him, but was not less his friend than before.

In 1750, Sir John made that celebrated motion in the House for the reduction of interest from 4 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for seven years, and then

1754. to 3 per cent. for ever, on all the public funds. Mr. Pelham indeed concurred, but trembled at the undertaking; and I must confess, that as Sir John trusted to mere argument, without the least degree of management, it was a bold attempt. I could appeal to Mr. Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons, as well as to Sir John, that I was the second instrument in facilitating the success of this enterprise. There was but one more, a friend of mine, Mr. Broyden by name, who joined us in combating the whole monied interest in the kingdom. Pelham was awed, and rather discouraged than aided our operations: however, we had influence to prevail on numbers to subscribe, and largely at first; then, by means of those subscribers, who in course were become auxiliaries, the influence grew more extended, and by the help of a little bullying too, the project was accomplished, and five hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds per annum was saved to the nation.

Sir John Barnard expected, which was more than I did, that Pelham would co-operate with him in the second part of his plan, which was, to apply all these savings, and as much more of the sinking-fund, as would discharge a million annually of the national-debt; others expected, that at least some of the heaviest taxes on the poorer sort would be abolished on this happy

incident. Pelham might have flattered these expectations in all; I am sure he deceived Sir John Barnard, and amused him with the hope of accomplishing his plan at a proper time, which Pelham was determined should never come: in the mean while Sir John was content with the Court and observance paid him, of which the whole Pelham family were ever most profuse, even to servility. I must take notice, that at the time Sir John Barnard made this attempt, 3 per cent. annuities were considerably above par, to the best of my remembrance about 4 per cent., or between 3 and 4: what I call bullying, was nothing more than writing and talking, that those who refused to subscribe to the reduction, would be paid off, and consequently fare the worse by the 3 or 4 per cent. above par; though if the majority had refused, we should have been puzzled to have found money for the putting our threat in execution; and the Legislature's beginning the attempt without the least provision of money in hand, I call mismanagement, and an imprudent degree of confidence in Sir John Barnard. 1754.

I am now in the 46th year of my age; the ardour of youth is abated; the mind grown stronger by experience, familiar with ill-fortune both to myself and my country, guarded against the delusion of popularity, and above the pride

1754. resulting from the occasional countenance and *unsought* confidence of men in high station, of which I propose to make no further use, than to delineate with accuracy and truth the causes of this nation's fall, which my ill-boding judgment foresees to be inevitable.

To paint folly in the various shades and colours of hope and fear, of exultation, dejection, resentment, and rage, in a vain, dissolute, and refractory people, presuming still on an imaginary superiority, yet obstinately blind to its own defects and weakness; to describe subjects without subordination, laws uninforced, magistrates without authority, fleets and armies without discipline in the midst of an unsuccessful war; to set forth the supineness of an effeminate gentry, the corruption of a servile and dependant senate, the ignorance, incapacity, timidity, rashness, pride, and ambition, holding sway by turns at some periods, at others jarring and encountering to the utter confusion of Administration, under a doting, mean, spiritless, covetous,* prejudiced, undiscerning Prince, whose

* The King's avarice would lead him to actions repugnant to common honesty. On the death of his father, the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered him the late King's will in the Council-chamber: He thrust it into his bosom, walked out, and secreted it ever after. It happened that the Duchess of Kendall, mistress to King George the first, had a duplicate copy

decisions, like those of chaos, serve but to em- 1754.
broil the fray; to display a scene of this nature, and know it to be a representation of the land one inhabits, at the same time to exhibit truth pure and untinctured by passion, requires that unconcern which despair alone can produce in the human mind. It is enough to have lamented, and beyond the means of a private station to have opposed the impending calamity; when the measure of popular vices and follies is full, and co-operating with selfish and ambitious rulers renders a nation contemptible, an honest individual who can assuage his aching heart with indifference, may stand justified not less to his own conscience, than to the unmeriting herd.

of the Will, in which was a legacy of fifty thousand pounds to her daughter, afterwards married to the Earl of Chesterfield. That nobleman consulted Mr. Joseph Taylor, an eminent attorney and Member of the House of Commons, on the means of recovering this legacy. Mr. Taylor acted with so much spirit, that, rather than have the Will brought into the Ecclesiastical Court, the King thought proper to pay the legacy, which he otherwise intended to keep for ever in his own pocket, as he had done till that time. This is an incontestible fact. What other legacies might have been in the Will I pretend not to ascertain. It was said there was some devise of money or jewels to the King of Prussia. Be that as it may, there never was a greater degree of rancour between two persons than the Kings of England and Prussia; and neither, for many years, could speak of the other but in the most abusive terms.

1754. I have already observed that Henry Pelham, First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, died in August, 1754. His brother Hollis, Duke of Newcastle, succeeded as First Minister, and taking the Treasury under his own management, made Henry Legge Chancellor of the Exchequer, and put Sir Thomas Robinson into the office of Secretary of State, which had been held upwards of thirty years by the Duke. About this time intelligence came from Virginia of the hostilities commenced between the English and French on the banks of the Ohio; an alarming event, presaging all the evils which it afterwards produced, through the neglect and irresolution of the Minister. A large tract of land between the Ohio and those mountains which the French call the just boundaries of Virginia, had been granted to some planters of that country, and some merchants of London, not many years before. When this society at last began to settle these lands, the French took umbrage, marched against the settlers, and destroyed a small fort, which had been lately erected by the proprietors for the security of their new possession. The French abstained from bloodshed, and contented themselves with the expulsion of our people. In resentment of this violence a body of Virginian militia advanced under the

command of Major Washington, who put to the sword about thirty French in the first encounter; but was afterwards surprised himself, and beat back with loss and disgrace. 1754. Washington.

The right of these useless lands was not a question worth resolving in my estimation; but whether they were worth a contest by the sword, was a point which merited the serious consideration of England. England was wild for a war singly with France; a perpetual naval war was the cry of the people, promoted by the trading part, whose interested members look on war as their harvest, and are ever ready to feed the sanguine hopes and confidence peculiar to this nation, and which had got to so fatal a height at this juncture. The infectious frenzy spread through all orders of men. The King and his Minister only were pacific, not through knowledge and judgment, but from perplexity and cowardice. The same unmanly spirit, which preferring peace through fear, could be hurried by the public impetuosity into a war, must naturally begin and conduct it with irresolution and tameness; opportunities favourable at first to vigorous measures were irretrievably neglected; every advantage proceeding from delay was given to an enemy superior in national strength, directed by their ministry with steadiness at least, and some attention to national honour

1754. and welfare. We should either have resolved to relinquish the trifle in dispute, or struck an immediate blow in America; and at the same time had our governors weighed the superior national strength of the enemy against our own, they should have established a general militia, the only means of security to an inferior nation.

Charles Townshend. A plan of operation in North America was concerted by Mr. Charles Townshend, then Commissioner of the Admiralty, and myself, and laid before his uncle, the Duke of Newcastle, about the beginning of September. The proposition was obvious, requiring moderate talents in its conception, but spirit and diligence in its execution. It was, to embark directly three thousand regulars for New England, to send three hundred thousand pounds and a number of old sergeants and corporals into that province, that the inhabitants of so martial and populous a colony might be trained and enabled to take the field early in the spring, 1755. The French at that time had not a thousand regulars in all Canada; and allowing the natives an equality with ours, in discipline and spirit, they were not undoubtedly a tenth of our number. An attack on Louisburg or Quebec was my intention; and the men of New England who had taken the former, in last war, were willing to have made an attempt on either, if properly supported by the mother country.

It was on the 15th September, that his Majesty was pleased to appear again in England, after an absence of four months and a half. His transactions in Germany, with their consequences in England, must now find their places in this Narration. During the first part of the summer he was amused by Monsieur de Bussy, the French Envoy, who, it seems, was very acceptable at the Court of Hanover; though he had appeared there formerly as the bully of Maillebois, when that Mareshal, at the head of an army in Westphalia, compelled the King to vote for the Emperor Charles of Bavaria, and to sign the infamous neutrality for the Mediterranean: this Envoy was ordered home about the time that the Duke of de Mirapoix, ambassador from France to the English Court, returned to Paris; their departure was towards the end of July, immediately after the intelligence of the hostilities committed by Boscawen on the French fleet off Newfoundland. On the 18th of the preceding month his Majesty concluded a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse, whose son was married to the Princess Mary. This treaty was to secure twelve thousand Hessians to serve, as occasion required, in Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain, or Ireland, upon terms so exorbitant, as plainly discovered that his Majesty's œconomy was confined merely

1755.

1755. to his private affairs, and not exerted in behalf of the public. On the 30th of September following, he concluded another treaty with Russia, calculated for the protection of Hanover against that hated and dreaded neighbour the King of Prussia. The inveteracy of the Empress against a Prince who had formerly espoused that branch of the imperial family, which she had dethroned and banished to Siberia, enabled our negociators to make a treaty upon reasonable conditions; the twelve thousand Hessians were to cost us 300,000*l.* annually, when in actual service; whereas the expense of fifty-five thousand Russians, and forty to fifty gallies in the Baltick, would amount to no more than 500,000*l.*

It was further designed to induce the Court of Vienna to act in conformity with the barrier treaty, by keeping twenty-four thousand men in readiness to act in the Low Countries, and at the same time make the Dutch augment their troops. The Princess Gouvernanté undertook to persuade the States General, but failed in the attempt. Nor had our endeavours at Vienna any better success. That power would not join with us and Holland to defend the Low Countries, if attacked by France, unless we would assist in the recovery of Silesia.

It is remarkable, that the first quarter of the

money due on the subsidiary part of the Hessian treaty, was demanded of the Treasury during the interval of Parliament, and allowed by three out of four commissioners present at the board on that occasion. The three were the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Duncannon, and Nugent, a jovial and voluptuous Irishman, who had left Popery for the Protestant religion, money, and widows; the fourth was Mr. Legge, who disclaimed the unconstitutional demand in favour of a treaty unauthorised by Parliament, and refused his hand to the warrant. This gallant procedure occasioned a change among the place-men. Sir George Lyttelton, of all men the most unfit, was created Chancellor of the Exchequer in the room of Mr. Legge. Fox, a creature of the Duke of Cumberland, succeeded to Sir Thomas Robinson as a Secretary of State, Lord Barrington to Fox, as Secretary at War. 1755.

These alterations took place in November; the Parliament met on the 13th of that month. I think it was some time in December that Mr. Pitt and his party went out of place. In the course of this year, 1755, I had frequent occasion of observing, that a powerful party against the Minister was forming; that men who for years had served the Pelhams in high and lucrative employments, foreseeing the approaching perplexities of a weak Prince and a weak Lyttelton, Fox, Ld. Barrington.

1755. Administration, were preparing to break through the cloud of public disapprobation, and step forwards once more upon the theatre of popularity.

Dodington. I met Mr. Pitt at Mr. Dodington's; the Grenvilles his relations, whom I had long known, full of family disgusts against him, now repaired to his house after an interval of many years: and had his nature been capable of consistency, and common prudence directed his only pursuit, a *profitable place*, he might with their support and foundation, his own social accomplishments, wit, plausibility, literature, and long experience in the forms of public business, have stood an eminent character in times like these, so destitute of great men. All these qualifications, with the addition of elegance, magnificence and wealth, wanting judgment and discretion, could not protect his old age from ridicule and neglect. So necessary is firmness and uniformity of conduct, to procure even from the imperfect part of mankind, the confidence requisite to maintain the unworthy preeminence among them.

Among the last of his friends who did not desert him, I count myself: Public connexions first made our acquaintance; I was well apprised of his temper and character, therefore was never deceived by him: won by his private

good qualities, friendship beyond professions, industry and alacrity to serve and oblige, I always kept up my intimacy, and had really more weight with him than any man had, though less than the least of his own interested projects. I was continually with him all that summer. Fox was there frequently, and seemed anxious for Dodington's opinion and advice. I soon perceived the latter trimming between Pitt and Fox, though assuring me that he would unite with no cabal, but stand on his own bottom, and publicly declare his sentiments unbiassed. This I encouraged, wishing sincerely well to a man whose company gave me pleasure. 1755.

When the Hessian treaty was made known, (that apparent job,) and the spirited behaviour of Legge, it at once struck out a plan of opposition. Dodington was among the foremost; Pitt depended much upon him, and was even deluded by Fox, not indeed from any promise, but indications that he would take part with them on the Hessian treaty: certain it is, that hopes were entertained of Fox's concurrence in the plan to overthrow the Duke of Newcastle, and that the opposition was to take its rise from both the foreign treaties: it is as certain, that the Duke of Newcastle considered Fox as a secret enemy. Fox, by amusing Pitt, provoked him beyond reconciliation; and by endea-

1755. vouring to supplant Newcastle, he frightened him into a diffidence, as hurtful to Fox as Pitt's resentment.

Charles Townshend called silver-tongued.

The opening of the session was now at hand; Charles Townshend, from the mere pleasure of fishing in troubled waters, enlists under Pitt; the country gentlemen, and the public, add their weight: in the midst of all, Fox quits his place as Secretary of War, and on the 14th of November accepts the Secretaryship of State. As Pitt had for some time past rejected any compromise with the Court on the conditions they proposed, and consequently a resignation of employments, or displacing him and his friends, was expected, Fox holds up these alluring objects to Dodington; he melts at once, passes a few harmless censures on the Hessian treaty when it was debated in the House, makes his court in the same breath to Hanover, shortly after steps into the Treasurership of the Navy, just vacated by his relation and new confederate George Grenville, is marked for perdition by that party, and becomes despised by every other beyond all redemption of character or weight with the lowest faction. I gave him a cold congratulation, having warned him before, that he could go into no office at that juncture without being the most unhappy of men. Here end the principal transactions of the year 1755.

During the whole sessions Mr. Pitt found occasion in every debate to confound the ministerial orators; his vehement invectives were awful to Murray, terrible to Hume Campbell; and no malefactor under the stripes of an executioner was ever more forlorn and helpless than Fox appeared under the lash of Pitt's eloquence, shrewd and able in Parliament as he confessedly is: Dodington sheltered himself in silence. 1756. Pitt. Murray. Campbell. Fox. Dodington.

The troubles of this session, and the expectation of national calamity, drew at this juncture, from a state of indolence and oppression, under an inhuman father, a character new indeed, unstained, though long distressed in private life, unconnected with any faction, uninfluenced by any but public considerations; it was the father of the Militia Bill, George Townshend, Knight of the Shire for Norfolk. Some detail of his history will prove no interruption to a subject unfolding events, where he bore the part of an able, active, disinterested Senator, whose domestic and public virtues, severe as I am on others, experience, not less than affection, prompts me to believe, will remain in every situation uncorrupt and unblemished. George Townshend. The late Marquis Townshend.

He is son to Lord Viscount Townshend, and heir to ten thousand pounds a year. He acquired a knowledge of the classics by his

1756. private study at the University. Returning from thence, he was compelled, by the neglect and perverseness of his father, withholding from him all the means of living equal to his rank, to indulge a natural propensity to arms; and in that view, with an allowance shamefully stinted, unaccompanied and almost unattended, he passed over to Germany, and was a volunteer at the battle of Dettingen. He afterwards made an attempt to get into the Dutch service, but not succeeding, repaired to England, where he was received into our army, served as an Aid-de-camp to the Duke of Cumberland in Flanders, and at last was promoted in the Guards to the rank of Colonel.

The disgust between the Duke of Cumberland and him was notorious, and was certainly the cause of his quitting the service. The account he gave me himself, is as follows: On a vacancy for a Knight of the Shire, the county of Norfolk invited him to stand; he carried the election without opposition, except from his father Lord Townshend: an assembly was appointed of all the gentry, and a ball for the ladies on a certain day, where the presence of a young and new elected Member was indispens-
Fox. ably necessary. He wrote to Mr. Fox, then Secretary at War, that the leave of absence from his regiment might be prolonged a fortnight;

this being refused, he came up to London, and made his personal application to the Duke for this reasonable indulgence, which he persisted to refuse. Townshend then telling him, that a favour of this nature would be granted with three times the latitude to any officer, whose vote in Parliament was firm to the Court, resigned his commission forthwith, and returned to his friends in Norfolk. 1756.

Soon after he married a most excellent woman, Lady Ferrars, whose ample fortune, discretion, and œconomy have rendered him easy in his circumstances without the least present help from his father; happy in her and a numerous progeny, he can always alleviate at home the painful sensibility of his country's misfortunes: his proper and affectionate behaviour, as a husband and a father, I mention from my own knowledge, as our intimacy, founded on an agreement of opinions, makes me in a manner part of the family, and his house my home.

In his person, demeanour, and sentiments, he is the most manly of all human beings. Wit, humour, and an uncommon faculty of caricature with his pencil, render him agreeable to his friends, and formidable to those he dislikes. May time, which impairs every external grace, produce no such change in his virtues, as may ever throw upon my pen the melancholy obli-

1756. gation of altering this character, which truth and impartiality require me now to finish with a few shades.

His capital fault is indolence, but when he is engaged in any noble pursuit, that indolence changes not only to activity but impetuosity, which frequently misleads him into hasty and striking judgments of men, either in approbation or censure, and in that temper of his mind he puts himself too much in the power of the artful and designing: yet, in those seasons I have known him open to persuasion, and if not persuaded, acquiescing to the authority of a friend, whose judgment and integrity he reveres. His absence and inattention are extraordinary, and occasion many little errors in matters of form both public and private.

By this gentleman a Militia Bill was prepared and prosecuted against all discouragements,—an instance of his unshaken adherence to right principles and measures. This Bill, repugnant to the sentiments of a Court, unpleasing to an effeminate nobility and gentry, and seemingly burthensome to a languid and unmartial commonalty, passed the lower House without obstruction from the ministry, that it might miscarry in the House of Lords; where no one distinguished himself more in opposition to it than the Chancellor Lord Hardwicke,

masking his own prostitution and servility under religious cant and hypocrisy, by declaiming against the profanation of the Sabbath, which was the day appointed in the Bill for the assembling and training the people to arms. I here close the transactions in Parliament, which rose on the — — 1756.

The French, whose passive conduct in appearance, hitherto had been feeding the English vanity, by abstaining from all molestation of our trade, were at length discovered to have been preparing all the autumn of 1755, and the beginning of 1756, to make a descent on the Island of Minorca. On the 29th of January Salvert sailed with a squadron from Brest to St. Domingo; D'Aubigny with another, but smaller, from Rochefort to Martinico on the 23d February; and Beaussier with a third for Canada, some time in March; where, by intelligence afterwards, he landed about 5,000 men, partly at Louisbourg, and partly at Quebec. In opposition to these measures, let our motions be taken into consideration. To enter the field first in America was always the object of our councils. The Generals Web and Abercrombie, with two battalions, took their departure from Plymouth for New York, not before the 20th of April. The Commander in Chief, Lord Loudon, after many delays of his transports, which

1756. carried tents, ammunition, artillery, and entrenching tools, was sent away without them on the 20th of May; and they were not dispatched till a fortnight after. The Stirling Castle man of war, with an hundred thousand pounds to reimburse the colonies their expenses in 1755, and put them in motion for the year 1756, did not sail till the 15th of June.

The effects of these departures from France and England were easily foreseen. The Marquis de Montcalm, the new General from France, landed his forces at Quebec, before Loudon had made a quarter part of his voyage. Web and Abercrombie, who sailed a month before him, got to Albany in time to hear of Montcalm's approach towards Oswego, a capital fort of our's on the Lake Ontario. While our troops were marching to its assistance, and had advanced about half the way, news was brought that the fort had surrendered on the 14th of August, an event which greeted Lord Loudon soon after his arrival at New York. He hastens to Albany, finds himself under a necessity of calling in all the garrisons from the Indian country, by which we left those allies at the mercy of the French; and after the conjunction of all the forces, Loudon was never in a condition to act offensively, but kept some stationed at proper posts, and employed the rest in

throwing up works round Albany. I conclude the affairs of America with observing, that the American regiment of 4,000 was not complete in a twelvemonth after it had been voted, and that the conquest of Oswego put an end to the two regiments raised in New England in 1755, being the chief part of the garrison in that Fort, and consisting of no more than 700 together, though we reckoned upon them in England as two thousand. 1756.

This summary account, founded on incontestable dates and facts, would almost evince an utter dissolution of order and method in every office of Government. What shall be said of Admiral Byng's departure from Spithead so late as the 6th of April, with ten ships only of the line, unaccompanied by Frigates, Hospital-ships, or Tenders, on an absolute assertion of the Admiralty, that the French could equip no more than seven of the line from Toulon, when afterwards it was made clear, that our ministry, in every branch, was in possession of intelligence all December, January, and February, that the French were meditating a descent upon Minorca in the spring, and were providing twelve ships of the line with that intent, of all whose names and force, lists had been received within the forementioned time, from a dozen different quarters. Ad. Byng.

1756. On the 13th of April, the French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, five frigates, and eighty transports, sailed from Toulon under La Galissionere; the troops aboard, to the number of 11,000, were commanded by the Maréchal Duc de Richelieu: they landed at Ciudadela in Minorca, on the 18th. Admiral Byng, after a tedious passage of twenty-seven days, arrived with his ten ships on the 2d of May at Gibraltar, where he was fortunately reinforced by one 60 and two 50 gun ships, and four frigates, the whole of our naval force in the Mediterranean for many months before, and which had made their escape from the harbour of Mahon, while the French fleet was employed in landing their troops on the opposite side of the Island.

Byng sailed from Gibraltar on the 8th of May. Sometime in the following month the copy of a letter from the French Admiral, La Galissionere, to his Court, was transmitted to D'Abreu, the Spanish Minister in London, with an account of an engagement between the French and English fleets, very little to the honour of the latter. On this single circumstance Sir Edward Hawke was dispatched to the Mediterranean with orders to supersede both our Admirals there, Byng and West, and send them home, together with Fowke, Go-

Sir Edw. Hawke.

vernor of Gibraltar, who was charged with disobedience of orders in not putting on board the Fleet a detachment of 700 men from that garrison, pursuant to his instructions from the Secretary at War. 1756.

It was soon apparent, that no small injustice had been shewn to West, whose character remains unimpeached. Fowke was tried and broke; Byng, on his landing, was put under arrest, and confined a close prisoner in Greenwhich Hospital. Those who did not live at this period, cannot by any description conceive the excess of national resentment and rage against that Commander, which was artfully and industriously fomented by a culpable Administration, that to his cowardice singly the disgrace of our army might be charged, together with the loss of Minorca, which, after a very indifferent defence, surrendered to Richelieu on the 29th of June. Unheard and untried, Byng was immediately devoted to destruction by King, Ministry, and People. The proceedings on his trial, sentence, and death, form a memorable æra, with circumstances so interwoven with subsequent events, that I here defer to enter into the particular detail.

Sir William Murray, the Attorney-general, was in the House of Commons the principal advocate of the minister: aware of his inferiority Lord Mansfield.

1756. to Pitt in Parliament, and foreseeing the growing difficulties of the cause he was expected to defend, he had obtained from the Duke of Newcastle an absolute promise of a Peerage, and the office of Lord Chief Justice, in the room of Sir Dudley Rider, who died the 25th of April.

The disgraceful loss of Minorca, and the gloomy aspect of North America, confirmed Murray's resolution of quitting the House of Commons. Inflexible to all the persuasions, supplications, and high offers of the Duke of Newcastle, that he would not desert his post in Parliament, Murray insisted on the promise, and was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's-bench, and created a Peer of England by the name and title of Lord Mansfield, on the 25th of October.

Fox, one of the Secretaries of State, resigned his employment some time before, convinced that Murray would not alter his determination, and unwilling as well as unable to bear a part any longer in an Administration sinking under the weight of national calamity and universal indignation. The Duke of Newcastle, the most trifling and incapable, yet of all men the most ambitious, struggling to the last for the continuance of power, offers the seals first to Lord Halifax, then to the Earl of

Egmont. Them he finds as averse to enter a falling edifice as Fox was to remain there. At length he applies to Pitt through the channel of Lord Hardwicke, who presents a *carte blanche* for the admission of him and his friends into the highest employments of State under the Duke. Pitt, with a haughtiness confounding the meanness of Hardwicke, rejects the proposition, and disdains all union of actions or counsels with Newcastle. Thus driven to despair, that Minister resigns his employments likewise, leaving his master naked and helpless like himself. 1756.

Mr. Pitt, immediately after the interview with Hardwicke, doubting the sincerity of his report to the King, paid a visit to the Countess of Yarmouth; and to obviate the effects of the Chancellor's disingenuous and fallacious representation, which might be calculated to amuse, cajole, and gain time, fairly declared the truth to that lady, the King's mistress, amounting to no less than an absolute refusal to unite with the Duke of Newcastle: at the same time he professed his loyal attachment to his Majesty's person and family, which he was zealous to serve in any situation where his services could be rendered effectual. It is true, that as often as Mr. Pitt's name had been mentioned to the King, as one necessary to the Administration at this juncture,

1756. he broke out into the most ungracious violence of rage, abusing him with every ill name familiar among the most illiberal of his subjects; yet, when the resignation of Newcastle convinced him of his destitute condition, when he found his subjects flaming with resentment, his enemies triumphant abroad, and no one in his court hardy enough to fill the vacant offices of State, he at once sacrificed his pride to his fears, and condescended to make a personage of the Duke of Devonshire's rank his emissary to Pitt, and request him to propose his own terms.

Pitt. The eyes of an afflicted, despairing nation were now lifted up to a private gentleman of a slender fortune, wanting the parade of birth or title, of no family alliance, but by his marriage with Lord Temple's sister, and even confined to a narrow circle of friends and acquaintance. Under these circumstances Pitt was considered as the only saviour of England. True was it, that in the lucrative office of paymaster to the army his conduct had been clear and disinterested. All past offences were buried in oblivion. The love of power, and an ardent thirst for fame, were noble passions, honourable to him, and beneficial to his country, when their views were set in comparison with those which accompany the base attachment to money, the visible bane of our times. His good sense and

spirit must surely discover, that neither power, nor fame, can be permanent without the foundation of virtue. His friends and relations shared in the public prepossession, the public overlooking their imperfections, and zealously promulgating their good qualities. Riot and intemperance, or the dissipation of time in idle pleasures, composed no part of their characters. Under Pitt they must be capable and useful in public employment. 1756.

Such were the reasonings and conclusions among men of all conditions; and at this crisis I was surprised one Saturday morning, about the end of October, with a visit from Mr. George Townshend. He told me he was that instant come off his journey from Norfolk; invited to London by a letter from Pitt, he addressed himself to me for advice at this important conjuncture. I required some further information than either of us then had, of the principles and plan on which the new Administration was to be established. We set out from my house to dine with our common friend Sir Richard Lyttelton, a good natured, generous, and benevolent man, by far the best of his family. We there fortunately met with the principal persons of Pitt's small party, Lord Temple, George Grenville, Elliot, and some others of less note. Pitt himself was confined

1756. to his bed with the gout. It was now twelve years at least, since my own reserved behaviour and unpliant principles had kept me remote from this my once intimate and most favoured society. They received me with embraces—time seemed to have made no alteration in them towards me.

After dinner I had much private discourse with George Grenville, while Townshend conversed with the rest. Mr. Grenville most frankly revealed their whole plan, consisting of inquiries into past misconduct, the establishment of a militia, the excluding from power unpopular and undeserving men, and sending back the foreign forces, whose presence was now grown irksome to a kingdom recovered from its fright. I asked him what will be done with Holdernesse? That nobleman was Secretary of State, and had drawn a general odium upon him by a letter he had sent to the Mayor of Maidstone, requiring him to deliver up a Hanoverian soldier, who had been committed to trial for a theft, and whom the party aggrieved was bound over to prosecute in due course of law. I found my question not a little perplexed my friend; indeed I put it, knowing the difficulty which this accident created between them and the King, who absolutely refused to give up Holdernesse. Grenville replied, " what can we do?

Lord Holdernesse desires to be tried for this supposed breach of the Constitution. He offers fairly; can we insist on turning him out, in direct violence to the King's inclination; who charges himself with the whole blame, and is likewise willing that the affair should be examined in Parliament?" This act, I confess, was rather the effect of imprudence than any ill design; but it raised a clamour which had echoed throughout the kingdom, promoted by no one more than Mr. Pitt, who talked in a very high strain to Lord Hardwicke on the subject. 1756.

There were other reasons for displacing Holdernesse; he was justly thought unequal to his office, and a friend of the old ministry; whence it seemed indispensably incumbent on the new to fill his post with a friend of their own. Thus I remonstrated to Mr. Grenville, and recommending the necessity of acting up to their plan, without the least concession, I took my leave, with Townshend, to lodge that night at his house. We compared the informations we had severally received, and studied the list which was to compose the new Administration. I observed that Dodington was annihilated to make room for George Grenville, and that the very honourable office of Treasurer of the Household was allotted to Mr. Townshend. We

1756. were both much chagrined at the thought of continuing Holdernesse Secretary of State; we had no other objection to the distribution of offices upon the paper before us: Townshend would not acquiesce, but wrote that night to Lord Temple, assuring him, that all his services should be devoted to support the proposed plan of public measures; but that, if Holdernesse was to remain Secretary of State, he must excuse himself coming into any employment. While he was busied in writing, I set down my sentiments in the following manner, which I here transcribe, in the original phrase, uncorrected and unpolished.

1. Mr. Pitt should insist on a militia, and the dismission of the foreign troops,—on the strictest inquiry into past misconduct,—and make a reserve, absolutely not to involve the nation with the continent, in case he should at any time disapprove of such a measure.

2. He should insist on displacing all the efficient officers of the last Administration, and all others of every kind who are obnoxious to the public.

3. He must not give up one of these points to the King. In the present calamitous crisis, it is indispensably necessary, not only that the King should not be master; but that he should know and feel, he is not and ought not to be so.

4. This conduct of Mr. Pitt will be universally applauded without doors: if the King will not acquiesce, Mr. Pitt will have done his duty, and will be justifiably disengaged. 1756.

5. Calamitous events have set Mr. Pitt in his present high point of light. Fresh calamities will soon succeed, and raise him yet higher, and compel the King to these terms at last.

6. If it be alleged, that Mr. Pitt should pay some deference to the Houses of Parliament, the creatures of the late Administration, it is answered, No. He should think of no other support, as Minister, in so dangerous a time, but the rectitude of his measures and intentions; if Parliament will not support these, that Parliament may become a victim of public despair, and he have this satisfaction, at least, of being the single man spared by an enraged and ruined nation.

Townshend. Pitt.

Mr. Townshend entreated that he might communicate these propositions to Mr. Pitt, without concealing the author. Their first interview was on the Monday following. Townshend frankly declared, that his sentiments upon the present conjuncture were contained in a short paper composed by an old acquaintance of Mr. Pitt's; and on his inquiring who it was, mentioned my name. He was in bed, and so helpless with pain, that Townshend read the

1756. paper to him: he gave his assent, excepting to no part, assuring him that that paper contained his sentiments likewise. One circumstance, minute indeed, but serving to illustrate his character, must not be omitted. Mr. Townshend told me, that when he came to the fifth article, which ascribes Pitt's exaltation merely to calamitous events, without any compliment to his abilities or merit, he shrunk back;—Townshend perceiving his pride was hurt, interposed a manly comment, that whatever esteem the author might have of him personally, this was not an occasion to make compliments, but to state facts and argument; Pitt soon recollecting himself, answered, I understand my friend perfectly, I agree with him entirely.

From these conversations on the Saturday, first with a set of men enlivened by the prospect of power and emoluments,—afterwards with Townshend, more animated still with his own zeal and rapid ideas—I passed on the Sunday following to a forlorn interview with one sinking under the dismal certainty of losing his place, without a remnant of public character, or the least consciousness of public virtue to assuage his wounded spirit; this was with Mr. Dodington at Hammersmith. I candidly imparted to him the great business in agitation,

Dodington.

and gave him warning of his own fate. Nothing, indeed, had passed which any party might be ashamed of; nor did I ever find him capable of abusing the confidence of a friend. By him I learnt some curious incidents from the other quarter. Two main propositions in our plans, I found, must have taken place without any requisition of ours. 1756.

The Duke of Newcastle, when he resigned his office, insisted at the same time on a formal scrutiny into his conduct; and the return of the foreign forces had been a point determined by the King himself, who wanted their services in Hanover, early the ensuing spring. As to the militia, says Dodington, such a one as it will be, you would have had from the old ministry; and it is most true, that he wrote to me in the summer on that subject, and proposed to consult with Lord Hardwicke upon it; to this I replied, that always suspecting unfair dealing from this channel, and that a snake in the grass would lie concealed even under a militia of his contriving, I earnestly entreated Mr. Dodington to have no concert with the Chancellor on that head, and for that reason declined to give my sentiments. It must likewise be observed, that after the Duke of Newcastle's unsuccessful application to Pitt, Fox undertook to be an emissary, and meeting

1756. Pitt on one of the landing-places of the staircase in Leicester-house, accosted him with saying, that he came from the King, who was very desirous of taking Mr. Pitt into his service. You, Sir? replies Mr. Pitt with a look which implied the utmost aversion and contempt; are *you* come from the King? Fox persisting to have some more explicit answer, was told by Mr. Pitt, with a haughtiness peculiar to himself, that he had none to give him. Must I understand, rejoins Fox, that you refuse to send an answer, because it is through me? Sir, says Pitt, when his Majesty shall condescend to signify his pleasure to me, by any one entitled to my confidence and esteem, I shall not be wanting in expressions of duty to his Majesty, and devotion to his service. This was the substance of their conversation; the words may differ, and I sincerely believe are rather weakened by my relation. Dodington assured me, that Lord Granville had used his endeavours to persuade Fox to take upon him the Administration in defiance of Pitt and all the dangers of the present crisis: Fox most prudently rejected the proposal; and Granville a few days after united himself with Pitt.

During the treaty with that gentleman, some new and striking incident, highly to his advantage, became daily the topic of every

conversation in the capital, and promulgated by fame to the most distant parts, had animated the minds of people with rapturous admiration, ascribing to their supposed deliverer all the talents, genius, and virtue, which the credulity of hope could suggest, or their own distresses require. A pleasing expectation stole upon the most rigid, effacing the remembrance of past failures, till even those few, who, long harassed with evil times, had quitted all public concerns, on this occasion, stept out of their retirement to join the nation in support of Mr. Pitt. Among the foremost was the old Earl of Westmoreland, a veteran patriot, slow, but solid; always meaning well, and therefore judging right. He was the only Whig of note who voted against the Septennial Act, the only military officer who constantly opposed the army, and spoke in favour of a Place Bill. From his uninfluenced conduct Sir Robert Walpole once drew an argument to shew the little necessity of excluding placemen from the House of Commons; and had the assurance the very next sessions to turn him out of a commission, not given to him, but purchased by him at the expense of 6,000*l*. Unchanged in principles and actions, through the course of a long life, this nobleman gave a sanction to Pitt's elevation. Sir Francis Dashwood and Lord Talbot, eminent,

1756.

Ld Westmoreland.

1756. Earl Stanhope. and hitherto consistent men, and Earl Stanhope, of the most pure and philosophical integrity, concurred with the public choice of a Minister. The country gentlemen deserted their hounds and their horses, preferring for once their parliamentary duty; and under their new Whig leader, the gallant George Townshend, displayed their banner for Pitt. The Prince of Wales and his Court, the powerful City of London, the majority of the Clergy, Law and Army, together with the whole populace, cordially and full of hope, co-operated in this signal event.

The only discontented were the King and both Houses of Parliament; the first grossly retaining his ancient prejudices, the two last dreading a change, which might lessen the price of corruption. To these may be added two small bands; one, headed by Lord Egmont and Sir George Lee, formerly the rulers of Leicester-house, but supplanted by Lord Bute, who had introduced Mr. Pitt to the favour and confidence of that quarter; they had resigned their employments, and now formed a little faction of their own: the other, had no less a leader than the Duke of Cumberland, with the Duke of Bedford and Fox for subalterns. Each of these parties disliked the other, the Duke of Newcastle more, but Pitt the most of all.

The experienced Waller was of all men the most zealous for the new Administration. Forgetting his former ill-treatment from them, he posts up from Beaconsfield, and appears the next morning in my chamber with all the hopes and vigour of youth. He was pleased to approve of what I had said, written, or done; however, he was unwilling to put the new system in hazard, by persisting too far in the removal of Holdernesse, and entreated me to employ my weight with the Townshends, particularly the Colonel, to go into place; as sufficient numbers seemed wanting to take full possession of the Administration. This I represented to Colonel Townshend, but made little impression. He said, the part he had to act, was to be the servant of Pitt, while Pitt served his country; the being in place would not render him more so, and the being out was more proper, as well as more agreeable to him, who was determined to undertake the whole burthen of the inquiries and Militia Bill: and it happened that a tolerable shift was made without him. 1756. Waller.

At last this great transaction was brought to a conclusion. Pitt and Holdernesse were to be Secretaries of State; Earl Temple, First Lord of the Admiralty; the Duke of Devonshire, First Lord of the Treasury; Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer; George Grenville, Treasurer of the

1756. Navy; and the Court of Chancery was put into commission, consisting of Lord Chief Justice Willes and the Judges Wilmot and Smythe. No alteration was made in the army. Pitt did not chuse to make an attack, at that time, on the Duke of Cumberland. By this means Lord Barrington remained Secretary at War, a place much wanted by Charles Townshend, who, full young for such high pretensions, but conceiving more highly of his own desert, accepted, with discontent and disdain, the office of Treasurer to the Chambers, worth, as he told me, 2700*l.* a year.

The continuance of Holdernesse in his great office, and the appearance of Nugent's name among the commissioners of the Treasury, staggered many without doors. The crime of the first in taking the Hanoverian delinquent from the civil magistrate, was altogether imputable to the Privy Council, approving that unconstitutional measure under the influence, and by the opinion of two such lawyers as Hardwicke and Murray. A plausible excuse was made, that Holdernesse should be tried for the misdemeanor, and it would be unjust to punish without a trial. I asked Lord Temple, why Nugent was left in the Treasury? he replied with his usual frankness, that Lord Granville insisted upon it, and there was no contending

with that new and potent ally, who had so much personal weight in the Cabinet. 1756.

The Treasury was settled on the 16th November, the Admiralty on the 20th. Mr. Pitt was appointed Secretary of State on the 4th of December, two days after the Parliament met.

On the first of December, the eve of the Parliament's meeting, an accident little regarded by the public, drew the attention of thinking people. The King's speech being prepared by Mr. Pitt, the most remarkable part of which was the recommendation of a Militia; the addresses of the two houses were settled likewise, one, left to the care of Mr. Pitt, the other, to the Duke of Devonshire. Lord Temple was at this time confined to his bed with a fever, and was accidentally informed, that in the meeting of the Lords, consulted in drawing up their Address, the Duke had consented to the insertion of a clause of thanks to his Majesty for having brought over his electoral troops. Lord Temple knowing that such a clause was not in the Address of the Commons, and provoked at the Duke of Devonshire's acquiescence, without the privity of Mr. Pitt or himself; signified, by a message to the Duke, the day before the Houses were to meet, that if the clause stood, he would come down, sick as he was, and singly oppose it. The Duke of Devonshire replied,

1756. about one o'clock the next day, that he was sorry for the accident, but that it was too late, and not in his power to make any alteration.

I was at the House of Lords that day, where Lord Temple, just risen from a sick bed, and with a blister on his back, made a most manly and spirited speech against the clause, and was seconded by no one Lord except Earl Stanhope. Temple was obliged to return home immediately after his speech, and the Address, with the clause of thanks, passed *nem. con.* Almost at the same instant the Address of the Commons passed without such a clause *nem. con.* likewise. Upon this success in the House of Lords, the King plucks up his perverse spirit, and insists on the recommitting of the Address in the Commons, a proceeding extremely unusual, that the same clause of thanks might be inserted. Mr. Pitt at once gave him to understand, that he would not only oppose any such attempt, but would also refuse the seals, in case it were made. The Earl of Granville here interposed, at whose persuasions the King gave way to Mr. Pitt. This circumstance is mentioned to shew the spirit of Pitt, as well as the little reliance there was to be had on the Duke of Devonshire.

The new Minister had no sooner vacated his seat in Parliament by his acceptance of the

seals, than he was confined to his house by the gout, and nothing material was transacted from that day to the end of the year 1756. 1756.

Mr. Fox now stepped from behind the curtain, where he had been acting a considerable part, supported by the Duke of Cumberland, secretly encouraged by the King, and animated by the apparent decline of Mr. Pitt's popularity. That remarkable instance of popular instability, resulting from the fate of Admiral Byng, renders the story of his trial and sentence necessary in this place. The inquiry itself, so impatiently demanded, was advisedly suspended by Mr. Townshend, waiting the issue of this trial, which was to unravel a conduct so nearly connected with the loss of Minorca. 1757. Fox. Ad. Byng.

On the 28th of December, the Court Martial assembled on board the St. George, in the harbour of Portsmouth; the prisoner was tried under the 12th article of war, which runs thus: —"Every person in the fleet, who, through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall in time of action withdraw, or keep back, or not come into the fight or engagement, or shall not do his utmost to engage, take, or destroy every ship, which it shall be his duty to engage, and to assist and relieve all and every one of his Majesty's ships, or those of his allies, which it shall be his duty to assist and relieve; every

1767. such person so offending, and being convicted thereof by the sentence of a Court Martial, shall suffer death." Let unprejudiced minds determine, whether the plain sense of this article be not as follows.—

" Every person keeping back in an engagement through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, or under the circumstances described, not doing his utmost through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall suffer death." Hence it is evident, that no instance of misconduct, not proceeding from those motives, is deemed a capital crime by this article. That the Court Martial understood the article, as comprehending error in judgment among the number of capital offences, is evident beyond all controversy. By their 36th resolution, on the 28th of January, they unanimously declare, that Admiral Byng appears to fall under part of the 12th article, to wit, " Or shall not do his utmost to take, or destroy, &c." Under these words absolutely, without assigning any motive whatever, they adjudged him to die, by their sentence on the 28th. The sentence then proceeds to an acquittal from the charge of cowardice or disaffection, and passing over in silence the third criminal motive, negligence, concludes with an earnest recommendation to mercy.

The sentence is transmitted to the Lords of 1757.
the Admiralty, accompanied by a letter unanimously setting forth " the distresses of their minds, which they cannot help laying before their Lordships on the occasion, in finding themselves under the necessity of condemning a man to death, from the great severity of the 12th article of war, which admits of no mitigation, even if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment only; and, therefore, for their own consciences' sake, as well as in *justice* to the prisoner, they pray their Lordships in the most earnest manner to recommend Admiral Byng to his Majesty's clemency." What, but an unfeeling Prince; Counsellors, criminal themselves; and People, blind with womanish rage, could impute to Earl Temple, as a most unpardonable offence, his hesitation to concur with a sentence like this, from Judges, who unanimously declare the person condemned to be undeserving of his fate: illiterate, inconsistent, unapprehending judges, demonstrably such on the evidence of their own words and decision!

Earl Temple lost not a moment in laying this strange sentence and epistle before the King, who ordered the warrant for his immediate execution; and for his inflexibility was called an heroic Prince, by subjects who had

1757. ever despised him before. Every Commissioner of the Admiralty then in town, Temple, Forbes, Hunter, and the two civilians, Hay and Elliot, demurred, in effect, refused to sign the warrant till the opinion of the twelve Judges could be obtained on the legality of the sentence. Their opinion was obtained, and the sentence declared legal by them all.

These transactions were no sooner known, than the First Commissioner began to share with the criminal himself in the public indignation and fury. Temple assured me in the most solemn manner, that the guilt or innocence of Byng made no part of his own consideration; but, that the putting any man to death under such a sentence, accompanied by such a letter, without the least revision, was a manifest violation of justice, in which he would not tamely concur, whatever the consequence might prove to himself. In this he was supported by the opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor General, by the Earls of Westmoreland and Lord Stanhope, the most unspotted of all the nobility; by Sir Francis Dashwood and Mr. Waller, adherents to the new Administration on principle; by the most considerable of its adversaries likewise, Lord Egmont, Sir George Lee, Sir John Cust, and Mr. Dodington, who all went so far, on a perusal of the trial, as to pro-

nounce the person condemned innocent of any capital crime. At length Sir Francis Dashwood, and Sir John Cust, one a friend, and one an enemy to the Ministry, mentioned their difficulties in Parliament; on this occasion Mr. Pitt, for the first time, delivered his sentiments, without his accustomed warmth, but in terms of moderation, declaring his desire, that mere justice might be done, which he thought would suffer, if so inconsistent and preposterous a sentence should take place without any further examination. This modest use of a privilege common to all, thinking for himself, and thus producing his thoughts, at once threw down the image of public adoration, polluted and defaced by the despicable hands which had raised it: Pitt became hateful to the people of Great Britain, like Anson, like Fox, or Byng. 1757.

The late contrition of some of Byng's judges, Mr. Keppel in particular, his signifying in Parliament a desire to be absolved from his oath of secrecy, a Bill passed by the Commons for that purpose, and rejected by the Lords, predetermined to wash away, if possible, the stains of the old Administration by the blood of an insignificant victim, together with the absurd and inconsistent behaviour of Keppel himself, and others of the Court Martial at the bar of the Lords, are incidents which scarce deserve the

1757. slight mention already made. The whole concluded in the criminal's execution. His trial is in print. Whether it furnishes evidence to prove the cowardice of which he stands acquitted in his sentence, or the negligence for which he is condemned by implication, or whether his not having done his utmost, simply and independently of any criminal motive assigned, be a capital offence existing in the law, or merely in the empty heads of his judges, are points which I leave to the decision of unprejudiced posterity.

On the 14th of March Byng was shot, memorable only in his fall; innocent or guilty, equally the occasion of dishonour to his countrymen; whether we consider their intemperate rage, artificially fomented by the more guilty against him, unheard and untried, or their more unmanly and petulant levity towards Pitt, for an act of moderation untinctured with selfishness, and wearing the aspect at least of justice and humanity. It is to shew so strong an instance of a fickle and worthless people, that I have dwelt so long on this subject.

Mr. Pitt was deemed impolitic by many, who, ignorant of the intrigues at Court, imputed his speedy dismission from employment, in a great measure, to his conduct on this occasion, which, disgusting his friends, the people,

had encouraged the King and the Cabinet cabal to deprive him of his high office. On the contrary, his nearest friends for two months before, seeing the impracticability of any undertaking for the public, wished him and his party out of the Administration, and were quickly satisfied, that their wish was every day growing nearer its accomplishment, from the King's own disposition, and the perseverance of the Duke of Cumberland, to form a ministry of his own. A decisive opportunity presented itself to the Duke: being ordered by the King to embark for Germany, and command the Army of Observation there, he made a difficulty of complying, unless he left behind him an Administration well inclined to his person and measures: his father most readily consented, and by the — of April, the day that Mr. Pitt, by the King's command, resigned the seals, (the Duke departed for Harwich the 9th,) this new and once popular ministry was no more. 1757. 5th of April.

The instant Mr. Pitt was removed, he became more popular than before. The freedom of London was presented to him and Mr. Legge, a compliment seconded by most of the great corporations in England; the crime of screening Byng was at once buried in oblivion; invective was changed into applause; even the exploded Duke of Newcastle was invited by

1757. the public to unite with Pitt, and compel the King, perplexed and confounded at this reflux of Pitt's popularity, to replace him in the full possession of power.

Truly deserving of censure from a well-advised and impartial nation, was the cold countenance Pitt had given to the Militia, and his inactivity and negligence in prosecuting the inquiry. Should it be asked, why the spirit and activity of Mr. Townshend delayed to open that interesting transaction till the 25th of April, full six weeks after the determination of Byng's destiny, I can from my own knowledge reply, that Mr. Townshend's original resolution was, to leave the time, method, and direction, to Mr. Pitt; and purposing himself to act a subordinate part, was content to see the glory engrossed by one man, on whom the success confessedly depended, provided justice could be obtained for his country. Mr. Townshend's anxiety at this suspense, and the universal propensity, in this important crisis, to a coalition with the Duke of Newcastle, induced me to wait upon Mr. Pitt himself, without reserve or partiality, to deliver my sentiments on the public situation and his own, and expecting a return of candour, in consequence of his many intimations conveyed through Lord Temple and others, of an earnest desire to see me, I made

him two visits within a few days after his resig- 1757.
nation. Our conversation and demeanour were suitable to the intimacy and friendship which had commenced with our youth, and subsisted for no inconsiderable part of our lives.

The neglect and indifference on my side for the last twelve years, seemed to have made no impression upon him, and the remembrance of his frailties, which had created my former disgust, was lost in the expectation, which all men conceived from his altered principles and conduct. The substance of our conferences may be reduced to the following heads:

He frankly disclosed, under my promise of secrecy, the most material occurrences between him and the King, who most apparently had never reposed the least confidence in him; yet awed by his spirit and popular name, had treated him with a civil, though inflexible reserve. He asked me in what manner I would advise him to word his answer to the City of London, upon the compliment they intended to make him of his freedom.* I advised him to be very general in his expressions, and to retain in his private thoughts as little regard to their present approbation, as he had done to their censure in the case of Byng; to form, as an honest man, the best opinions he was able, and ever

* See Mr. Pitt's answer at the end.

1757. keep in remembrance, that

> Justum et tenacem propositi virum
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
> Non vultus instantis tyranni,
> Mente quatit solidâ,

That his greatest trial was immediate; all orders and conditions of men were now united in one cry for a coalition between him and the Duke of Newcastle, whose instability, treachery, timidity, and servile devotion to the King, were indisputably known; and to whom, interposed Mr. Pitt, all our public misfortunes are more imputable than to any other man. But what must be done? we are now in the most desperate and flagitious hands, capable of any violence. The Duke of Cumberland would not hesitate to silence the complaints of an aggrieved people by a regiment of the Guards, a measure which Fox would as little scruple to advise; I grant them, said I, to be the heads of a Catilinarian band; but will your union with Newcastle prevent the mischief? Do not imagine, replied he, that I can be induced to unite with him, unless sure of power; I mean power over public measures: the disposition of offices, except the few efficient ones of Administration, the creating Deans, Bishops, and every placeman besides, is quite out of my plan, and which I willingly would relinquish to the Duke of Newcastle. Give me leave, said I, to suppose

you united in Administration with him; then let us consider the part which he (admitting him to be sincere,) will have to act. You have no command in either House of Parliament, and have experienced the personal dislike of the King. You must depend altogether on the Duke of Newcastle for a majority in Parliament, and on his fighting your battles in the closet; and, to speak plainly, using his efforts to alienate a father from a favoured son, who is your declared enemy. 1757.

Supposing Newcastle sincere, is his composition stern enough for such encounters? But, knowing him false, selfish, and insatiable of power, will he not rather make his own way, and re-establish himself in the King's favour by every servile gratification of his will? Then shall I be grieved to see you, the first man in Great Britain, at this juncture, become a subaltern to the lowest. Sir, you are governed by a noble principle, the love of fame; do not hazard that glorious acquisition on such precarious ground. As you are the only object in the nation's eye, every wrong measure, every miscarriage will be imputed to you. You may say you can but quit your situation again: true; but are you sure of returning to the same situation of character and importance which you now possess? Necessity brought you in, the last time; you soon found there was no raising

1757. an edifice without materials; the materials cannot exist, till calamity has utterly changed the temper, manners, and principles of the whole nation. Calamity, perhaps, is not very distant from us; when you can command your materials, and necessity puts the power in your hands, then resume your task. To conclude, I mean, that with such a coadjutor as Newcastle, and with such a House of Commons, it is impossible for an honest man to serve this country: and I am satisfied, that your magnanimity, experience, and discernment, must see this coalition in a worse light than I am capable of representing it. After all, Sir, if you must yield to the pressure of all your friends, and the whole publick, soliciting and clamouring for this measure, remember, I compare you to Curtius, whose courage I should have admired when he leapt into the gulph; though, as his friend, I never would have counselled him to take that leap. I then took occasion to pass some compliments upon him, which, together with my preceding discourse, drew this answer.

I am quite happy in the good opinion you entertain of your old acquaintance. Let me assure you that I have drawn a line, which I will not pass: so far, perhaps, I may be driven, but beyond it—never. I then wound up the conversation with reminding him of the inquiry and the militia: the first then depending

in the House of Commons, I took for granted he would prosecute with vigour; and just hinted, that at all events it was highly material for him not to omit so fair an opportunity of evincing to mankind the utter incapacity of his predecessors in Administration. He seemed struck with the thought, and gave me assurances that he would take his part in that inquiry; but at the same time, I perceived, he did not mean to go any great lengths; that is, would content himself with shewing the incapacity, &c. without insisting too earnestly on either punishment or censure. 1757.

The militia was at this time in the House of Lords. The training day, a most essential part, Mr. Pitt had consented to alter from Sunday to Monday; but the number still stood for 67,000 men, which it was apprehended the Lords would reduce to 30,000. Upon this subject I spoke as follows: If a coalition must take place, the Duke of Newcastle has it now in his power to give a proof of his sincerity. Let him pass the Militia Bill in its present shape, I would then consent to treat with him. Leaving this to his consideration, I rose to depart. He followed and took me by the hand, and in the most solemn phrase repeated his former assurances. To this declaration of prescribing certain limits to his conduct, I gave two interpretations; one in

1757. a loose and general sense, that he would not embark in any foreign measures to the prejudice of this country; the other, in a particular sense, that in all events he would ever withhold his consent from the sending of British troops to Germany.

This interview was on the 9th of April, 1757, the 25th was the day fixt for opening the inquiry. During the interval Mr. Pitt was indisposed, and desired Mr. Townshend to procure a previous meeting at his house of the principal members, to settle the several resolutions that should be moved in Parliament.

It was not till the 23d, on the Saturday night preceding the Monday morning, the day appointed for this long expected and important affair, that Mr. Townshend could obtain the meeting. As an instance of their tardy and lukewarm proceeding, he shewed me a letter from a principal gentleman of the number, where he excused himself from attending, on account of a prior and indispensable engagement. Mr. Townshend, highly provoked, sent him so spirited an answer, as obliged him to break his engagement, and appear. I was the only man out of Parliament who was admitted, and made a malicious discovery, that this great man's engagement amounted to no more than a promise of waiting on some ladies to the

Play. Sixteen members of Parliament were present. Mr. George Grenville seemed to have taken some pains. The evidence had been already digested and methodized by Mr. Townshend. The design of the meeting was to draw up the necessary resolutions, which for want of time, and through the apparent indifference of most present, were very imperfect. I prevailed on them to reassemble on the Sunday evening, when, at two in the morning, the most material resolution of any, after a tedious and indecisive debate, was left for me to prepare; which, through mere lassitude and waste of spirits, I was incapable of performing: consequently no resolution on that head was provided at all. It related to an invasion, which might have been proved, from undoubted intelligence then before the House, to have been founded on the most trifling and absurd reports; and, that the most rational and best-grounded part of the Government's advices asserted the contrary. 1757.

The ministerial side took advantage of our neglect, as appears by the first resolution of the committee on the 3d of May, on which day the whole was brought to a conclusion.

First, "It appears to this committee, that his Majesty, from the 27th of August, 1755, to the 20th of April, 1756, received such repeated and concurrent intelligence as gave just reason

1757. to believe, that the French King intended to invade his Majesty's dominions of Great Britain or Ireland."

Another resolution was as follows: "That on the 1st of April, 1756, there were twenty-seven of his Majesty's ships of the line cruizing on the following services, that is to say, fourteen ships of the line cruizing between Brest and Rochfort, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke; five more of the line, ordered under the command of Admiral Holbourne, to join Sir Edward Hawke; one between Cape Clear and Scilly, one between Scilly and Ushant, two off the Isle of Bass, one off Cape Barfleur, two in the Downs under the command of Admiral Smith, and one at Cork; and twenty-eight ships of the line in commission at home, that is to say, seventeen fitted for sea; ten fitting, and one in harbour service; all which were exclusive of the squadron under the command of Admiral Byng, then under orders to sail for the Mediterranean; and that the complement of the said twenty-eight ships of the line at home, amounted to 14,640 men; and that there were borne on the said ships-books 9891 men, and 7249 mustered."

The next resolution shews, that at the same time there were forty-five frigates, sloops, and armed vessels, nearly in the same stations as

above; and seventeen more fitted or fitting at home, which did not want more than two-fifths of their complement. It must be observed, that admitting the design of an invasion, a few more ships might have been spared for the Mediterranean. 1757.

The number and force of the French fleet, their design upon Minorca, and the timely intelligence thereof, were facts ascertained by other resolutions; and likewise, that the garrison in Fort St. Philip amounted to no more than 2860, officers included; that thirty-five military officers were absent from their duty, including the Governor and Commander in Chief of the Island, the Governor of Fort St. Philip, and the Colonels of the four regiments there: the committee, notwithstanding all which is related above, concluded with the following resolution:

"That the squadron of his Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, in the month of December, 1755, consisted of one ship of sixty guns, two of fifty guns, four frigates, and one sloop; and that the garrison of Fort St. Philip, in the said month of December, according to the last returns, made the 31st July, 1755, consisted of 2860, (officers included;) and that it doth appear, that no greater number of ships of war could be sent to the Mediterranean, than were

1757. sent on the 6th of April, 1756, nor any greater reinforcement than the regiment which was sent, and the detachment equal to a battalion, which was ordered, (viz. from Gibraltar,) to the relief of Fort St. Philip, consistently with the state of the navy, and the various services essential to the safety of his Majesty's dominions, and the interest of his subjects.

During these several long debates on this subject, Mr. Pitt spoke with vehemence, and directed his invective against Lord Anson, the late First Commissioner of the Admiralty. Colonel Townshend acquitted himself with great temper, coolness, and ability; and my worthy friend, Mr. Samuel Martin, late Secretary to the Treasury, was distinguished above all for the best digested speech delivered on the occasion; and with a degree of integrity which no one could equal but Townshend himself.

In two or three days after the 3d of May, the period of the inquiry, I had the honour of a second interview with Mr. Pitt. Our conversation principally turned on the same topics as before, a coalition with the Duke of Newcastle. I repeated and enforced all my arguments against it. He heard me with attention, shewed much regard, and some acquiescence, seemingly so at least, possibly, at the instant, real and sincere. At length he assured me, that no con-

sideration should induce him to close with the measure, unless the Duke of Newcastle would pledge himself, and his whole party, in the hands of the Prince of Wales. Hence it was evident, that Leicester-house was an additional pressure on Mr. Pitt. 1757.

Between this time and the 19th of May, a negociation was carried on, frequently broke off, frequently renewed. I had observed, in my last visit to Mr. Pitt, that he spoke of Mr. Legge with some indifference, and took notice with a tone and aspect of censure, that he had been silent during all the debates on the inquiry: Legge, to my knowledge on that subject, had been very cool and inattentive; and one morning in particular, at Lord Temple's house, he expressed a wish that the inquiry might not be prosecuted, alleging, that while it remained unexplored, the odium would be more permanent on the authors of our disgraces at Minorca, than, if they should be exculpated in the resolutions of the committee, of which he made no doubt, and perhaps stand approved, either through the want of evidence, or by parliamentary parliality. I will not affirm, whether this reasoning was or was not the result of an opinion unbiassed and disinterested; he was certainly justified in some measure by the event.

I remember I answered him, that having

1757. perused the evidence with some care, I could venture to assert, that negligence, ignorance, and incapacity, could be made apparent; that an inquiry had been solemnly promised to the public, was expected, and could not be dispensed with; to this he readily acquiesced, and declared his satisfaction on my report of the evidence. This passed about ten days before the meetings at Townshend's house, where it was notorious, that Legge took no part, either through indolence, despair of success, or the apprehension of rendering a coalition more difficult. The last probably was no small motive to this behaviour; a suspicion appearing but too well grounded from the following anecdote, known to few besides myself, and fully explanatory of Mr. Pitt's indifference and haughtiness towards Legge. It is certain that the latter, without the other's privity, went singly to the Duke of Newcastle, while the negociation for a coalition was depending with Pitt, who, for a considerable time, had treated the Duke with the utmost stiffness and reserve; a conduct extremely necessary, and which was not a little disconcerted by Legge's forwardness to negociate by himself. I was first apprised of this incident by Lord Temple; but as Mr. Legge afterwards very candidly related the whole to me himself, I shall defer giving any conclusive

judgment, till the order of time shall introduce his own narration in its due place. 1757.

The public were perpetually amused with reports about this coalition; one day it was said to be concluded, another day to be more distant than ever. In the mean time no Administration was formed. Fox, indeed, had the dexterity to procure for the lives of himself and his two sons, the reversion of Dodington's office of the Pells in Ireland, a sinecure worth upwards of 2000*l.* a year; but did not dare, perhaps cunningly did not choose, to accept immediately of any high office in England. Not one of the vacancies was filled up, except in the Admiralty; a department whose operations in time of war cannot be suspended.

Lord Temple, who had received to his care a sickly and shattered navy from Lord Anson, left it in a promising condition when he was dismissed from his post; a situation he had accepted with reluctance; and after the exertion of unimpeached fidelity, diligence, and honour, most cheerfully relinquished to a temporary successor, the Earl of Winchelsea. Ld Temple. April 6. Resigned in June.

No successors were appointed to Mr. Pitt, Mr. Legge, and Mr. Grenville; and the Duke of Devonshire, the head of the Treasury, had declared his intention to resign, as soon as all the money should be provided for his Majesty's

1757. service. The 19th of May was to finish that work, as a demand of a vote of credit for a million was then laid before the House. Mr. Pitt on this motion declared, that, while he was in his Majesty's service, he was given to understand, that no farther sum would be required for the service of the Continent, than the 200,000*l.* granted for that purpose in February last, and proposed an amendment to the present motion. The amendment limited the application of the vote of credit to British services only, excepting a small portion, which he agreed might be given to the Hessian troops under the head of forage, in consideration of the scarcity and unexpected rise in the price of that article. He laid down an absolute position, that Great Britain should be no otherwise concerned upon the Continent, than in keeping the war alive there in a defensive manner; that her offensive efforts should be confined to the sea and North America: this was opposed by Lord Egmont and Sir George Lee, both declaring without reserve, that this nation ought to engage on the Continent in operations of the utmost extent; and that all others had been proved by recent experience to be uncertain and ineffectual. However, there was no division on the question, which was carried in its original words.

After the House was up I joined several of 1757.
Pitt's friends; and having been informed, that all treaty with the Duke of Newcastle had been broken off two or three days before, I gave them my congratulations on the event, and received this reply from Mr. George Grenville. "Have you not observed from what passed to-day, what rotten ground we must have stood upon? You see, that no coalition could take place without our plunging into every Hanoverian measure." This was on the 19th of May; yet, the negociation between Pitt and Newcastle was revived between that day and the 27th, and vanished again on Pitt's insisting to create George Grenville Chancellor of the Exchequer in preference to Legge.

On the 27th I dined at Sir Francis Dashwood's with Legge: the two Townshends, Samuel Martin, and others; that day se'nnight we were all entertained by Mr. Legge; and then it was universally understood, that every hope of a coalition was utterly annihilated, to the visible mortification of most in company. The part I took was to wish them all joy; which I did most cordially: at the same time, in the presence of Legge and Martin, after the meeting broke up, I freely declared to Grenville my entire disapprobation of Pitt's conduct; first, in negociating at all; lastly, in

1757. resting the coalition on a mere personal point. This circumstance was artfully turned to Mr. Pitt's disadvantage, by the Duke of Newcastle, ever dexterous at these interested transactions, and no others. By his solemn protestations, that no difference had arisen between him and Pitt on the subject of public measures, but merely on the nomination of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, he misled Colonel Townshend and all the country gentlemen into a disapprobation, if not a dislike, of Mr. Pitt. I plainly perceived in many of them, that this disgust proceeded from some disappointment in the hopes they had conceived of obtaining employments by means of a coalition. Another incident, hinted at already, Mr. Legge's stolen interview with the Duke, gave that old and cunning courtier another advantage, of which he made an effectual use with those who were ready to embrace any pretence of coming again into office. In fine, the coalition took place, and Lord Hardwicke at that juncture appeared once more a principal character on the political stage.

It was on the 27th or 28th of June, that I waited on Mr. Samuel Martin. Mr. Legge came into the room, and with the aspect of a man sinking under self-condemnation and despair, burst into the following exclamation—

"Well, I must go into office again; I have accepted the Chancellorship of the Exchequer under that false and perfidious Duke of Newcastle." Upon this he drew out a paper, where he had committed to writing all which had passed at that ill-judged interview between himself and the Duke. 1757.

It appeared to me that the principal error consisted in his having taken that step without the privity of any one friend. He had not made any concession to the detriment of his country, or his party; his declaration against Fox was contained in the following allusion: "The scum is now risen to the top of the pot; if your Grace will lend us your skimmer we will take it all off." This meeting was held under the most sacred promise of mutual secrecy. After it was over, and when it was too late for advice, he communicated the transaction to his friend Martin, who immediately blamed his indiscretion, and so counselled him to lose not a moment in representing the truth to Mr. Pitt, as the only reparation which was left in his power to make. Legge assented at once, then starting up, recollected that he had pledged his honour to the Duke not to divulge a tittle; and half out of his senses ran from Martin's chamber.

The Duke was not so punctilious. Within an hour after Legge had quitted him, he put all

1757. his treacherous arts in practice, by imparting the whole to his instrument Stone, the busy, intriguing Primate of Ireland, who authorized, nay, enjoined by the Duke, took the first opportunity of informing Pitt.

Not many days following, I had an intimation of it from Lord Temple, who closed his discourse by saying, "there is a difference between a wholesale grocer and a retail one;" alluding to the Grocers' Company, of which Pitt and Legge had lately been made members. Mr. Legge by this proceeding undoubtedly furnished just cause of suspicion, that he meant to undermine or get the start of Pitt. I rather impute the whole to mere eagerness, which is generally productive of imprudence and rashness; and I am the more inclined to this, the most favourable construction, from the affecting relation, which Martin, the sincerest of mankind and strictest observer of truth, gave me of Legge's misery at this irretrievable act of absurdity. For many mornings successively he would come into Martin's bed-chamber before he was up, and roll upon the floor like a man tortured with bodily pain, and vent expressions of compunction little short of phrensy. During my visit at Martin's, I had observed such real distress in Mr. Legge's countenance and behaviour, that I not only then administered to him

every argument of consolation, but wrote the next day a letter to Martin, in which, taking notice of Mr. Legge's intended departure from town, I expressed the utmost concern at the distracted temper of mind which that gentleman would carry with him into the country. Mr. Martin's answer is so explanatory of all which I have already related, that I think it material to insert it here, and to shew at the same time the good sense and sincerity of the writer. 1757.

"DEAR SIR,

"IT is very true, that the gentleman you mention did go out of town much dissatisfied and uneasy at the part which he thought himself bound to take; but this part was the acceptance, not the refusal of office. The indiscretion he had committed in having a secret interview with the Duke of Newcastle, (although the subject matter was perfectly pure and blameless,) had given his friends a handle to impute to him the high terms which the Duke demanded for himself; and the gentleman suspected in his own mind, that the step he had made might have conduced in some degree to inspire his Grace with that confidence. From hence he looked upon it to be a point of honour due to his friends, not to disorder their

1757. system by withdrawing himself from it; which otherwise he had certainly done for several reasons, some of a private and personal nature. I think the time is not far off, when he and some others of my friends will set themselves right in the world's regard. I suppose, the state of things is well known to you by this time; and therefore I need not trouble you or myself with an history of particulars. I am, dear Sir, whatever may be the fate of this or that political man, faithfully and sincerely your's,

SAMUEL MARTIN.

Mr. Pitt, at this juncture, appears to have stood almost single, deserted by the country gentlemen, declining in popularity, and disunited with Legge; his only foundation was Leicester-house, and his principal hope of a coalition at last rested on the Duke of Newcastle's horror of Fox. In the midst of their mutual perplexity, Lord Hardwicke interposes with his specious and artful assistance; by the 29th of June a new Administration is formed: the seals are redelivered to Pitt without any reality of power; Newcastle becomes head of the Treasury, reserving to himself the disposal of all offices; Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer, without the least weight or influence at the board; Hardwicke replaces his unpopular and

obnoxious son-in-law, Lord Anson, in the Admiralty; and Fox, whose prudent refusal of any powerful office in the ministry, not a little contributed to this final settlement, had interest enough with the King to attain the paymastership of the army, a lucrative employment, accountable in its own department singly, and in no phrase involved with the general Administration. Temple is created Lord Privy Seal, his brother George remains Treasurer of the Navy; Charles Townshend, affecting the highest discontent, continues Treasurer of the Chambers: Sir Robert Henley is made Lord Keeper; Mr. Pratt, Attorney General; Lord Hardwicke's third son, Mr. York, Solicitor; and himself, though out of employment, possesses the confidence of the King, and is equally courted by Newcastle and Pitt: the scene closes with the retreat of Colonel Townshend and the country gentlemen from London, all disgusted, some from generous, most from interested motives. 1757.

I close this subject with one remark. The Duke of Newcastle was a man of whom no one ever spoke with cordial regard, of parts and conduct which generally drew animadversions bordering on contempt, of notorious insincerity, political cowardice, and servility to the highest and the lowest; yet, insincere without gall, ambitious without pride, luxurious, jovial, hos- D. of Newcastle.

1757. pitable to all men, of an exorbitant estate, affable, forgetful of offences, and profuse of his favours indiscriminately to all his adherents; he had established a faction by far the most powerful in this country: hence he derived that influence which encouraged his unworthy pretensions to ministerial power; nor was he less indebted to his experience of a Court, a long practice in all its craft, whence he had acquired a certain art of imposition, that in every negociation with the most distinguished popular leaders, however superior to himself in understanding, from the instant they began to depart from ingenuous and public principles, he never missed his advantage, nor failed of making them his property at last, and himself their master. Lord Cobham, Chesterfield, the Duke of Bedford, Pitt, and others, found him so in 1743, when he took them into his confederacy to rout the Earl of Bath and Granville. Pitt found him so in 1757, when this new coalition was formed to destroy the Duke of Cumberland and Fox.

THE

POLITICS OF JUNIUS.

His first great and leading principle is, that Magistrates and the Ministers of Government should ever be subservient to the Laws. To preserve the British Constitution, according to his view of the subject, in its utmost purity, is his whole aim: and his violence against *men* upon all occasions, is solely with a view to destroy their *measures,* when he considered them to be impolitic or unjust. His abuse and invective are governed by this principle; and when he attacks the private vices of men, he adopts that mode, only as an expedient to diminish the baneful effects of their public actions.* To the Duke of Grafton he declares himself not to have been his *personal* enemy—"I have no resentments but against the common enemy."

* I am here speaking of the professed principle and intention of Junius; how well or ill he executed or manifested his intentions, or how far his own private feelings have heightened or imbittered his invective, his works before the public will declare for themselves.

And after the most bitter and reiterated abuse of the King, he says, " I would willingly hazard my life in defence of your title and your crown." In pursuing this subject, to give force to his political theory, he confesses himself, in some instances, to have overstepped the bounds of correct truth.—" It was necessary to the plan of that letter, to rate you lower than you deserved." From the same motive he also bestowed praise, if he saw political good to be derived from it:—" I think it good policy to pay these compliments to Lord Chatham."

To preserve and renovate the Constitution, his favourite theory, in common with Lord Chatham, was to have triennial Parliaments.

With respect to his political creed, in his fifty-ninth letter he has thus very fully and very clearly expressed himself. " I can more readily admire the liberal spirit and integrity, than the sound judgment of any man, who prefers a republican form of government, in this or any other empire of equal extent, to a monarchy so qualified and limited as ours. I am convinced, that neither is it in theory the wisest system of government, nor practicable in this country. Yet, though I hope the English Constitution will for ever preserve its original monarchical form, I would have the manners of the people purely and strictly republican.—I

do not mean the licentious spirit of anarchy and riot—I mean a general attachment to the common weal, distinct from any partial attachment to persons or families;—an implicit submission to the laws only, and an affection to the magistrate, proportioned to the integrity and wisdom, with which he distributes justice to his people, and administers their affairs."

Throughout the whole of Junius there is a feeling of despondency for the public weal—"I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry are driving this country to destruction."—"I most truly lament the condition to which we are reduced,"—he had, therefore, "no resentments but against the common enemy." The same feelings characterize these Memoirs. The administration of Lord Chatham, then Mr. Pitt, "was the only means left to save a ruined nation;" and the details which he has entered into, "are only to delineate with accuracy the causes of this nation's fall," which, to the author's ill-boding judgment, appeared to be inevitable. And though he had intimacies to a degree of friendship with most of the distinguished politicians of his time, yet those intimacies were contracted on the public account, that when his principles were deserted by them, their society was abandoned by him.

Of Kings, though necessary to the Constitution and form of Government Junius was attached to, in these Memoirs the Author is equally unsparing of his censure, and unmindful of the mode of inforcing his invective against them. "George II. is a weak, narrow, sordid, and unfeeling master, only calculated by nature for a pawnbroker's shop;" and again, "he should be made sensible, not only that he should not be master, but that he should know and feel that he ought not to be so." The King of Prussia is *a fiend:* and of Princes in general, "their actions are not to be judged of by the rules of morality, before whose tribunal they would be all condemned in their turns, and undergo the severest punishment, if executioners were not wanting to the laws of nature and of justice; and the folly and servility of mankind were not the safeguard of Kings."

In these Memoirs the political feeling of the author may be accurately traced in his estimation, and varying hopes and fears of the conduct of Lord Chatham. He admired his talents, and seemed perfectly well to understand their force and influence; at times, strongly attached to his measures, but at other times, doubts of his sincerity, and censures what he considers a dereliction of principle; and for twelve years withdrew himself from his inti-

macy from political principles alone. In the letters of Junius there is the same admiration of his powers, the same sentiment of disesteem, when he made his great abilities subservient to measures which he disapproved; and even his celebrated panegyric is guarded by expressions which seem to glance at a comprehensive view of his whole character. In estimating the circumstances on which the true dignity of his character should depend, the tone of feeling, though differently expressed, is very similar in both these works. When Pitt was first appointed Secretary of State, from his having vacillated in his conduct, the Memoir says,—"All past offences were buried in oblivion." "The love of power and an ardent thirst of fame, were noble passions, honourable to him and beneficial to his country, when their views were set in comparison with those which accompany the base attachment to money, the visible bane of our times." Junius says, "I confess he has grown upon my esteem." As for the common sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of Junius would be of service to Lord Chatham. But *if* his ambition be upon a level with his understanding; *if* he judges of what is truly honourable *for himself*, with the same superior genius which animates and directs him to elo-

quence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of Junius shall continue to reward him."

Junius was an old reader of political controversies, and remembered the great Walpolean battles! The author of these Memoirs was an antagonist of Walpole. And Pitt incurred discredit, in his estimation, for "an indecent and needless encomium on Sir Robert Walpole," against whom he had been one of the most violent, at the time that minister was driven from the Administration.

Junius also declares himself to have dedicated his life to the information of his fellow-subjects. This Author took an active part in politics so early as the year 1739, and did not cease to direct his attention to that object during his whole life; and, whether his political opinions were well or ill-founded, he invariably adhered to them, believing them to be right.

The Editor of these Memoirs could increase this pamphlet to twice its size, if he were to indulge in minute criticism or analysis. He himself believes that they were written by the same author, known to the public under the signature of JUNIUS; but if the sentiments and opinions they contain, and the style in which they

are delivered, should not convey the same force of evidence to others as to himself, it would be useless to descend to minute particulars to strengthen and support them. Every fact that the Editor is acquainted with perfectly coincides with his hypothesis, except one, which is an assertion made by Junius, that he was not personally known to George Grenville. How far this might be correctly true, or how far it might be a justifiable *ruse* under the existing circumstances, must be left for the public to determine.

The Answer of The Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT *to the* LORD MAYOR *and* CITY OF LONDON, *on receiving the Freedom of the City, on the 15th of April, 1757. Addressed to Sir* THOMAS HARRISON, *Chamberlain.*

[Referred to in page 85.]

" Give me leave, Sir, to request the favour of you, to present, in the most expressive terms, to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of London, the high sense I have of the distinguished honour they have been pleased to do me, in conferring on me the freedom of the City.

" I have ever been zealously devoted to the support of the liberty, trade, and prosperity of that great and respectable body; and I am now proud, and happy to have such cause to add the sentiments of truest gratitude for so generous a mark of their favour; and for so unmerited an approbation of my insufficient endeavours to carry into effect the most gracious intentions, and paternal care of his Majesty, for the preservation and happiness of his people."

AN EXPLANATORY INDEX

OF THE

PRINCIPAL NAMES MENTIONED IN THIS MEMOIR.

Page

5 John Rushout, first sate in Parliament in 1710; died Feb. 2, 1775, aged 91: Grandfather to Lord Northwick.

5 Samuel Sandys, first sate in the House of Commons 1717; created a Peer Dec. 20, 1743; died Dec. 26, 1768.

5 John Duke of Argyle, born 1680; succeeded to his father's titles Sept. 28, 1703; died Oct. 3, 1743.

5 John Duke of Bedford, born Oct. 20, 1710; succeeded to the Dukedom Oct. 23, 1732; died Jan. 14, 1771: Grandfather to the present Duke.

5 Lord Carlisle died Sept. 2, 1758, aged 63: Father of the present Lord Carlisle.

5 Lord Chesterfield, born Sept. 22, 1695; first sate in the House of Commons in 1714; succeeded to his father's titles Jan. 27, 1725-6; died March 24, 1773.

7 Lord Cobham died Sept. 13, 1749.

7 Earl Gower, born August 4, 1721: first sate in the House of Commons 1744; succeeded to his father's titles Dec. 25, 1754; created Marquis of Stafford, Feb. 28, 1786; died Oct. 26, 1803: Father to the present Marquis.

Lord Bathurst, born Nov. 16, 1684; created a Peer Dec. 31, 1711; died Sept. 14, 1775, aged 91: Father of the Lord Chancellor Bathurst.

7 William Pitt, born Nov. 15, 1708; first sate in the House of Commons Feb. 1735; created Earl Chatham July 30, 1766; died May 11, 1778.

7 George Bubb Dodington, created Lord Melcomb 1761; died July 28, 1762, and the title became extinct.

8 Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, born May 3, 1717; succeeded to the Throne Oct. 20, 1740; died Nov. 29, 1780, in the 64th year of her age.

13 Sir George Lyttelton, born 1709; first sate in the House

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of Commons 1741; created a Peer Nov. 19, 1757; died Aug. 22, 1773.

16 George Grenville, born Oct. 14, 1712; first sate in Parliament 1741; died Nov. 13, 1770: Father of the present Lord Grenville.

23 Sir John Hinde Cotton died Feb. 4, 1752, in the 64th year of his age.

36 Frederic III. King of Prussia, born Jan. 24, 1712; succeeded to the Crown May 20, 1740; died Aug. 17, 1786.

30 Duke of Cumberland, born April 15, 1721; died Oct. 31, 1765.

49 Henry Bilson Legge, died Aug. 21, 1764.

51 George Townshend, born Feb. 28, 1724; succeeded to his father's title March 12, 1764; created Earl of Leicester May 18, 1784, and Marquis Townshend Oct. 27, 1787; died Sept. 14, 1807: Father to the late Marquis.

50 Charles Townshend, first sate in Parliament 1747; died Sept. 4, 1767, aged 42: Brother to the Marquis Townshend.

51 Henry Fox, born 1705, first sate in the House of Commons 1735; created Lord Holland April 16, 1763; died July 1, 1774: Father to the late Charles James Fox.

58 The Marquis d'Abreu was Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Spain to the British Court, till May 27, 1760, when, His Excellency the Conde de Fuentes succeeded him as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

59 Sir William Murray, born 1705; created Earl Mansfield Oct. 19, 1776; died March 20, 1793, aged 88.

63 Sir Richard Lyttelton, died Oct. 1, 1770; brother to the first Lord Lyttelton, and uncle to the present Lord Lyttelton.

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64 Lord Holdernesse died 1778, when the title became extinct.

71 John the 7th Earl of Westmorland, first sate in the House of Commons 1708; succeeded to the Earldom on the death of his brother, June 4, 1736; died August 26, 1762.

73 William, the 4th Duke of Devonshire, succeeded to his father's titles Dec. 5, 1755; died Oct. 2, 1764, in the 44th year of his age.

79 Richard, Earl Temple, born Sept. 26, 1711; first sate in the House of Commons 1734; succeeded to the Earldom on his mother's death, Oct. 6, 1752; died Sept. 11, 1779: Uncle to the present Lord Grenville.

T. Bensley, Printer,
Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London.